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FOR THE YEAR

1934

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MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD'S SECOND NATIONAL MINISTRY.

(TOOK OFFICE NOVEMBER 6, 1931.)

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Dominions	Mr. J. H. Thomas.
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ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1934.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE QUESTION OF REARMAMENT.

IN his New Year's message to the nation the Prime Minister affirmed that the previous twelve months, despite their difficulties and anxieties, had nevertheless been a time of steadily increasing hope, and had brought proof that they were travelling on the right road and that their efforts were beginning to receive their reward ; and he drew the conclusion that they should look forward to the coming year with renewed confidence. Mr. Baldwin also ventured to congratulate the nation on the fact that the prospect before it was brighter than in any other country in the world. For this optimistic outlook there was good ground in the revenue returns, which held out a pretty sure promise of a large surplus ; in the trade returns, which showed that British exports in a year of shrinking world trade had maintained their level ; and in the employment returns, which showed that considerably over half a million more persons were at work at the end of 1933 than there had been at the beginning. There were, however, two factors in the situation which peremptorily forbad any indulgence in too sanguine expectations. One was the continued absence of any revival of world trade as a whole ; the other was the precarious condition of the Disarmament Conference. In the former was involved the danger that the absorption of the unemployed would not proceed quickly enough to prevent the growth of discontent to dangerous proportions ; in the latter the danger that Britain might be dragged into an armament race which would certainly entail increased taxation almost immediately and which would probably lead to a war at no distant date.

Thus the two main problems of the Government were clear —to prevent the spread of discontent among the unemployed, and to work for an agreement among the nations to limit and reduce armaments. For tackling the first it had in the previous session brought in an Unemployment Bill which had now reached its Committee stage. For dealing with the second it had for the moment no settled plan, though it adhered to the guiding principles embodied in its proposals to the Disarmament Conference which no longer seemed to have any prospect of general acceptance. Before taking any further step it was awaiting the outcome of the bilateral discussions between France and Germany, which had been initiated towards the end of 1933, and also for the result of the conversations which Sir John Simon intended to have with Signor Mussolini before he returned from Italy, whither he had gone for his holiday.

In the meanwhile, in order to strengthen its hands for the task of carrying on international discussions on disarmament, the Prime Minister at the beginning of the year (January 1) appointed Mr. Anthony Eden, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to the post of Lord Privy Seal, one of the two which had hitherto been held by Mr. Baldwin. As no definite duties were assigned to this post, it was intended that Mr. Eden should pay special attention to all matters affecting the League of Nations. This step had been foreshadowed for some time, and gave general satisfaction, as in his previous capacity Mr. Eden had attended numerous meetings of the League, and had won general commendation for the way he had carried out his functions there. Contrary to general expectation, his new appointment did not carry with it Cabinet rank. Shortly afterwards a peer, Lord Stanhope, was appointed to succeed him as Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and in this way satisfaction was given to the demand raised in the previous session *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 99) that there should be in the House of Lords also a Government spokesman on foreign affairs. Another Ministerial change, made at the end of February, was the elevation of the Postmaster-General to Cabinet rank.

Sir John Simon returned to England on January 6, having held his projected conversations with Signor Mussolini on the 3rd and 4th of the month. Two days later the Prime Minister returned from Scotland, and on January 10 a long meeting was held of the Cabinet Disarmament Committee, at which the Foreign Secretary gave a report of the conversations he had had in Rome and Paris. The one statement of any importance which he was able to make was that Italy would not for the present press for a reform of the League of Nations, holding that a solution of the disarmament problem should come first. The meeting came to the conclusion that the " parallel and supplementary " negotiations which had been proceeding for some

time *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 102) were making sufficient progress to render their continuation desirable, and that the time was not opportune for Great Britain to issue any fresh statement of policy.

In consequence of this discussion Sir John Simon made no new suggestion at the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations which he attended immediately afterwards. When he returned, however, on January 20, the Foreign Office had in its hands a copy of the text of the last German Note to France on disarmament, in which Germany reiterated her demand for a short-service army of 300,000 men, with adequate defensive weapons. As this went beyond the proposals of the British Draft Convention and as France would by no means entertain such a plan, the Government now came to the conclusion that a new declaration of British policy was urgently necessary. Accordingly a Memorandum containing revised proposals for disarmament was drawn up and issued as a White Paper on January 31.

The Memorandum began by stating that arms of a kind permitted in one State could not continue indefinitely to be denied to another. The alternative to agreement was an armaments race " the end of which no man could see." The choice before Europe therefore lay between two courses—to reach agreement in a convention which would involve the abandonment of certain classes of weapons by the most heavily armed Powers, or to reach agreement on the basis that the most heavily armed Powers, while unable or unwilling to disarm, should at any rate undertake not to increase their present armaments. His Majesty's Government " earnestly pressed on other Governments that the first course should be actively pursued." On the basis of these principles, the Memorandum proceeded to put forward certain modifications in the proposals of the Draft Convention relating to security and disarmament. The chief of these were that Germany, while limited to 200,000 men, should be allowed a period of twelve months' service instead of eight months, that the new German short-service army should be equipped with tanks up to six tons and with 155 mm. guns, and that if the Permanent Disarmament Commission had not decided on abolition at the end of two years, all countries should be entitled to possess military aircraft.

The new year brought an unpleasant surprise to the commercial community in the shape of a drastic restriction on the import quotas allowed by the French Government for a number of classes of goods in which British exporters were interested, cotton piece goods in particular. In this way practically the whole of the benefit recently secured by the abolition of the surtax on British imports into France *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 103) was nullified, and the bargaining value of tariffs, which

by that action had seemed to be clearly demonstrated, was once more called into question. The Government lost no time in protesting, and as a result of conversations which took place with the French authorities, the latter, on January 11, promised to restore to 100 per cent, the quotas respecting " a very abundant list of United Kingdom products." When, however, the list was published some days later, it was found that a number of articles in which British exporters were vitally interested, notably motor vehicles and parts, were still subject to marked discrimination. The London Chamber of Commerce sent an energetic letter of protest to the President of the Board of Trade, and the Government thereupon informed the French Government that unless the discrimination were removed within ten days, Britain would retaliate by cutting down French exports to Great Britain. The announcement of this intention in Parliament a few days later was received with unmistakable approval.

The ten days' period fixed by the Board of Trade was allowed to elapse without the French Government taking any steps to restore the quotas of United Kingdom imports to their original figure. Accordingly, on February 10 an Order was made under the Import Duties Act imposing a duty of 20 per cent, *ad valorem* over and above the existing Customs duties on certain classes of goods produced or manufactured in France with effect from February 13. The Order found warm approval in the House of Commons when laid before them on February 15, though the Labour Party opposed it on the ground that it might lead to a trade war with France. This fear was partially allayed when a few days later the French Government sent a Note couched in conciliatory terms suggesting that negotiations for a new commercial treaty between the two countries should be opened as soon as possible, and intimating that if this were done, it would not resort to any counter measures. The British Government had no hesitation in accepting the offer, and a French delegation, headed by M. Lamoureux, the Minister of Commerce, came over to London on March 13.

On January 25 the President of the Board of Trade paid a short visit to Manchester in order to discuss problems of the cotton industry with representatives of its various sections. Among the suggestions made to him by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce was one that the Government should appoint a Commission to examine the whole question of the " most-favoured-nation " clause in trade agreements. His reply was that the inclusion or omission of the customary clause was " a matter of expediency which could not be settled except with reference to the circumstances of a particular negotiation," and all that he would promise was that if the Chamber appointed a Committee, he would put at its disposal all the information

and assistance which the Board of Trade could furnish. Naturally he was also pressed to take more active steps for combating the menace of Japanese competition, but here also he adhered to the attitude which he had taken up when approached on the same subject on previous occasions, pointing out that Japan was a good customer of Great Britain, and that there were many ways in which the cotton industry could help itself if it tried. His remarks were deeply resented by a considerable section—though by no means the whole—of the industry, and at a special meeting of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce on January 29, he was strongly criticised for his inaction, and a more energetic policy was called for.

An attempt which was made soon after to solve the Japanese problem without Government assistance proved wholly unsuccessful. Early in February, as a result of the discussions which had taken place in the previous autumn in India between representatives of the British and Japanese textile industries *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, pp. 83, 278), a Japanese delegation came to England to confer with a British textile delegation on the possibility of regulating competition between the two countries in the export of textile goods. Conversations were opened at the Board of Trade on February 14. At the outset a difference of opinion arose regarding the area to be covered by the discussions. The British representatives desired them to include in their scope all the export markets in which both countries were interested, but the Japanese insisted that they should be confined to markets within the British Empire. Several sittings were devoted to this subject without bringing agreement any nearer, and in consequence the conference was abandoned on March 14, matters being left exactly as before.

On January 23 the Council of the Trade Union Congress held a meeting to consider the attitude which it should take up on the question of calling a general strike, if need should be, as a means of protest against war. At the Congress held in the autumn a motion in favour of such a course, though opposed by the Council, had found strong support among the delegates, and the Council, in order to avoid defeat, had procured the withdrawal of the motion by promising to call a special congress or conference in the course of the year to consider the matter *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 67). At this meeting it proved unable to make up its mind as to the best course to pursue, and a decision was postponed.

Almost immediately afterwards (January 24), the Executive Committee of the Labour Party held a meeting to consider afresh the threat of dictatorship which had exercised the mind of the party so strongly in the preceding year. Some recent developments had given a new urgency to the problem. Sir Oswald Mosley, the head of the British Union of Fascists, had

obtained the enthusiastic support of Lord Rothermere and the *Daily Mail,* and was launching out into a new and extended campaign. What was more serious for the Labour Party was that Sir Stafford Cripps had a few days before made a speech in which he once more put forward his plan for emergency powers, and in the course of which he made some rather cavalier references to " Buckingham Palace " and the Constitution. Though he tried to explain away his remarks in a subsequent speech, the anti-Socialist Press did not miss the opportunity which they furnished for throwing obloquy on the Labour Party. At the Annual Conference in the autumn the Committee had temporised with Sir Stafford Cripps and the Socialist League *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 69), but now they considered it necessary to break with him definitely ; and Mr. Henderson came specially to the meeting from Geneva in order to lend weight to its deliberations. A declaration was issued stating that the attitude of the Labour Party to dictatorship had recently been subject to grave misrepresentation by supporters of the National Government. The truth was that the Labour Party, as had been repeatedly made clear in its official declarations, stood for Parliamentary democracy and was firmly opposed to individual or group dictatorship whether from the Right or the Left, holding that the only tolerable form of government for the country was democratic government with a free electoral system and an active and efficient Parliamentary machine. Any statements made by individuals in conflict with the declared policy of the party were declared to be definitely repudiated by the National Executive.

On January 23 the Austrian Minister in London approached the Government with an inquiry whether it would approve of Austria making a formal appeal to the League of Nations against German attempts on her liberty. In reply to questions in the House of Commons a few days later, the Foreign Minister stated that the integrity and independence of Austria were an object of British policy, and that, while the Government had no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of another country, they fully recognised Austria's right to demand freedom from interference with her internal affairs from any other quarter. On February 13 an *aide-memoire* to this effect was handed to the Austrian Minister. The ruthless suppression of the Socialists in Vienna which took place immediately afterwards went far to estrange British sympathy from Austria and created intense indignation in the Labour Party. The Government so far took notice of this event as to make representations to the Austrian Government urging it to adopt a policy of clemency and appeasement. But its general policy towards Austria remained unaffected, and on February 18 it issued a statement in company with the French and Italian Governments to the effect that they took a common view as to

the necessity of maintaining Austria's independence and integrity in accordance with the relevant treaties.

An acute cause of friction between Great Britain and Germany was removed—at least for the time being—by the conclusion on January 31 of a new agreement with regard to German commercial debts. Great Britain, in company with France and the United States, had felt deeply aggrieved by the arbitrary reduction of the cash transfer quota announced by Germany in December, and by the discrimination shown in favour of Swiss and Dutch creditors. By the new arrangement Germany made it possible for British creditors to receive larger sums than before the reduction of the quota, and promised to terminate the discrimination in favour of Dutch and Swiss creditors at the end of June. It was also agreed that a conference of all medium and long-term debt creditors should take place in April to discuss the whole of the debt service problem.

Parliament reassembled on January 29. In the House of Commons the Secretary for Foreign Affairs was questioned regarding the disarmament negotiations and the President of the Board of Trade regarding the French quota restrictions, but neither added anything to what was already known. A question to the Minister of Transport elicited an important statement on the matter of road accidents. The Government, he said, were deeply concerned at the grave position disclosed by the recently published returns for 1933, and had decided to introduce legislation to deal with the subject at an early date. Concurrently also efforts would be made to instil into all classes of road users the need for exercising greater care, and appeals would be made to the Press, the British Broadcasting Corporation, and the film industry for their co-operation and assistance in this work, while a contribution had already been made from the Road Fund towards the cost of a special campaign for the promotion of road safety which the National Safety-First Association had projected for the spring and summer.

The House then settled down to the consideration of the Unemployment Bill in Committee, for which altogether fourteen days were allowed. A proposal that the allowance for dependent children should be three shillings instead of two was widely supported among all parties but was opposed by the Government, and was eventually negatived by 200 votes to 104. On January 30 the Minister of Labour, in response to representations from all parts of the House and from outside, undertook to change the words in the Bill requiring applicants for benefit to prove that they were unable to obtain suitable employment, as these savoured too much of the old " genuinely seeking work " formula which the Labour Party had so fiercely denounced. The phrase ultimately decided upon was " a person neglecting to avail himself of an opportunity for suitable employment."

As the debate proceeded it became evident that many Ministerialists were now much more critical of the Bill than they had been before the recess, and were desirous that the Government should adopt a more liberal attitude towards the unemployed. They rallied, however, to the support of the Government when the Opposition fiercely attacked the establishment of the Statutory Committee which was to be the watch-dog of the Insurance Fund. On February 14 the Government was pressed from many quarters to include in the insurance scheme both " black-coated " workers with incomes over 250l. and domestic servants. The Minister pointed out that he was empowered under the Bill to consult the Statutory Committee with regard to extensions of the scheme, and promised to bear in mind the views expressed in the debate.

On February 20 an attempt was again made by a number of Conservative members to obtain a higher allowance for dependent children by means of a motion that the assessment of the need of a dependent child should be placed at three shillings a week. Although the Government pointed out that this would not necessarily increase the receipts of the whole household, the motion commanded a great deal of sympathy in the House and the number of those who voted for the Government fell to 177, while the minority rose to 129—the highest anti-Government vote yet recorded in the present House. There was reason to fear that similar trouble was in store for the Government over some of the provisions relating to the means test, but the Minister averted the hostility among his own supporters by making some timely concessions. On February 26 he himself proposed that the Unemployment Assistance Committee Board should not take into account the receipt of maternity benefit and of any wounds or disability pension up to twenty shillings a week. By this show of generosity he secured a smooth passage for the remaining parts of the Bill.

The efforts of Parliament on behalf of the unemployed continued to be supplemented by voluntary work. On January 27 the Prince of Wales in a broadcast speech reviewed the progress made by the voluntary movement for relieving unemployment which he had in a way inaugurated with a speech at the Albert Hall exactly two years before. He was able to report that there were now over two thousand active voluntary schemes in existence all over the country, doing really valuable work. He laid stress on the fact that the occupational centres, besides helping to relieve unemployment, were creating a new spirit of good fellowship among all sorts and conditions of men and women. Over 250,000Z. had been contributed voluntarily towards schemes, 30,000l. of it by the unemployed themselves. He made a plea for developing the occupational centres into proper clubs with facilities for educational, recreational, and social activities, and not necessarily confined to the unemployed.

On January 31 the House of Commons discussed on a private member's motion the trade negotiations with Russia which had lately been resumed and were now proceeding in Moscow. Conservative members urged the Government to make sure above all things that the present unsatisfactory trade balance between the two countries would be corrected, while Labour members showed themselves chiefly anxious that the question of the Lena goldfields should not be allowed to interfere with the negotiations. The Minister in charge gave satisfactory assurances on the latter point, and was optimistic enough to predict that an Anglo-Russian trade treaty would soon be concluded which would give general satisfaction. The agreement was in fact signed in London on February 16, and three days later was issued as a White Paper. Its most distinctive feature was that, while it contained a most-favoured-nation clause, this was qualified by a further Article providing that either party might represent to the other that such prices were being created or maintained as to frustrate preferences or injure home production. The chief object of this provision was to safeguard the preference given to Canadian timber at the Ottawa Conference. In order to produce a better equilibrium, the Soviet Government undertook that the payments of Russia to the United Kingdom should bear the proportion of 1 to 7 to the proceeds of Soviet Russia in the United Kingdom, and should gradually decrease in successive years till after December 31, 1937, the ratio should be approximately 1 to 1-1. There was no mention of a loan, but export credit facilities were to be given for trade with the Soviet Union on the same basis as for trade with other countries. The Soviet Trade Representative and his two deputies were to be accorded all diplomatic immunities. The agreement was to be regarded as temporary only and to be terminable at six months' notice.

The agreement was discussed in the House of Commons on March 1. Mr. Runciman, without being enthusiastic, expressed the hope that it would lead to more Russian orders being placed in Great Britain, and pointed out that if imports from Russia remained excessive, they could easily be restricted. He informed the House that a Note had been presented to the Russian Government reminding them that there were still debts and claims, both Government and private, outstanding against them, and that a permanent treaty of commerce and navigation could not be concluded till these were satisfactorily settled. The agreement was subjected to some criticism, chiefly from representatives of the Scotch herring industry, who thought that its interests were not receiving proper consideration, but on the whole it was welcomed.

On February 6 the House of Commons discussed the Government's latest Memorandum on Disarmament. Sir John Simon made clear the points in which it marked an advance, or at any

rate a change in the British Draft Convention. He justified the proposals to allow Germany a certain measure of rearmament on the ground first, that Germany's claim to equality of rights in the matter of armaments could not be resisted and ought not to be resisted, and secondly, that no practical solution could be found on the basis that all nations throughout the world should immediately abandon all weapons denied to Germany by the Treaty of Versailles—two propositions to which the assent of the House was by no means unanimous. He also pointed out that the provisions for more frequent consultation between the Powers concerned would give added strength to the Convention without committing Great Britain to any new undertaking in advance. He claimed for the Memorandum that it was framed in a realistic spirit, and was therefore hopeful that it would be accepted at least as the basis of further discussion ; and he informed the House that, as a means of turning it to the best account, the Lord Privy Seal would as soon as possible visit Paris, Rome, and Berlin in order to explain the British point of view and to learn by direct contact what was the attitude of other Governments towards the Memorandum.

In the course of the debate, regret was expressed on all hands that the proposals of the Government seemed to mark the limit of what was at present attainable, but the Government was not seriously criticised for its handling of affairs, though some Labour speakers threw the blame on the capitalist system. To many members the most significant remark in the Minister's speech was that if a Convention were not obtained, Great Britain would have seriously to consider whether her defences were adequate. This statement lent particular importance to a debate which took place on the next day on a Unionist member's motion, stating that the growing disparity in armaments of the United Kingdom in relation to other Powers had brought about a situation which seriously endangered the security and independence of the British Commonwealth, and urging the Government to pursue a course which would adequately safeguard their industrial, political, and national existence. The motion was supported by Mr. Churchill, who affirmed that the rule of guidance adopted by the last Conservative Government, that there would be no major war within ten years in which Britain would be engaged, could no longer be held to apply. War, he said, might come upon them as suddenly as in 1914, and find them still more unprepared.

Mr. Baldwin, in replying to the debate, showed that these considerations were not lost on the Government. He said that all their troubles arose from the refusal of the American Congress to support President Wilson in his efforts to guarantee security to France. They were making a last attempt now to deal with that problem, and for good or ill in a very short time they would

know whether they might look for success or not. Should they fail, the Government would feel it their duty to look after the interests of the country first and quickly. Should, however, agreement be come to, they would then in common with the other partners to the agreement have limits up to which they could arm, and it would be their duty to make themselves as competent as they might up to that limit. He thought, however, that the debate, coupled with the one they had had on the previous day, would have a greater influence on the public if the resolution were not pressed to a division ; and it was accordingly talked out.

Mr. Eden left on his mission on February 16, going first to Paris, where he spent a few days. He was in Berlin on February 20 and 21 and in Rome on the 26th, and had long interviews both with Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini. On his way home he had further conversations with the French Ministers. The chief subject discussed was the British Memorandum, on which Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini expressed their views very frankly, chiefly in the way of approval. On his return to London on March 1, Mr. Eden stated that his visits to the three capitals had certainly been useful. He thought that the personal contacts he had established were particularly valuable and might facilitate subsequent discussions. They now knew the views in definite terms of two Governments on the British Memorandum, and they would shortly be in possession of those of the third, the French Government, when the purpose of the visits would have been fulfilled.

On February 8 it was announced that the Cunard and White Star Steamship Companies had concluded an agreement for combining their interests, and had thus qualified themselves for obtaining the grant which the Government had promised them provisionally in the previous session for the purposes of completing a new giant Atlantic liner *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 96). The Government proceeded with all despatch to implement its promise, and on February 22 a financial resolution was brought forward as the preliminary to a Bill authorising the Treasury to advance up to 9,500,000l. for the completion of the great Cunarder No. 534, and possibly the construction of a second ship. Mr. Chamberlain explained that the advances would be made to a merger company formed out of the Cunard and White Star Companies, and that of the sum to be advanced 3,000,000Z. would be required to complete the Cunarder, 1,500,000Z. would be set aside for the provision of working capital, and 5,000,000l. would be available if it were decided later to build a sister ship. Mr. Kirkwood, one of the Labour members for Glasgow, who had been specially active in pressing the claims of the liner, thanked Mr. Chamberlain for his efforts, which would give work almost immediately to 9,000 or 10,000 men. Other Labour members, however, as on a previous occasion, looked askance on the spending of public money to assist private enterprise to build a luxury ship.

After some further criticism the resolution was eventually carried without a division.

When the Bill itself was brought in on March 7, the Labour Party moved an amendment in which they " took exception " to voting public money for private shipping interests without guarantee of repayment or public control over its disbursement. Some Ministerialists also were doubtful about the wisdom of a subsidy of this kind. In reply to the Labour amendment Mr. Hore-Belisha pointed out that the Treasury would not be shareholders in the company but mortgagees, and stated that they had perfect confidence in the company. The amendment was rejected by 194 votes to 30, and, the Bill having soon after become law, work on the Cunarder was resumed on the Clydeside, early in April, amid scenes of great enthusiasm.

On February 7 the House of Lords, like the Lower House two months before *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 97), turned its attention to the plight of the Mercantile Marine, which had not become any less desperate in the interval. A motion " that the well-being of its shipping was of first importance to the whole Empire and imperatively called for the immediate and most serious attention of the Government " was supported by a number of speakers from various points of view and was accepted by the Government. But while thus showing its sympathy, the Government hesitated to commit itself to any definite action. As Lord Stanhope pointed out, the decline in world trade was more responsible for the plight of British shipping than foreign shipping subsidies, although these totalled no less than 30,000,000/. a year. Neither was it certain that a subsidy could be granted without doing more harm than good. The difficulty was that the shipowners themselves had not yet made up their minds as to what course they should as a body recommend. All the same, the Government looked upon the preservation of the industry as its own responsibility.

The excuse that they had to wait for a lead from the shipowners was soon disposed of. A statement of policy drawn up by the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom and the Liverpool Steamship Owners' Association was shortly afterwards issued on behalf of the British shipping industry as a whole and submitted to the President of the Board of Trade. The objects in view were declared to be to restore prosperity to world trade, on which all shipping depended, and to encourage the abandonment of practices inimical to trade. For these purposes it was recommended that Great Britain, in consultation with the Dominions, should join with other nations in an effort to concede most-favoured-nation treatment only to nations which would accept certain principles, among which should be an obligation on creditor nations to accept such payment in goods and services as would offset their creditor position, and on all co-operating

nations to stabilise prices and currencies and to restore freedom of the seas for peaceful commerce. Further, the Government, after consultation with the Dominions, should announce that Imperial preferences would be enjoyed only by goods imported in ships belonging to countries which gave fair play to British exports and British shipping, and that, pending the revival of trade, subsidy would, where necessary, be met by subsidy. Hence when any section of the Mercantile Marine could show that a temporary subsidy would ensure its preservation for the time, the Government should favourably consider the granting of such a subsidy, taking care that it should not prejudice other sections of British shipping.

Along with the shipowners, the milk producers also at this juncture turned to the Government for financial assistance to meet an emergency. There was at this time a volume of milk surplus over present liquid requirements which was estimated at 20 per cent, of the total sold under contract in the winter, and the surplus was likely to be about 40 per cent, of the larger volume of contract supplies available in the spring and summer. As prices of butter and cheese were at a very low level, owing to exceptionally heavy imports and market conditions generally, there was a danger that the price structure of the whole milk-producing industry would be undermined. It so happened that a meeting of members of the House of Commons early in February urged the Government to provide that a daily ration of fresh milk should be made available for all children attending State-aided schools, and for younger children through the Public Health Department. The Minister accordingly devised a plan by which philanthropy was made to subserve the ends of business. On February 22 he announced in the House of Commons the Government's proposals for meeting the emergency. They were, first, that for two years beginning on April 1, the Milk Marketing Boards should be guaranteed by the Government minimum prices of 5d. a gallon in summer and 6d. a gallon in winter ; that for purposes of launching a campaign for securing a purer milk supply, the Government should provide from public funds a sum not exceeding 750,000/. spread over four years ; and that the Government would be prepared to contribute to a milk publicity fund on a pound to pound basis up to 500,000/. a year for two years, on condition, among other things, that milk should be supplied to schools at a reduced rate, which was afterwards defined as a halfpenny a bottle.

The affairs of the coal industry also once more demanded the attention of the Government in this session. It was patent to all that the Coal Act of 1930 was not achieving its object of improving the financial position of the industry. Partly this could be put down to defects which experience had revealed in the Act itself, but it could also be ascribed in no small degree to

the recalcitrance of the coal-owners against its main provisions. A considerable number of them were bitterly opposed to the amalgamations recommended by the Act, and at the beginning of the year a coal company in Nottinghamshire threatened that if a compulsory scheme of amalgamation were brought forward they would test its legality in the High Court. The opposition to the Government marketing schemes also seemed if anything to be growing, and a report on them issued at the beginning of the year stated that little had been done in the previous twelve months to improve price regulation, and that difficulties had been accentuated rather than diminished. In fact, the industry seemed to be as far as ever from "planned reorganisation."

In these circumstances the Government decided to try the effect of some minor modifications in the existing law. A Bill was drafted removing the restrictions on the production of coal for export and conferring on the Central Council of Colliery Owners power to co-ordinate minimum prices fixed in the several districts. The object of the first provision was to enable the industry to take full advantage of the trade agreements under which certain countries had bound themselves to import a certain minimum of British coal. The object of the other provision was to put some limit to the internecine competition which, in the eyes of the Government and of several—but by no means all—of the coal-owners, was the bane of the industry.

The Bill was presented for its second reading on March 28 by Mr. Brown, the Secretary to the Mines Department, who remarked that it was ultimately due to that disequilibrium between demand and immediately available productive capacity which prevailed in so many industries all over the world. Its rejection was moved by the Labour Party on the ground that it did not touch the real evils from which the industry was suffering—the variations in prices, the wholesale evasions of the existing law, and the traffic in colliery quotas—and that the removal of the restrictions on the production of coal for export might even do injury to the industry, as such coal might now be used to compete in the home market. This last fear was shared by some of the coal-owners also, but the second reading of the Bill was eventually carried by 150 votes to 36.

Even before the Bill was introduced, the coal-owners had been endeavouring to secure the objects at which it aimed by means of voluntary agreement among themselves and so obviate the need of legislation—a course which the Government would greatly have preferred. The passing of the second reading gave a fresh stimulus to their efforts in this direction, and a few weeks later they were able to give assurances that the schemes in force under Part I. of the Act of 1930 would be amended in a manner satisfactory to the Government. Thereupon it was announced

in the House of Commons (April 24) that further proceedings on the Bill would be suspended.

With the iron and steel industry also the relations of the Government were not altogether satisfactory. The industry had received a fair measure of protection on condition that it would reorganise itself as soon as possible, but it seemed to be none too anxious to carry out this undertaking. A scheme, however, was at length evolved, and a meeting of the National Federation of Iron and Steel Manufacturers was called for February 22 to consider it. On January 22 Sir George May, the Chairman of the Import Duties Advisory Committee, thought it advisable to send a letter to each member of the Federation reminding him that the additional duties on iron and steel products would automatically lapse on October 25 unless the Committee recommended the Government to continue them, and that the Committee could not make this recommendation unless some satisfactory plan of reorganisation had been submitted by the industry. At the meeting of the Federation on February 22, the scheme submitted was approved " in principle " by 78 votes to 26, and a Committee was appointed to prepare an amended version which would be submitted to a further meeting on April 19.

On February 20 tributes were paid by the spokesmen of all parties in both Houses of Parliament to the memory of King Albert of Belgium, who had met his death on February 17 [see under Obituary], and sympathy was tendered to the Belgian Royal family and nation in their sore bereavement. In the House of Commons the speakers were the Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, and Sir Herbert Samuel, and in the House of Lords Lord Hailsham, Lord Ponsonby, Lord Reading, and Lord Granville, while a final eulogy was delivered by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Emphasis was laid on the late monarch's unwavering solicitude for his people in time both of war and of peace, and on the universal affection with which he was regarded, and the Prime Minister summed up his character as " a fine man, a great king, a noble citizen."

Early in this session the question of the water supply in rural districts assumed a character of great urgency, in consequence of a very insufficient rainfall over several months. Already at the beginning of the year supplies of water had had to be curtailed in some of the smaller towns, and week after week, as the dry weather continued, the position grew steadily worse. An insistent demand was raised for Government action, and at length on February 22 the Minister of Health brought forward a Rural Water Supplies Bill which placed at his disposal a sum of 1,000,000*l.* for assisting rural authorities to improve the water supply in their districts. The Bill met with much the same criticism as the same Minister's housing schemes—that it was good as far as it

went, but that it dealt with the problem in a very inadequate manner. Mr. Greenwood, on behalf of the Labour Party, moved the rejection of the Bill on the ground that it " placed a limit on the amount of State assistance regardless of the total expenditure which might be required," and expressed the opinion that a national co-ordinated scheme should be instituted without delay. The other parties, however, were not prepared to go as far as this, and negatived the amendment by 188 votes to 36.

In the early part of this year, as of the last, the Communist Party again organised a " march " of unemployed workers from Scotland and the North of England on London. The first contingent of about 400 left Glasgow on January 22, and all the " marchers " assembled for a mass meeting in Hyde Park on February 25. Both the march and the meeting passed off without any untoward incident. Shortly before the meeting the organisers of the march sent a letter to the Prime Minister requesting the Government to receive a deputation on February 27 which would state the case of the National Congress and the marchers against the new Unemployment Bill. The Prime Minister refused on the ground that the deputation could do no service to the unemployed and that the Communist purpose of the marchers was a matter of common knowledge.

On February 27 in the House of Commons, Mr. McGovern, a member of the I.L.P. group, who had himself led the marchers out of Glasgow, requested the Prime Minister to allow three leaders of the marchers to bo heard at the Bar of the House in support of their petition. When the Prime Minister refused, another I.L.P. member moved the adjournment of the House to discuss the matter, and his request being supported by the Labour Party and a number of Liberals, the Speaker allowed time for the discussion after 11 o'clock the same night. Mr. Buchanan then moved to call attention to the action of the Prime Minister in refusing to allow the unemployed marchers to voice their grievances either to himself or to the Government or to the Commons. Mr. MacDonald in reply pointed out that he was only following the example of previous Governments and of the Trade Union Congress. It was, he said, trifling with distress to induce unemployed people to march to London, and no Prime Minister or Government could give countenance to such movements, inspired as they were by subversive propaganda. The motion was eventually defeated by 270 votes to 52.

By this time the Fascist movement in Great Britain had also made itself conspicuous enough, as a menace to public order, to attract the attention of Parliament. The active and provocative propaganda carried on by Sir Oswald Mosley's organisation had in many places brought his followers into sharp conflict with the opponents of Fascism, and there had been several breaches of the peace in consequence. The root of the trouble

was considered by many people to be the wearing of a distinctive uniform—in this case a black shirt—and on February 20 the Home Secretary was asked whether the Government would take steps to prohibit this practice, as had been done in certain foreign countries. He replied that the whole subject was receiving his serious consideration, and that he would be prepared to introduce legislation if it should prove necessary.

Speaking at a National Government demonstration on February 22, Sir John Simon dwelt upon the menace to public order inherent in the blackshirt movement. The country, he said, could not tolerate the existence of " private and unauthorised forces leading to rival attempts at bullying people we do not happen to like." It was of the essence of British liberty that order should be kept by responsible authorities ; and of their impartiality in England there could fortunately be no question. As proof of this he instanced the fact that quite recently the Courts had granted to a Communist, who had been sentenced for a breach of the peace, damages against the police for detaining a document of his which they had impounded longer than they had a right to do. A few days later (February 28) the subject was discussed in the House of Lords, where the Government was asked whether it was aware of the numerical strength and financial resources of the Fascists, and of the fact that they possessed vehicles with steel protection. In reply it was stated that there were five Fascist organisations—more or less at loggerheads with one another—in the country, though the British Union of Fascists, led by Sir Oswald Mosley, got more publicity than the others. Officially they deprecated the resort to force. It was obvious that the Fascists were receiving considerable financial support, though the channels through which it reached them were not known. The whole matter was being carefully watched by the Government, but for the present the threat to ordered liberty and freedom was not serious, and did not call for any strong action of a restrictive kind.

*In accordance with a decision taken by the Cabinet in the autumn of the previous year, that efforts should be made to popularise the National Government in the constituencies *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 93), a series of meetings was arranged early in the year for the purpose of enabling Ministers and others to state the case for the National Government throughout the country. The chief Ministerial speakers on whom this task was devolved were the Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, Sir John Simon, Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Chamberlain. The first address of the series was given by the Prime Minister at Leeds on January 23. A few days before he had addressed his constituents at Seaham Harbour and had been subjected to a good deal of interruption and some booing. At Leeds he had an equally mixed reception. In both speeches he confined himself chiefly to dwelling on **the**

Government's record, and gave no clear indication of its policy for the future.

The second address of the series was delivered at Preston on February 14 by Mr. Baldwin, who obtained a much more favourable reception than Mr. MacDonald at Leeds. He recommended a National Government as the best alternative to a dictatorship, as they required something stronger and more broad-based than a party Government. The Government, he said, had been striving for co-operation in all classes, and they wanted to see that co-operation carried right down through industry as they wanted it between nations.

While the Government thus showed its determination to come before the public once more at the next General Election as a united body and to appeal for a fresh lease of power, it made no attempt to form a distinctive party of its own or to interfere in any way with the existing party divisions. For its success it relied upon the efforts of the National Co-ordinating Committee which was charged with the task of securing in the constituencies collaboration between the three parties in support of the National Government. On March 17 a number of London newspapers, hostile to the Government, simultaneously gave currency to a statement that the Committee had agreed to hand over to the Liberal National and National Labour Parties some sixty seats at present held by Conservatives. This, however, was immediately denied by the Committee, which pointed out that no such arrangement could be made without the consent of the sitting member and the Conservative Association in the constituency concerned.

In February and March a number of by-elections took place the results of which were not very encouraging for the Government. At West Ham a seat was regained by Labour, and at other places Government majorities were substantially reduced. For this among other reasons the Prime Minister began seriously to contemplate a reorganisation of his Cabinet. Two of its members—the Secretary for Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Health—were not regarded as particularly successful in their conduct of affairs ; and it was these whom popular report marked out for transference to some other spheres. *The Times* on February 24 stated that a reorganisation of the National Cabinet was regarded as " inevitable but not imminent " ; but at the same time it gave a broad hint that Sir John Simon's speech on the blackshirt question might be meant to pave the way for his return to his old position at the Home Office in order to deal with this problem in practice. Sir John, however, upset the calculations of the quidnuncs by stating categorically that he had no intention of retiring from the Foreign Office, and they thereupon postponed the " inevitable " Cabinet reconstruction till the autumn.

The Civil Estimates for 1934-35 issued on February 23 put the total expenditure for the year, excluding the Post Office, at 348,213,2222., which was 9,401,129l. less than the total Estimates for the current year. The chief saving was in the Estimate for the Ministry of Labour, which showed a decrease of about 10,500,000l., due to the improvement in employment, while there was an automatic decrease of nearly 2,000,0002. in the cost of war pensions. Against this, however, had to be set an increase of 1,500,0002. for old-age pensions, and of 1,000,0002. for widows' pensions.

The Air Estimates, which were issued on March 2, showed a gross increase over those of last year of 527,0002., the total sum allocated to the Air Ministry being 20,165,0002. Out of this moderate increase the country was to be provided with four new squadrons, bringing the total number up to 94, and the number of first line aircraft from 850 to 890. Small as was this increase, it signified a new departure in policy of no little gravity In introducing the Estimates on March 8, Sir P. Sassoon, the Under-Secretary for Air, said that they represented an endeavour to do justice to two opposed schools of thought, both of which were well represented in Parliament. On the one hand were those who were for cutting down the expenditure on armaments, and on the Air Force in particular, regarding it as a direct and imminent threat to the survival of civilisation. On the other hand were those who considered the provision hitherto made for air defence by the Government utterly inadequate. The Government recognised the force of both these views. On the one hand the pressing need for economy still persisted, and it was obviously undesirable that the tide of returning prosperity should be checked or thrown back by too early or too lavish an increase in the scale of national expenditure. Also, it was necessary not to do anything to prejudice the disarmament negotiations which were just then in such a delicate state. At the same time they had to take account of the fact that while Great Britain had followed a policy of studious moderation in the matter of air armaments for over fifteen years, other nations, so far from following their example, had steadily increased the strength of their respective air arms till they far outnumbered those of Great Britain. Nor was there any sign of a halt in this process. The President of the United States had recently sanctioned an additional expenditure of some 3,000,0002. on new aircraft for the American naval and military air services. Russia and Japan were largely expanding their forces. Increased funds for air armament had been provided by a long list of other countries, including Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, and Czechoslovakia ; while of their own Dominions, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand had authorised a considerable increase in their air expenditure for the coming year. In such

circumstances the Government felt that it was impossible to continue holding in abeyance the programme of 1923, now so long overdue for completion. They could not afford to accept a position of continuing inferiority. Great Britain, so long as air forces existed, must have parity in the air, however that parity was to be attained. That did not mean that they had in any way abandoned their belief in the advantages of general air disarmament, and they stood by the Memorandum on air disarmament which they had recently submitted to the principal European Air Powers. But the time had come when they could no longer afford to ignore the fact that, while all nations talked of disarmament, almost all nations but themselves were increasing their air armaments extensively. If other nations would not come down to their level, then inevitably their national and Imperial security demanded that they must begin to build up towards theirs. The Estimates, therefore, in broad outline were the outcome of their desire to pursue disarmament and study economy on the one hand, and, on the other, of their reluctant conviction that the policy of postponement could not be continued. Resumption of the scheme of 1923 had become inevitable, but in the interests of world peace the initial measure of advance was designedly being kept within most modest bounds.

At a later stage of his speech the Minister incidentally defended the Government's action, for which it had been sharply criticised in the previous year, in holding out for the right to use bombing aeroplanes for police purposes in wild outlying districts *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 48). He instanced cases which had happened in the course of the previous year where the mere threat of punitive action from the air or the mere sight of British aeroplanes had been sufficient to secure the protection of peaceful tribes from the inroads of more warlike neighbours. It was, therefore, unthinkable that they should go back to the old methods of keeping peace on the frontiers of the Empire after their experience of the new. To do so would mean once again an immense sacrifice of life on their own side no less than on the enemy's.

While Sir Philip Sassoon was warmly commended by subsequent speakers for the lucid and interesting manner in which he had presented the Estimate, it was generally felt that a more authoritative statement of the Government's policy—that is to say, of its readiness to increase its air force—would be desirable. Mr. Churchill, voicing the feeling of the House, pointedty called upon Mr. Baldwin to supply the deficiency. The Lord President, he said, because of the mass of people throughout the country who trusted his sober judgment and because he was head of the Conservative Party, with large majorities in both Houses, had only to make up his mind what was to be done in the matter, and Parliament would take all the steps that were required within

forty-eight hours. The nation looked to him to advise and guide it in this dangerous situation.

Mr. Baldwin immediately accepted the invitation. He laid stress on the fact that the apprehensions which were felt in England about London were similarly felt in Germany, Italy, and France about their principal cities. With that feeling so widespread, the Governments of Europe would be criminal if they could not arrange among themselves to limit the air terror to a certain extent. For that reason he would not admit that the Lord Privy Seal's tour had been a failure, and he had by no means yet given up hope of a convention that would give equality in air strength. This, he was convinced, was the best preventive against war. The real danger to peace was a very strong air power on the one hand and a defenceless nation on the other. Even though an absolutely complete air defence was impossible, yet a nation would think twice before attacking if the attack was likely to prove expensive and to invite retaliation. If they failed to get a convention on the lines they had proposed, they would at once set to work to try to get an air convention alone among the chief countries of Europe. Even agreements for the definition of specified areas for bombing would not be without their value. Therefore he was not prepared to admit that the situation was hopeless, or that within a week or two they would have to say that all their work was futile, and that they would have to spend vast sums of money. But if their efforts failed, then he did say that the Government would see to it that in air power Britain should no longer be in a position of inferiority to any country within striking distance of her shores.

Although Mr. Baldwin's statement was received with loud applause, it did not altogether set at rest the mind of the House. A little later a Ministerialist complained strongly that no responsible Minister was present to hear what loyal supporters of the Government thought about the " extremely important " statement they had just heard, and Mr. Baldwin and Sir P. Sassoon hurriedly returned. Suggestions were then made that the Government should name a time limit after which they would no longer continue to rely on negotiations. Mr. Baldwin, however, refused to add anything to his previous statement, and criticism was thereupon dropped.

The possibility of securing a Disarmament Convention was again discussed by the House of Commons on March 14. The chief purpose of the debate was to give the Lord Privy Seal an opportunity to communicate to the House the impressions he had formed during his recent tour. Mr. Eden tried hard to take a cheerful view of what he admitted was a very serious situation. What had been borne in on him most of all, he said, was that the French and German peoples did not seem to be able to understand one another's point of view. On one side there

was a mistrustful apprehension and on the other an aggravated impatience. The question was whether it was possible to bridge the gap between the two, and whether there was any use in trying. In his judgment the answer to the last question was that it certainly was not hopeless. While there was a glimmer of light they could not admit defeat, and there was certainly more than a glimmer. Nothing in his experience in the past few weeks had in any way caused him to regret the initiative of the Government in putting forward their Memorandum or their decision to send him on his mission. It was, of course, too much to expect that these steps would bridge the gap that then existed, but they had definitely narrowed it. What he had learnt in the three capitals was that there was no alternative to the Memorandum, no substitute for it, if agreement was to be reached on a Disarmament Convention.

To one speaker, and one only of those who took part in the subsequent debate, Mr. Eden's speech gave genuine satisfaction. Fortified by the Minister's admissions, Mr. Churchill now voiced more vigorously than ever the opinion to which he had given expression on previous occasions, that international disarmament was a will o' the wisp which it was useless and even dangerous for the nations to pursue. Britain certainly was on the wrong tack. The awful danger—nothing less—of their foreign policy was that they went on perpetually asking the French to weaken themselves. They always held out the hope that if they did this and then got into trouble again, Britain would in some way or other go to their aid, though they had nothing to go to their aid with. Surely now they had reached a point where they ought to make an end of this effort to force disarmament on countries which felt themselves in great danger, and to put themselves in a reasonable position of security. That would be much better for peace and much better for their own security if peace should fail.

No other speaker in the debate envisaged the failure of the Disarmament Conference as anything but a calamity of the first magnitude, though several supported Mr. Churchill in his demand that if it should fail Great Britain should immediately take steps to improve her own defences. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs in replying to the debate drily remarked that Mr. Churchill had exercised his ingenuity a little mischievously in trying to draft the French reply for them, and he reproached him for not believing in regulated armament, but he did not hold out any great hopes that this could still be attained. There was, of course, the possibility of a more limited convention applying only to air forces, and he promised that if the Government were thrown back upon an effort to secure this, they would not let the discussions drag on for any length of time.

The Navy Estimates for 1934, issued on March 6, were for 56,550,000/., an increase of 2,980,000/. over those of 1933, and the

largest since 1928. The First Lord of the Admiralty, in introducing them to the House of Commons on March 12, explained that naval construction was still governed by the London Naval Treaty, and that the present year's figure represented an average instalment. Part of his speech was devoted to combating what he called the " dangerous heresy " that had appeared in certain naval circles to the effect that the big battleship was to-day an anachronism and unnecessary. This view had obtained a good deal of backing in the Press, but he thought that no responsible Board of Admiralty would ever support it. He pointed out that if they accepted a 10,000 ton limit, they would have no ship invulnerable to gunfire, torpedoes, mines, and aerial bombs. Further, they would then have to reckon not only with the great Powers but also with smaller Powers which would be able to afford such ships, and therefore they would no longer be able to be content with a one-power standard. Hence both on technical, economic, and political grounds they could never accept a limit of 10,000 tons for capital ships.

The Army Estimates this year amounted to 39,500,000Z., or about 1,600,000l. more than last year. In introducing them to the House of Commons on March 15, Mr. Duff Cooper complained to the House that there had been a serious fall in recruiting in the past year, especially since September, and for this he blamed in part the Leader of the Labour Party (Mr. Lansbury), who used his great influence to dissuade people from joining the defence forces. Labour speakers, however, found a reason in the fact that the Government was taking money for defence purposes which ought to be spent on improving the physical condition of the people. The Minister announced that a new branch of the Territorial Army, under the name of the Royal Defence Corps, was to be formed from ex-Territorial and ex-Regular soldiers who were no longer fit for active service, for the purpose of carrying out guard duties on important points in Great Britain in case of war.

On March 14 the Government was urged in the House of Lords to consider the advisability of co-ordinating the three fighting services under a Ministry of Defence. The suggestion had frequently been made before, and in consequence of the growing importance of the Air arm had of late gained increasing support. The Government, however, was still entirely unconvinced. Lord Londonderry, the Secretary of State for Air, pointed out that the tendency in government as in business was to form new departments rather than to contract those already existing. There had been a single Secretary of State for War and Air from 1918 to 1921, and the experiment had not proved a success. The truth was that the burden thrown on the proposed Minister of Defence would be greater than any one man could stand. The task of co-ordinating the three Services was being

adequately performed by the Committee for Imperial Defence, which in addition was a body fully in harmony with the spirit of the British Constitution, and it was better to build on this than to make radical changes in the existing system.

The same subject was raised in the House of Commons on March 21 by the Labour Leader, Mr. Attlee, in response, as he said, to a very general wish of members in all parts of the House. Without going so far as to find fault with the existing system, he suggested that better results might be obtained by the institution of a separate Ministry of Defence. The Prime Minister in reply denied this *in toto*. He explained to the House in great detail the methods in use for securing co-ordination between the three Services, and maintained that they were proving successful to a very high degree. He claimed for the existing organisation of defence that it was flexible and adaptable to the changes required from month to month and from year to year, and laid stress on the great improvement that had actually been effected in the past ten years. He suggested that the critics of the existing order based themselves largely on conjectural reasoning. Given, they said, the independence of the Services, given a chiefs-of-the-staffs committee, the three chiefs being *ex officio* the heads of the three separate Departments, then there must in the nature of things be a lack of economy, of harmony, of efficiency in direction, and so on. He would not say there was nothing in the argument, but there was less in it than there had been some years ago, and in fact these results were not following. On the other hand, there was no reason to suppose that a separate Ministry of Defence would make things better. It might create more problems of co-ordination than it would solve, for who could say that its members would agree even with one another ? And should they differ with one of the chiefs of staff, the Prime Minister would still have to be called in, as now, to settle the difference.

If Mr. MacDonald's speech did not convince the advocates of a Defence Ministry it at least forced them to shift their ground. Mr. Churchill still insisted that a Ministry of Defence should be their ultimate aim, but he went so far as to admit that it must be grown rather than built. He did not demand that it should be set up at once or even within the next few years, but contented himself with urging the Government definitely to confirm the principle of a Ministry of Defence, and to take forthwith every interim step towards the fusion which would render such a Ministry and unification possible after a number of years. Mr. Baldwin, in winding up the debate, laid stress on the fact that it was absolutely essential for the Prime Minister to have some familiarity with the problems dealt with by the Committee of Imperial Defence. Under present conditions, he said, far too much work was laid upon the Prime Minister, and it might be necessary to

devolve part of the work of the office on to other shoulders ; but if so, he hoped that it would be anything rather than this part.

On March 13 the Ministry of Health issued a White Paper containing particulars of the slum clearing programmes which had been furnished by local authorities as a result of the big campaign begun in the previous April *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTEB, 1933, p. 22). The programmes were based on reports made by medical officers of health in conjunction with sanitary inspectors and the housing staffs of the authorities. The number of programmes provisionally accepted was 1,428, providing for the demolition of 254,753 houses and the rehousing of 1,187,173 people. In addition, there were 288 programmes still under consideration, providing for the demolition of 12,098 houses and the rehousing of 53,009 people. The figure for London was put at 33,000 houses, for Leeds at 30,000, for Manchester at 15,000, for Liverpool at 11,937, for Sheffield at 9,000, and for Birmingham at 4,500. It was stated in the White Paper that previously to the 1930 Act, 178,000 people living in slum areas had been rehoused under various powers—108,000 in the period 1875-1914, and 70,000 in the period 1919-30 ; while since the 1930 Act 34,000 had been rehoused—17,000 up to March 31, 1933, and 17,000 from then to the end of 1933. The capital cost of providing the new houses was put at 15,000,000Z., and it was expected that the average rent, including rates, would work out at 6s. to *Ss.* a week for houses, and from *9s.* to 12s. a week for flats.

A couple of days later (March 15), the Minister of Health attended the annual meeting of the Association of Municipal Corporations, and gave a general outline of the Government's plans for preventing overcrowding. The Government, he said, had recognised the justice of the demand made by the Association in the previous November that it should make a contribution towards the expenses of local authorities in rehousing the overcrowded working classes, and accepted the principle that the prevention of overcrowding was a matter for the State as well as for the local authorities. At present, he said, the annual charge upon the Exchequer for housing was more than 13,000,000l., but this outlay had been to a large extent ineffective because the use of the subsidy had not been properly controlled. In future, the burden imposed on the National Exchequer would probably be much larger.

For once the Minister of Health satisfied his critics, and his statement had a distinctly favourable reception in quarters interested in the housing problem. The Archbishop of Canterbury in the House of Lords on March 21 declared it to be " important and far-reaching," and gave it a cordial welcome. He expressed himself as delighted with the plans for slum clearance, provided of course that they would not be left merely on paper, and he also

approved the proposal to grant a subsidy to deal with overcrowding, providing it did not throw too great a strain on the local authorities. Viscount Gage, in replying for the Government, said that they had deliberately kept back the statement of this stage of their housing policy until the slum clearance campaign was well under way, and he promised that the new Housing Bill would be introduced at the earliest possible moment that progress with slum clearance permitted.

On March 22 Mr. Runciman both surprised and interested the House of Commons by announcing that a measure had been drafted by the Government dealing with the question of prospecting for oil in Great Britain. Of late renewed interest had been shown in this matter, especially by a number of foreign undertakings, and the Government decided to take steps, on the one hand to provide better facilities than at present existed for companies which desired to prospect for oil, and on the other hand to prevent the growth of such abuses as had arisen in Texas and other oil-producing districts through the absence of proper restrictions. A Bill was accordingly laid before the House of Lords on the same day of which the chief provisions were that licences should be granted for prospecting over much wider areas than those allowed by the existing Petroleum Act of 1918, and that the ownership of all oil that might be found should be vested in the State, so that there would be no private royalties.

On the same day (March 22) the House of Commons once more debated the well-worn topic of unemployment, but from a somewhat novel angle. Since the beginning of the year the unemployment figures had continued to fall, and had by now almost dropped to the two million mark. But there were certain features in the situation which forbad the assumption that the problem was on the way to being solved. In certain parts of the country unemployment had become endemic, as the industries on which they depended were practically dead and could hardly be iesuscitated even by a genuine revival of trade. This was notably the case with the industrial parts of the county of Durham, and with a number of places on the north-east coast and in Wales, Lancashire, and Scotland, which depended on what used to be called the " basic " industries of Great Britain—coal-mining, ship-building, and iron and steel works. Mr. Lawson, a Labour member from Durham, now called the attention of the Government to the plight of these derelict districts. He referred with approval to a series of articles entitled " Places without a Future " which had just appeared in *The Times* from a correspondent who had investigated conditions in Durham, and had pointed out the exceptional character of the distress prevailing there. One fact which had struck the writer, and to which Mr. Lawson made special reference, was that London had still little conception of the troubles affecting the industrial north, and that

this was causing great resentment among thoughtful people there. The younger people were becoming demoralised, and therefore if industry would not flow back to these places of itself, he thought the Government should find some way of directing it back.

In reply Mr. Runciman admitted that the miseries of the distressed areas were the most tragic of the whole of their Imperial problems. At the same time there was to-day a far more sympathetic public than ever before who would be prepared to support any practicable proposals for the amelioration of the conditions of their people. He declared that he himself had been devoting all his time to the problem as it affected ships, shipbuilding, coal, and iron and steel. In all of these there had been recently a certain improvement, the credit for which he assigned in no small measure to the various fiscal measures of the National Government. Beyond these, however, he had practically nothing to offer, and his consolations left the representatives of the distressed areas as dissatisfied as before. Nor had the Minister of Labour any better success with a speech in which he proclaimed his refusal to take a defeatist view and bade the distressed areas wait for the " stream of employment " to reach them. The net effect of the Ministers' speeches was to make many members more firmly convinced than ever that the charge of " complacency" so often brought against the Government was well founded.

The French reply to the British Memorandum of January 29 was at length received on March 23. As was expected, it revealed a wide divergence between the French and British points of view. The French Government, it said, could neither understand nor admit that exaggerated pretensions to rearmament put forward on one side should constitute an argument for asking other Powers to agree to reductions of armaments which did harm to the interests of their security. The Note also contained other expressions which made it clear enough that in the opinion of the French Government the Memorandum was proceeding on the wrong lines, and it demanded a reversion to the principles of the Disarmament Conference, whatever those might be.

Though the general tenor of the French Note could not be regarded as other than highly discouraging, the British Government refused to give up hope as yet of finding a way out of the impasse. The Note had stated among other things that the essential problem was that of guarantees of execution ; and this expression seemed to leave the door open to further negotiations. The Foreign Secretary inquired whether the French Government were prepared to give a more precise definition of the guarantees of execution which they demanded in their Note. On receiving an affirmative answer, the Government sent a formal Note to inquire what degree of German rearmament France would be prepared to accept in return for guarantees of execution, and

conversely what guarantees France would consider adequate for a concession to Germany in this respect. There was all the more ground for these inquiries, as immediately after the despatch of the French Note M. Barthou, the French Foreign Minister, had made a speech in which the demands of Germany for a certain measure of rearmament were by no means so uncompromisingly rejected.

The triennial elections to the London County Council held on March 8 resulted in a great triumph for the Labour Party, which gained 29 seats from the Municipal Reform Party, and 6 from the Liberals, losing themselves only one seat. As a result, Labour found itself for the first time in a clear majority on the Council, having 69 seats against 55 held by the Municipal Reform Party. The Liberals lost all the 6 seats they had previously held, and the Communists again failed to secure a single seat, polling only about 4,000 votes altogether. The poll again was a very small one, comprising only about a third of the electorate.

Just before Parliament rose for the Easter recess, two major Bills were formally laid before it by the Government. On March 26 the Road Traffic Bill was read a first time in the House of Commons. The chief object of the Bill being to bring about a diminution in the number of road accidents, the place of honour in it was given to a regulation imposing a 30-mile speed limit for private motor-cars and motor-cycles in so-called " built-up" areas, which were defined generally as areas in which a system of street lighting was maintained. This was flanked by a provision that a conviction for exceeding the speed limit or for careless driving should be endorsed on the driver's licence, and that the first such conviction should entail a disqualification and not only the third, as at present. New applicants for licences would have to satisfy the local taxation authorities of their competence to drive. Nor were the shortcomings of pedestrians and cyclists overlooked : the authorities were to be empowered to provide crossing-places for pedestrians at dangerous points and to fine them for not making proper use of them, and also to compel cyclists to paint a white patch on their rear mudguards and to use proper reflectors. The Bill also sought to remedy certain defects in the existing system of insurance against third party risks.

As the next step in his campaign for securing greater safety on the roads, the Minister of Transport on March 27, the eve of the Easter holiday, broadcast an appeal to the nation on the matter of road behaviour. If, he said, they were to judge by the experience of former years, there would by the next Tuesday night be over a hundred people dead and many hundreds injured on the roads of Great Britain, and days which were meant to be a time of rest and enjoyment would be remembered by thousands as a time of mourning and loss. It was not as if they could not

help it. He was prepared to say that every accident which would have happened by next Tuesday could have been avoided by a little more care, a little better judgment, a little more patience on somebody's part. Only the co-operation of every user of the road—motorist, cyclist and pedestrian—only their caution, their care and their courtesy could make the roads really safe. The greatest responsibility of all was of course on the motorist, since he had the most dangerous vehicle, but the carelessness of the rest also might bring injury not only to themselves but to others as well.

On March 27 the Government's Bill dealing with lotteries and betting was read a first time in the House of Lords. It was based on the report of the Royal Commission on gambling which had been presented in the previous year *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 43), but was far from implementing the whole of its recommendations ; like the Coal Bill and other measures of the Government, it did not attempt to deal with the problem in hand comprehensively, but confined itself to some of the more urgent aspects. It contained three parts, the first dealing with dog racing, the second with sweepstakes and lotteries, and the third with miscellaneous matters. Contrary to the recommendation of the Commission, it permitted the use of the totalisator at dog tracks, though with certain new safeguards. Dog racing was to be limited to 104 days a year at every track in the country, and in every area the meetings would have to bo held on the same days of the week. With regard to lotteries, the Bill accepted the view of the Commission that the institution of large lotteries was undesirable in itself and unlikely to prevent the sale in Great Britain of tickets in lotteries promoted elsewhere. The general prohibition of lotteries was therefore to be continued, subject to some new exemptions in favour of certain small drawings. The Bill proposed to tighten up considerably the regulations for preventing the sale in Great Britain of tickets in foreign lotteries ; among ether things by prohibiting the publication of the results of drawings for the Irish sweepstake or any other lotteries which would be illegal in Great Britain. Another interesting provision of the Bill was that competitions for prizes organised by newspapers or business firms should, in order to be legal, require " in a substantial degree " the exercise of skill.

Another thorny question which the Government took in hand before the recess was that of tithe. Although tithe dues had already been twice reduced since the war, yet in consequence of the agricultural depression farmers in certain parts of the country—notably Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex—were finding them a burden greater than they could bear. In several cases where they had refused to pay and their stock had been distrained on, the neighbouring farmers had formed a ring and bought it in at ridiculously low prices, so that the tithe owners were put

to loss. The Government now decided that this condition of things could not be allowed to continue, and on March 29 a Bill was laid before the House of Lords increasing the amount of remission of tithe rent charge obtainable, and simplifying the procedure under which such remission could be secured.

The public accounts for the year 1933-34 published on March 31 showed that revenue had amounted to 724,567,149l., or 25,790,149l. more than the Budget estimate, while expenditure had amounted to 685,669,421l., or 11,816,579l. less than the estimate. The excess of revenue over expenditure was thus 38,897,728l. instead of the 1,291,000l. originally estimated. Income tax yielded 228,932,000l., or 182,000l. more than the estimate, and surtax 52,590,000l., or l,590,000l. more than the estimate. The death duties, at 85,270,000l. produced 10,520,000l. more than the estimate ; this was due chiefly to a " windfall " of some 10,000,000l. on the estate of the shipping magnate, Sir John Ellerman. Stamp duties exceeded the estimate by over 2,000,000l., and Customs and Excise receipts by over 17,000,000l. On the expenditure side, the interest charge on the National Debt proved to be over 11,000,000l. less than had been allowed for.

CHAPTER II.

THE INCREASE IN AIR ARMAMENT.

PARLIAMENT reassembled on April 10 after the Easter recess, and on the same day the Minister of Transport moved in the House of Commons the second reading of his new Road Traffic Bill *(vide* p. 28). He graphically brought home to his hearers the urgency of the problem by observing that, on the basis of the law of averages, between the time when he was speaking (3.30 P.M.) and the time when the question would be put to read the Bill (11 P.M.), 180 people would have met with injury on the roads of Great Britain. Merely to improve the roads, he held, would be of little help ; in fact, he did not believe there was any real solution of the problem unless every one was prepared to bear burdens, as well as to impose burdens on others, and to subordinate personal convenience and desires to the general need of public security. The Bill therefore was only a part, and not necessarily the most important part of the action which would have to be taken if the problem was to be solved. Of the proposals in the Bill, there were, he said, four which were likely to be matters of acute controversy. Foremost among these was the reimposition of the speed limit. This provision cast no reflection on the action of his predecessor, Mr. Morrison, in abolishing the 20-mile speed limit in 1930, since the limit which he himself was now reintroducing was of a very

different character. It had been found that 75 per cent, of the accidents occurred in built-up areas, that pedestrians made up more than half the total of people killed on the road, and about half of the pedestrians were made up of children and old people. The former speed limit had failed because it did not accord with the view of reasonable people, but the same could not be said of this one. A second point which would be adversely criticised was the imposition of a test for drivers. He was well aware that a test would not keep reckless drivers off the road, but this did not mean that a test might not be useful in many instances. For justifying the proposal to institute crossing places for pedestrians, he could point to the success of the experiment in Paris, while the insurance proposals were meant to fill certain gaps which experience had revealed in the insurance scheme introduced by Mr. Morrison four years ago.

Practically all the speakers in the subsequent debate agreed with the Minister that an attempt must be made by means of legislation to make the roads less dangerous, and most of them considered that he was proceeding on the right lines. A number of points of detail were criticised, but the second reading was allowed to pass without a division.

The month of March passed without bringing the much-wanted rainfall, and even the large towns began to grow anxious about their water supply. Further Government action was called for to improve the facilities for exploiting the available supplies, and accordingly as soon as Parliament met, a Bill was laid before it dealing with the emergency. In moving the second reading on April 12, the Minister of Health stated that water undertakings had been circularised and very striking economies in the use of water had already been effected. It was impossible, however, to rely only on voluntary efforts. He was therefore seeking powers under the Bill to issue Orders valid for six months, and renewable up to December, 1935, permitting the tapping of new sources, abolishing restrictions on the amount which could be taken from existing sources, and reducing the obligation to send down compensation water. The reason why December, 1935, had been fixed as the time limit for the Bill was because that was the earliest date at which, in the most favourable circumstances, the deep supplies could be replenished. The provisions of the Bill were fully approved of in all parts of the House, but, as in the case of the Rural Water Supplies Bill, the Labour Party criticised it on the ground that it should have been introduced earlier and that it ought to be made more comprehensive. For these reasons they somewhat captiously moved its rejection, but they were defeated by 184 votes to 23.

During the recess certain Ministerialist members of Parliament who had had occasion to visit the so-called " derelict " areas had become painfully alive to the distressing conditions

prevailing there, and soon after Parliament met (April 10), one of them asked the Prime Minister in the House of Commons whether the Government intended to do anything for them. His reply was that they should wait till the benefit of the trade improvement reached them. This remark was widely resented both in the House and outside, and *The Times* took the Government severely to task for still failing to understand the difference between ordinary unemployment and that of the areas whose main industries were practically extinct. The lesson was not lost on the Government, and soon afterwards (April 19) the Minister of Labour announced that four Commissioners were to be appointed to investigate conditions respectively in Cumberland, in Durham and Tyneside, in South Wales and in Scotland, and report to the Government.

At the beginning of the session, the Government sprang a surprise upon Parliament by laying before the House of Commons a Bill " to make better provision for the prevention and punishment of endeavours to seduce members of His Majesty's Forces from their duty or allegiance," of which no word had been heard up to now. Hitherto a charge of attempting to seduce members of the Forces from their allegiance could be dealt with only as a felony by the process of indictment ; the new Bill provided for summary procedure. The Bill further made the mere possession of documents and literature of a kind likely to seduce the Forces an offence, even without distributing them ; and it also empowered justices to issue search warrants where they were satisfied that there were reasonable grounds for suspecting that an offence under the Bill was being committed.

The second reading of the Bill was introduced by the Solicitor-General, Sir Thomas Inskip, on April 16. He explained that the effect of recent prosecutions had been to drive underground the chief offenders against the present law dealing with incitement to disaffection, and to cause them to employ ill-paid distributors who might not even know for what purpose they were being used. The object of the Bill was to enable such persons to be dealt with by summary procedure, while the more serious procedure by indictment would be reserved for the responsible inciters. The object of the clause empowering the granting of a search warrant was to enable the authorities to seize literature before it was actually used. He thought the Government could be trusted to see that such power was not abused.

There was general agreement that the summary procedure demanded by the Government should be instituted, but Labour and Liberal critics fell foul of the proposals to make the possession of seditious literature itself an offence or to grant justices the right to issue a search warrant. These were denounced as an attack on British liberties, and the rejection of the Bill was moved on that account. The Ministerialists, however, thought such fears

exaggerated, and the motion for rejection was defeated by 277 votes to 63. The Bill was then referred to a Standing Committee.

Another subject to which the attention of the House of Commons was unexpectedly—and in very dramatic fashion—directed before the introduction of the Budget was that of India. On April 16 Mr. Churchill, ever on the watch to counter the Government's policy, brought to the notice of the House what he regarded as a very grave if not fatal flaw in the proceedings of the Joint Select Committee which was considering the Indian Constitution. A mass of evidence, he said, had been placed at his disposal which showed that certain important witnesses before the Committee, namely, the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, had been tampered with by two members of the Committee, the Secretary for India, Sir S. Hoare, and Lord Derby, with the result that the evidence finally tendered by the Chamber in November was quite different from the first draft of their evidence which they had submitted in May. He described at length the proceedings which he had in mind, and while imputing no corrupt motives to the gentlemen mentioned, maintained that they had in the technical sense "tampered" with the evidence and so gravely offended against one of the Sessional Orders of the House.

The Speaker, after hearing Mr. Churchill, ruled that he had made out a *prima facie* case for a breach of privilege, and allowed him formally to move that the alleged action of Sir S. Hoare and Lord Derby should be forthwith referred to the Committee of Privileges. Sir S. Hoare then made a statement in which he exonerated himself from Mr. Churchill's charges, and declared himself delighted with the prospect of being able to prove that his critic had found another mare's nest. The motion was accepted by the Government, and being supported by both the Opposition leaders was agreed to without a division.

On April 17 the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced the Budget for the coming year. He first dwelt on the gratifying change which had taken place in the economic condition of the country since he introduced his last Budget. There was a small but distinct rise in wholesale prices ; the rates of short-term interest had achieved new low records ; the position of long-term loans had also vastly improved, so that Two-and-a Half per cent. Consols, for instance, stood higher than they had done before the war. The volume of industrial production had very much gone up, and equilibrium had practically been restored in the balance of payments. On all sides one could see a definite revival of activity, and all these factors combined with the substantial surplus in the accounts had established a new spirit of hope and confidence. As he wittily put it, they might now be said to have finished the story of Bleak House, and to be sitting down to the first chapter of Great Expectations. Not,

however, but what there were still certain unpleasant features with which they had to reckon. Chief among these was the fact that the export trade, though better than it was, was still **far** behind the figure which it had reached only a few years ago. So long as the present obstacles to international trade remained, he said, they could not feel that they had returned to normal conditions.

Referring to the accounts for the past year, he pointed out that out of the total surplus of some 39,000,000l., 7,750,000l. had been used for defraying the statutory Sinking Funds. The remaining 31,000,000l. would, according to law, be devoted to the redemption of debt, and would very nearly make good the 32,000,000l. which he had had to borrow the year before in order to meet the deficit of that year.

Coming to the prospects for the future, the Chancellor first remarked that in the absence of any fresh development he proposed to follow the same procedure as in the past two years and make no provision for the payment of War Debts to America or for the receipt of War Debts or reparations by themselves. For the fixed debt charge also he proposed to allocate no more than the same figure as last year, namely, 224,000,000l., although this sum was admittedly inadequate. He had to bear in mind that there must always be a lag before the improvement in the national condition translated itself into an increase of revenue, and therefore he did not think the time had yet arrived when they should begin scaling up the debt charge to a normal figure. Other items brought the total of the Consolidated Fund up to 236,200,000l. As the Estimate for the Supply Services amounted to 461,924,000l., the total of ordinary expenditure was fixed at 698,124,000l.

In calculating his revenue for the coming year, the Chancellor allowed himself to take what he called " a reasonably optimistic view of the course of trade," and budgeted for a larger yield on all sources of revenue under the head of Excise, putting down the total yield from Customs and Excise at 290,000,000l. Coming to income tax and surtax, he reminded his hearers that the assessment for these was based largely on the profits of the period before the trade improvement had set in, and therefore he could not anticipate any great increase in the yield. He finally estimated his inland revenue at 393,000,000l. made up of 240,000,000l. from income tax, 50,000,000l. surtax, 76,000,000l. from death duties, 25,000,000l. from stamp duties, and 2,000,000l. from the rest. Adding to this 12,000,000l. from the Post Office, 20,000,000l. from miscellaneous receipts and the yield from Customs and other sources, he obtained a total provisional revenue of 727,200,000l. which was 29,100,000l. more than the provisional expenditure.

This statement was heard by the House with marked disappointment, as an idea had become widespread that the

Chancellor would have a much larger surplus to dispose of. Mr. Chamberlain, however, restored the good spirits of the House by remarking that if the surplus was not dazzling it was at any rate substantial and would enable him to begin a long-awaited process of relief from the burdens and sacrifices of the past few years. In effecting that process, he would base himself on two principles. One was that, in words lately used by his predecessor Lord Snowden, " a surplus must in justice be devoted as far as it will allow to relieving those classes who suffered when the crisis was acute." The other was that since he had not enough to effect complete restoration, what he had should be distributed as fairly as possible between the two categories of those who had suffered cuts in pay and allowances and those who had been called upon to pay more income tax *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1931, p. 72).

In accordance with these principles he proposed first to introduce legislation and supplementary estimates to provide for the restoration of one-half of the cuts as from July 1 next. This would cost 5,500,000l. in a full year and 4,000,000l. in the present year. Secondly, he proposed to introduce a new clause into the Unemployment Bill which would provide for the full restoration of unemployment benefits as from July 1. This, he estimated, would cost the Exchequer in the present year 3,600,000l. This left him with 21,300,000l. to dispose of, and he proposed to use practically the whole of this for removing the 6d. imposed on the standard rate of income tax in 1931. Considering the burden which had been shouldered by income tax payers in the last two and a half years, he thought the case for remission was overwhelming, and he also believed that it would have an excellent psychological effect, and would impart the most vigorous and immediate stimulus to trade and employment. The balance was finally struck by the Chancellor with an estimated revenue of 706,500,000l. and an estimated expenditure of 705,700,000l, leaving him a margin of 800,000l.

Mr. Chamberlain's Budget speech made a good impression both on the House of Commons and on the general public, and his view of the economic and financial situation of the country was not seriously challenged. Opinions naturally differed as to whether he was making the best use of the funds at bis disposal. Sir H. Samuel expressed the view—which found some support in the debate—that it would have been better to have devoted the realised surplus of 31,000,000l. to wiping off the debt on the Unemployment Fund than to the reducing of the National Debt. He also criticised the Chancellor for not attempting to make any provision for the American debt. The Estimates of prospective revenue were declared by many speakers to be unduly cautious —a charge which Mr. Chamberlain himself seemed to regard as something of a compliment. The decision to restore unemployment benefit to its former level gave general satisfaction. There

was no feature in the Budget which aroused strong opposition in any quarter, and the debate on Mr. Chamberlain's speech indicated that the Finance Bill would have a very easy passage.

The consideration of the Unemployment Insurance Bill in Committee was resumed by the House of Commons on April 23. On the initiative of the Government, the House passed an amendment fully restoring the reduction of 10 per cent, in standard benefit made in 1931. The Minister pointed out that the restored rates of standard benefit would now have higher purchasing power than in 1930, so that the unemployed who were in insurance would be relatively in a better position. The Labour Party claimed that the restoration should take effect as from April 1, when the income tax payers would commence to receive the benefit of the income tax reduction, but this was rejected on the ground that it would lead to very great confusion.

On May 1 Sir R. Home proposed that the debt due to the Treasury from the Unemployment Fund should be repaid at the rate of 2,500,000l. every half year instead of 2,750,000l. as provided in the Bill, and that the rate of interest should be computed at 3 per cent, instead of $4^1/_8$. The less there was to pay on the debt, he pointed out, the greater would be the possibility of reducing the contributions of employers and workmen to the Insurance Fund, which would be a valuable help to trade. For this reason he regretted that the Chancellor had not seen his way to devote his realised surplus to reducing the debt of the Unemployment Insurance Fund. Sir R. Home's proposals found wide support in all parts of the House, among the Ministerialists no less than the Opposition. Mr. Chamberlain, however, showed himself somewhat unsympathetic, being more concerned to protect the interests of the taxpayer. The utmost he would concede was that the total yearly instalment should be brought down to 5,000,000l. instead of 5,500,000l., and that the rate of interest should be reduced to $3^1/_8$ per cent. This by no means satisfied the House, but as the Minister remained obdurate his proposal was eventually accepted by 270 votes to 07.

In the Report stage of the Bill, a Labour member moved (May 2) that the Statutory Committee should take steps to include in the insurance scheme non-manual workers earning not more than 500l. a year, and also domestic servants, outworkers, and share fishermen. The House as a whole showed itself very desirous that the benefits of insurance should be given to the " black-coated " workers of whom so many were now in a most pathetic condition, and it was informed by the Minister of Labour that, judging from the letters he received, they themselves were eager to be included in the insurance scheme. While, however, expressing every sympathy with them, he declared himself unable at present to accept the motion, on the ground that it would **not** be wise to add to the tasks of the already overburdened

Statutory Committee. He promised, however, to bring their case to the notice of the Committee at the earliest possible moment. This assurance did not satisfy the Labour Party who pressed the motion to a division, in which it was negatived by 250 votes to 60.

The Unemployment Bill at last reached its third reading on May 14, after having occupied nearly thirty days of Parliamentary time. The Minister of Labour maintained that the close scrutiny to which it had been subjected had justified the claim which he had made for it on the second reading, that it was a great measure of social legislation, one of the greatest contributions to social progress that had been seen in their time. The Government had shown by this Bill that it recognised and accepted its obligations to the unemployed ; the Bill was a genuine attempt to establish a sound and enduring scheme which would bring new hope and opportunity, and ensure that the State fulfilled its obligations to the full. Labour members, while moving the rejection of the Bill and complaining that very few concessions had been made to them in the course of its passage, paid a tribute to the unfailing courtesy and friendliness with which the Minister had treated them throughout the discussions. Liberal members, while finding much of which to approve in the Bill, were suspicious of the great powers to be delegated to a Government Department, and on that ground expressed their intention of voting against the Bill. The third reading was eventually carried by 421 votes to 67.

The passing of the Unemployment Bill was followed by the first important reconstruction of the Cabinet since the departure of the Liberal members, though this was not the reconstruction prophesied in the spring *(vide* p. 18). Acceding to the request of the Prime Minister, Sir Henry Betterton, at the end of June forsook politics to become the Chairman of the Statutory Committee established by the new Unemployment Act. His place as Minister of Labour was taken by Mr. Oliver Stanley, who was succeeded as Minister of Transport by Mr. Leslie Hore-Belisha.

During the early weeks of this session, the House of Lords had also been dealing with a number of important measures. On April 17 the second reading of the Tithe Bill *(vide* p. 30) was moved in the Upper House by Earl de Ia Warr, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture. He made it clear that the Government regarded tithe as a legitimate form of property and saw no case either for its total or partial abolition. The chief purpose of the Bill was to remedy a number of " hard cases," chiefly of persons who had bought at high prices land the value of which had since dropped disastrously. A second purpose of the Bill was to put a stop to the obstruction and evasion which were being practised in connexion with the collection of tithe. For this purpose the Bill enacted that tithe

should henceforth be collected as an ordinary debt at the county court, and so become a personal debt. In the debate which followed the Bill met with a good deal of criticism on the ground that it was demanding too great a sacrifice from the tithe-owner, and also because it was introducing a very novel principle in making tithe a personal debt, and some speakers urged that there should be an inquiry into the whole subject. Eventually, however, the second reading was carried by 45 votes to 18.

The Bill did not meet with a very favourable reception in the country. The Central and Associated Chambers of Agriculture passed a resolution asking the Government not to proceed with it, and the Council of the National Farmers' Union also refused to support it. Lord Hailsham on June 7 admitted that the Government's belief, for which at first there was some justification, that both tithe-owners and tithe-payers were willing to accept the compromise embodied in the Bill, had proved to be illusory. In view of this fact, the Government, he said, recognised that it would be undesirable to proceed with the Bill. The position, however, could not remain as at present, and it had therefore been decided to set up a Royal Commission to investigate the whole subject.

The second reading of the Petroleum Bill *(vide* p. 26) was moved in the House of Lords by Lord Londonderry on April 19. The chief object of the Bill, he said, was to encourage the search for oil in Great Britain. There was no question that the existing system seriously hampered the search, and no properly equipped concern would undertake the work unless it was granted a much freer hand than under the 1918 Act, which from the outset had been regarded only as provisional. As a strong upholder of the rights of private property, he confessed that he had been much exercised in his mind over the proposal of the Bill to nationalise oil deposits, but he had come to the conclusion that this was the only way in which to secure their exploitation on proper lines. The principle was not entirely new, as the State already claimed all gold and silver found in the country and all coal mined under the sea. In nationalising oil, too, they would not be attacking any vested interests, as it could not be said that any estate in the country had been bought or sold because of a possible increase in value owing to the discovery of oil.

Other peers who shared Lord Londonderry's prejudices in favour of private property were not able to overcome them so easily, and the rejection of the Bill was moved on the ground that it was a stepping-stone to the nationalisation of all unworked minerals, including coal, ironstone, and so forth, as the same arguments could be used on their behalf. This naturally was the very feature which recommended it to Socialist peers like Lord Ponsonby. Lord Hailsham expressed the more prudent Conservative view by saying that the rejection of the Bill would

be a gift to the Socialists, as it would be said that the House of Lords, which was accused of being reactionary and selfish, was blind to the national interest, and was determined to prevent the development of a great national source of wealth such as this oil might be. The motion for rejection was eventually negatived by 49 votes to 17.

On April 26 the second reading of the Betting Bill *(vide* p. 29) was moved in the House of Lords by Lord Londonderry. He laid stress on the fact that the Government had no desire to interfere with private gambling between individuals—that was not the State's function—but that it was anxious to prevent organised exploitation of the gambling propensity of the population for private gain. For that purpose it was turning its attention particularly to greyhound racing, which since 1926 had created an entirely new problem. It had brought on-the-course betting facilities, often as an almost nightly event, into most of the large urban districts, and the Government were convinced that this was having undesirable social effects, causing in particular a deterioration of character among young persons in poor neighbourhoods. It had been thought advisable to leave the regulation of greyhound racing tracks in the hands of the local authorities, subject to the general principles laid down by the Government. With regard to the other subject dealt with in the Bill, the Minister pointed out that here also a new problem had been created by the Irish sweepstakes. The Government, after independent investigation, fully concurred with the opinion of the Royal Commission that a relaxation of the existing prohibition of large lotteries was undesirable and was not called for. The present law, however, being over 100 years old, was largely archaic, and experience had shown one of its greatest defects to be that it did nothing to stop one essential factor in the success of the Irish sweepstake, namely, Press publicity. The Minister was careful to point out that the Bill did not seek to make it an offence for an individual to purchase a ticket in a lottery, and here also was aimed only at those who sought to exploit the gambling instinct in others.

The idea that gambling on dog racing and sweepstakes was a harmless recreation of the people which should not be interfered with did not fail to find supporters even in the House of Lords. Most speakers, however, approached the matter from the same standpoint as the Government, and the second reading was granted without a division.

In the Committee stage of the Betting Bill in the House of Lords, a determined effort was made to procure an extension of the number of days on which greyhound race meetings might be held with betting. The Government, however, with the encouragement of the Bishops, stood firm, and the proposal was rejected by 75 votes to 34. Lord Londonderry subsequently

made his promised concession to take out **of** the Bill the prohibition of pari-mutuel betting off the course, bub apart from this the Bill passed its third reading practically unaltered.

On May 1 a Bill was brought forward in the House of Lords **for** placing under control of the National Trust some 40,000 acres of downland in Sussex running westwards from Beachy Head, in order to secure the preservation of their amenities. The immediate purpose of this step was to counter the efforts which the Brighton Town Council had been making for some time past to secure facilities for establishing a motor-racing track on the downs in the vicinity of Brighton. Although local authorities already possessed powers to preserve such areas, they could not in this case be trusted to do so for various reasons, one being that there were too many of them concerned. That the danger was a real one was shown by the eyesore which had been allowed to develop in the same neighbourhood in recent years at Peacehaven, on the coast, a flagrant and notorious example of jerry-building. The Lords referred the matter to a Committee, which eventually reported that no great harm was likely to be done to the downs by the proposed track.

The Committee appointed by the National Federation of Iron and Steel Manufacturers on February 22 to prepare a draft constitution for that body *(vide* p. 15) finished its labours early in April. Its chief proposal was that a large Council should be appointed representing all the bodies affiliated to the Federation, and that the Council should in turn appoint an Executive Committee of twenty and other Committees to deal with matters in which the industry was interested as a whole. The main objects of the Council and the Committees would be to obtain the affiliation of associations, to promote the maximum of efficiency throughout the industry, and to develop the export trade in iron and steel products. The Federation adopted the revised constitution at a meeting on April 19, and at the same time changed its name to " The British Iron and Steel Federation."

The action of the meeting had the desired effect upon the Import Duties Advisory Committee. On May 18 the Committee stated that " after careful consideration of all the circumstances, bearing in mind the assurances which had from time to time been given by the industry and more particularly the terms of the resolutions passed by overwhelming majorities on April 19, they were satisfied that progress in the industry would be facilitated by removing the time limit to the present duties (October 25, 1934) " and they accordingly recommended that an Order to this effect should be made forthwith.

On June 8 a resolution to confirm the Order of the Advisory Committee was moved by the President of the Board of Trade in the House of Commons. He adduced **a** number of reasons to show that protection was absolutely necessary for the in-

dustry if it was to prosper, though at the same time he warned it that to justify the Government's action it would have to proceed vigorously with the task of modernising plant and lay-out and reducing the cost of iron and steel. The idea that it would do so now that it had got protection was derided by Opposition speakers, but this was not the view of the majority, and the resolution was carried by **121** votes to 23.

On May 4 the Minister of Labour introduced into the House of Commons a Bill which, while of modest scope in itself, was noteworthy as initiating a new departure in Labour legislation. The object of the Bill was to give statutory effect to voluntary wage agreements in the Lancashire cotton industry. For some time past disregard of wage agreements on the part both of employers and employed had grown increasingly common, and conditions in the industry threatened to become anarchical. Early in the year representatives of both sides of the industry had suggested to the Minister that wage agreements covering large sections of the industry should be made binding by law on all the individuals affected, and he had promised to give the matter his consideration. The present Bill was intended to meet the evil complained of ; its chief provision was that when the organisations of the employers and the workpeople had come to an agreement on wages, the Minister, on a unanimous request from both sides, should be empowered to issue an Order setting forth the rates of wages to be brought into force and the persons to whom they would apply, and the Order should then be a term in all their contracts of employment.

The second reading of the Bill was moved by the Minister of Labour on May 17. The Bill, he said, was necessary because there was internal dissension among owners, and because economic stress tempted some workers to accept lower wages than those in the agreements. So far therefore from superseding collective bargaining, it would save the system from the disintegration with which it was threatened in Lancashire. As it was frankly an experiment, its operation would be limited to three years. The Bill was welcomed by the Liberal and Labour Parties. Some Conservatives offered opposition to it on the ground that it took away liberty of contract and empowered a majority to coerce a minority, but they did not press their opposition to a division. The Bill received its third reading on May 29.

On May 7 the President of the Board of Trade announced in the House of Commons that the Government was about to initiate a new policy for protecting British trade, especially in the textile industry, against Japanese competition. After the breakdown of the conference between textile representatives on March 14 *(vide* p. 5) he had, he said, inquired of the Japanese Government whether they had any proposals for dealing with the situation, and the answer he had received on March 31 was

that they were willing to consider any proposals which the British Government might make but had none of their own. As meanwhile the Japanese were continuously expanding their exports in British markets to the detriment of Lancashire while their hands were tied, they had come to the conclusion that they would not be justified in postponing any longer such action as was open to them with a view of safeguarding British trade. In order therefore to protect the home market, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had already asked the Import Duties Advisory Committee to complete as quickly as possible its report on the silk duties. For protecting Colonial markets, the Governments of the Colonies and Protectorates concerned would shortly be asked to introduce import quotas for foreign and particularly Japanese imports of cotton and rayon goods, and to make the quota regulations take effect retrospectively as from that day, so as to prevent forestalling. He emphasised the fact that these steps would be taken in no " unfriendly spirit " towards Japan, and declared his readiness to consider any proposals which the Japanese Government might make for solving the problem.

On the same day (May 7) Sir H. Samuel in the House of Commons drew attention to the fact that, according to a White Paper recently issued, the Government of New Zealand had in the previous October inquired of the Dominions Office whether, if New Zealand reduced or removed her tariff on British imports, Great Britain would consider allowing free entry of New Zealand's primary products, and the Government had given a discouraging reply. Sir Herbert sought very skilfully to make party capital out of this fact. He pointed out that such a course was little calculated to promote the unity of the Empire, and launched a telling attack on the Minister of Agriculture for pursuing what he called a reactionary agricultural policy, and on the Cabinet as a whole for supporting through him the economic nationalism which it denounced when practised by others. Mr. Amery joined with the Liberal Leader in asserting that the Government was trying to pursue two contradictory policies, but the one which he selected for his reprobation was the policy of bilateral agreements sponsored by the President of the Board of Trade. The debate was robbed of some of its importance by the absence through illness of the Minister of Agriculture. Mr. Thomas, replying on his behalf, confined himself chiefly to dwelling on the benefits which, as he maintained, had accrued both to Great Britain and to the Dominions from the Ottawa Agreements. He expressed doubt whether the New Zealand inquiry had been serious, and stated that in any case it would have been impossible to carry out the suggestion without causing grave complications with the other Dominions, especially Australia.

Soon after (May 31) the House of Commons passed the financial resolution required for the scheme for subsidising milk used for

manufacture and for promoting greater cleanliness in dairy herds *(vide* p. 13). The Minister of Agriculture pointed out that this measure combined a short-range policy designed to put a bottom in the milk market and a long-range policy designed to bring about a bigger consumption of milk by strengthening public confidence in the cleanliness of the milk supply. For the former purpose he had, he said, been compelled to adopt the method of guarantee, because there was not, and under the Ottawa Agreements there could not be, any limitation of imports from the Dominions. He also declared that the present condition of British dairy herds was a matter of national reproach, and that bovine tuberculosis would have to be eradicated if the public were to be tempted by cleaner milk to buy more milk.

On May 8 Lord Salisbury moved in the House of Lords the second reading of the Bill which he had introduced towards the end of the preceding year for altering the composition of the House and enlarging its powers *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 100). His speech on this occasion was largely a repetition of what he had said when moving the first reading. He again conjured up the bogy of a Socialist majority in the House of Commons, elected in a moment of popular excitement, using its power to effect drastic political and economic changes for which it had no real mandate from the people. He also again extolled the merits of an hereditary governing class, while admitting that steps ought to be taken to select its best representatives for the work of legislation.

At an early stage of the debate, Lord Hailsham intervened to state that even if the Bill received a second reading there was no hope that it would reach the Statute book, as time could not possibly be allowed for its discussion in the House of Commons. So great a constitutional change as was proposed, he said, must be effected by the Government and not by private members ; and the Government was still as far as ever from having reached a decision on the question of a Second Chamber.

This statement rendered subsequent discussion purely academic, but so great was the interest taken in the question that the debate was continued through three days. Labour peers, as before, condemned the Bill root and branch as an attempt to entrench the House of Lords as a citadel of Toryism. Of the other speakers, not one agreed whole-heartedly with Lord Salisbury. Many, while admitting that a change in the composition of the House was desirable, differed from him as to the way in which it should be made, and of these the majority were averse from increasing the powers of the House or in any way tampering with the Parliament Act. Only one peer, Lord Redesdale, was bold enough to maintain that the House, while remaining as it was, should be given additional powers.

Lord Salisbury, in winding up the debate, admitted that

Lord Hailsham had killed the Bill and that the debate had killed his own hope that the details of the Bill would be widely supported. He therefore would not ask them to waste their time in trying to amend it. He claimed, however, that the debate had shown general agreement that some reform was urgent, and he therefore asked them to give a second reading to the Bill in token of that fact. The House complied with this request and passed the second reading by **171** votes to 81.

The vote on Lord Salisbury's Bill was practically an intimation to the Government that a large section of its supporters looked to it to deal at some time or other with the House of Lords problem. A similar intimation was soon forthcoming from the House of Commons also. Immediately after the debate in the House of Lords, the Committee of the House of Lords Reform Group in the House of Commons formulated a statement of opinion declaring that it was necessary that during the lifetime of the present Parliament some alteration should be made in the constitution and powers of the House of Lords. This was signed by 163 members, and copies were forwarded to the Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Chamberlain, and the chief Government Whip.

On May 11 the House of Commons passed without a division a financial resolution guaranteeing a further loan of 2,000,000l. to Palestine. The Secretary of State for the Colonies explained that the country was prosperous enough to raise the loan without assistance, and the reason for the guarantee was partly to enable it to secure a lower rate of interest, partly because a large part of the loan would be laid out in England. The debate was enlivened by a vehement attack from Colonel Wedgwood on what he called the " anti-Semitic " policy of the Palestine Administration in restricting Jewish immigration and permitting German propaganda. The Minister, however, refused to accept responsibility for these things, which he said were the concern of the local administration.

By this time the advisability of increasing the Air Force was being seriously considered by the Government, in consequence chiefly of the increasing tension between France and Germany.

On April 6 the French Government made a reply to the inquiries of the British Government regarding " guarantees of execution " *(vide* p. 27). The document, which was very brief, was of a temporising nature. It expressed a desire for more information about the British proposals, and stated that the question of guarantees was under consideration and would form the subject of a later communication. The Note was considered by the Cabinet on April 9, but no decision was taken, pending further information from the French Government.

On the same day the Secretary for Foreign Affairs was questioned in the House of Commons about the reported increase in

the Estimates for German armaments. In reply he quoted statements from the official *Reichsgesetzblatt* of March 26 showing that there had been in fact considerable increases in the expenditure allocated to all three arms of the German defence for the year 1934. The Government, he said, were giving very serious consideration to the matter, and he had instructed the British Ambassador in Berlin to make inquiries. Two days later the German Foreign Minister handed a full explanation to the British Ambassador. The fact of the increased expenditure was admitted, but it was justified on the ground of the expense involved in the preparations for converting the Reichswehr into a short-service Army, in the increasing cost of renovating the German Fleet, and in organising improved protection against air attack.

Very soon afterwards (April 17) the French Government transmitted its definitive reply to the British inquiries. Instead of giving an answer to the British Government's questions, it now seized on the German statement as a ground for breaking off negotiations. Germany, it declared, had made clear her determination " to continue every form of rearmament within limits of which it claims to be the sole judge in contempt of the provisions of the Treaty." It had thus " made impossible the negotiations the basis of which it had by its own act destroyed." It was therefore useless to discuss the question of guarantees of execution until Germany had returned to the Disarmament Conference, and it was the duty of this body to resume its work at the point at which it was left when the Governments began their exchange of views outside the conference, " which " (it pointed out) " had not produced any result." The British Government immediately published this statement in a White Paper, along with a Memorandum issued by the German Government on April 16, in which they announced that they were ready to accept the British Memorandum of January 29 as a basis of a disarmament convention, subject to certain rather important modifications.

During the next few weeks the Disarmament Committee of the Cabinet held frequent meetings to consider the question whether it should make further efforts to reconcile the divergent requirements of France and Germany, and whether, if not, it should take immediate steps for increasing the armaments of Great Britain. Reports were spread that serious differences of opinion had arisen on the former question between the Prime Minister and Sir John Simon and on the latter between these two and some of the Conservative members of the Cabinet. Certain it was that long and anxious deliberations took place before any decision could be reached. In the meantime (April 23), a visit was paid to London by Signor Suvich, the Italian Foreign Secretary. Its immediate purpose was to return the visit paid by Sir John Simon to Rome in January, but naturally opportunity

was taken to discuss the disarmament problem. The chief effect of Signor Suvich's representations was to strengthen the Cabinet in its determination not to enter into any anti-German *bloc*. A similar effect followed the visit paid to London a few weeks later (May 10) by Herr von Ribbentrop, a confidant of Herr Hitler, who came ostensibly to explain to the British Government certain points in the German Memorandum on disarmament.

On April 23 the Foreign Secretary was questioned in the House of Commons regarding a statement just made by a responsible Minister in Japan which gave the impression that Japan was aiming at a protectorate over China. Sir John Simon refused to read into it so serious an implication, but at the same time promised to make further inquiries as to Japan's intentions through the British Minister in Tokio. A " friendly inquiry " addressed to Tokio on April 25 reminded the Japanese Government of the principle of equal rights in China established for all the signatories of the Nine-Power Treaty of 1922, and " assumed " that Japan had not intended to infringe the rights of other Powers in China or to deny her own treaty obligations. On April 30 Sir John Simon informed the House of Commons that the Japanese reply was that this assumption was correct. He also declared himself content with the reply—a remark for which he was sharply criticised in anti-Japanese circles.

The congestion of business did not permit of a debate on foreign affairs in the House of Commons before Whitsuntide, but the discontent of the critics found expression in the House of Lords on May 7, when Lord Ponsonby moved " that this House views with great anxiety the position of foreign affairs, and urges the Government to adopt a more vigorous and decided policy both in the Far East and at the Disarmament Conference." The Government, he said, did not seem capable of taking a bold initiative, and that was the trouble. Lord Cecil also charged the Government with vacillation, saying that though their language might sometimes have been strong, their action had always been weak. Earl Stanhope in reply defended the Government by laying the blame on other nations which would not listen to its suggestions ; and the motion was eventually withdrawn.

From outside of Parliament also exhortations were at this time addressed to the Government to be more active in the cause of peace. On April 25 the National Joint Council of the Labour movement issued a declaration—which it soon after brought to the notice of the Government—appealing to the people once again " to reflect upon the gravity of an international situation which grows more critical from day to day." The world, it pointed out, was drifting towards international anarchy, policies of isolation and inflated armaments, or alliances based on a perilous balance of armed forces—in short, to war. It therefore urged the Government to take all possible steps to bring Soviet Russia

and the United States into closer association with the League of Nations, and to join with them in a pact for defining and preventing aggression ; also to make a supreme effort to bring the Disarmament Conference to a successful conclusion.

On May 16 the Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking in the name of a number of churches, issued a similar appeal, " moved " as he said, "by a deep sense of the gravity of the present international situation." The root of the trouble was the present scale of armaments. They could not forget that by the Treaty of Versailles reduction and limitation of armaments were imposed on Germany " in order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations," and they could not acquiesce in any continued neglect of the moral obligation which that declaration involved. But nations would not disarm unless they could feel themselves secure from attack, and therefore the key to the situation lay in the acceptance of the principle of the collective action of nations as members of one great commonwealth. All national and party interests should therefore be subordinated to the supreme interest of securing the peace of the world.

As a result of its deliberations on the disarmament problem, the Cabinet ultimately followed the line of least resistance and decided that it would not take any active steps till the forthcoming meeting of the Disarmament Conference at Geneva at the end of May, and further that it would not take any new initiative at the conference but would hear the views of others. The Foreign Secretary intormed the House of Commons of this decision in the course of a debate on foreign policy initiated by the Labour Party on May 18, in which he was once more criticised for being too trustful of Japan. In the course of the same debate Mr. Baldwin repeated his pledge that if disarmament efforts failed, steps would be taken to make Great Britain as strong as any country within striking distance by air. He demanded, however, that the House should trust the Government with the precise time-table of expansion; they were already making preparations, so that they should not be caught napping in case of need.

The British attitude was clearly set forth by Sir John Simon at the meeting of the Disarmament Conference at Geneva on May 30. The latest German claim for rearmament, he said, must be either conceded or modified, and any feeling that might exist about the sudden withdrawal of Germany from Geneva and her subsequent action did not alter the issue. All that mattered now was to find out if there was a possible bridge between conflicting points of view. The British Government were still of opinion that the Draft Convention submitted by them, with certain modifications, formed the best possible basis of agreement, and if it were not possible to agree upon that basis,

he did not believe that a convention could be realised. He warned the Commission that Britain would not lend itself to vague and indefinite discussions inspired by no more than a pious hope of success.

When the text of the Finance Bill was published on May 9 it was found to contain one highly significant provision of which no mention had been made in Mr. Chamberlain's Budget speech —the repeal of the land value tax which had been the main feature of Mr. Snowden's first 1931 Budget. Time had in no wise mitigated the antipathy of the bulk of the Conservative Party to this measure, and its presence on the Statute Book, although it was practically a dead letter, was still an eyesore to them. Twice they had been baulked in their efforts to have it removed through the consideration shown by the Conservative members of the Cabinet for their Labour colleagues. It was now evident that Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Baldwin had at length given way to them, and that Mr. MacDonald was no longer to be spared the humiliation from which Mr. Baldwin's appeal had saved him last year *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 41).

The second reading of the Finance Bill was taken on May 16, and its rejection was duly moved by the Labour Party. Mr. Chamberlain at the conclusion of the debate remarked with a good deal of truth that there had been very little criticism for him to answer. The Bill, he said, was an unusually short one, consisting of not more than twenty-seven clauses of which only half a dozen were of major importance, yet it was rightly regarded in the House and in the country as a notable landmark. The Government were of opinion that the tide had turned, and that the change in direction was one which they need not fear was going to be reversed. He maintained that a share in the improvement was due to the tariff policy of the Government, which without causing any rise in prices had enabled them to protect the home market in a world in which economic nationalism was gaining force, and for the first time to induce other countries to lower their tariffs against Great Britain—a process of which they had not yet seen the end. The motion for the rejection of the Bill was negatived by 290 votes to 55.

On June 5, in the discussion on the clause repealing the Land Value Tax in the Finance Bill, the Prime Minister, not for the first time, came in for some hard words from Labour and Liberal speakers for his surrender to Conservative demands in this matter. The fact that he was not present to defend himself rendered his ignominy all the greater in their eyes, and was taken by them as convincing proof that he was entirely under the thumb of the Conservative majority in the Cabinet. Mr. Chamberlain sought to make out a case for the Cabinet's action by maintaining that, as this Parliament was never likely to fix a date for the coming into operation of the taxes, they were a piece of useless lumber

on the Statute Book and were actually hindering the flow of credit into the land. The clause was eventually carried by 232 votes to 56.

In the House of Lords also the surrender of the Prime Minister in the matter of the land taxes was bitterly commented on by Labour peers in the course of the discussion on the Finance Bill. Lord Arnold declared it to be a proof of the essential Toryism of the National Government. Lord Snowden, not for the first time, charged the Prime Minister with breaking the pledge he had given him that during the lifetime of the present Administration there would be no party legislation, and that at the next General Election there would be no party arrangements. He declared he had been betrayed, along with millions of electors who, having trusted to the statements of party leaders, had now lost their confidence in the faith and honesty of party politicians.

Apart from the discussion on the land taxes, the Finance Bill had a very smooth passage in the House of Commons and reached its third reading on June 22 practically unaltered. Mr. Hore-Belisha, the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, dwelt on the fact that it would increase spending power by placing 200,000l. a week at the disposal of the unemployed and giving 100,000l. a week extra to those who drew emoluments from the State, besides allowing three and a half million income tax payers to retain 24,000,000l. which they previously gave to the tax collector. The Labour Party were not greatly impressed by this attempt to show that the Government were putting into practice their own pet theory, and moved the rejection of the Bill, which, however, was endorsed by 220 votes to 29.

Towards the end of April Sir Thomas Inskip, the Solicitor-General, declared in a public speech that the National Government intended when the time came to go before the country once more as a united body and appeal for a fresh lease of power. His statement evoked a correspondence in *The Times* which was well calculated to encourage the Government in this idea. Shortly after Whitsuntide, while the matter was still fresh in the public mind, about a hundred private members of the Conservative Party took occasion to address a letter to the Press in which the view was put-forward that the existing co-operation between parties in the system of National Government should be made for all practical purposes a permanent ideal in British politics. They regretted that it had not yet been possible to give this ideal a more definite form by dropping the sub-labels of Conservative, Liberal, and Labour which distinguished persons, but had ceased to differentiate between the policies of supporters of the Government. They recognised, however, that a National Party without prefix or suffix must be a gradual growth, and, at any rate, could not be systematically constructed until co-operation between representatives of the older parties had become a habit which

the electorate expected and desired. Meanwhile, however, they placed on record their view that the re-emergence of the old Conservative and Liberal Parties as divided opponents of profligate or of revolutionary Socialism would be an unqualified disaster. They also expressed their resentment against the activities of those of their party who were engaged in constant disparagement of the Government in the columns of the Press, and described as equally foolish and offensive the insinuations of political insincerity directed against their Liberal and Labour colleagues. The letter concluded with a salutary hint to the Government that " efforts to improve the team conducting the experiment would be welcomed."

The National Liberal Federation held its annual meeting at Bournemouth on May 3 and 4. It adopted with some amendments the policy advocated in a book of 80 pages recently issued by the Federation called " The Liberal Way," which Sir Archibald Sinclair described as " the authoritative exposition of the dynamic principles of Liberalism." Mr. Ramsay Muir, who presided, spoke of the Federation as being " in the van of a little army fighting against great odds for a tremendous cause." He criticised the Government on various counts, but deprecated any attempts to make an agreement with the Labour Party, pointing out that there had been no instance in modern times where the Liberal Party had linked itself in alliance with other parties without suffering for it.

On May 20 and 21 the Socialist League, the newly formed militant organisation within the Labour Party, held its annual conference at Leeds. The Chairman, Sir Stafford Cripps, in his opening address laid stress on the fact that while there was no important difference in the Labour Party as to the final objective, the League differed widely from the Trade Union movement as to the methods to be adopted. They were not merely reformist, and they were anxious as far as they could to create the temper for action in the party. Neither history nor common sense, he maintained, gave any support to the theory of gradualism. It was the urgent desire for change that was forcing the younger electors into movements like Fascism, and the way to counter this tendency was not to try to restrain the enthusiasm of youth but to seek to divert it into the useful channels of Socialist change. In consonance with this view, the conference on the next day, in spite of a grave warning from Miss Susan Lawrence, carried a resolution " regretting the attitude of the Labour Party Executive towards every approach from other sections of the movement," and calling on all working class organisations to agree to joint action for immediate purposes.

Simultaneously a conference happened to be held at Harrogate of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, and Mr. J. R. Clynes, in his presidential address, held up the fate

of the Independent Labour Party as an awful warning to all groups which were fain to detach themselves from the main Labour army and arrogantly claimed the right to teach the party its business. Like all, he said, who had revolted to enjoy the freedom of attacking their friends, they would find that in battering the party they would end in breaking themselves. The I.L.P. had a fine record of service, but its present activities were only a regrettable episode in the history of the Labour movement.

Sir Oswald Mosley and his blackshirts were again discussed in the House of Commons on May 16, when a private member, Commander O. Locker-Lampson, asked leave of the House of Commons to bring in a Bill to prohibit the wearing of uniforms for political purposes. The object of the Bill was partly to put a check on the further growth of the Fascist movement, partly to render it less provocative to its political opponents. Lord Winterton opposed the Bill, on the one hand because it would be very difficult to enforce without unduly interfering with the liberty of the subject, on the other hand because it meant giving to the movement a needless advertisement. The House sided unhesitatingly with the latter view, and not a single voice was raised in favour of the motion to bring in the Bill.

It was not long before both Parliament and the Government were forced to take much more serious notice of Sir O. Mosley's activities. On June 8 he addressed a mass meeting of the British Union of Fascists at Olympia in London at which remarkable scenes were witnessed. Among the audience were several persons who had come with the object of creating a disturbance, besides a large number who had been drawn there chiefly by curiosity. A large contingent of blackshirt stewards was in attendance, and as soon as interruptions began they suppressed them with a promptitude and a severity the like of which was quite unknown at English political gatherings. In the course of the evening a number of persons were ejected from the hall with such violence and ferocity that they received injuries which necessitated their being attended to medically or removed to hospital. At the same time a large crowd made hostile demonstrations outside the hall, and the police found it necessary to make a number of arrests.

The next day the whole of England was ringing with the cry of "blackshirt brutality," and a number of Conservative members of Parliament who had been present at the meeting, and who previously had not been unsympathetic to Fascism, wrote to the Press indignant letters of protest against the conduct of the blackshirt stewards. On June 11 questions were asked on the matter in the House of Commons, and the Home Secretary stated that long before the meeting the Commissioner of Police had received information that the Communist Party of Great Britain intended to make a counter-demonstration both inside and outside the building. He had accordingly stationed about

760 police in the neighbourhood of the building, and these had been sufficient to prevent any serious disorder outside. They had no legal authority to enter the building unless they were called in by the promoters of the meeting, and in fact they had not been called in. The Minister then went on to state that hitherto advice as regards police action had been based on the assumption that the stewards of a meeting in dealing with interrupters would act without undue violence and would themselves avoid illegal acts. If this assumption should be found to be unwarranted as regards any particular organisation, the whole policy of police action inside such public meetings would have to be reviewed. He was sure he was voicing the feelings of the House and of the country as a whole when he said that scenes of disorder on such a scale could not be tolerated, and that if they continued it might be necessary to arm the Executive authorities with further powers for the purpose of preserving public order.

While the Minister's statement satisfied the House as far as it went, it was felt that a fuller discussion of the subject was required, and accordingly the matter was raised again in the House of Commons on June 14. Both Mr. I. Foot on behalf of the Liberals and Mr. Attlee on behalf of the Labour Party expressed themselves as perturbed at the methods which Sir Oswald Mosley was using to further his aims, and suggested that steps should be taken to curb him before he caused further mischief. Most of the speakers, however, especially on the Conservative side, were more concerned with the question of ensuring the right of free speech at public meetings. It was pointed out that of late years this right had largely fallen into desuetude owing to organised rowdyism, and by common consent the chief blame for this state of things was laid on the Communists, while it was recalled that Sir Oswald Mosley himself in his Socialist days had been one of the most notorious offenders in this respect. In this case too, certain speakers seemed inclined to think that the interrupters had got no more than they deserved, though this was by no means the general opinion.

The Home Secretary in replying congratulated the House on having kept clear of any alarmist view of the situation. At the same time he admitted that the problem of keeping order at public meetings, which this meeting at Olympia had raised in an acute form, was by no means an easy one. Having heard the debate, however, he did not think there was any ground for introducing fresh legislation or even for holding an inquiry ; the worst thing they could do would be to appear as if they were being stampeded. But he expressed the hope that in future the promoters of public meetings would be more ready to avail themselves of the services of the police as soon as occasion arose, and he invited the leaders of all parties in the House to lay their suggestions before him.

On May 17 the Committee which, under the Chairmanship of Lord Amulree, had been examining the question of national housing, submitted to the Government the major conclusions at which it had so far arrived. The Committee began by pointing out that the problem of working-class housing was far more than a slum-clearance problem ; it included also provision against the formation of fresh slums in the future. For this purpose, in addition to houses required to replace slum dwellings, there was a need within the next ten years of at least 1,000,000 new houses to let at rentals (inclusive of rates) of 10s. a week and under to the lower-paid worker. Experience had shown that this need could not be met by private enterprise, and in fact the task was one that demanded long-term planning on a national basis. This could be best secured, in the opinion of the Committee, by the creation of a Housing Commission under the Minister of Health, to take charge of the administrative and executive functions of his Department in relation to housing, and with power to raise money to finance housing programmes.

On May 28 there was issued for publication a Memorandum on the most-favoured-nation clause which had been drawn up by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce in response to a suggestion made by Mr. Runciman earlier in the year (*vide* p. 4). The precise question considered by the Chamber was whether, having regaid to the great changes of the past five years in British fiscal policy, to the present economic situation of the country, and to recent significant changes and developments elsewhere, it was desirable to promote some alternative to the basic principle of international law known as the most-favoured-nation clause, and if so what form should the new basis take for the greatest advantage of British industry. The conclusion reached by the Chamber was that the present unconditional most-favoured-nation basis was not a desirable thing to perpetuate, and therefore it urged the Government not to continue to grant such treatment to countries which entirely failed to meet the reasonable requirements of Great Britain. Britain should where possible enter into agreements with other countries on a reciprocal basis, and with these countries it might find it necessary to denounce the most-favoured-nation basis with other—that is, non-co-opsrating countries—or restrict the trading with these by geographical areas or by commodities. Concurrently with these efforts there should be a strong endeavour to establish in the world at large the principle that exceptional tariff treatment was justifiable between countries with an overwhelming degree of economic interdependence. In any case the first essential was a relaxation of the existing rigidity; beyond that there should be reliance on the national sagacity and resourcefulness.

On May 30 the House of Commons discussed once more the

question of Waterloo Bridge. One of the first decisions taken by the newly elected London County Council *(vide* p. 28) was that Waterloo Bridge should be taken down and rebuilt, with financial assistance from the Government if it could be obtained, but otherwise without. When the relevant money Bill came before Parliament, the Government decided to leave the matter entirely to a free vote of the House. The chief defender of the existing bridge on this occasion was Sir W. Davison. The debate followed much the same lines as the corresponding one two years before *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 55), but on this occasion more play was made by the opponents of the existing bridge with the difficulties which it caused to navigation in the Thames. It was no doubt as a result of this argument that the majority for preserving the bridge fell from 65 votes to 35, the figures being 194 votes to 159. In spite of this vote the London County Council adhered to its decision, and the demolition of the bridge was soon afterwards commenced.

The action of the London County Council was not allowed to pass without protest in Parliament. On July 4 Lord Rennell sought to procure an indirect vote of censure on the Council by moving in the House of Lords that the monuments of the capital city were matters of national and not solely municipal concern, and that therefore they should not be interfered with without the approval of Parliament. The debate brought forth a vigorous defence of the action of the Council by Lord Snell on the ground that the architectural pretensions of Waterloo Bridge had been greatly exaggerated—a view which did not find general acceptance. The Government declined to consider the motion on the ground that it made no provision for payment of compensation, and it was not pressed.

On May 12 the Government received a message from the British Ambassador in Washington to say that; token payments, if offered on June 15. would be accepted by the United States Government, but would not relieve the debtor countries from default. No provision had been made in the Budget even for a token payment, but the Government were quite prepared to find the money for one, if, as on the last occasion, it would be regarded as saving the country from default. Otherwise there was little point in making such a payment again. Thus the Government was practically faced with the alternative of paying the total sum due or defaulting, and the whole question of the debt was reopened.

The decision of the Cabinet was practically a foregone conclusion. For one thing, the word "default" no longer had so ugly a sound in the ears of the British financial authorities as two years ago. Further, as the United States was demanding not only the instalment immediately due but also the arrears of the last two years, forming a total of 262,000,000 dollars,

the idea of payment hardly came within the realm of practical politics. The British Government would have been willing to make a token payment again, but, receiving no encouragement from President Roosevelt, forbore even to make an offer. On May 4 they sent a Note to America stating that, being faced with the alternative of either paying 262,000,000 dollars or suspending all interest payments for the time being, they felt they could not assume the responsibility for adopting a course which would revive the whole system of inter-governmental war debt payments. The resumption of full payments to the United States, as had already been pointed out, would necessitate a corresponding demand by Great Britain from their own war debtors, and would re-create the conditions which existed prior to the world crisis and were to a large measure responsible for it. Such a procedure, it said, would throw a bombshell into the European arena which would have financial and economic repercussions over all five continents and would postpone indefinitely the chances of world recovery. The Government therefore had decided to defer payment " until it should become possible to discuss an ultimate settlement of inter-governmental war debts with a reasonable prospect of agreement " ; and for such a discussion it declared itself ready as soon as President Roosevelt would agree. The Government's decision met with general approval in the country, and Mr. Chamberlain's announcement of it inthe House of Commons was received without comment.

The American reply was received on June 11. It expressed disappointment at the insistence of the British Government on being assured of a satisfactory settlement before it offered any further payment, and repeated the contention that the situation called for the initiation of proposals by the debtor and not by the creditor, declaring at the same time that the United States would be glad to discuss informally any proposals that might be put forward for the resumption of payments. A suggestion was made that " payments in kind " might be offered, and the Cabinet spent some time in investigating whether an offer might not be made on these lines. Eventually it came to the conclusion that it was impracticable, and communicated a reply to the American Government to that effect on June 27.

The Committee of Privileges which had been appointed by the House of Commons to examine the charges brought by Mr. Churchill against Sir Samuel Hoare and Lord Derby *(vide* p. 33) issued its report on June 8. It came to the unanimous conclusion that no bieach of privilege had been committed. It was not disputed that the facts were as Mr. Churchill had stated ; the first draft of evidence submitted by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce had been criticised by the Secretary for India and Lord Derby as unsuitable, and a very different statement *had* eventually been laid by the Chamber before t

Contrary, however, to **Mr.** Churchill's contention, it was held that the Joint Committee was not a judicial body and therefore there was nothing improper in the representations made by Sir Samuel Hoare and Lord Derby to members of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and in any case the change in the views of the Chamber had been brought about not by these representations but by those of the delegation which went out from Lancashire to India in the autumn, and which came to the conclusion that more was to be gained from Indian goodwill than from tying the hands of the future Indian Government.

On June 13 the Prime Minister submitted the report to the House of Commons for its approval. He asked it, in fairness to the two members charged, to give a clear-cut decision without any qualification or addendum, which might be taken as evidence of doubt on their part. He also asked the House to agree that the documents presented to the Committee should not be produced. Mr. Churchill followed with a long speech in which he tried to show that the report did nothing to invalidate the charges which he had brought when he first raised the question. He still maintained that the two members concerned had exercised a pressure which was equivalent to " tampering," and that the Joint Committee was or ought to be a judicial body. The net effect of his speech was to confirm a suspicion which had already been generally held, that his object in raising the question had been not so much to defend the privileges of the House as to put a spoke in the wheel of the Joint Committee. Lord Hugh Cecil pointed out the absurdity of treating select Committees of Parliament as judicial bodies, and Mr. Amery asked Mr. Churchill why he had not first brought the matter to the attention of the members concerned, who were his old friends, or of the Chamber of Commerce, while Sir John Simon made a merciless exposure of his case. The report was ultimately adopted with acclamation.

While the Committee of Privileges gave very little help to Mr. Churchill, it was responsible in quite another way for bringing about an important, if temporary, change in the constitution of the Government. As a member of the Committee, the Prime Minister had found it necessary to peruse a large number of documents, the reading of which had placed a severe strain on his enfeebled eyesight *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTEK, 1932, p. 44). He was forced again to consult his physicians, and on June 22 they ordered him three months' complete rest from public work. He accordingly at once made arrangements to delegate his duties to Mr. Baldwin, and left on a trip to Canada. His enforced absence at a time when the Cabinet would have to take important decisions on the question of armament was regarded as ominous in pacifist circles.

The negotiations for a new Anglo-French trade agreement which had been commenced in March *(vide* p. 4) reached a sue-

cessful termination in the middle of June. Their course had been chequered, and for some time it had seemed that the question of the British silk duties would form an insuperable obstacle. For the French interests it was vital that these should be reduced, but the Treasury was most unwilling to sacrifice any part of the revenue derived from them. However, in May the Import Duties Advisory Committee expressed the view that the Customs duty on raw silk and the Excise duty on artificial silk yarn were imposing a considerable burden on the home industry and hindering their development. The Chancellor of the Exchequer thereupon declared that, in order to prevent a breakdown of the important commercial negotiations then taking place, he was willing to take the risk of unbalancing the Budget to the extent involved in a reduction of the duties on raw silk and artificial silk by 50 per cent.—a sacrifice which it was estimated would cost from 2,500,000l. to 3,000,000l. in a full year. Having ob tained this concession the French authorities willingly agreed to remove all discrimination against British imports, and Britain consented in return to rescind the 20 per cent, retaliatory duties, and an agreement on these lines was concluded on June 27. At the request of the French Government, which desired to watch the effect of the revised silk duties, it was decided that the agreement should remain in force in the first instance only till April 1, 1935.

At this juncture trouble again arose with Germany over the interest payments due from the latter on its foreign loans. On June 15 the German Government announced its decision to suspend as from July 1 all cash transfers on German medium and long-term debts abroad, including the Dawes and Young loans. This step was justified on the ground that Germany required a " breathing-space " in order to re-establish the balance of exchange which had been turned against her by the unwillingness of foreign countries to open their markets to the sale of German goods. Attention was immediately called to the matter in Parliament, and Mr. Chamberlain stated that the Government would ask for powers to set up an Anglo-German Clearing House in order to protect the interests of the British bond-holders in case of need.

On Juno 20 the Foreign Secretary sent a Note to the German Government in which he expressed his complete dissent from the views of the latter as to the necessity of the step they were taking. At the same time he stated that Britain was prepared to discuss forthwith with the German Government the possibility of reaching an agreement regarding the treatment of British creditors which would obviate the necessity of an exchange clearing altogether; or alternatively the means by which such a clearing could be administered with the minimum disturbance of the trade of both countries. He therefore suggested that the German Government

should at once send accredited representatives to London to discuss the whole question.

The Government lost no time in drafting legislation to enable it to set up an Anglo-German Clearing House, and at the same time it took the opportunity to ask for powers much more extensive than were required to deal with this particular emergency. The Bill of which Mr. Chamberlain moved the second reading on June 25 consisted of two distinct parts. One dealt with the proposed Clearing Office, which would operate according to Treasury Orders and was intended, to begin with, to take 20 per cent, of the value of imports from Germany, and to use this sum to discharge in full the interest on sterling bonds of the Dawes and Young loans. The other part had no connexion with the dispute with Germany, and gave the Government power to reply to unfair quotas imposed by foreign Governments by means of reprisal quotas. Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that the reduction of the Reichsbank's reserves of gold and foreign exchange was largely due to its very questionable practice of advancing foreign exchange to German exporters with which to purchase German bonds at a depreciated level abroad, and then allowing these bonds to be sold in Germany at a profit in Reichsmarks. Creditors in consequence could no longer feel confidence in the good faith of Germany.

In the subsequent debate all speakers were agreed that the conduct of Germany was thoroughly indefensible, but some doubts were expressed as to whether the Government's scheme would work satisfactorily in practice, and the combination of what were really two separate Bills in one was also criticised. However, the House realised the importance of presenting a united front in this matter, and rapidly passed the Bill through all its stages with only one change of consequence—that its operation should be restricted to six months.

When the Bill was passed, German envoys were already in England for the purpose of trying to avert the threatened blow. At first they showed themselves little inclined to make concessions, and the prospects of an agreement being reached seemed rather remote. However, when July 1 arrived negotiations were still proceeding, and the British Government accordingly held its hand. Eventually Germany gave way, and on July 4 an agreement was signed providing that for the next six months British holders of coupons on the Young and Dawes loans should receive interest in full. The British Government undertook during the same period not to exercise in respect of Germany the powers given to them by the recent Act.

The second reading of the Betting Bill was moved in the House of Commons by the Home Secretary on June 27. He made it clear that the Government had no intention of allowing itself to be influenced by the very active propaganda which was

being carried on by the dog-racing interests, and that it still considered a hundred and four days a year as the maximum which could be allowed for betting on greyhound tracks without social detriment. There was a very full debate, and though none oi the speakers were entirely satisfied with the Bill, most thought that it contained more good than bad, and it was given a second reading without a division. Contrary to the general expectation, it was referred to a Standing Committee and not to a Committee of the whole House. The reason given was the congestion of public business, but it was suspected in some quarters—especially where the wish was father to the thought—that the Government was not in earnest with the measure and was taking this method of shelving it.

As soon as the Bill had passed its second reading, some eighty Conservative members held a private meeting at which they decided to agitate for the setting up of a Dog Racing Control Board for the whole country which should be responsible for granting licences, instead of the local authorities. The proposal was laid before the Home Secretary, but he refused to entertain it. When the Standing Committee commenced its labours on July 10, an amendment was at once moved to this effect and was vigorously pressed. The Home Secretary, however, let it be known that the Government would on no account consent to such a change, and the amendment was thrown out by a narrow majority.

The Road Traffic Bill reached its third reading in the House of Commons on June 29. The principal modifications which it had undergone in the previous stages were that its duration had been limited to December, 1939, the speed limit between midnight and 5 a.m. had been removed, and the definition of a built-up area had been made more precise. The critics were so far satisfied with these concessions that they promised now to do their best to work the Bill, even though they did not like it. The Minister of Transport in winding up the discussion admitted that the Bill contained many provisions based on what could only be opinions, which it would be the only means of testing, particularly in the matter of the speed limit. He recognised that the passage of the Bill would not absolve the Government from further responsibility, and that just and proper enforcement of the new provisions was essential. The object of the Bill was to render the roads safer, but he reminded the House that many contributions to that object must lie outside legislation. The third reading was then passed without a division.

The Petroleum Bill came before the House of Commons on July 1. It was violently attacked by a group of Conservative members who described it as a measure of confiscation, and suggested that certain interests and political forces had influenced the Government. Other Conservative members, however, saw no threat to private property in the Bill, and an amendment to

leave out Clause 1, which vested in the Crown all oil that might be discovered in the country, was rejected by 243 votes to 30. In the debate on the third reading, Mr. Runciman once more emphasised the fact that the purpose of the Bill was to clear away all doubt whether petroleum that might be found was or was not private property, and though criticism was renewed, a division was not challenged.

On July 3 the Government at length announced its policy for saving the mercantile marine. The plan which it would have itself preferred was to make advances to the shipowners for replacing old vessels with new ones. This plan, as Mr. Runciman frankly admitted, was conceived largely in the interests of the shipbuilding industry and with the object of keeping alive the skill of British mechanics. It was not favourably received by the shipowners, and to oblige them the Government rather unwillingly resorted to the method of a subsidy. Mr. Runciman now announced that he would ask Parliament to grant for vessels carrying tramp cargoes under tramp conditions a subsidy to be used for defensive purposes and to cost not more than 2,000,000l. The subsidy would be given only on condition that the shipowners formulated a scheme satisfactory to the Government, which meant one that would prevent as far as possible the subsidy from being dissipated by the domestic competition of British ships carrying tramp cargoes, and ensure that it was effectively directed to securing the greater employment of British tramp shipping at the expense of foreign subsidised shipping. The subsidy would be given for a year only, and would be subject to withdrawal within that period if the circumstances which led to its introduction were altered. The shipowners would also be expected to do their best to persuade shipowners in other maritime countries to reduce their tonnage in proportion to world demand.

Mr. Runciman's statement was debated in the House of Commons on July 10, when Sir S. Cripps moved " that this House views with concern the plight of the British Mercantile Marine and is prepared to consider proposals for the improvement of shipping and shipbuilding." With the motion itself there was general agreement, but doubts were expressed, especially by Sir H. Samuel, as to the wisdom of the Government's proposals. Mr. Runciman in reply stated that he was still making every effort to induce the Dominions and foreign countries to give British shipping a fair chance. He maintained that the conditions attached to the subsidy, which had been somewhat strongly criticised in shipping circles, were not unreasonable to attach to the distribution of public money, and he promised that if during the recess the shipowners produced a scheme, the Government would make the necessary legislation one of the first measures when Parliament resumed.

While the House of Commons was still discussing the best way to help the shipowners, its assistance was claimed for another class which had fallen on evil days—the stock raisers. The Minister of Agriculture in asking for the vote for his Department on July 9 had asserted that " agriculture was no longer a minor issue in Britain," and that, thanks largely to the steps which he had already taken, the fall in the prices of agricultural produce had not only been arrested but had to some extent been reversed. The wheat acreage had increased from 1,247,000 in 1931 to 1,740,000 in 1933, and in other branches also there had been improvement. The fat cattle industry, however, was still a black spot, and the Government were determined not to leave the position where it was.

The Government's idea was to help the beef industry in the same way as it had helped the wheat industry—by imposing a levy on all imported beef and applying the proceeds to the relief of the cattle-raisers. Owing, however, to the commitments which had been entered into with the Dominions and the Argentine, it was not easy to put this plan into practice, and in spite of long negotiations the difficulties had not yet been cleared away. Meanwhile the need of the industry was pressing, and accordingly on July 11, Mr. Elliot announced that he was about to introduce an emergency measure which would protect the industry for the time being. This would provide for payments not exceeding 5s. per live cwt. or 9s. 4cl. per cwt. deadweight, to producers of certain classes of fat cattle between a date not earlier than September 1 and March 31 next year. The payments would be made from a fund to be called " The Cattle Fund," to which the Government would be empowered to make advances to an amount not exceeding 3,000,000l.

The financial resolution authorising the subsidy was taken on July 16. Mr. Elliot informed the House that of a declining market since 1931, the home producer had had a rather smaller share, the Dominion producer a considerably larger share, and the foreign producer a greatly reduced share. The Ottawa Agreements had therefore succeeded, in a way, but not in such a way as to benefit the home producer. If they wanted to save the beef industry—which was the mainstay of British agriculture —there were three courses open to them. They could impose drastic quotas without the consent of the importers, or impose a levy with the consent of the importers but without quantitative restrictions, or combine both these schemes and have less drastic quotas with an agreed levy. They had suggested this third course to the Dominions and to Argentina, who were protected from a levy but not from a quota by existing agreements. So far they had not consented. The agreements would, of course, expire in course of time, but they could not wait until their hands were free and meanwhile allow the home producer to collapse.

The subsidy plan came in for severe criticism from the Labour Party as being detrimental to the poor consumer, and the inroads which it would make on the public finances were looked at with apprehension in other quarters also, but as no better plan could be suggested, the resolution was accepted. The Bill embodying the subsidy passed its second reading on July 19 and its third on July 24 by substantial majorities.

On July 5 the Liberal Party in the House of Commons raised the question of monetary policy and pressed the Government to appoint a Committee to inquire into the matter. Mr. Chamberlain refused to accede to the request, partly because the Macmillan Committee had adequately covered the ground in 1931, partly because he could see no reasonable ground of complaint against the monetary policy actually pursued by the Government. Since the Government had come into office, trade and employment had steadily increased over a wide area of industry, and the Government could at least claim that they had created the conditions which rendered the expansion possible. Their monetary policy was the policy which had been defined at Ottawa and had received the approval of the whole Empire. Mr. Chamberlain summarised once more the conditions under which they contemplated a return to the gold standard—a rise in commodity prices which would bring prices and costs more into equilibrium, the removal or lowering of the barriers and obstacles to international trade, a final settlement of war debts, and, finally, the discovery of some way of avoiding the fluctuations in the price of gold arising from monetary causes. These conditions, however, could not be brought about without some form of international agreement. In point of fact wholesale prices of primary commodities had already risen from 100 to 137-2, and in view of the results which had followed the Government's policy he thought it would be folly to throw it into the melting-pot in the hope that something fresh would come out.

On July 11 Lord Sanderson in the House of Lords urged the Government to raise the school-leaving age from 14 to 15, a change which was advocated by educationists of all parties. He was supported by the Bishop of Winchester, who said that most of the bishops were in favour of the demand. Lord Halifax, however, on behalf of the Government, rejected the proposal, chiefly on the ground of the expense that it would involve in the provision of new accommodation. He also contested the argument brought forward in favour of the change, that it would materially help to lessen juvenile unemploj^ment, pointing out that at least four years would be required to bring it into operation, and by that time the numbers in the 14 to 15 group would be declining. He thought therefore that the Government plan of establishing juvenile instruction centres was a better way of dealing with this problem.

On July 18 in the House of Lords, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, a member of the Amulree Committee on housing, brought forward a motion urging the Government to set up, under the authority of the Ministry of Health, a Housing Commission to secure the erection of houses for poorer tenants by local authorities and public utility bodies on a national plan and with a minimum of delay, as recommended by the Committee *(vide* p. 53). He repeated the arguments brought forward by the Committee, that to remove the evils of slum dwelling and overcrowding it was necessary that in the course of the next ten years a million houses should be built to let at not more than 10s. a week, and that for the accomplishment of this task a coherent plan and continuity of policy were necessary ; and, without disparaging the Ministry of Health, he thought that these ends could be better secured by making a special Commission responsible for the work. While some of the speakers in the debate supported this view, others held that such a body as the proposed Commission would be " a fifth wheel in the coach," and would interfere adversely with the local authorities. Lord Halifax, who replied for the Government, also maintained that the existing machinery was adequate for all requirements. He declared that the Government was fully alive to the housing needs of the nation, and promised that in the autumn it would bring forward proposals for rehousing and replanning on a scale which it had never yet been possible to contemplate, and of a kind that neither this nor any other country had previously undertaken. The motion was eventually withdrawn.

During the first half of July a novel method was tried throughout the country of raising funds for the relief of the unemployed in the distressed and derelict areas. Acting on the advice of experienced social workers, the deans and provosts of about fifty cathedrals in England and Wales threw open their doors to visitors who had enrolled themselves as " pilgrims " by the purchase of half-a-crown tickets. The whole of the money so raised, save for a definite proportion reserved by co-operating cathedrals for local unemployment needs, was to go to the funds devoted to relief work in the areas where help was most urgently needed. The National Pilgrimage, as it was called, was inaugurated by a special service at Westminster Abbey attended by the King and Queen, and proved a great success.

Trade agreements with the three Baltic States were concluded in July—with Lithuania on July 9, with Estonia on July 11, and with Latvia on July 17. The three agreements followed similar lines, Britain promising to continue most-favoured-nation treatment to the countries concerned, and in return obtaining reductions in the tariff on certain of her exports. All three countries also pledged themselves to take a very substantial percentage of their coal requirements from Great Britain. Estonia and

Latvia undertook to encourage the use of British shipping, and Great Britain gave undertakings in respect of import duties similar to those already given in the agreements with Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland. On July 20, after three months of negotiation, an interim agreement was also concluded with Holland which guaranteed that the United Kingdom should receive its full share of all Dutch quotas without giving additional compensation.

At a joint meeting held on June 28 the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party, the Trade Union Congress General Council, and the Executive Committee of the Parliamentary Labour Party at length came to a decision on the thorny question of the policy to be pursued by organised Labour in case of a declaration of war *(vide* p. 5). In face of some recent developments abroad, notably in Germany and the Far East, they found it necessary to abandon the out-and-out pacificism which had formerly characterised the Labour movement. They adopted a statement in which a distinction was made between aggressive war and war in defence of a collective peace system, and it was recognised that " there might be circumstances in which Great Britain might have to use its military and naval forces in support of the League of Nations in restraining an aggressor nation." They also repudiated the use of the general strike for preventing war, declaring that the responsibility of stopping war should not be placed solely on the trade union movement.

A few weeks later (July 25) the Executive Committee of the Labour Party issued, under the title of a " programme of action," a statement of policy to be laid before the annual conference of the party in October. Apart from the revised treatment of the question of war and peace, the document contained little that had not appeared in previous similar statements, and its chief interest lay in its careful eschewing of any methods that might be called revolutionary. The House of Lords, it is true, was threatened with abolition, but only if it sought to wreck Labour measures. The House of Commons was to retain its powers unimpaired, only its procedure was to be reformed. In the economic sphere, a Labour Government was to make the public ownership and control of the primary industries and services its goal, but it was to proceed towards it very gradually and with as little dislocation as possible of the existing order. In fact, as the statement put it, the Labour Party " did not desire to treat harshly those who had profited by the consequences of an earlier and unjust system ; but it denied that they should continue to profit at the expense of urgent adaptations which were necessary to the very survival of the nation."

On June 18 conversations on naval armament were resumed between Mr. Davis, the emissary of President Roosevelt, and

members of the British Government, and soon after a Japanese delegate also joined in. The purpose of the conversations was to prepare the ground for the Naval Conference which was due to be held in 1935. On July 3 attempts were made in Parliament to elicit some information concerning them, but Mr. Baldwin resolutely refused to be drawn. He pointed out that world conditions were in many ways more difficult than they had been at the time of the London Naval Conference, and the conference next year therefore needed specially careful preparation. Much depended on the success of the preliminary work, and previous experience had shown that premature public discussion of tentative and exploratory proposals might defeat the object which all members of the conference at present had in view—to get together and do some good work.

Meanwhile the Government were preparing the country for an announcement of an increase in air armament—encouraged, no doubt, by the result of a by-election at Twickenham on June 22, where the Conservative candidate, fighting in defiance of headquarters on a programme of increased armaments, won the seat with a larger majority than his Conservative predecessor. On June 27 Lord Elibank introduced a debate on air armament in the House of Lords in the course of which Lord Mottistone urged the Government immediately to double the country's air force. Lord Londonderry in his reply was at no pains to conceal the fact that he sympathised with the proposal, though for various reasons he could not accept it. He assured the House, as Mr. Baldwin had assured the House of Commons a little earlier, that the Government were making preparations in ample time to secure parity in the air. If, he said, they had not commenced to do so earlier, the reason was partly because they had been trying to persuade other nations at Geneva to reduce their armaments, partly out of deference to the very influential school of thought in the country which believed that, as war was a curse on humanity, they should disarm and trust to the justice of their cause as it would be pleaded before an international tribunal. Unfortunately the situation had now become only too clear, and they could no longer hope that an international convention would solve the problems which were agitating the whole of Europe.

Lord Londonderry's assertion that the Government had given up hope of securing an air convention was not the only indication at this time that the Government was contemplating an active policy of rearmament. Mr. Chamberlain also, speaking at a public meeting on June 30 in defence of the National Government, went out of his way to plead for a stronger air force, and in a manner which confirmed the worst suspicions of the pacifists. Previous Governments, he said, had allowed the defences of the country to get dangerously low because they felt that the danger of attack from the air was less than the danger of national bankruptcy.

Now their finances were getting easier, while Europe was not becoming more settled, and they had therefore to ask themselves if they could any longer afford to leave the country defenceless against attack.

Before committing itself definitely to a scheme of Air Force expansion, the Government, as was only natural, desired to acquaint itself as fully as possible with the foreign policy of France, especially in view of the new developments given to it by the French Foreign Minister, M. Barthou, during his recent tour through a number of European capitals. Accordingly Mr. MacDonald extended to M. Barthou an invitation to come to London and explain to the Government his ideas on the international situation, and in particular in regard to the proposal with which he had identified himself for a Pact of Mutual Assistance between the States of Central and Eastern Europe. M. Barthou accepted the invitation, and arrived in London on July 8, accompanied by M. Pietri, the Minister of Marine, who came to discuss the forthcoming Naval Conference with the First Lord of the Admiralty.

By this time Mr. MacDonald had left England, and the Government was accordingly represented by the Foreign Secretary. M. Barthou stayed two days in England, and during that time explained at length to Sir John Simon the French plans for a Pact of Mutual Assistance for the securing of peace in Eastern Europe. It was made clear that the proposal had been conceived by the French Government in strict conformity with the League Covenant and on the model of the Locarno Treaty, that is, on the principle of mutual responsibility without being directed against any single State. It was also explained that the proposed Pact was the alternative preferred by the French Government to any extension of the system of military alliances. Britain was not asked to give more than moral support to this plan, and this the Foreign Secretary found no difficulty in according. Reference was made to a proposed Mediterranean Pact on the same lines, but it was not discussed in detail.

On July 13 Sir John Simon, in answer to a question from Sir Herbert Samuel, gave the House of Commons a full account of his conversations with M. Barthou. The plan in contemplation, he said, was one which would involve in the first place a Pact of Mutual Assistance between five suggested elements, namely, Russia, the Baltic States, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Germany. The Pact would be one of mutual assistance, following the analogy of Locarno, and might be described as a Pact of regional guarantees, He had, he said, made it entirely clear to M. Barthou that no British Government could lend any countenance or support to new arrangements between States in Europe which would be of a definitely selective character in the sense that they were building up one combination against another, and this proposition was

accepted by the French Minister without any qualification. It followed—and this also was a point accepted by the others without reserve—that Great Britain was not undertaking any new responsibilities. The French Government took the view that if Russia was to play her part in the new arrangement, it was absolutely necessary that she should enter the League of Nations. That was a view with which the Government entirely concurred, and they were prepared to welcome Russia warmly to the League if she made application. Finally, he had insisted that the conclusion of such a Pact and Germany's participation in this system would afford the best ground for the resumption of negotiations and for the conclusion of a Convention, such as would provide for a reasonable application of the principle of German equality of rights under a regime of security for all nations. For all these reasons the Government had decided to make public their view that an Eastern Pact of Mutual Guarantee such as this was well deserving of the support of the British Government and the British people.

The action of the Government met with general approval in the House. Mr. Attlee read out a statement of policy on behalf of the Labour Party which said that in the absence of a world scheme of pooled security, the policy of regional pacts had its uses. The Party therefore warmly welcomed the French proposals for an Eastern Locarno Pact, considering that they would strengthen the collective system of the League of Nations and believing that their acceptance would lead to the early entry of Russia into the League. They therefore urged the Government to co-operate in pressing Germany and Poland to participate in the Eastern Pact and to agree to Russia becoming a guarantor of the Locarno Pacts of 1925, besides voting for the grant of a permanent seat on the Council of the League to Russia. After hearing the debate, Mr. Churchill ventured to remark that there had been in the speeches more general agreement on peace and the method of securing it than he recollected in recent debates, and Sir Austen Chamberlain congratulated the Government on having outlined a foreign policy which had truly national support.

Sir H. Samuel's primary object in opening the debate was to protest against the announcement recently made by the Secretary for Air that the Government were about to embark on a policy of Air Force expansion. He complained that they were acting with undue precipitation, seeing that the Disarmament Conference was still in being, and he suggested that the more pacific members of the Cabinet, among whom he included the Foreign Secretary and the Prime Minister, had allowed themselves to be overruled by some of their colleagues who had no faith in the League of Nations, notably the Minister for Air and the First Lord of the Admiralty. This charge was dismissed by Sir John Simon as baseless. The members of the Government,

he said, were in complete harmony on this matter as on most others. He reminded his critic that preparations for air defence must take a long time to mature, and he maintained that it was out of the question to postpone all consideration of defence until the day, however distant, when the Disarmament Conference should have come to a conclusion.

Shortly afterwards (July 19), Mr. Baldwin at length made the Government's promised statement on the question of air policy. He began by affirming that the Government's policy remained one of international disarmament, and that they had by no means abandoned hope of reaching some limitation. Time, however, was going on, and they had for some time felt that the possibility of keeping their armaments at their present low level must be reconsidered in the absence of comparable reductions by other Powers. After some months of deliberation they had come to the conclusion that they could not any longer delay measures which in the course of the next few years would bring their Air Force to a level more closely approaching that of their nearest neighbours. They had therefore decided on a programme covering the present and the four ensuing years under which the Royal Air Force would be increased by 41 new squadrons—or about 860 machines—including those already announced in the 1934 programme. Of these 41 squadrons, 33 would be allotted to Home Defence, raising the existing force at home to a total of 75 squadrons, while the rest would be for service with the Fleet Air Arm or for service abroad. The rate at which the programme would be carried out within the five years would depend on various considerations, including finance ; and the whole programme might be modified should circumstances change.

Neither the Labour nor the Liberal Party was inclined to let this programme pass unchallenged, and before the close of the session opportunities were given to them in both Houses to state their objections. On July 23 Lord Ponsonby brought forward a motion " regretting that a policy of increased armaments had been announced by the Government before the termination of the Disarmament Conference and after the recent conversations with France," and condemning such a policy as " not calculated to give greater security to this country and being likely by encouraging further competition in armaments to endanger world peace." He affirmed that the Government was being carried away by a craze for parity ; by declaring that the Disarmament Conference had failed before the door was closed they were, he said, dealing a wanton blow at the League of Nations—a view which was supported by Lord Reading and Lord Cecil.

The defence of the Government was made by the Secretary of State for Air, Lord Londonderry. Beginning with an *argumentum ad hominem,* he asked the Socialists how they could blame the Government for abandoning the policy of unilateral disarmament

which they themselves had now rejected. Seeing that substantial programmes of air development were in hand in almost every country, how did they propose, without an Air Force adequate in relation to the size of foreign Air Forces, to implement their policy of lending effective and armed support to the League against an aggressor State or States ? As for the charge that the action of the Government would endanger the world's peace, he maintained that it would have exactly the opposite effect ; the clear indication they had now given that this country was determined to have an Air Force as strong as that of any other nation within striking distance would, he was convinced, strengthen their influence for peace and help to avert a race in armaments. As for the argument that a strong Air Force constituted no defence against air attack, he pointed out that this contained a serious misconception. It was true that nothing would prevent a portion of the enemy's attackers penetrating the defence, but it was equally true that a determined defensive force of up-to-date fighting aircraft would intercept a substantial proportion of the raiders. A strong Air Force could also carry out a counter-offensive, not, as was often suggested, against the civil population, but against the enemy's aerodromes and depots.

Lord Ponsonby described Lord Londonderry's reply as highly disappointing. He recognised that the Opposition were only a small minority in the House, but he was not sure that they did not represent a considerable majority in the country. He therefore challenged a division, in which the motion was negatived by 54 votes to 9.

A vote of censure in very similar terms was brought forward in the House of Commons on July 30 by Mr. Attlee, who was supported by Sir H. Samuel. The defence of the Government was made by Mr. Baldwin, with much the same arguments as Lord Londonderry had used. In the course of his speech he exclaimed that the British frontier was no longer the cliffs of Dover but the Rhine, a phrase which attracted considerable attention both in England and abroad, and was taken in Germany as a sign of Britain's close co-operation with France. The most striking speech of the debate was made by Mr. Churchill, who declared that the specific danger to-day, as before the war, was Germany, and asked for an assurance that Britain would never be allowed to fall behind Germany. The alternative was to make a formal alliance with France and rely on French protection. This would be safe, but it would be the end of Britain's independence and of her power to put her own interpretation on her liabilities. Sir John Simon, referring to Mr. Churchill's speech, significantly remarked that the sums which Germany was spending on civil aviation and so forth were very striking. She had the most powerfully developed commercial air fleet, which was undoubtedly convertible, and that fact must be borne in mind. On a

division being taken, the vote of censure was defeated by 404 votes to 60.

The Board of Trade returns issued in July showed that during the first half of the year there had been a steady if moderate improvement in the foreign trade of the country. Imports had been nearly 42,000,000l. higher and exports over 14,000,000l. higher than during the corresponding period of 1933. The increase in imports had been to the extent of over a half in raw materials, and the increase in exports almost entirely in manufactured goods. The industries which had shown the greatest improvement were the woollen textile and engineering trades, and the one which had conspicuously failed to share in the improvement was cotton.

Referring to these figures in the House of Commons on July 27, the President of the Board of Trade said that the credit for the improvement, in his opinion, was due primarily to the merchants, who had shown increasing activity and enterprise abroad, to the manufacturers, who had been improving their processes, and to the workpeople, who had shown a most commendable desire to co-operate ; but the Government had also helped, by intervening to secure an equal opportunity tor their exporters and workpeople, chiefly by means of trade agreements, of which thirteen had already been signed. The home market had also been doing rather well, but he thought there were signs that it was nearing saturation point, and that it could not be expanded much further without endangering the export trade. The last eighteen months had seen a remarkable change for the better in the unemployment figures, but a further reduction which would bring them below the 2,000,000 point was hardly to be expected from an expansion of the home market alone. Unfortunately world trade was still paralysed in many regions, and the best that could be said was that there were indications that the tendency of international trade to decline was being arrested, although there were as yet no signs of any marked improvement. He did not believe there could be any very great improvement in the trade of the world till they reached calmer times, and all the adjustments they were making were only alleviations and would not effect a permanent cure.

Commenting on the Minister's speech, Mr. Greenwood, of the Labour Party, flatly refused to accept his view that the home market had nearly reached saturation point. The Labour Party, he said, regarded the home market as still capable of a very great expansion. It was the Government's own policy which was directed against the revival of the home market, through the reduction of unemployment benefit and through the discouragement of local authorities from undertaking schemes of public work which would have provided employment.

CHAPTER III.

THE INDIA REPORT.

PARLIAMENT rose on July 31 for the summer vacation, and the usual lull in political activity ensued. To one Minister, however, the holiday season brought not rest but an addition of responsibility and anxiety. Since the beginning of the summer the number of motor accidents on the roads had shown a deplorable tendency to increase. During July they were responsible every week for about 150 deaths on the average and over 5000 other casualties ; and there was every reason to fear that the record for August would be worse still. The new Minister of Transport, Mr. Hore-Belisha, declared himself to be deeply perturbed at the prospect, and announced his determination of leaving no stone unturned to put a stop to what he luridly described as "the mass murder on the roads."

His first step in this campaign was to give a wide and rapid application to two provisions of the recently passed Road Traffic Act. One related to the institution in London of " safety zones " where pedestrians desirous of crossing a road should have a right of way against approaching vehicles. A few of these zones had already been laid down, and in his eagerness to test their efficacy in his own person the Minister had on one occasion narrowly escaped disaster. Nevertheless the scheme was reckoned a success and was gradually extended. The other provision related to the sounding of motor horns, which had by now become to a large part of the population a nuisance of the first magnitude. Acting on the powers conferred on him by the Act, the Minister on August 17 provisionally constituted the area within five miles from Charing Cross a " zone of silence " in which motor horns were not to be sounded between the hours of 11.30 P.M. and 7 A.M. The experiment was so successful both in reducing noise and in bringing about more careful driving that on August 27 the Order was made definite ; and in response to a strong popular demand it was extended shortly afterwards to all " built-up" areas throughout the country. On August 24 a Committee was appointed, under the presidentship of Sir Henry Fowler, a distinguished engineer, to consider and report upon the principal causes of noise in the operations of motor vehicles and the steps which could be taken to limit it.

Before introducing any further changes, the Minister deemed it advisable to try to reconcile the conflicting claims of various classes of road users. For this purpose he approached the organisations representing the motorists, cyclists, and pedestrians, appealing to them to visualise the problem of road accidents from a national rather than from a sectional angle. Having secured

their co-operation, he proceeded, towards the end of October, to set up a Standing Road Safety Committee, representing all classes of road users, to advise him as to further steps.

On August 10 a new wage agreement, by which the workers benefited considerably, was made between the managements of the railway companies and the unions of railway workers. The agreement was the fruit of a campaign which had been carried on by the unions for several months. At a joint meeting held on April 10 the Executive Committees of the three railway unions had decided to make a combined effort to secure the restoration of the cuts in wage rates that had been made in 1931. They became more insistent in their demand when it was seen that the Government had restored some of the cuts to its own employees and that the receipts from railway traffic in the summer were considerably larger than in the preceding year. The idea that the shareholders, who had for years received no dividend, were also entitled to some consideration carried very little weight with the workers, and at conferences held on August 7 it was decided to press for the immediate cancellation of the reductions, under threat of a cessation of work. This demand was submitted on the next day to the companies, who on their side offered to restore, from the end of the year, the additional cut of 2½ per cent, made on all wages over 40s. per week *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1931, p. 27). After some discussion this offer was accepted by the unions and a dispute was averted. The concession was expected to cost the companies rather more than 1,000,000L a year.

The agreement concluded between Great Britain and Germany in July *(vide* p. 58) did not prevent acute friction arising between the two countries in the economic sphere. While British loans to Germany were safeguarded by the agreement, the payment of commercial debts due from that country was greatly hampered by the exchange restrictions in force there. Lancashire exporters of cotton yarns to Germany found themselves particularly hard hit by this state of affairs, and in July they decided to suspend further deliveries to Germany until their outstanding accounts were settled. On August 10 an Anglo-German agreement was signed in Berlin which provided facilities for the payment of debts which should be incurred by German importers after August 20, but said nothing about outstanding debts. A meeting of spinners, merchants, and exporters held in Manchester immediately afterwards expressed its emphatic dissatisfaction with the failure of the agreement to arrange for payment of outstanding commercial debts, and called on the Government, in the absence of provision for such debts, to implement the Debts and Clearing Offices Act.

At this point the German Government issued new regulations which threatened to impede still further British imports into Germany. The British Government accordingly, on August 17, sent Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, an official of the Treasury, to Berlin,

to remonstrate. Before he left, a deputation representing the cotton, woollen, and coal interests waited on the Board of Trade to impress on the Government the paramount importance of securing a settlement of the existing debts,—which were reckoned to amount to about 2,000,000L—as an indispensable condition of a resumption of trade with Germany.

While being thus mulcted by Germany, the Lancashire cotton industry received a somewhat similar blow from another and most unexpected quarter. On August 1 the Australian Government placed prohibitive duties on certain classes of imported cotton goods in which Lancashire was specially interested. The amount of trade affected was comparatively small—about 200,000l. out of a total of over 5,500,000l.—but the irritation caused by this step in Lancashire was intense. In Bolton and the neighbourhood, which was the district most affected, the grocers even commenced a boycott of Australian produce, but this was not encouraged in responsible quarters and was soon suspended. On August 22 a deputation representing all branches of the Lancashire cotton industry waited on Mr. Bruce, the High Commissioner for Australia, and Mr. Colville, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Department of Overseas Trade, and laid before them their protest against the increased tariffs " as being contrary to the Ottawa Agreements, by which the Commonwealth Government undertook not to protect industries which had no sound prospects of success, and the United Kingdom producers were granted full opportunity of reasonable competition." On being forwarded to the Australian Government, the protest was sympathetically considered, but no practical response was made for the time being.

On August 30, in preparation for the forthcoming annual conferences, the National Council of the Trade Union Congress, the Labour Party, and the Co-operative Union issued a joint report on the subject of Fascism. As was to be expected, the movement was denounced in no measured terms, and the condition of the working-classes in Italy and Germany, and also of the professional classes and clerical workers in Germany, was held up as an awful warning of the fate in store for countries which allowed themselves to be governed on Fascist principles. The British Union of Fascists, Sir Oswald Mosley's organisation, was condemned as a slavish imitation of Hitler and Mussolini. The report went on to observe that at present there appeared to be in England a strong wave of public opinion against the entire Fascist policy and organisation. Nevertheless, the National Council of Labour, and the movement as a whole, had not been lulled into a feeling that it was now unnecessary to take any further action, and it called on all affiliated organisations to make all possible efforts to strengthen the hands of the Labour movement against the forces of dictatorship and reaction.

The sixty-sixth Trade Union Congress opened at Weymouth on September 3, under the presidency of Mr. A. Conley, of the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers. Weymouth had been purposely chosen as the scene of the Congress this year, in order that delegates might have an opportunity of attending the celebrations which were held in the neighbourhood in the week before the Congress in honour of the " Tolpuddle martyrs," the six Dorsetshire farm labourers who in 1834 had been sentenced at Dorchester to transportation for starting the first trade union movement. Mr. Conley, in the course of his presidential address, advanced the somewhat startling suggestion that all trade unions should form a united front to present to all employers simultaneously a carefully planned programme of wage increases and reduction of weekly working hours. He did not, however, put it forward as a practical proposal, and the Congress did not seem to take it very seriously.

On the next day, Mr. Citrine, the secretary of the Congress, introduced the report on Fascism, along with a resolution instructing the General Council to use every possible means to combat Fascism and also to continue its unyielding opposition to dictatorship in any form. It also demanded that the Government should make an unequivocal declaration that the drilling and arming of civilian sections of the community should be condemned as illegal and should be suppressed. Mr. Citrine emphasised the fact that the trade union movement had not in any way receded, as shown by the resolution, from the position it had taken up twelve months before, when it had declared itself as much opposed to dictatorship from the Left as from the Right. If Communism was not mentioned in the report, it was because it was of no moment in this country and there was no need to waste time in discussing it. British Fascism, on the other hand, though its importance could easily be exaggerated, could not as yet safely be ignored. The apparent inactivity of the police in keeping the Fascists in order was disturbing, nor were trade unionists convinced that the magistracy was acting with complete impartiality. Mr. Citrine's speech was loudly applauded. His references to Communism evoked little protest, and the resolution was carried with only a few dissentients.

On September 6 a somewhat animated debate took place on the report on war and peace prepared by the National Joint Council in June *(vide* p. 64). The report was characterised by some speakers as a " war document " and as " the worst example of Labour jingoism." It was ably defended by Mr. Citrine, who pointed out that it represented the most careful and thorough examination which had ever been made in the history of the Labour movement of the question of resistance to war. The report was ultimately approved by a large majority.

On the next day the Congress approved a plan prepared by

the General Council for the socialisation of the iron and steel industry—the one which, in Labour opinion, was most ripe for the process. The scheme provided that the control of the industry should be vested in a public corporation, with sectional boards for the main divisions of the industry. It made no provision for workers' control, nor was a demand for this raised in the debate, although at the last Congress the Executive had narrowly escaped defeat on this very point. After dealing with the steel industry, the Congress called for the reorganisation of the cotton industry along the lines of a cotton control board, and instructed the General Council to prepare a plan for the reorganisation of the coal-mining industry under public ownership and control.

While the Congress was discussing the general relations of Labour to Fascism, a more immediate problem in the same field faced the Executive body. The British Union of Fascists had made arrangements to hold a mass meeting in Hyde Park on September 9, and the question arose whether organised Labour should make any counter-demonstration. Three months earlier it would probably have decided to do so, as Fascism was then undoubtedly a force to be reckoned with. In the interval, however, it had been showing unmistakable signs of decline. The violent proceedings of Herr Hitler on June 30 had profoundly shocked British feeling, and the odium which he excited extended itself to his British disciple. Audiences at Fascist meetings were now almost invariably unsympathetic, if not definitely hostile ; and Lord Rothermere had lately withdrawn his active support. There was ground for thinking that if left alone the movement would die a natural death ; and this view so far prevailed with the General Council that it decided to take no action. The Communists, however, and other Labour bodies still regarded the Fascist menace as serious, and took steps to organise a counter-demonstration.

On September 9 both the Fascist and the anti-Fascist demonstrations duly took place. Remembering what had happened at Olympia three months before, the police authorities made the most elaborate arrangements to keep order. The two mass meetings were held in Hyde Park at the same time in close proximity, but with a strong cordon of police between. The anti-Fascist meeting was much the larger, and had the entire sympathy of the crowd which assembled. Sir Oswald Mosley himself with difficulty obtained a hearing. The police found it necessary to make a few arrests after the meeting, but there was no serious disorder.

On September 7 there was issued the report of an Inter-Departmental Committee on Migration Policy which had been appointed over twelve months before under the Chairmanship of Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, the Under-Secretary for the Dominions.

The chief task of the Committee had been to examine the idea, sedulously fostered in some quarters, that organised migration to the Dominions with Government assistance could contribute materially to the relief of unemployment at home. The Committee came to the conclusion that this view was wholly untenable. "We find it very difficult to believe," they said, "that organised group settlement could deal with, at the most, more than 2,500 families—say 10,000 souls—in a year; neither the localities, nor the capital, nor the administrative capacity for anything in excess of this—or perhaps for anything as large as this—are available." Migration was really valuable when it was the spontaneous movement of people who saw in it a means of bettering their own circumstances or those of their children. It was more likely therefore to be the product than the cause of economic recovery, and might be expected to revive when economic conditions in the Dominions improved. In the meantime no organised transfer of population would be of much use. The provision of facilities was purely ancillary, and might even be harmful if it encouraged migration where the essential condition of success, the existence of a remunerative market, was absent.

On September 26 the launching took place of the great Cunard liner, hitherto known as "Number 534," on which work had been resumed in April *(vide* p. 12). The event was regarded throughout the country as one of national importance, and King George and Queen Mary went to Glasgow to take part. In an address of welcome to their Majesties, the Chairman of the company spoke of their presence as a symbol of the appeal that enterprise and faith always made to their country, so old and yet so young. The King, in his reply, paid a tribute to "the stateliest ship now in being," and emphasised its mission of helping both to revive international trade and to promote friendship among the nations. Queen Mary then launched the boat amid scenes of great enthusiasm, naming it after herself.

On September 1 the South Wales Miners' Federation gave notice to the owners to terminate the existing wage agreement at the end of the month, and the men's leaders made no secret of the fact that the expiry of the agreement would be immediately followed by a general strike in the district, involving about 150,000 men. The workers were demanding a restoration of the cuts which had been made in their wages in 1931, and their demand had been confirmed by the National Industrial Board for the coal-mining industry. The owners refused to recognise the competence of this body, and resisted the demand for an increase of wages on the ground that the state of the industry did not justify it. On September 18 a meeting was held of the Joint Conciliation Board of the district at which both sides declared themselves willing to accept arbitration, but were unable to agree as to the authority by which the arbitration tribunal should

be appointed. The Ministry of Mines thereupon stepped in and induced both parties to refer the dispute to arbitrators who should be appointed by the Minister of Labour and the Secretary for Mines. The men then withdrew the notice to terminate the agreement, and the threatened strike was averted.

On October 1 the Post Office inaugurated a national " Telephone Week " for the purpose of popularising the use of the telephone. Exchanges were thrown open to the inspection of the public and various other methods of publicity were adopted. In a debate on the Post Office in the House of Commons on June 6, the Postmaster-General had stated that only 500,000 householders out of 4,500,000 in Great Britain were on the telephone, and that this country was only ninth in the world in point of telephone density. This showed that there was great room for expansion in the use of the telephone, and accordingly he had announced amid general approval that on October 1 he would introduce a number of concessions to users which would cost the Post Office 750,000l. in the current year and 1,500,000l. in a full year. One of these concessions was the reduction to 1s. of the charge for a trunk call between any two stations, however distant, after 7 P.M. This caught the popular fancy to an unexpected degree, and for some nights the rush of those who desired to avail themselves of the cheaper rate was so great as to cause a considerable dislocation in the service.

At a meeting held on September 19, the Executive Committee of the National Liberal Federation considered a suggestion which had recently been put forward by Sir Charles Hobhouse, the president of the Western Counties Federation, that at the next election the Liberal Party should contest only those constituencies in which it had a reasonable chance of being successful. This would have meant restricting the number of Liberal candidates to about a hundred at most, whereas the official programme of the party contemplated the putting forward of not less than 400. Sir Charles Hobhouse's proposal had not been favourably received in Liberal circles, and the Executive Committee now unanimously passed a resolution which, " having regard to the importance of securing an adequate expression of that vast body of reasonable opinion which equally refuses to accept Nationalism, Protection, or Socialism," emphatically reaffirmed the decision already taken by the party to fight " along the widest possible front."

The annual conference of the Labour Party was held at Southport on October 1 and the succeeding five days. Once more the agenda of the conference contained a complete statement of party policy—this time under the title of " Socialism and Peace "—which was to supersede all previous statements. As this programme had been drawn up by the Executive of the party in conjunction with the General Council of the Trade Union

Congress, it bore strong traces of trade union influence, and did not differ in spirit from the resolutions adopted by the Trade Union Congress a few weeks earlier. As was to be expected, this by no means met the wishes of the newly formed Socialist League, which had taken for its watchword the old I.L.P. cry of " Socialism in our time," and this body had accordingly tabled a large number of amendments embodying a much more extreme policy. There was thus every prospect of a trial of strength between the two wings of the Labour Party, and this invested the conference with unusual interest.

The Chairman of the conference, Mr. W. R. Smith, in his opening address, expressed once more the abhorrence of the Labour movement for the Fascism which was dominant in certain foreign countries, and its determination to combat the spread of the evil in Great Britain. He commented upon the great extension in recent years of State intervention in industry, in a despairing effort to save the capitalistic system, and he gibed at the Government as " a veritable lifeboat for derelict or inefficient industries." The alternative was a Socialist system based on public ownership with due regard to the interests of workers and consumers alike. He condemned the efforts made by certain persons professing to have the same objectives to sow discord in working-class organisations, and declared that trade unionism was the one true basis of working-class organisation, and that the Labour Party was the child of industrially organised labour.

The conference lost no time in showing to what lengths it was prepared to carry its opposition to a " united front " with the Communists. The report of the Executive on the subject not only declared united action with the Communist Party to be incompatible with membership of the Labour Party, but sought for power to prohibit members of the party from joining with Communists in activities allegedly non-political, and specifically in the work of a body called the Relief Committee for the victims of German and Austrian Fascism. A motion to reject the first part of the report was overwhelmingly defeated on a show of hands. With regard to the second part, Professor H. Laski and Lord Marley, two of the principal members concerned, protested that the Relief Committee was a purely philanthropic organisation and refused to see any harm in their belonging to it. Mr. Herbert Morrison, however, defended the action of the Executive on the ground that the Relief Committee had spread libels about the Labour Party's own fund and had increased its difficulties in raising money. It was essentially a Communist organisation, and in the interests of party discipline it was imperative that members of the Labour Party should have nothing to do with it. On a card vote being taken the conference endorsed the action of the Executive by 1,347,000 votes to 195,000. In further discussion *on* the report, Mr. Morrison took occasion to state that

the Communist Party had been singled out for special avoidance by the Labour Party because it was the only political party that deliberately set out to make trouble for the Labour Party, the trade unions and the co-operative movement by carefully planned underground action. For years, he said, individuals who thought themselves greater than the party had been disloyal to the party decisions on this matter, and the Executive now asked to be armed with the necessary powers to prevent this.

Before the first day was out, the Executive without a struggle surrendered to the Socialist League one position of considerable importance. It undertook to embody in its main report on Parliamentary procedure a paragraph stating that a Labour Government, in the event of meeting with sabotage from the House of Lords, would take immediate steps to overcome it, and would in any event take steps during their term of office to pass legislation abolishing the House of Lords as a legislative chamber. Sir Stafford Cripps received the statement with great satisfaction, and in return for this concession withdrew certain amendments which he had put down to the Executive's report on Socialism and Peace. He was warned, however, by some supporters of the Executive that his assumption of victory was premature, and that the problem of the House of Lords was not to be solved so simply.

On the next day the tables were completely turned in the struggle between the Socialist League and the Executive ; it was now Sir Stafford Cripps who ran away from his own positions. The subject of discussion was the Labour programme as embodied in the document " Socialism and Peace." Sir Stafford had on the agenda an amendment setting forth in detail the steps which should be taken by the next Labour Government, from the socialisation of the Bank of England onwards. He duly criticised the Executive for not specifying the precise steps which Labour was to take immediately it got into power. He himself, however, instead of moving the amendment as it stood on the paper, brought forward a greatly emasculated version which did not differ in substance from the Executive's report. Dr. Hugh Dalton, in replying for the Executive, while he twitted Sir Stafford on his pusillanimity, went half-way to meet his demands. The Executive, he said, would issue more definite proposals in due course, and he promised that the next Labour Government would be a very different one from the last; the Executive, he said, accepted without qualification the statement that the party had to advance boldly on a wide front, and take such steps within the normal lifetime of the next Parliament as to lay the foundations of the Socialist Commonwealth and to sweep away obstructions wherever found. Thus the expected fight between the Executive and the League turned out to be the friendliest of skirmishes, and the conference emerged unscathed from what Mr. Morrison

described as " the mildest crisis in the history of the party." The amendment was eventually rejected by 2,146,000 votes to 206,000. The reconciliation of the two wings of the party was cemented subsequently by the election of Sir S. Cripps to a place on the Executive.

Attacks were made by the Socialist League on two other important sections of the statement on policy, but with equally little success. One was the policy of " collective peace " which would commit a British Government in certain circumstances to armed support of the League of Nations. This was criticised by the Socialist League as incompatible with Socialist ideals, and a close alliance with Soviet Russia was suggested as an alternative—an idea which found little favour with the conference. The other was the section dealing with the compensation to be allowed to owners of industries which would be taken over by the State when a Labour Government came into power. The Socialist League proposed that this compensation should be restricted to income allowances for a period of years. This was resisted by the Executive on grounds not of principle but of expediency ; Mr. Morrison pointed out that they could never make such a policy acceptable to the workers, who were more concerned in some ways about their little capital investments than the capitalists were about theirs.

Shortly after the Conference (October 24), the Executive Committee of the Labour Party considered a joint letter from the Independent Labour Party and the Communist Party suggesting a "united front" against Fascism, and also a report of the conversations held at Brussels in the previous week between representatives of the Socialist International and the Communist International. It reaffirmed its previous decision not to enter into any " united front" discussions with the Communist Party, and stated further that this decision would be the mandate of the Labour Party's representatives on the Bureau of the Labour and Socialist International at its meeting in November. At the same time the General Council of the Trade Union Congress called upon all affiliated unions " to take such action as was necessary to prevent any persons identified with either Communist or Fascist organisations from gaining entrance to trades councils as delegates." The insertion of the word "Fascist," it was explained, was purely precautionary, as no danger was anticipated from that quarter as yet.

The National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations held its annual conference at Bristol on October 4 and 5. The chief subjects discussed were India, slum clearance, and national defence. The proceedings showed that a large body of Conservative opinion was far from satisfied with the Government's handling of the first two of these matters, if not the third also. Sir H. Page-Croft once more brought forward a motion

warning the Government of the dangers of its Indian policy. Although the motion lacked the persuasive advocacy of Mr. Winston Churchill, who did not attend the conference, it met with an unexpected measure of support, partly, perhaps, because the Government did not trouble to put up a representative spokesman against it; it was rejected only by 543 votes to 520, whereas the corresponding votes on a similar motion at Birmingham in the previous year had been 737 and 344. The conference also, while approving of the Government's slum-clearance plans, showed great concern for the owners of property in condemned areas who were liable to be dispossessed with very inadequate compensation. When the Minister of Health tried to defend the Government's action, it gave him a very chilling reception, and it demanded almost unanimously a change in the existing law on the subject.

Unanimous approval was also shown by the conference for a motion brought forward by Lord Lloyd, expressing grave anxiety in regard to the inadequacy of the provisions made for Imperial defence. On this matter, however, Mr. Chamberlain managed to reassure the conference by declaring that the Government shared its anxiety; and he induced it to accept an addendum to the amendment in which it assured the Chancellor of the Exchequer that, heavy as were its burdens, it preferred the security and safety of its native land above all other benefits.

Towards the end of the proceedings, Sir E. Grigg pointed out to the conference that some of the resolutions it had passed were hardly calculated to promote co-operation between the Conservatives and the other parties which supported the National Government. The conference thereupon returned precipitately to its allegiance, and passed with acclamation a resolution stating that the primary task of all Conservative associations was to retain the interest of all those, irrespective of party, who supported the National Government at the last General Election. After this, the conference could hardly expect that its resolutions would carry much weight with the Government, and it was not surprising that Mr. Baldwin treated it with scant respect. Addressing a public meeting at Bristol on the same night, he did not so much as mention the resolutions, but remarked—with obvious reference to India—that " so long as he was leader of the party he would lead."

Early in October about a hundred letters were sent by the Government to Cabinet Ministers and ex-Ministers and the heirs of former Ministers, asking them to return to the Cabinet Secretariat copies of any Cabinet documents which might be in their possession. The object of the request was to prevent such documents falling into improper hands, and it was directly prompted by the use which had been made of them in certain memoirs and similar works recently published. It was intimated

that Cabinet Ministers could always have access if they so desired to the documents. Most of those approached readily acceded to the request, but a few resented it, and Mr. Lansbury in particular made a public protest.

On October 9 a meeting of the General Committee of the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' Associations at Manchester approved of two far-reaching proposals which were laid before it for dealing with the troubles of the Lancashire cotton industry. One was for forming a Cotton Spinners' Association which should have power to regulate to a large extent both production and prices in the spinning section of the industry. The other proposal was to buy in about 8,000,000-10,000,000 redundant spindles so as to enable the rest to be worked at something like their full capacity. The estimated cost was about 2,000,000l., which it was proposed to raise by a levy on the industry. It was decided to canvass the industry in favour of these proposals, and, in the case of the latter, should sufficient support be forthcoming, to submit it to the Board of Trade as the basis of an Act of Parliament.

On October 1 the Minister of Health, in an address at Plymouth, whither he had gone to inaugurate a slum-clearance scheme, announced that the new Housing Bill which the Government intended shortly to introduce would deal with the problem of overcrowding as well as of slum clearance, and that in this also it would require the active assistance of the local authorities. Immediately afterwards he made a tour covering nine large housing authorities in the country for the purpose of inspecting their work and explaining to them his plans with regard to overcrowding. On his return to London, he stated, on October 23, that he had found the local authorities concentrating actively on the work of slum clearance, making it the first call on their time and energy and giving it whatever assistance was necessary from the local rates. The result was that the rate of progress was such as to ensure the completion of the programme within the allotted period of five years. He had, he said, been agreeably surprised to find that two pessimistic prophecies which were frequently heard were being falsified. One was that slum dwellers would soon make into slums the new replacement houses to which they were being removed. There were certainly a few relapses, but they were the exceptions. The other prophecy was that there would be general resistance by the slum dwellers to removal to the new quarters. Experience showed that this feeling existed among the older persons, but the younger people were eager to make the change.

On October 4 Mr. MacDonald returned to London from his Canadian tour, greatly improved in health. He was just in time to attend a meeting of the Privy Council, held the next day, at which the King gave his formal consent to the marriage of his

third son, Prince George, with Princess **Marina of Greece, who belonged** to the Greek Orthodox Church. By an interesting coincidence, Mr. R. B. Bennett, the Prime Minister of Canada, General Smuts, the Minister of Justice in South Africa, and Mr. S. Bruce, the High Commissioner for Australia, were also in London at the time, and the presence of all three at the meeting gave it a genuinely Imperial character. Shortly afterwards the King conferred on Prince George the title of Duke of Kent.

In the course of the summer, complaints were made to the Foreign Office by the masters of British trawlers that they were being illegally interfered with by the Norwegian authorities when fishing in the neighbourhood of the Norwegian coast. Representations were made by the Government, and on October 9 a Norwegian delegation arrived in London to deal with the matter. After some discussion, an agreement was signed on November 5 to set up a Joint Fisheries Commission to investigate the questions at issue, and also to appoint in each country a court, consisting of one British and one Norwegian nominee, before which aggrieved fishermen could bring their claims.

On October 13 some twenty aeroplanes, representing various countries, left Mildenhall in Suffolk on a race to Melbourne in Australia. The race was followed with intense interest by the public at large, and one of its effects was to focus attention to an unusual degree on the subject of civil and commercial aviation. The remarkable performances of the winning machines—which did the journey in under three days—led to a strong popular demand for the speeding up of the air mail services, along with a good deal of criticism of the Government for its alleged neglect of civil aviation in comparison with other countries, especially America.

The conversations in preparation for the Naval Conference of 1935 were commenced in earnest on October 23. The chief Japanese delegate on this occasion was Rear-Admiral Yamamoto, who came with definite proposals of a far-reaching character. In an interview which he gave on his arrival, he stated that Japan regarded the ratio of 5 : 5 : 3 laid down by the Washington Conference as derogatory to her national dignity, and that she did not intend to submit to it any longer. As the United States was understood to be very desirous of maintaining the ratio, the outlook for the conversations was not hopeful.

On October 29, the eve of the reassembling of Parliament, the National Labour Committee, as in the two preceding years, entertained at luncheon the Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, and Sir John Simon, as a sign of continued co-operation between the three parties which they represented. The three leaders received a very cordial welcome from a large gathering, which included practically all their colleagues in the Cabinet, most of the junior Ministers, and members of both Houses of Parliament

drawn from all the parties supporting the National Government. All three showed themselves as keen as ever on the continuance of the National Government. The Prime Minister called upon the younger generation to see in it the " expression of a great philosophy of social progress," that had to be applied all the more because of the gap caused by the war between the older generation and those who should succeed them. Mr. Baldwin on his side deprecated any return to the "party dog-fight," considering that the reasons for co-operation to-day were as strong as they had been three years before, if not stronger. A Government with a weak majority, he thought, would at this juncture be an immense danger. Sir John Simon naturally concurred with his two colleagues, and added that, whatever differences of opinion there might be at home as to whether the National Government had been a good thing for Britain, there was no difference abroad. The most striking fact in the external world to-day was the position held by Britain in the estimation of the rest of the world, and the fundamental reason for this was that its Government was one of national concentration.

The India Joint Select Committee, which had been appointed in April, 1933, at length completed its labours on November 1, when it gave its final approval to the Report on Indian Constitutional Reform. The final vote on the Report, taken on October 12, had been 19 for and 9 against, 3 members being absent. The minority was made up of " die-hard " Conservatives who thought that it went too far, and Labour members who thought that it did not go far enough. The report followed the White Paper even more closely than had been anticipated, making only two modifications of importance. One was the substitution of indirect for direct election to the Federal Lower House, and the other was the addition of Upper Chambers in Madras and Bombay. The " safeguards " were also stiffened somewhat, but more in appearance than in reality. Of special interest to Lancashire was the inclusion among the Governor-General's " special responsibilities " of " the prevention of measures which would subject British goods imported into India from the United Kingdom to discriminatory or penal treatment."

The report was immediately laid before Parliament, and Lord Linlithgow in the House of Lords and Sir Austen Chamberlain in the House of Commons moved that it should be published simultaneously in England and in India. The date of publication mentioned by the Government was November 21. This satisfied the bulk of the members, but Mr. Churchill, while not opposing the motion, suggested that in order to expedite matters, a copy should be conveyed to India by air and printed there. The Secretary for India, however, objected on various technical grounds, and the proposal was not pressed. Mr. Churchill also insinuated that the publication was being purposely delayed

till the Indian elections should be nearly over, but this was indignantly denied by the Minister.

The Treasury delegation which had gone to Berlin in August to discuss the question of Anglo-German trading relations *(vide* p. 72) returned after a few weeks without having accomplished anything. At the request of the German Government, Sir F. Leith-Ross returned to Berlin about the middle of October to resume negotiations on the financing of German imports from England. For a time it seemed that the utmost which the British delegation would be able to attain was a clearing-house arrangement, and an agreement to this effect had already been initialled, when suddenly, towards the end of October, the German authorities became more compliant, so that a much more favourable settlement was eventually concluded. The German Government promised to earmark for payment for British exports to Germany 55 per cent, of the sterling obtained by the sale of German exports to the United Kingdom, a sum which, it was calculated, on the basis of the past figures of the balance of trade, should be sufficient for payment in full. For the discharge of existing commercial debts, the Reichsbank was to provide at least 400,000l. and it was to do its best to mobilise existing sterling credits for the same purpose ; any balance of indebtedness which still remained would be met by earmarking a further 10 per cent, of the value of German exports to Great Britain. As regards loans to Germany, the German Government promised to pay **full** interest from January 1, 1935, upon Dawes and Young bonds which were held by British citizens on June 15, 1934. To these promises a stipulation was added that, should the agreement not work successfully, it would immediately be replaced by the clearing-house arrangement which had already been initialled. In reporting the agreement to the House of Commons on November 1, Mr. Runciman described it as the best that could have been reached in the circumstances. He warned the House that it would not automatically remove all the difficulties from the path of Anglo-German trade, and he suggested to exporters that they should continue to proceed with great caution. Soon after, the Manchester and Bradford merchants, while endorsing the Minister's warning, decided to raise the embargo on exports to Germany.

The municipal elections which took place throughout the country (including the London boroughs) on November 1 resulted in sweeping victories for the Labour Party. In London its net gains totalled 457, and in the country 195. It more than recovered the ground it lost in 1931, capturing control in seven more large towns, and in London securing a majority in fifteen councils, which was one more than it had commanded in 1919, hitherto its most successful year. The Communists put forward about 60 candidates in London and 45 in the provinces, but secured only one seat, in South Wales.

Immediately after the election, the Executive of the London Labour Party addressed a memorandum to those of its members who had been successful in the Borough Council elections, impressing on them the necessity of clean administration. It was, it said, contrary to good policy for members of the council to intervene to secure appointments for individuals. Should any members disregard this rule, they would be imperilling the good name of the Labour Party, and would be deserving of the strictest censure and even the withdrawal of the Whip. Members were urged to be particularly careful to be absolutely independent of any contractors who might have business with the Council, and not to participate in the proceedings of the council or its committees dealing with matters in which they had a personal interest.

Parliament reassembled on October 30 to finish off the work which had been left over from the summer. The first measure that engaged its attention was the Incitement to Disaffection Bill, commonly known as the Sedition Bill, which had been introduced in the spring *(vide* p. 32). The strictures which at that time had been passed on it by Opposition speakers had found a wide echo in the country at large. Eminent legal authorities had confirmed the view put forward by them, that as originally drafted it contained a grave menace to the liberty of the subject, and a constant and ever-growing agitation had been kept up against it in the country all through the summer. The Attorney-General had so far recognised the justice of the criticisms brought against the Bill that he had consented to far-reaching alterations, chiefly in relation to the right of search, so much so that by the time it emerged from the Standing Committee just before the summer vacation, it had been largely re-written. He insisted, however, that he had been innocent throughout of any designs on civil liberty, and that his sole object had been to safeguard the loyalty and allegiance of the armed forces of the Crown.

In spite of the protestations of the Attorney-General, the Bill was the reverse of popular even with the Conservative Party, and it was also regarded with the utmost indifference by all the other members of the Cabinet, with one exception. This was no less a personage than the Prime Minister himself, who showed on more than one occasion that he had set his heart on seeing it passed into law. Shortly before his departure for Canada he had warmly defended it in the Press as being in some obscure way an actual safeguard of British liberty; and immediately after his return he went out of his way, at the National Labour Committee luncheon, to champion it against its detractors. But for his insistence, the Government would probably have dropped the measure.

The Report stage of the Bill was taken on October 30 and 31. The Opposition brought forward a large number of amendments

which the Attorney-General refused to accept because he regarded them as either unworkable or unnecessary for the protection of the subject; and he had no difficulty in obtaining majorities. One concession, however, he did make of considerable importance, namely, that the right to issue a search warrant should be vested not in one magistrate, as originally laid down by the Bill, nor even in two, as provided by an amendment made in Committee, but in a High Court judge.

The third reading of the Bill was moved by the Solicitor-General, Sir D. Somervell, on November l. He denied the allegation on which the opposition to the Bill was largely based, that it would punish political opinion ; the offence against which it was aimed was that of persuading subordinates of the Government to disobey the law, which was a very different thing. The Bill, he maintained, was necessary to supplement the existing law, because incitement had taken new forms ; and though these forms had not yet become effective, it would be unwise to wait until they were. There had been no intention to revive the odious practice of general search warrants, and that was why the Government had gone out of its way to accept safeguards which it considered unnecessary.

The speech had a good reception among the Ministerialists, but it failed to placate the Opposition. Mr. Lansbury moved the rejection of the Bill, chiefly on the ground that it would probably be used to prevent Socialists and Communists from laying their views before members of the Forces, who, as he reminded the House, were also citizens with a vote, while it was not likely to be invoked against the activities of other parties. Mr. Foot, on behalf of the Liberals, while admitting that the Bill was now not nearly so bad as it had been, still objected to it because it enlarged the power of the Executive over the individual when there was no emergency to justify such a course. A dramatic touch was added to the debate by one speaker, who, as an illustration of a document which the Bill might render compromising, read out a letter written during the war by Mr. MacDonald to Mr. E. D. Morel, encouraging him to persevere in his pacifist agitation. Mr. MacDonald defended himself by scornfully pointing out that the Bill had no analogy with war measures, and in a war would be torn up as hopelessly inadequate. The Attorney-General, in replying to the debate, maintained that the Courts could be trusted to administer the Bill with perfect impartiality, and that it strengthened Parliamentary control of the armed forces and so benefited liberty. The third reading was eventually carried by 241 votes to 65.

The Bill was taken to the Upper House on November 6. There, in spite of the changes which it had undergone and the assurances of Ministers, it once again ran the gauntlet of Opposition criticism. Labour and Liberal Peers contested every clause, and with such obstinacy that on one occasion (November 9)

they went to the length of keeping the House in session till four o'clock in the morning. Lord Hailsham, who was in charge of the Bill, refused to make any concessions, and even went so far as to assert that it was not necessary to justify the Bill on the ground of any present emergency. The Conservative element in the House gave the Government ample majorities, and the Bill passed its third reading on November 13.

The other major measure left over from the summer was the Betting and Lotteries Bill. Progress with this in the Standing Committee had been very slow ; only the first clause had been disposed of when Parliament rose at the end of July. The Government were anxious to bring the session to a close by about November 16, and they were also determined to see the Bill through. In order, therefore, to render possible the passing of the Bill in the interval, they decided to bring it from the Standing Committee to the floor of the House—a course for which no exact precedent could be found. A motion to this effect was brought forward by the Home Secretary on November 1. The motion was opposed by an unusual combination of strong Tories and members of the Labour Party, the latter ostensibly basing their opposition on the neglect of the Government to confer upon the Chairman of the Standing Committee the power to select amendments. The motion was eventually carried by 211 votes to 61.

Consideration of the Bill itself was resumed on November 5. An amendment brought forward the next day to legalise State lotteries was defeated by a decisive majority. In fact, in spite of the agitation carried on against the Bill outside Parliament, the opposition to it in the House could at no time muster more than sixty or seventy members. The Government, however, disappointed supporters of the Bill by not reintroducing the prohibition of betting pools which had been taken out in the Lords. With the aid of the closure the Bill emerged from the Committee stage of November 9 without substantial alteration. In the succeeding stages, the leadership of the attack was assumed by Mr. Churchill, who, however, added more to its vivacity than to its argumentative force. The third reading was carried on November 13 by 206 votes to 38.

The disclosures made at the Arms Traffic Inquiry held in the autumn in the United States created a painful impression in England, especially when the names of British firms had been mentioned, and both the Opposition Parties resolved to raise the matter in Parliament. While, however, the Labour Party were in favour of suppressing the private manufacture of armaments, the Liberal Party desired for the present nothing more than an investigation. On November 8 Major Attlee moved in the House of Commons on behalf of the Labour Party that Great Britain should set an example to other nations by prohibiting

forthwith all private manufacture of and trade in armaments by British nationals, and by making provision for the production by the State of such armaments and munitions as were considered necessary. The American inquiry, he held, had shown that the private manufacture of arms created a vested interest which worked against peace and had a corrupting influence on public life. They demanded action and not inquiry, because they were convinced of the evil of private profit in arms and believed it was practicable to take action.

Sir John Simon opposed the motion on behalf of the Government. While not denying that private trade in armaments often led to grave abuses, he maintained that to abolish it altogether would be most unwise on various grounds. The chief of these was that without private firms engaged in the manufacture of armaments, in case of war it would be very difficult to procure the rapid expansion of production which would then be necessary. He appealed to Dr. Addison, who had been Minister of Munitions during the war (and who had just been returned to Parliament at a by-election), to confirm him in this opinion, but, somewhat disconcertingly, Dr. Addison took the opposite view. The Minister declared that the proper way to deal with the problem was by international agreement for strict regulation and control by every State in which arms were manufactured and exported—a point which was afterwards emphasised and elaborated by Sir Austen Chamberlain.

The Liberals had put down an amendment calling for an investigation, and Sir A. Sinclair advocated this course, though he did not formally move the amendment. The debate showed that Sir J. Simon's speech had not entirely satisfied even Ministerialists, and Mr. Baldwin stated the Government case somewhat differently. He pointed out that there was no guarantee that a State monopoly would necessarily lead to a reduction of armaments ; the examples of Russia and France seemed to point to an opposite conclusion. Such a monopoly would also open up great opportunities for political corruption. He reminded the House that Britain had ratified the Convention of 1925 for the supervision of the international trade in arms, and he maintained that if all the other nations which signed it had ratified it, and if its provisions had been put into force, nine-tenths of the charges brought by the mover would have been non-existent. He announced that the Government were going back to Geneva to take up the matter again, and, having found that their views were in close accord with those of the President of the Disarmament Conference, they had good hopes of being able to accomplish something. Mr. Baldwin's speech made a good impression, and the motion was negatived by 279 votes to 68.

A great part of Sir John Simon's speech was taken up with an exposure of what he called " flagrant misrepresentations against

the Government " on the subject of armament **traffic** made **outside** the House. He dealt in particular with the questionnaire which had lately been drawn up by a "National Declaration Committee" acting under the auspices of the League of Nations Union, with a view to ascertaining the strength of pacifist opinion in the country, and which was shortly to be submitted to the nation at large. One question ran : " Should the manufacture and sale of arms for private profit be prohibited by international agreement." He maintained that to submit so complex a matter to the " common sense " of the public was grossly unfair, and accused the Committee which was conducting the canvass of trying in various ways to get a one-sided answer to the question and so create prejudice against the Government—charges which were later supported by Sir A. Chamberlain, who was himself a member of the Council of the League of Nations Union.

On the next day Lord Robert Cecil, as leading member of the National Declaration Committee, issued a denial of the charges brought by Sir John Simon and Sir Austen Chamberlain. In opposition to the former, he maintained that the question quoted, along with the other questions in the questionnaire, could in fact be answered by " common sense "—better than by forensic subtlety. That being so, it was a waste of time to discuss whether " this leaflet was properly issued, or that leading article was rightly worded." Sir John Simon's attack on the questionnaire and his defence of the armament firms were deeply resented in pacifist circles, and the chief officers of the Women's National Liberal Federation sent a letter to the Prime Minister in which they went so far as to assert, with a good show of truth, that the speech of the Foreign Secretary " had horrified and distressed people of all shades of opinion."

On November 5 the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in answer to a question from Mr. Lansbury, stated that the Government were not anticipating that any disorder serious enough to call for military intervention would occur in connection with the plebiscite shortly to be held in the Saar territory, and therefore there could be no question at present of the use of British troops in the district. Shortly afterwards, reports appeared in the Press that the British War Office and Foreign Office were enlisting British subjects for service in the Saar police. On November 12 questions were asked on the subject in the House of Commons, and the Prime Minister explained that the Government were merely complying with a request from the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, that they should facilitate the efforts of the Saar Governing Commission to enlist extra police from outside the Saar. The Government were acting only as members of the League ; they had no responsibility for the applicants, and were merely facilitating contact between them and the Saar Governing Commission.

On November 7 the Government published, with the omission of certain confidential parts, the reports of the four Commissioners who had been appointed in the spring to investigate conditions in the so-called " derelict " areas *(vide* p. 32). Besides testifying that the conditions were on the whole as black as they had been painted, the reports made a number of practical suggestions for remedying them. The reports had been in the hands of the Government since July, but so far no action had been taken, and the Government had been subjected to much adverse criticism in consequence. It had, however, been preparing its plans, and did not delay much longer.

On November 14 the Chancellor of the Exchequer explained to the House of Commons the steps which the Government proposed to take on the basis of the reports. The Government, he said, had long recognised that the districts concerned required special treatment, as they had failed to partake in the general improvement noticeable in the country in the last three years. They had at first thought that the new Unemployment Assistance Board would make a special study of these areas, but finding that this would involve too great a delay they had sent the Commissioners, to whom he expressed his thanks for their public spirit and devotion in undertaking so onerous a task. The mere fact of their visits to the areas inspired new hope and new heart in those with whom they came in contact—and they had interviewed as many people on the spot as they found it possible to do—and this alone justified their appointment.

One common feature of the reports was that they showed that it would be a misnomer to speak of the areas as derelict, though there might be spots in them which might fairly be so described. They were, however, severely depressed, and it seemed indisputable that there was in them a considerable number of men who were not likely ever to find employment again in their own industry. No improvement in the whole industry was likely to come quick enough to make any very great difference in the near future, and even if it did come there would still be a surplus of labour that could not find employment in the district.

The reports had made suggestions for a number of departmental actions on familiar lines, such as helping to revive old industries or start new ones, facilitating the transfer of population, making further provision for training, and giving grants to promote the setting up of Catchment Boards to carry out drainage schemes. All these would be considered by the Government, but over and above these something more rapid, more direct, less orthodox was required. The Government had decided therefore—particularly in view of the fact that these areas had been largely deserted by the men who would naturally have taken the lead and initiative in them—to appoint two Commissioners, one for England and Wales, and the other for Scotland,

who would devote their whole time and attention to the initiation and prosecution of schemes designed to promote the economic development and social improvement in the four areas surveyed by the investigators. Their work would not overlap but would supplement that of the Government Departments and local authorities. Their primary function would be to initiate and prosecute schemes which lay outside the ordinary scope of public administration. For this purpose they would be endowed with power to acquire land compulsorily, and to hold it, sell it, or transfer it to local authorities or other public bodies. Naturally they would require ample funds for their work, and the Government proposed to set aside for them, as a beginning, a sum of 2,000,000l. and further sums in each successive year as required.

The sum mentioned by the Chancellor disappointed the House, which had expected a much larger figure. Labour speakers declared his proposals to be totally inadequate, but the other parties received them favourably, and after some discussion the Government obtained a mandate from the House to proceed with its plan.

In his speech at the Guildhall on November 9, the Prime Minister mentioned the depressed areas and overcrowding as the two chief domestic problems with which the Government had to deal. In international affairs Great Britain, he said, enjoyed the reputation of being " the most consistent and dependable of peacemakers." She would continue to fulfil her obligations as a member of the League of Nations for the safeguarding of peace. But the Government was determined not to increase those obligations in a wanton or quixotic way, and certainly not without the knowledge and sanction of Parliament. They would continue to work for an international agreement for scaling down national armaments ; but if agreements were refused, then defence requirements would be met, yet in a way that would put the non-aggressive purpose of the nation beyond question.

Just before the end of the session (November 15), Mr. Baldwin asked the House of Commons to approve certain changes in procedure which had been recommended by a Committee set up by the Government to report on matters of procedure. The principal recommendation was that, in order to prevent obstruction, the Chairman of a Standing Committee should have power to select amendments. The need for such a rule had just been brought home to the House by the proceedings in the Standing Committee on the Betting Bill *(vide* p. 88). The matter was left to a free vote of the House, and, after some debate, in which Mr. Churchill and other Conservative members opposed the change in the name of the rights of private members, the motion was carried by 144 votes to 24.

With the passing of the Betting Bill, the legislative programme

of the session was completed, and Parliament was prorogued immediately afterwards (November 16). The King's Speech referred to the assassination of the Austrian Chancellor in July and of the King of Yugoslavia and M. Barthou in October as events " which had undoubtedly caused a serious setback to movements then on foot for European appeasement," and noted with satisfaction " the efforts of the Government in many directions to counsel moderation and promote more friendly relations between nations."

CHAPTER IV.

HELP FOR THE DEPRESSED AREAS.

AFTER a short breathing space, Parliament reassembled for a new session on November 20. The King's Speech outlined an unusually large programme of legislation. The foremost place was naturally given to the proposals for the future government of India. Apart from these, there were enough major measures to ensure a very full session. In accordance with promises already given, Bills were to be brought in for assisting the tramp section of the shipping industry, for preventing overcrowding, and for promoting recovery in the depressed areas. The law of 1926 relating to the supply of electricity was to be amended, and steps were to be taken for promoting the further development and acceleration of imperial air communications. The herring industry, which in the summer had become seriously disorganised, was to receive attention, and, if time allowed, a measure would be introduced for the control of building development along highways running out into the country—the so-called " ribbon building."

In respect of foreign affairs, the Speech stated that " the maintenance of world peace did not cease to give the Government the most anxious concern," and announced that it would continue to make the support and extension of the authority of the League of Nations a cardinal point of its policy. While hoping that the work of the Disarmament Commission might be resumed in an atmosphere more favourable to the attainment of definite results, it would make strenuous efforts to secure international agreement on such matters as were capable of separate treatment.

The insertion in the Speech of a reference to ribbon building was due to a growing realisation in the country that this practice was materially increasing the dangers of road traffic. The built-up highways stretching out from large towns tended, with the great extension of motor traffic, to become veritable death-traps, and a large proportion of the accidents to pedestrians, especially to young children, occurred in them. The recent Road Traffic Act had prescribed a speed limit in them of 30 miles an hour, but this

had not yet been brought into force, and there was by now a large body of opinion which held that, with or without a speed limit, it was necessary in the interests of public safety to check the extension of ribbon building altogether, a course which was imperiously dictated by aesthetic considerations also.

That the Government was disposed to take the same view was shown by a message sent by the Ministers of Health and of Transport to a conference, convened by the Council for the Preservation of Rural England, at Southampton on October 25, in which they condemned ribbon development as being ugly, uneconomic, and potentially dangerous, and welcomed the activities of the Council in stimulating a sound public opinion on the subject. Acting on this hint, the President of the Council, along with prominent representatives of motoring interests and others, on November 8 addressed a letter to the Prime Minister in which the evils of ribbon development were clearly set forth, and the necessity for "immediate and drastic legislation" was emphasised. In view, however, of the pressure on the time of Parliament, it was suggested that emergency legislation should be passed at least to prevent the evil from spreading for the time being until more permanent measures could be devised.

At an early point in the debate on the Address, the Prime Minister, while admitting that the programme was a very heavy one, declared that it was the intention of the Government to carry through every item, and appealed to the House to co-operate with them in doing so. The discussions on India would naturally require a good deal of time, but they would have to be confined to limits which would permit of the domestic legislation in the King's Speech also being dealt with. Presuming that the House would not wish debate in either field to be curtailed, he moved that the Government should take the whole of private members' time up to the end of the session, which would mean an addition of twenty-one days to the time available for Government business. Mr. Lansbury demurred strongly to this step, promising that the Opposition, if allowed fair play, would carefully refrain from obstruction, and he found an unusual ally in Mr. Churchill. The House as a whole, however, took the view of Mr. Baldwin that the step proposed was "detestable but inevitable," and passed the motion by 224 votes to 61.

In the course of the debate, several Lancashire members complained strongly that the Government had not shown any intention of doing something to assist the textile industry, although some parts of Lancashire were as badly off as the depressed areas. Mr. Runciman, in reply, said in effect that the Government could only help Lancashire if it was ready to help itself. He cited the fact that over 25 per cent, of those engaged in the industry had not troubled to vote on the vitally important scheme for reducing the number of spindles *(vide* p. 82), and said

that it would be impossible for the Government to take action unless there was a decisive majority in favour of the scheme. He went on to point out that the condition of the textile industry was not nearly so bad as some of its representatives tried to make out, and that cotton exports to most of the Dominions and to the countries with which trade agreements had been concluded had increased considerably in the last three or four years. The weak spot was India, but he hoped soon to be able to announce satisfactory tariff arrangements with that country.

Soon afterwards, when the scheme began to show better prospects of general acceptance, the promoters found the President of the Board of Trade more sympathetic, and he promised them that if their proposals for the elimination of surplus spindles received the support of a sufficiently influential proportion of the trade, he would be prepared to ask Parliament for statutory sanction for the collection of the necessary levy. He further promised that if, notwithstanding the sanction, they were unable to borrow the necessary loan on the security thus provided and the success of the scheme was thereby endangered, the Government would find some way to assist them to borrow the money. In some sections of the industry a suggestion had been put forward for a subsidy to the cotton industry, but this Mr. Runciman refused to entertain.

In the debate on the Address in the House of Lords, Lord Moyne commented disparagingly on the position of British civil aviation, voicing a discontent which had become general since the Melbourne air race *(vide* p. 83). Lord Londonderry, in reply, declared that the criticisms were largely unjustified, and based on distortion of the facts. While it was true, for instance, that a French line had for some time been running a faster service between Paris and London, the British line, Imperial Airways, still carried a far larger number of passengers, which showed that speed was not the only requirement. On all other routes also Imperial Airways was fully holding its own. The Air Ministry had always been on the watch for faster machines, even before the Melbourne race, but they did not wish to saddle themselves with ruinous subsidies, as had been done in America and, to a lesser extent, in other countries. He claimed that the foundations of British commercial aviation had been " well and truly laid," and that there was no justification for panic measures based on what an aeronautical journal had stigmatised as " air hysteria."

One of the chief features of the debate on the Address was some plain speaking to the Government from certain Conservative members on the subject of the depressed areas. The Prime Minister, in the course of his speech, had held up to admiration the intentions of the Government in this matter, claiming that they were at length on the way to solving the unemployment problem. His feelings were not shared by Mr. Harold Macmillan, the

Conservative member for Stockton-on-Tees, who reserved his admiration for the report of one of the Commissioners, Captain Wallace, a Civil Lord of the Admiralty. He referred to some far-reaching proposals in Captain Wallace's report, such as national planning or raising the school age, and warned the Government that if it did not pay more attention to them it might lose the support of a large number of Conservative voters. A similar warning was given by other Ministerial speakers. However, these mutterings of revolt did not prevent a Socialist amendment to the Address from being rejected by 400 votes to 44. A Liberal amendment protesting against the encroachments by the Government on the liberty of the individual both in the economic and political spheres, and against its tariff policy, fared even worse, obtaining only 25 votes.

The debate on the Address, which had dragged on somewhat listlessly up to this point, was invested with fresh significance on the last day (November 28) by Mr. Churchill with an amendment representing that " in the present circumstances of the world the strength of the national defences, especially the air defences, was no longer adequate to secure the peace, safety, and freedom " of the country. Without beating about the bush, Mr. Churchill declared the danger he had in mind to be that of an air attack from Germany, in regard to which sensational rumours were afloat. Not that he believed war to be imminent or inevitable ; but all the same he thought it would be well for the country to put itself in a position of security before it was too late ; and the best way to do this, he held, was to possess a force which would be able to retaliate on any attacker. Germany was rearming in the air very rapidly, and if present programmes were adhered to, her military air force would be as strong as the British in a year's time, nearly 50 per cent, stronger by the end of 1936, and double in 1937. In the face of this danger he asked the Government whether they should not take more active steps than they were doing.

Mr. Baldwin, who had been apprised beforehand of Mr. Churchill's main points, took the opportunity to make a fully considered statement on behalf of the Government. It fell into two parts. One set forth the actual extent of the German danger as estimated by the Government. The other was an appeal to Germany to re-enter the comity of nations which she had abandoned since the advent of the Nazi regime. Mr. Baldwin took a much less alarmist view of the German air menace than Mr. Churchill. As far as they had been able to ascertain, he said, Germany had between 600 and 1000 military aeroplanes. Her real strength, therefore, was not 50 per cent, of the British strength to-day, and, if the programmes at present contemplated in both countries were executed, Britain would still have in Europe a margin of nearly 50 per cent. In any case, Mr. Baldwin added, the Government were determined in no condition to accept any

position of inferiority with regard to whatever force might be raised in Germany in the future, a proof of which was that there would be a supplementary estimate for the Air Force before next March.

At the beginning of his speech, Mr. Baldwin had expressed the hope that the statesmen of Germany would read carefully the debate on which they were then engaged, and draw from it the proper conclusions. He now appealed to them to tear away the veil of secrecy behind which their war preparations were being carried on, and to bring to light the things that were alarming Europe and discuss them. If she did that, he said, she might be able to resume conversations with her neighbours, all of whom were ready to help her to recover her trade and co-operate with her in trying to stabilise the broken exchanges of the world. But so long as she stayed by herself, having no direct communication with the other statesmen in Europe, suspicion of her would grow more and more, and it might be that her troubles would also grow.

Mr. Baldwin was followed by Mr. Lloyd George, who said that he regarded Mr. Baldwin's speech as " reassuring," and that even Mr. Churchill's had been " less alarming than he had apprehended." The debate, he said, had in more senses than one cleared the air; above all, it had cleared the air of the 10,000 German aeroplanes that were going to attack them in the immediate future and reduce London to ashes. It would, he continued, be a great mistake to assume, as was sometimes done abroad, that the people of England were divided into those who were prepared to defend its integrity, its liberties and its honour, and those who were indifferent. Such differences as there were related only to method. Every one would like general disarmament, but he did not know of any party or group which would accept responsibility for reducing their defences to a limit where they would be powerless against attacks on the land of Great Britain or the Empire.

In concluding the debate, Sir John Simon said he did not accept the view, nor did he think the experts would accept it, that there was no defence against air attack. Research work was being done on the subject, and he could say that some encouraging progress had been made. He informed the House that an intimation with regard to Mr. Baldwin's statement had been given beforehand to the Governments of Germany, France, Italy and the United States, and this, he said, had undoubtedly helped to clear away a great amount of suspicion and mystery. The Government had declared afresh that they were for regulated limitation as opposed to competitive and unregulated armaments, and he asked the House to help them to treat this as constituting a new opportunity of trying to promote for Europe a policy of peace. Mr. Churchill's motion was then withdrawn.

On November 22, in the House of Commons, the Foreign

Secretary reverted to the subject of the traffic in arms, in order to correct the unfavourable impression created by his previous speech on the subject *(vide* p. 89), which he now frankly acknowledged to have been " unfortunate." He informed the House that the United States were now prepared to support the Convention of 1925, and therefore the prospect of international agreement on the subject was greatly improved. Referring to the proposal for an inquiry, which he had seemed to deprecate in his former speech, he now announced that the Government were proposing to hold one, although its exact nature had not yet been determined, beyond the fact that it would not be a mere roving or " fishing " inquiry. His announcement was received with great satisfaction by the Liberal Party, as a concession to their point of view, and went far to efface the bad feeling aroused by his previous speech.

No sooner had Sir John Simon made his *amende honorable* to the pacifists than Mr. Baldwin fluttered their dovecotes by remarking in a speech at Glasgow (November 23) that in his opinion a collective peace system was impracticable. The remark was seized on by Lord Beaverbrook as a proof that Mr. Baldwin was moving in the direction of the isolationist policy of which he was the chief advocate, and it gave no small concern to the friends of the League of Nations, and especially the promoters of the Peace Ballot *(vide* p. 90). On December 5 Lord Cecil called attention to the remark in the House of Lords, and inquired whether it meant that it was the policy of the Government to abandon so much of the system of the League of Nations as was contained in Article 16 of the Covenant, and to revert in that respect to the pre-war international system. Earl Stanhope, in reply, pointed out that Mr. Baldwin's remark had to be interpreted in the light of the words which he had used immediately afterwards in his speech—that he would never agree to the armed blockade of any country by the British Navy until he knew what the United States of America was going to do. This did not mean that the Government were against the collective peace system as enshrined in Article 16 of the Covenant ; what it meant was that they adhered to it as a means of preventing war, but not of punishing a nation which reverted to war.

Shortly afterwards the Government did indeed take a striking practical step on behalf of the " collective peace system." At the end of November Mr. Knox, the Commissioner for the Saar, informed the League of Nations that the recruiting of police was not proceeding satisfactorily, and that to prevent all possibility of trouble it would be advisable for him to have troops at his disposal during the period of the plebiscite. The British Government thereupon, realising the danger of stationing French troops in the Saar, offered to contribute to an international force for keeping order there ; and, in fact, shortly afterwards, the consent

of France and Germany having been obtained, 1,500 British troops left for the Saar. The change in British policy was announced to the League of Nations at Geneva on December 4, and was explained two days later to the House of Commons by Sir John Simon, to whom it thus again fell to reverse a statement recently made by himself *(vide* p. 90). The announcement was well received by all parties in Parliament, and made an excellent impression in the country, save among the comparatively small group of the " isolationists."

On November 29 the wedding of the Duke of Kent to Princess Marina of Greece was celebrated in London amid scenes of tremendous popular enthusiasm. The marriage was solemnised twice—first according to the rites of the Church of England at Westminster Abbey, and then according to the rites of the Greek Church at Buckingham Palace. A large number of foreign dignitaries came to London for the occasion, and elaborate police precautions were taken to prevent any untoward incident. As a result of the excellent arrangements made and the good behaviour of the crowds, the day passed entirely without mishap.

On November 29 the Minister of Transport moved in the House of Commons the second reading of the Government's Electricity Supply Bill. The purpose of this measure was to empower the Central Electricity Board, which had been set up in 1926 to control the " grid " system then created, to enter into direct contracts with the railway companies, which were now more anxious than they had then been to undertake schemes of electrification. The Bill was welcomed by the Labour Party as being a blow to private competition in the supply of electricity, and was criticised by Unionist speakers for the same reason. The second reading, however, was allowed to pass without a division, and the Bill passed all its stages before the House rose for Christmas.

On November 30 a White Paper was published laying down the terms on which the Government was prepared to assist British shipping, in accordance with the promise made by Mr. Runciman in the House of Commons on July 3. In the meanwhile the shipowners had laid before the Government proposals which the latter considered satisfactory for a reorganisation of the industry. Accordingly, a maximum subsidy of 2,000,000l. was promised, but this sum was to be diminished according to a sliding scale if the freight rates rose above 92 per cent, of the average level in 1929. It was proposed to appoint a Statutory Committee under the name of the Tramp Shipping Subsidy Committee to advise the Board of Trade on the administration of the subsidy. An Administrative Committee would also be set up for promoting co-operation among shipowners for their mutual benefit. Owners were also to be encouraged to modernise or replace old cargo

vessels by means of advances which were not to exceed in the aggregate 10,000,000l.

The financial resolution providing for the subsidy and for the advances was moved by Mr. Runciman on December 4. He informed the House that since he had first outlined his scheme in July the position of tramp shipping had become worse, and unless prompt measures were taken it would be impossible for a large number of concerns to keep their vessels running, which, he thought, would be a misfortune for the country. The subsidy was confined to tramps because cargo liners were not in such dire need, and they also would benefit indirectly by being relieved from the competition of the tramps. It had, he said, been made clear to the tramp owners that the subsidy could be given only if the industry regulated internal competition. In regard to the advances of the " scrap and build " policy, Mr. Runciman pointed out that whereas in July the Government had been disposed to require three tons to be broken up for one built, they were now requiring only two, so important did they consider it to be to get the shipyards working again and maintain the supply of skilled men.

The whole method of subsidy was severely criticised by Labour and Liberal speakers. The latter, however, were willing to accept the present proposal as a temporary measure for improving the efficiency of British shipping. On a division being taken, the resolution was carried by 231 votes to 51.

The second reading of the Shipping Subsidy Bill was taken in the House of Commons on December 14. Dr. Burgin, in moving it, pointed out that at the World Economic Conference the British case for the abolition of subsidies had been most ably presented, and had been supported by the Scandinavian countries, but other great countries, such as Italy, the United States, France, Germany and Japan, had simply refused to listen. As Britain could put no pressure on them, their only recourse was to forge an instrument of protection and persuasion in the shape of a subsidy to ocean-going tramp steamers. The rejection of the Bill was moved by Dr. Addison on the ground that it subsidised private interests and did not insist upon proper conditions of employment for seamen. He recalled that shipowners had profiteered scandalously during the war, and declared that the nation could not be safe till ships were nationalised. Mr. Runciman warmly denied the charge that bad conditions prevailed in the Mercantile Marine, and declared that the Advisory Committee would not recommend a subsidy to any ship where Maritime Board wages were not paid. He expressed the hope that early next year the world's shipowners would meet and come to some agreement, but meanwhile it was necessary to equip themselves with some instrument to ensure fair conditions for their shipping. The amendment was defeated by 121 votes to 38, and the second reading of the Bill was carried without a division.

In the Committee stage of the Bill an animated discussion took place on the question of the composition of the Subsidy Committee. Mr. Greenwood moved that it should consist of persons having no direct financial or other interest in the shipping industry. Mr. Runciman refused to accept this proposal on the ground that it was essential that they should have on the Committee men who understood the whole technique of chartering tramp vessels, and he announced that in fact the Committee which he intended to appoint would consist of six representatives of the tramp shipping trade, two of the cargo liners and one independent member. The House was somewhat taken aback by this suggestion that the distribution of the subsidy should be entrusted to men who might themselves profit by it, and protests were raised by members of all parties. The Minister, however, remained firm, assuring the House that the Committee would not actually hand out any money, and that the final decision would be left to the Government Department. The amendment was finally defeated by 120 votes to 43.

Not all shipowners fared so well at the hands of the Government. About the time that the *Queen Mary* was launched, a scheme was formed for the creation of a new company to acquire and operate the Red Star line, one of the trans-Atlantic lines which had fallen on evil days. The Government, however, set its face against the scheme, and prevailed on the issuing houses to withhold from it facilities for raising capital. When protests against this action were raised in the House of Commons, Mr. Chamberlain defended it on the ground that the competition threatened by the proposed line would interfere with the Government's efforts to rationalise shipping on the North Atlantic, and might jeopardise the building of a sister ship to the *Queen Mary* (December 4). Various suggestions were made by the advocates of the scheme to overcome the Chancellor's hostility, but he refused to reconsider his decision.

On December 3, the Minister of Labour, Mr. O. Stanley, moved the second reading of the Government's Bill for dealing with the depressed areas. The Bill followed very closely the lines laid down by Mr. Chamberlain in his announcement on the subject on November 14 *(vide* p. 91), and Mr. Stanley had little to add to the statement made by the Government on that occasion, especially as Mr. MacDonald, in the debate on the Address, had made it clear that the 2,000,000l. assigned to the Commissioners was only a beginning, and not the whole of the sum to be expended for the benefit of the areas—a point on which at first there had been a good deal of misunderstanding and consequent criticism of the Government. The Minister explained that the Secretary of State for Scotland would generally be in control of the Commissioner for Scotland, and he himself of the Commissioner for England and Wales. He admitted that the choice of areas to

which the Bill was to apply was somewhat arbitrary, as there were places outside the areas as bad as any within them. For the experimental period, however, this arbitrary method was the only possible one ; and the areas selected were particularly suitable for the experiment on account of the diversity of industries which they contained and the possibilities of revival or the introduction of fresh industries. Mr. Stanley cleared away another misunderstanding by pointing out that the appointment of the Commissioners was in addition to any other activities which the Government were carrying on, and not in substitution for them, and the same assistance would continue to be given to the depressed areas as heretofore.

The rejection of the Bill was moved by the Labour Party on the ground that it made no provision for " a national system of economic planning," which, to judge from the speech of the mover, Mr. Lawson, meant the institution of public relief works, a method which the Minister of Labour had once more definitely repudiated. The motion criticised the Bill on the ground that " at best it could secure only a trifling amelioration of the conditions in the most depressed areas," and that " it fell far short of the public need." With these ideas a number of speakers from the Ministerial benches also found themselves in accord, but they did not on that account go so far as to oppose the Bill, the second reading of which was carried by 273 votes to 50.

When the Bill was considered on report, a new clause was inserted providing that on representations being made to him by the Commissioner for England and Wales, the Minister of Labour should be empowered to appoint a deputy-commissioner, to whom the care of certain areas might be delegated. The debate on the third reading was enlivened by a vigorous attack on the Bill from Mr. Lloyd George, on the ground that it made no attempt to put into practice the recommendations of the investigators. He contrasted the hesitancy of the Government with the boldness of the American administration, and advocated a comprehensive policy of land resettlement as the best means of combating unemployment. The Minister of Labour in reply stated once more that the Government did not regard the Bill, valuable as they thought it to be, as absolving them in any way from their responsibility to the industries of the country, and pointed out that, judged by results, the Government had no reason to fear comparison with America in the matter of unemployment policy. The third reading was carried by 221 votes to 53.

In the course of his speech, Mr. Lloyd George declared that there was a need for a thorough overhaul of the machinery of production in the country, a statement which greatly pleased the Labour members, conveying to many the impression that he was gravitating towards the Labour Party. This idea was strengthened by certain phrases in a statement which he issued to the

Press a few days later containing the announcement that in a few weeks time he would launch an entirely new programme for dealing with the problems of the nation, particularly unemployment. His object, he said, was to get men of all parties to think and act on broader and larger lines than they had done so far, and he mentioned that an essential part of his scheme would be national control of the Bank of England.

The publication of the India Report *(vide* p. 84) raised afresh the question of the attitude of the Conservative Party as a whole to the problem of Indian reform. Mr. Baldwin in particular was anxious to know how far he could rely upon the support of the party in trying to carry the recommendations of the report into law. Accordingly, on December 3, a meeting was held of the Council of the National Union of the Conservative and Unionist Associations in order to enable the leader, as he put it, to " take counsel" with his followers. The meeting was attended by practically all the 1,700 delegates and members of Parliament who composed the Council, and stringent precautions were taken to prevent anyone from voting who was not entitled to do so.

The meeting was opened with an address from Mr. Baldwin in which he explained his position, having, as he said, been compelled to muzzle himself during the whole of the eighteen months that the Joint Select Committee was engaged on its labours. Declaring himself a whole-hearted supporter of the policy advocated in the report, he emphatically denied that its origin was socialistic ; it was the natural development of the Act of 1919 which was passed by a Government containing eleven Unionists and Mr. Churchill. He also warned his audience against the danger of making the government of India a party question as the government of Ireland had been made, with the dire results that they knew. Finally, he called attention to the additional safeguards which had been inserted by the Select Committee on the subjects of police, pensions, and commercial discriminations, and which he thought ought to go far to allay Conservative anxieties.

After Mr. Baldwin had spoken, Mr. Amery moved " that this Council approves the general principles embodied in the report, and considers that its recommendations should furnish a fair basis for a constitutional settlement providing for India's permanent partnership in the British Empire." The opposition was led by Lord Salisbury, who moved that the Council was ready to accept a well-considered measure for Provincial Self-Government, but was against establishing Central Responsible Government. He said that the safeguards looked very well on paper, but they would not work. Among the speakers for the amendment was Mr. Churchill, and among those for the motion was Sir Austen Chamberlain, whose support the Government was finding particularly valuable at this juncture. On a vote being taken the amendment was decisively defeated by 1102 votes to 390, and the motion was then carried without a division,

The House of Commons came to grips with the India Report on December 10, when the Secretary of State for India moved " that this House accepts the recommendations of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform as the basis for the revision of the Indian Constitution and considers it expedient that a Bill should be introduced on the general lines of the report," He began by applying to the Committee the words used by Burke of a similar Committee on India in his day : " Their conduct has been an instance of most extraordinary perseverance and the most patient and steady assiduity that perhaps ever had occurred." The credit, he went on to add, was due not to members of the Government, for it was part of their official work, but to other members of the House who for almost two years had devoted their time, energy and abilities to this long and often thankless task. From their indefatigable labours had emerged three main conclusions—provincial autonomy, All-India Federation, and responsibility with safeguards. He laid stress on the fact that these recommendations were not based on any theoretical considerations, but had been adopted by the Committee as the best means of meeting the realities of the situation ; and he defended them with the arguments with which the public was by this time familiar, addressing himself partly to the House and partly to India.

The number of members who desired to express their opinion of the report was very large, and the debate was continued through three days. Its most novel feature was a strong protest from the Liberal Party against the substitution by the Committee of indirect election to the Central Lower Chamber for the direct election proposed in the White Paper. The Labour Party moved an amendment, based on the Minority Report, that while the report should be taken as a basis for the new Indian Constitution, provision should be made for the recognition of the right of India to Dominion status and for facilitating its gradual attainment by India. This was defeated by 491 votes to 49. Mr. Baldwin, in winding up the debate, addressed himself to his own followers, and urged them to support the motion in the name of party unity. In spite of this appeal, however, the number of those who voted against him was unexpectedly large ; a Conservative motion for rejection was defeated by 410 votes to 127, the minority being made up of the Labour Party and no fewer than 75 " die-hard" Conservatives.

In the House of Lords the resolution for accepting the report was moved on December 12 by Lord Halifax, who as Lord Irwin had a few years before been Viceroy of India. The opposition was led by Lord Salisbury, who moved that the House should not be asked to pronounce an opinion till it saw the proposals of the Government in the concrete form of a Bill. Although the amendment was unexpectedly mild in form, the critics of the report in the Lords were no less vehement than in the Commons. The

debate lasted four days, and was in many ways a replica of the debate in the House of Lords on the White Paper nearly two years before. The principal speakers were again men who had held high office in India, and again Lord Lloyd was the most determined opponent of responsible government in India and Lord Reading its warmest champion. The motion for approval was carried by 239 votes to 62, the minority consisting entirely of Conservatives, as the Labour Peers, unlike their colleagues in the Lower House, abstained from voting.

With the approach of December 15, the question of the American war debt came up for its usual half-yearly consideration. On November 22 the United States had transmitted to the Government a Note reminding it of its obligations and repeating the offer made in June to discuss through diplomatic channels any proposals which Britain might desire to put forward. The Government sent its reply on December 11. It had again no difficulty in deciding that payment was still out of the question ; and while welcoming the assurance in the American Note, it declined to make any suggestions, on the ground that now as six months before there appeared to be no prospect of usefully renewing discussions as to the final revision of the war debt settlement.

On December 11 the Government issued a draft of the regulations by which it was proposed that the newly formed Unemployment Assistance Board should be guided in making provision for the unemployed. Already on October 2 it had been announced that, subject to later confirmation, the Board would on January 7, in accordance with the provisions of the new Unemployment Act, replace the Public Assistance Committees as the authority for assessing the need of persons drawing " transitional" payments—that is, those who had formerly belonged to insured occupations and had exhausted their unemployment benefit, so that they were now a charge upon the State. The number of these was about 800,000, but with their dependents they amounted to over 3,000,000. At the same time March 1 had been fixed as the date when the Board would take over the care of all other able-bodied persons applying for relief, to the number of about 200,000, with about 800,000 dependents, who were at present a charge on the local authorities. The task of translating into practice the new principles of relief laid down in the Act had involved a great deal of work, and its accomplishment in a period of eight months was held to show great expedition on the part of the Ministry of Labour.

The basic scale of relief was fixed by the new regulations at 245. a week for a man and wife, on the basis of an assumed rent of 75. *6d.,* and an allowance ranging from 35. to 45. *6d.* a week for each child. This compared with 265. a week for man and wife under insurance benefit, and *2s.* a week for each child. This

"basic rate," however, was to be varied in accordance with two factors—rent, and the " available resources " of the household, consisting in income from investments or in savings of its members. On these two points there were elaborate details which constituted the gist of the regulations. Three important " provisos " were added to the regulations—that the assessment of relief should not exceed normal earnings ; that the board should have wide discretionary powers to increase or reduce assessments to meet special circumstances, *e.g.* in parts of the country where the cost of living was low ; and that the board had power to provide for needs of an exceptional character, *e.g.* where the household was in immediate distress for lack of clothing or some other necessity.

The regulations were laid before the House of Commons on December 17. The Speaker explained at the outset that, in accordance with the terms of the Unemployment Act, the Minister of Labour could make regulations only in the terms of a draft prepared by the Unemployment Assistance Board, and if the House modified the draft he would not have power to make regulations. Hence the House practically had to choose between accepting or rejecting the draft *in toto*—a position which the Labour, and still more the Liberal Party, found highly unsatisfactory. The Minister of Labour claimed for the scales proposed that they were equal to the best suggested by a variety of scientific and social surveys, and laid special emphasis on the improvement to be effected in children's allowances. Under the new system he anticipated that there would be more registered unemployed because more people who had hitherto held aloof would feel inclined to claim relief under it. He estimated that the extra distribution to the class of those now claiming unemployment benefit transitional payments would amount to 3,000,000l. a year, while the extra cost in respect of applicants belonging to uninsured industries would be 5,000,000l. a year, most of which would represent relief to the rates.

Mr. Greenwood moved the rejection of the resolution on the ground that the new scales were wholly inadequate. Before the debate had proceeded much further, a Labour member pointed out that there was a slight misprint in one of the regulations, the word " than " appearing in place of " that," and the Labour Party thereupon gravely maintained that as the draft could not be changed it would have to be rejected *in toto.* On the next day, however, after the mistake had been rectified, the Speaker ruled that the debate could proceed.

A number of Liberal speakers supported the Labour amendment, less out of hostility to the regulations than as a protest against their withdrawal from Parliamentary control. Ministerial speakers, on the other hand, without exception expressed approval, even those who had up to now complained of the Government's niggardliness, while there was not one who found fault with the

scales as being too liberal. Mr. Hudson, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour, gave the House some idea how the scales had been arrived at. Recent scientific surveys, he said, had established the conclusion that a male required for healthy subsistence not less than from 5s. to 6s. a week, and a female between 4s. and 5s. No scientific standards could be laid down for shelter, clothing, fuel and light, and for this reason the regulation provided a variable rent allowance. The average family among the unemployed now had one and a half children, the three biggest groups being, in order, those with no children, with one child, and with two children. That was why the Board had put the figure for an only child at *4s.* irrespective of age, a figure which had astonished even Labour members. Families with five or seven children, with which Labour speakers had made great play, were very exceptional, and could receive special treatment.

In the division the Liberal Party supported the Labour amendment, which accordingly received 75 votes, against 286. The regulations were finally approved by 258 votes to 61.

In the debate on the regulations in the House of Lords, on December 20, attention was drawn to the fact that the inhabitants of the areas concerned objected strongly to the designation " depressed " applied to them, as this gave a totally false impression of the spirit in which they were meeting their difficulties. The Government accordingly accepted an amendment to substitute for the word " depressed " the phrase " areas which have been specially affected by industrial depression." The regulations were then approved, and the change was duly ratified the next day by the House of Commons.

On December 11 the House of Lords discussed the second reading of a Bill brought in by Lord Elibank for securing the compilation of a register of osteopaths throughout the country and regulating their practice. The avowed object of the Bill was to remove some of the disabilities which attended the work of genuine osteopaths, largely through the jealousy of the medical profession. It was opposed, in the name of the medical profession, by Lords Moynihan and Dawson of Penn, two of its most distinguished members, on the ground that it would be dangerous to give official recognition to a body of practitioners who had received no systematic medical training. The Government also objected to the Bill on the ground that failures on the part of registered osteopaths might bring the Ministry of Health into ill repute with the public. In spite of this opposition, the Bill obtained its second reading by 35 votes to 20.

On November 27 the Prime Minister announced that a Commission would be appointed to inquire into the state of business in the King's Bench Division, with a view to expediting the course of justice in those courts. At the end of the previous session,

when two positions on the Bench happened to fall vacant, attention had been called in both Houses of Parliament to the great arrears of cases in the King's Bench Division, and complaints were made that, in consequence of this, numbers of litigants were unable to obtain justice. The chief cause was a shortage of judges, but there were also others, and the Government decided to have the whole subject investigated. The Commission appointed was exclusively legal in composition, and was presided over by Lord Peel.

Shortly afterwards (December 11), the Lord Chancellor moved in the House of Lords the second reading of the Supreme Court of Judicature Bill, the chief purpose of which was to increase temporarily to nineteen the number of puisne judges who might be appointed to the King's Bench. The Bill was strongly opposed by the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Hewart, both on personal and public grounds. He complained strongly that in spite of his official position he had not been consulted either as to the drafting of this Bill or as to the composition and terms of reference of the judicial commission which had just been appointed. He was opposed, he said, to the proviso in the Bill which made the appointment of all King's Bench judges above the number of seventeen dependent on the presentation of a special address by Parliament. But he took much stronger exception to another clause in the Bill which laid down that the Lord Chancellor should be empowered to appoint any one of the Lords Justices of Appeal the vice-president of the Court of Appeal. Lord Hewart characterised this clause as a personal affront to Lord Slesser, who was the second senior Judge of Appeal, and who would naturally preside should the senior judge be absent for any cause. He declared that Lord Slesser was being attacked in this way solely because he had been a member of the Labour Cabinet in 1924, and he denounced the clause as the thin end of the wedge in a movement for abolishing the office of Lord Chancellor and vesting judicial patronage in a Minister of Justice who would not necessarily be a lawyer. He announced that if these " odious features " were not removed from the Bill, he would, when it reached the Committee stage, adjourn his court every day in order to be present in the House of Lords to fight it, " not clause by clause, but line by line and word by word."

Lord Hewart's outburst was of a kind rarely heard in the House of Lords, and coming from a Lord Chief Justice was without precedent. Naturally, therefore, it gave rise to no small commotion both in the House and outside. The Government was not prepared to reply to his charges on the spur of the moment, and therefore adjourned the debate without putting the motion to the vote. The arrangements of the House did not give an opportunity of the debate being resumed before the Christmas vacation, and as the Government wished to clear itself at the

earliest possible moment, it took the unusual course of summoning the House to meet on a Friday afternoon (December 14). The Lord Chancellor then made his reply to Lord Hewart. He dismissed as absurd the idea that he should wish to penalise Lord Slesser for belonging to the same political party as he himself. He declared that Lord Hewart, in suggesting that there was some sinister political motive behind the Bill, was himself carried away by a personal animus against Sir Claude Schuster, the permanent secretary to the Lord Chancellor. He disclaimed any idea of being discourteous to the Lord Chief Justice, and, acting on a suggestion of Lord Reading, offered to make certain modifications in the Bill which would go far to meet his objections. Lord Hewart declared himself satisfied with the Lord Chancellor's explanations and concessions, and a handshake between the two protagonists brought to a close a somewhat unedifying incident.

On December 20 Sir P. Sassoon, the Under-Secretary for Air, informed the House of Commons that negotiations were on foot with certain Powers—which he refused to name—for bringing about important developments in Empire air communications. The schemes under consideration, he said, envisaged a schedule of just over two days to India, two and a half days to East Africa, four days to the Cape, four days to Singapore, and seven days to Australia, with provision for four or possibly five services a week to India, three a week to Singapore and to East Africa, and two a week to South Africa and to Australia. When these services were in operation, all first class mail to the Empire countries concerned would be carried by air. He could not yet fix a date for the inauguration of the scheme, even if the negotiations were successful, but in any case the necessary preparations would take something like two years.

In the debate on the adjournment on December 21, a number of speakers, including Mr. Lloyd George, criticised the financial policy of the Government on the ground that it was not contributing as much as it might to the cause of social progress. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, refused to see anything wrong with it. He emphasised the fact that on all sides the country was making progress, greater progress than was to be seen in other countries, so much so that if they could feel that progress in the future was to be maintained at anything like the rate in the past, they could all go home unqualified optimists. One great cause of returning prosperity was the availability of cheap money, which was due in the main to the sound financial methods pursued by the Government. A great measure of success, too, had followed their policy of stabilising sterling in the sterling area, the exchange of goods and trade in the countries of that area having shown a very gratifying increase. On the other hand, they could not stabilise on a gold standard because of the want of harmony between the franc and the dollar. If they had not

embarked on relief works and similar enterprises, the reason was that they believed the function of Government to be not to spend money but to create the conditions in which money could be spent ; and in this he thought they had been eminently successful, as was proved by the fact that last year there had been a capital expenditure from private sources on building alone of 125,000,000l. Finally, the prices of primary commodities had gone up 30 per cent., while there had been no rise in the cost of living.

That the Chancellor's outlook was shared by the Bank of England was shown by the fact that the note circulation on December 11 was raised to the record figure of 401,990,743l., which was over 12,000,000l. more than the figure of a year before. The Christmas shopping was brisk, and bore out the assertion of Mr. Chamberlain that saturation point had not yet been reached in the home market. Foreign trade, too, still showed an upward trend, so that, as Mr. Chamberlain said, though there were still clouds on the horizon, there was at least no reason for pessimism.

The naval conversations which had been commenced in London on October 23 *(vide* p. 83) were adjourned on December 19, "in view of the stage which the discussions had reached and the near approach of the holiday season." In point of fact, the discussions, though they had been amicable enough, had produced no practical result. America refused to make any concessions to Japan's demand for parity, and the latter country in consequence adhered to its resolve to denounce without delay the Washington Treaty. On the other hand, Great Britain refused to entertain Japan's alternative suggestion for an upper limit to tonnage, on the ground that equality with security would not necessarily be reached by such an arrangement. The British delegates desired to fix a date for resuming the talks, but to this the United States delegates would not agree. A distant prospect of resumption was, however, held out by a parting communique issued by the delegates which stated that " in view of the preparatory work accomplished, it was hoped that the situation would so develop as to justify a subsequent meeting as soon as the opportune moment arrived." In that case, it was stated, the United Kingdom, which had initiated the present conversations, would " take the appropriate steps."

On November 10 the Coal Mines Reorganisation Commission sent to colliery owners in Durham, South Yorkshire, and parts of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire an intimation that it was preparing for these areas schemes of " partial amalgamation " under which a central authority would be set up to co-ordinate their selling policy and otherwise exercise control over the area. As long ago as the previous December, the colliery owners in these three coalfields had been called upon by the Commission to prepare schemes within two months, but they had ignored the instruction and questioned the power of the Commission to compel them

(vide p. 14). The Commission, in spite of this, had held its hand, as it wished before proceeding further to watch the working of other schemes which were then nearing completion. Now, however, it judged that the time had come to bring a test case before the Court of the Railway and Canal Commission, should the colliery owners still prove recalcitrant.

Shortly afterwards (December 6), representatives of the British and Polish coalowners, who had for some months been discussing in London and Warsaw the question of limiting competition between the two countries in the export of coal, came to an agreement which they promised to recommend to the coal industries of their respective countries. The agreement provided for the establishment of a tonnage relationship between the British and Polish coal industries, and also for the maintenance of an appropriate relationship between the export prices of British and Polish coal, and it contemplated a minimum duration of three years.

The advent of the winter months brought little if any diminution in the number of motor casualties. About the beginning of November, in order to make the pedestrian crossings in London more visible to motorists, the Ministry of Transport caused to be erected on the pavement at each of them a beacon consisting of a post about seven feet high surmounted by an amber-coloured globe. These " Belisha beacons," as they were called, became one of the most striking features of the London streets, and proved strangely provocative to the destructive impulses of certain elements of the population. They also furnished rich material for Christmas pantomime jokes, but by the end of the year it could not yet be said that they had demonstrated their utility for preventing accidents or assisting pedestrians in any way.

Other steps taken by the Minister to deal with the traffic problem, if less showy, were of less questionable value. On December 6 he informed the House of Commons that he had decided to have a highway development plan prepared for the London traffic area, based on a comprehensive and systematic survey of the requirements during the next twenty-five or thirty years. The task was entrusted to Mr. C. H. Brassey, the Chief Engineer of the Roads Department of the Ministry of Transport, to whom Sir Edward Lutyens, R.A., was attached as consultant on aesthetic questions. The survey was to cover an area of about 25 miles radius from Charing Cross, and it was stated that an effort would be made to complete it in three years, though sectional reports would be presented earlier. Shortly afterwards, the Minister announced that early in the new year he intended to put in force the provision of the Road Traffic Act requiring motorists to pass driving tests.

For the first time for many years, wages in 1934 showed a tendency to rise, and as the cost of living did not increase, the

rise was " real " as well as nominal. According to a report of the Ministry of Labour, in the first eleven months of the year increases of wages amounting to 66,500l. a week had been received by 1,147,000 workpeople, while decreases amounting to 4,000l. a week had been suffered by 86,500 workpeople. Towards the end of the year, a large part of the dock workers, like the railway workers earlier in the year, succeeded after prolonged negotiations in obtaining a partial restoration of the cuts they had suffered in 1931. The position of transport workers was also materially improved by the establishment towards the end of the year of a Conciliation Board for the motor transport industry (goods), which immediately took steps to introduce for the first time a regulation of working conditions in the road haulage industry.

The decline in unemployment which had commenced in 1933 continued during 1934, but at a much slower rate, especially in the second half of the year, so that by the end of the year the number of unemployed still stood at over 2,000,000, On the whole, however, there had been much greater regularity of employment, so that, according to the Minister of Labour, the income of the working classes increased during the year by 50,000,000l. The increase of activity was especially marked in the constructional, steel and metal trades generally.

A return issued on December 4 by the Ministry of Health showed that there had been great activity in house building in the course of the year. During the half-year ended September 30 the number of houses provided by private enterprise reached the record figure of 134,153, the figure for the whole year being 254,934. This represented an increase of 53 per cent, over the total for 1933, and of 95 per cent, over the totals for 1931 and 193l. The number of small houses built by private enterprise during the year was over 93,000, of which about 28,000 were to let, while 49,000 houses to let were provided by local authorities with State assistance.

At the session of the Council of the League of Nations in December which considered the charges brought by Yugoslavia against Hungary after the assassination of King Alexander, England was represented by Mr. Eden, who played a leading part in bringing about a peaceful settlement between the two countries. On December 22 Sir John Simon went to Paris, and his representations there were thought to have contributed not a little to the *rapprochement* between France and Italy which shortly afterwards took place, to the profound relief of the British Government and people.

IMPERIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

IRELAND.

NORTHERN IRELAND.

THE Parliament of Northern Ireland passed some important legislation during the year and some far-reaching measures were introduced. Special attention was given to agricultural interests and to the alleviation of the lot of the unemployed.

The Minister of Finance (Mr. H. M. Pollock), introducing his Budget in May, estimated an expenditure for the year up to April, 1936, of 11,756,000l. and a revenue of 11,512,000/., leaving a deficit of 244,000l. This deficit was increased to the extent of a further 45,000l. by the necessity, under the re-insurance agreement with the Imperial Government, of restoring unemployment benefit to its former level. By this agreement Northern Ireland undertook to maintain similar standards of unemployment benefit to those of Great Britain. The Minister met the total deficit of 289,000l. by imposing the equivalent of a sixpenny rate on local authorities (to assist in meeting educational services) to produce 72,000l. ; withdrawal from reserves, 150,000l. ; anticipated savings on Estimates, 80,000l. ; the whole making a total of 302,000l. and leaving a surplus of 13,000l. Of this sum 10,000l. was allocated towards the cost of defence and other Imperial Services and 3,000l. was carried forward. The Minister was unable, in the circumstances, to reduce the horse-power tax by 25 per cent, as had been done in Britain ; instead, he increased the duty on heavy oil fuel. Neither was he able to give relief in entertainment tax, as Mr. Chamberlain had done, to theatres in which performances did not involve mechanical means.

The outstanding measure enacted by the Northern Ireland Parliament was the Unemployment Act, which followed closely the fines of the new Unemployment Act in Great Britain. It lowered the insurance age to the school-leaving age and restored as from July 1, 1934, the unemployment insurance benefits to the level at which they stood before October, 1931. It was designed to make the Unemployment Fund self-supporting, so that the contributions payable by employers, workers and the

State might balance the benefit payments. Part II. of the measure set up a new public assistance scheme to replace both the transitional payments administered by the Public Assistance Committees and the relief of able-bodied unemployed by Boards of Guardians. The Unemployment Assistance Board, which is responsible for the administration of the new scheme, was established in July under the chairmanship of Mr. R. V. Williams. The number of persons expected to come under the scheme was approximately 360,000. The new scales of relief provided for 24s. per week for a man and wife unemployed ; 16s. per week for single men and 14s. for women. Children's allowances under the scheme ranged from 10s. to 3s. per week, according to age.

The most controversial Bill introduced during the year was the Summary Jurisdiction Bill, which proposed to transfer the judicial administration of the Justices of the Peace to Resident Magistrates. Under this Bill Justices of the Peace were no longer to adjudicate at Petty Sessions or Quarter Sessions, although they could still adjudicate in a few minor offences but " out of Petty Sessions."

They would continue to conduct the preliminary investigation of indictable offences, that is, to take depositions and to dispose of the cases by refusing informations, returning for trial or remand —but not at Petty Sessions or Quarter Sessions. Petty Sessions were to be conducted by Resident Magistrates appointed by the Governor on the recommendation of the Minister of Home Affairs. Justices of the Peace generally opposed the measure, and many people questioned the wisdom of abolishing the judicial functions of these unpaid magistrates, who were regarded as being one of the safeguards of popular rights, like trial by jury. The Bill, however, was given a second reading in the House of Commons.

The Representation of the People Act passed during the year extended the period of residence from three years to seven years as a qualification for voting in Parliamentary Elections for the Northern House of Commons and provided that Parliamentary candidates at their nomination should make a declaration of their intention to take their seats. This provision was aimed at the abstentionist policy of the Republicans.

Pig marketing was extensively developed by the Pigs Marketing Board and the Bacon Marketing Board during the year. The Pig Board took over the whole live pig trade and the fixed prices provided an economic return for all producers. The effect of the scheme was to increase the number of pigs produced during the year in the six counties by 30 per cent. The Minister of Agriculture stated that his object was to replace the live pig export trade by a fully established and efficient bacon and ham export trade, with greater financial benefit to the producers.

The Government established a comprehensive milk marketing

scheme, which came into operation on December 16, administered by the Ministry of Agriculture and the Joint Milk Council. A price of 5*d.* per gallon was guaranteed for milk supplied to the creameries. The scheme was expected greatly to benefit farmers and to prevent excessive competition in the supply of milk to the cities and towns.

Mr. Joseph Devlin, the Nationalist leader in the House of Commons, died early in the year, to the great regret of all sections in Northern Ireland. He was succeeded in the Central Belfast representation in the Northern Parliament by Mr. T. J. Campbell, K.C. (Nationalist), who resigned his seat in the Senate to contest the election, defeating a Labour candidate, Mr. W. McMullan, by a substantial majority. Mr. Joseph Stewart, Nationalist M.P. for East Tyrone in the Northern Parliament, succeeded Mr. Devlin as representative of Tyrone and Fermanagh in the Imperial Parliament. The Nationalists lost the seat in the Senate vacated by Mr. Campbell, whose successor was Mr. Glendenning (Unionist), a former Senator from Londonderry.

The Duke of Abercorn was reappointed Governor of Northern Ireland for a further period of six years from December 8, 1934—his third term of office.

THE IRISH FREE STATE.

Further constitutional changes approved by the Dail during the year tended to widen the breach between the Irish Free State and the United Kingdom, but at the end of the year, to the surprise and satisfaction of the public on both sides of the Irish Sea, a trade arrangement was made between the two countries after negotiations lasting some weeks and conducted in London with the closest secrecy.

The arrangement, officially described as " an informal understanding " and unofficially as " a gentleman's agreement," affected cattle and coal only, but the conclusion of the bargain was generally welcomed as evidence of better feeling between the two Governments and a step, possibly, in the direction of complete reconciliation.

The understanding was arrived at on December 21, but the official announcement was not issued until nearly a fortnight later. Briefly the effect of the pact was that the British Government agreed to increase the quota of imports of Irish Free State cattle by one-third, in return for which the Free State undertook to buy its coal requirements from Great Britain. Each country was to benefit equally from the exchange. The Free State had been importing increasing quantities of German and Polish coal and the Irish Government in November had sent a delegation to Berlin to open negotiations for a trade agreement between the Free State and Germany. British coal imports into the Free

State had fallen during the year by nearly 50 per cent. Mr. de Valera stated that the arrangement was a business transaction, complete in itself. He added: "It is the type of understanding which the Irish Government has always indicated its willingness to make. Opportunities for further similar understandings will no doubt present themselves from time to time and will probably be availed of by both sides in the same spirit."

The arrangement apparently left the existing import duties on both sides of the Irish Sea as they were—that is to say, 1l. to *6l.* per head on Free State cattle imported into the United Kingdom and *5s.* per ton on British coal imported into the Free State, but there was some suggestion that further discussions might take place on this point. It was estimated that the increase in the quota of cattle exportable to Great Britain would be equivalent to 150,000 additional head per annum. Mr. Dulanty, the Free State High Commissioner in London, was the principal negotiator for the Irish Free State, and Mr. Thomas, Secretary for the Dominions, Mr. Runciman, President of the Board of Trade, and Mr. Elliot, Minister of Agriculture, were the United Kingdom representatives.

The activities of the Blue Shirt organisation on the one hand and the I.R.A. on the other were the cause of much trouble to the Government at the beginning of the year. Impoverished farmers refused to pay rates and land annuities and many were arrested and brought before the Military Tribunal. Ministers accused the Blue Shirts of fomenting this resistance to law and order and a Bill making illegal the wearing of blue shirts and other political uniforms and emblems was passed by the Dail. The measure was hotly debated in the Senate and rejected on March 21. The Government at once introduced a Bill to abolish the Senate and in spite of strenuous opposition it was passed on May 25. The Senate of course threw it out but under the Constitution it automatically becomes law on November 25, 1935.

General O'Duffy continued to organise the Blue Shirts and the movement appeared to be growing in those parts of the country which were suffering most from the economic difficulties.

The local elections were to be held in June and the General predicted an overwhelming victory for the United Ireland Party. Rated occupiers who alone had votes for these elections were expected to poll heavily against *Fianna Fail* and the Government Party were by no means optimistic as to the outcome. It was the first trial of strength between the two big parties. The result was a surprise, for *Fianna Fail* won 728 seats and their Labour allies 185 as against the United Ireland Party's 596. Independent and other candidates won 371 seats. Of these latter a small number went forward as Independent Republicans or as members of the I.R.A.

Fianna Fail claimed to have secured control of fourteen of

the twenty-three new County Councils (the remaining four Councils having been previously abolished by the Government, who put Commissioners in charge). The final position of parties in the County Councils was : *Fianna Fail* 322, Labour 36, U.I.P. 303, others 71. In so far as the contests resolved themselves into a test of strength between the two major parties, the results were on the whole inconclusive, though General O'Duffy expressed himself pleased with the results of the elections in the towns and claimed that the Blue Shirts had already half the people of the Free State behind them. Mr. Cosgrave's summing-up of the results was that *Fianna Fail* had lost their majority on the local councils. The Government Party, however, professed to see in the results a severe rebuff for the U.I.P.

On July 5 the Dail passed, by 51 votes to 29, a Bill for the abolition of university representation in the Chamber (the Constitution Amendment No. 3 Bill) after acrimonious debates.

A dispute about fishery rights in Lough Erne led to a petition to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council for leave to appeal to His Majesty against a decision of the Free State Supreme Court. The petition was posponed until October 16 and again postponed to December 3, when their lordships intimated that they would have to determine the preliminary issue of the validity of the Free State Act (which abolished the right of appeal to the Privy Council) in so far as it affected the proposed appeal. Their lordships' judgment on this question had not been announced by the end of the year.

Introducing his Budget on May 9 Mr. MacEntee, Minister of Finance, was able to announce that the revenue for 1933-34 had exceeded expectations and that he had a surplus of 1,355,000l. He estimated revenue for the current year at 28,792,000L and expenditure at 34,877,000/., and the expected deficit was to be covered by a loan of over 7,000,000l.

A strike of Dublin newspaper workers in July left the Irish capital without newspapers for over two months—the longest newspaper strike, it was said, in history. Many farmers were being arrested for refusing to pay rates and land annuities and on August 13 a forced sale in Cork City of cattle seized for non-payment of rates led to serious rioting in which a farmer was killed and five persons were wounded. This incident caused much bitterness and U.I.P. deputies in the Dail severely criticised the conduct of the special police. For some time afterwards the cutting of telegraph wires and blocking of roads became a frequent practice in several districts in the southern counties.

About this time two important political developments took place which greatly strengthened the *Fianna Fail* Government. General O'Duffy, an able organiser and an efficient head of police, was not proving successful as a politician. His extempore speeches were occasionally indiscreet and in expounding the policy of **his**

party his utterances were sometimes at variance with those of Mr. Cosgrave and Mr. MacDermot. His leaning towards Fascism and " the corporate state " was also apparently in conflict with the views of the Executive of the United Ireland Party.

In September the news was published that General O 'Duffy had resigned the presidency of the U.I.P. and it was presumed that this involved his retirement also from the leadership of the Blue Shirts. Later, however, he declared that he had no intention of resigning the command of the Blue Shirts though part of that organisation had accepted his resignation and appointed Commandant Eamon Cronin in his stead. The circumstances of General O'Duffy's resignation were the subject of much controversy in the newspapers and it became apparent that a serious split had occurred in the ranks of the Opposition. Mr. Cosgrave became the new President of the United Ireland Party and though he had the majority of the party behind him he found himself faced with the task of restoring the moral of a weakened Opposition.

Another event which favoured the *Fianna Fail* Party was a division in the I.R.A. It had been known for some time that an element in this organisation subordinated the achievement of an all-Ireland Republic to the establishment of a virtually Communist State. Disputes between the two sections eventually produced a cleavage and the Congress I.R.A. emerged as a new organisation whose policy was the establishment of a workers' republic.

The formation by the Government of a new military Volunteer Force similar in its constitution to the British Territorial Army, members of which were obliged to forswear any connection with the I.R.A. or the Blue Shirts, was a further blow to the I.R.A., many of whose members joined it in spite of threats and, in several cases, assaults. Both sections of the I.R.A. became extremely hostile to the Government.

Mr. de Valera further strengthened his position in the country by instituting a scheme for the distribution of free beef to the unemployed. This was made possible by the big surplus of cattle caused by the restrictions on imports into Great Britain and the consequent heavy fall in prices of beef in the Free State. The Government's policy of assisting financially the establishment of small industries in the towns was actively pursued during the year and among the factories opened were three for the manufacture of beet sugar and one for the production of aluminium ware. In spite of the employment which these provided the number of workless at the end of the year exceeded 120,000, an unprecedented figure.

The triennial elections for the Senate were held in November and resulted in such a substantial increase in the *Fianna Fail* representation in that Chamber that the anti-Government

majority was reduced to one. The electorate consisted of the deputies of the Dail and members of the Senate. The result led to speculation as to whether the Government would in the circumstances reconsider their decision to abolish the Senate.

In November Mr. de Valera introduced a Bill to define Free State citizenship and nationality. Section 30 of the Bill read as follows :

> The British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, **1914,** and the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, **1918,** if and so far as they respectively are or ever were in force in Saorstat Eireann, are hereby repealed. Tho common **law** relating to British nationality, if and so far as it is or ever was, either wholly or in part, in force in Saorstat Eireann, shall cease to have effect. The fact or events by reason of which a person is at any time a natural born citizen of Saorstat Eireann, shall not of themselves operate to confer on such person any other citizenship or nationality.

Mr. de Valera in explaining the Bill said that when it became law there would no longer be any British subjects in the Free State. Mr. Thomas, questioned in the House of Commons, said the Free State Government had no power to deprive persons born in His Majesty's Dominions of their status as British subjects. He intimated that he had sent a communication on the subject to the Free State Government.

The question was also raised in the House of Lords on behalf of Loyalists resident in the Free State, who were alarmed at the possibility of losing their rights and privileges as British subjects, but the Government had nothing further to say.

The Bill was passed in the Dail just before the Christmas adjournment.

Free State imports in 1934 amounted to 39,065,849L, and exports to 18,604,53*1l.* Imports from Great Britain amounted to 24,071,265/., and exports to Great Britain 15,060,540/.

CHAPTER II.

CANADA.

APART from the two main problems of a burdensome railway system and the disposal of accumulated grain crops, Canada made steady progress towards recovery from the economic depression, and the close of the year found the Canadian people much more optimistic and confident than a year ago. The aggregate yield of crops was disappointing, largely as the result of a severe drought in the West, but compensation was found in a welcome rise in the price of most farm products, which increased the purchasing power of the farming community, while the output of other natural industries was enlarged, and manufacturing activities were maintained at a satisfactory level. Foreign trade showed

progressive expansion, and although unemployment continued to present a serious problem in certain localities, the joint action of the Dominion and Provincial Governments proved a distinct alleviation of its burdens.

The fifth session of Parliament[1] (the seventeenth since Confederation) was opened by the Governor-General, the Earl of Bessborough, with State ceremony on January 25. There was a full attendance of members headed by Mr. R. B. Bennett, Prime Minister.

Referring to his visit to every Province of the Dominion, the Governor-General said he had been " impressed by the loyalty, devotion and friendliness of the people." His Speech from the Throne stressed the results of the Ottawa Trade Agreements, which were proving beneficial to all Empire countries, and noted that the prices of agricultural products, which had fallen in recent years to the lowest levels in history, had shown a substantial improvement. Further increases in price levels were necessary and legislation was foreshadowed to facilitate efficient and profitable marketing of livestock and agricultural products. The high standard of Canadian credit was evidenced by the flotation of the Canadian loan in London last year, the first time in fifteen years that Canada had entered the British market for capital. The Government, the Speech concluded, had continued, under the authority of the Relief Act of 1932, to assist the Provinces to discharge their obligations, and at the recent inter-Provincial Conference an agreement was reached that such assistance should not be wholly discontinued. Camps for single unemployed men would be maintained, land settlement would be persevered with, and a programme of essential public works would be launched to provide additional employment.

In the ensuing debate on the Address, the Liberal leader, Mr. Mackenzie King, attacked the Government's fiscal policy, contending that the fruit of the Ottawa Agreements had been a meagre expansion of inter-Imperial trade. He criticised the administration of unemployment relief as inefficient and wasteful, and accused Ministers of arbitrary practices in restoring the grant of titles to Canadians which had been included for the first time since 1919 in the New Year's Honours list. He also challenged the effectiveness of the London Wheat Agreement in solving the farmers' difficulties.

The Prime Minister, replying to these criticisms, claimed that his Ministry had done its best to guide Canada through the worst depression in history, and justified the policies which, by the evidence of all accepted indices, were tending towards economic recovery. He asserted that the Wheat Agreement was already

[1] During the recess the Liberals gained two seats at by-elections; the standing of the parties was Conservatives 130, Liberals 90, Co-operative Commonwealth Federation 15, Independents 2, Vacancies l.

proving beneficial to Canada, but warned the West that it had been seriously misled about the scope of the export markets for wheat and must curtail its wheat acreage.

During the debate Mr. J. S. Woodsworth (Winnipeg), Leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, urged the scaling down of interest charges and the revision of the British North America Act to conform to present social and industrial conditions. Mr. Euler, a Liberal ex-Minister, said that the burden of interest on Canada's debt was impossible, and advocated that a start should be made in curtailment by reducing the interest on all Dominion bonds to three per cent. He also urged that the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific Railways should be merged in one State-owned system.

Ultimately, the Liberal motion of no confidence was taken and was lost (February 13) by 110 votes to 76.

In the same month the question of a reciprocity treaty with the United States was raised through a resolution of Mr. W. Duff (Liberal, Nova Scotia) for the free entry of the natural products of Canada into the United States in exchange for the free admission of certain American products into Canada. The discussion produced an announcement from Mr. Bennett who gave a summary of the negotiations of last year which, he said, had not been abandoned.

Two other important subjects, also considered in February, were the Government's Bill (subsequently passed) to institute a Central Bank, based on the recommendations of the Macmillan Commission of last year; and the appointment of a Special Committee (later expanded to a Royal Commission) to investigate Price Spreads and Mass Buying.

Mr. E. N. Rhodes, Minister of Finance, explained the functions of the Central Bank; and the Prime Minister pointed out that Canada had followed the plan adopted by 30 of the 36 countries which had Central Banks. He held that it was desirable to secure safeguards which would make it impossible for the credit facilities of the country to be used for political ends or other than legitimate purposes, the new bank to be a " privately owned public trust." [1]

The Natural Products Marketing Bill, introduced in March by Mr. Weir, Minister of Agriculture, was a comprehensive measure modelled on the British Agricultural Marketing Act. This was also passed during the session.

The scope of this legislation caused surprise throughout the country, but the farmers on the whole were favourable to the experiment, while the majority of the Provincial Governments expressed readiness to co-operate with supplementary legislation.

[1] The Bank, which will have control of approximately 100,000,000 dollars in gold, and 200,000,000 Government notes in circulation, is to be operated by a Board of seven directors at Ottawa. The first Governor, Mr. Graham F. Towers, was appointed September, 1934.

In the debate **on** the **Unemployment Relief Bill during April, Mr.** Euler (L., Waterloo) urged the appointment of a special Commission to study the co-ordination of social legislation, whereby Old Age Pensions, Unemployment and Health Insurance, Workmen's Compensation, Widows' Allowances, and Poor Relief could be brought under the jurisdiction of the Dominion Government. Mr. Bennett, the Prime Minister, replied that such a Commission was unnecessary, because the Government had already taken much trouble to compile the requisite data, and in any case the proposed plan of co-ordination was impracticable without rearrangement of the powers allocated to the Dominion and the Provinces. He went on to say that he held a strong opinion about the need for early revision of the British North America Act, and he hoped that when his Government had secured a new mandate from the electorate it would be able to tackle this difficult problem in such a way as not to strain the existing political machinery. Earlier in the debate Mr. Bennett defended the inclusion in the Bill of emergency powers for peace, order and good government on the ground that their use might be necessary to protect Federal interests from encroachments on them by the Government of British Columbia through the ordinances passed under the British Columbian " Special Powers " Act. He pointed out that the Dominion Government was impotent normally to veto Provincial ordinances which had the force of law.

The Minister of Finance delivered his Budget speech to a crowded House on April 18. After referring to Canada's general economic recovery, Mr. Rhodes said that the Government had consistently directed its efforts towards stimulating a rise in commodity prices. Discussing the Debt situation, Mr. Rhodes described the successful measures taken by the Government to reduce the Federal interest burden and to lower rates of interest, and forecast for the relief of agricultural debtors legislation of which the guiding principle would be a simplified debt structure capable of being carried by debtors. He pronounced, however, against any comprehensive scheme for compulsory reduction of interest charges on the public debt, on the ground that Canada would need foreign capital in the years to come and could not afford to frighten it away. He contended that the public debt burden, although onerous, was not beyond the capacity of the country to carry.

Canada's trade for the fiscal year ended March 31 was valued at 1,017,500,000 dollars, as compared with 887,000,000 dollars in the previous year. The favourable balance increased from 74,250,000 to 152,000,000 dollars. Mr. Rhodes referred to the beneficial results of inter-Imperial trade agreements, and said that in the eleven months ended February 28 Canadian export and import trade with Great Britain had each gained 20 **per** cent,

The provisional revenue figure was 324,013,000 dollars, compared with 311,000,000 dollars and 334,000,000 dollars in the two previous fiscal years. Ordinary expenditure was 347,702,000 dollars, but the addition of 43,000,000 dollars of special expenditure and of 50,000,000 dollars for the deficit of the Canadian National Railway, with other minor items, brought the total expenditure to 454,228,000 dollars, leaving a deficit of 135,000,000 dollars. The deficit on ordinary accounts at 24,000,000 dollars showed an encouraging net improvement of 19,000,000 dollars, and the increase of 135,000,000 dollars in net debt during the year was an improvement of 22,500,000 dollars on that for the previous year.

Mr. Rhodes estimated revenue for the current year at 360,000,000 dollars, and expenditure at 351,200,000 dollars, giving a surplus of 8,800,000 dollars.

After prolonged discussions, the Budget debate ended on May 15.

In the Senate during April Senator McRae (British Columbia) moved his resolution declaring that Canada should withdraw from the League of Nations. He argued that in no circumstance should Canada sacrifice her blood and treasure in another European war, which he was convinced was inevitable. The League had " demonstrably failed " in its fundamental purpose—the achievement of a settled peace—and Canada should withdraw before her commitments in the League involved her in the " coming struggle." The speaker said he had become converted to Mr. Meighen's plan, proposed in 1925, for a national referendum on taking part in a war. Senator Dandurand, the Liberal leader in the Senate, and a former President of the Assembly of the League, replying, claimed that if the League had failed to realise all the hopes of its founders, it had been grievously handicapped by what he called the " unpardonable egoism " of the United States. The League was still a great moral force and was doing very useful work. Withdrawal would be a counsel of despair.

The debate was adjourned and in May the motion was negatived.

Among other matters of debate in the Senate during the session were Canada's obligations in the defence of her sea-borne trade, in view of her new status under the Statute of Westminster, and the need for an improved position of aviation in Canada, particularly as affecting commercial routes and air-mail services.

Under the provisions of the Statute of Westminster legislation, also introduced in the Senate, was enacted to make effective extra-territorially the laws of Canada relating to navigation and shipping and repealing the laws of the United Kingdom which had heretofore applied to Canada in the national shipping law.

Canada's " New Deal" for debt-laden farmers was brought before the House by the Prime Minister (June 4) in two measures.

The first was an Act to facilitate compromises and arrangements between farmers and their creditors, and the second an Act to amend the Canadian Farm Loan Act. These were designed to open a way for those engaged in Agriculture, Canada's main primary industry, to secure a fresh lease of life.

Prorogation of Parliament took place on July 4.

Prior to his Speech from the Throne the Governor-General gave Royal Assent to the legislation already reviewed and to other measures, notably those respecting the construction and improvement of public works, radio broadcasting, Canadian and British Insurance Companies, franchise of electors at elections of members of the House of Commons, and the decennial revision of the Bank Act. Other legislation included amendments to the Food and Drugs Act, the Income War Tax Act, the Companies Act, the Pensions Act, and the Criminal Code.

Shortly after the close of the session Sir William H. Clark, who had been High Commissioner in Canada for the United Kingdom since 1928, relinquished his post and left for England *en route* for South Africa, to take up his new appointment as High Commissioner there. His successor, Sir Francis L. C. Floud, formerly Secretary to the British Ministry of Labour, reached Canada early in 1935.

The Annual Convention of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation—whose activities as a new political party had been closely followed since the last General Election—opened at Winnipeg on July 18. Mr. Woodsworth (Winnipeg), the leader, said that the year had been characterised by rapid growth of membership, the three provincial elections showing that 500,000 Canadian voters were ready to support the party. The convention, lasting three days, was attended by about 100 delegates from all parts of Canada.

Arising from a report made to the Federal Government by the Auditor-General on relief disbursements in which he commented severely upon the laxity of relief administration in several provinces, an inter-Provincial Conference—in continuation of a short session held in January—was called by the Prime Minister. This took place at Ottawa on July 30 and 31, attended by Mr. Bennett and eight of the nine Provincial Premiers—Mr. Hoadley, acting Premier for Alberta, being absent. Mr. Bennett communicated to the conference the decision of his Cabinet, that while it was willing to continue the maintenance of its Labour Camps and its help to indigent farmers, the contributions of the Federal Treasury to direct relief would cease on August 15. He justified the step on the dual ground that, thanks to the expansion of industry, there had been a steady decrease in the number of workless, and that a further decrease would result from his Government's special programme of public works which was authorised last session, and which, involving

as it did the expenditure of some 40,000,000 dollars, would represent a substantial contribution towards the solution of unemployment. This was met by some protest on the part of the Provincial delegates, but eventually it was agreed that the Dominion Government, while renouncing all direct responsibility for relief, would cease its contribution of one-third of the total cost, but would make in its discretion grants to the Provinces on the basis of proven needs and the experience of the last four years.

The Governor-General, Dominion Ministers, municipal and civic authorities as well as distinguished visitors from Great Britain and France, all took part in the national commemoration during August of the fourth centenary of the landing of Jacques Cartier, the French explorer. Pageants and public functions were arranged on an elaborate scale in the principal eastern cities and a message of loyalty of the Canadian people despatched by the Prime Minister to King George V.

Many delegates from overseas also participated in the celebration (July-August) of the Toronto centennial, an outstanding feature of which was the display of Hawker Fury aircraft (No. 1 Squadron, R.A.F.) which crossed to Canada with the special permission of the British Government.

Before leaving Canada (September 1) to attend the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva, Mr. Bennett despatched a letter to the Provinces of the Dominions asking them to suggest a convenient date for the holding of a further conference to discuss constitutional and other questions. Sir George Perley, acting Prime Minister, intimated that the agenda would include a joint consideration of the following subjects—the duplication of taxation and re-allocation of sources of revenue between the Dominion and the Provinces ; jurisdiction over legislation dealing with social problems, old age pensions, unemployment and social insurance, and working conditions, and co-ordination between the Federal and Provincial Governments in respect of research work and the compilation of statistical data.

Throughout the summer months widespread attention was given to the proceedings of the Royal Commission on Price Spreads and Mass Production which, under the Chairmanship of Mr. H. H. Stevens, Minister of Trade and Commerce, had continued the work of the Parliamentary Enquiry after an interim report had been issued.

At the jubilee session of the Trades and Labour Congress at Toronto on September 10 a sweeping condemnation of all " sweatshops " in Canada and the promise of the Dominion's support for organised labour in any well considered suggestions for legislation to prevent the exploitation of workers was made by Mr. Wesley Gordon, Minister of Labour. Demanding that public bodies in Canada should protect the interests of their workmen, Mr. Gordon declared that " the Dominion of Canada,

so far as it is able under its laws, and with the aid of the Provinces, will stand four-square behind the well-considered views of organised labour to effect the introduction of appropriate laws, and to do whatever is necessary and in the competence of Parliament to render secure the workers' jobs and to see that they are not exploited by any class, large or small." The Minister emphasised the efficacy of conciliation in labour disputes, pointing out that during the last four years thirty Conciliation Boards had been set up, the majority of which were successful in achieving their object.

The constitution of a Commission to inquire specifically into the Maritime Provinces' claims on the Dominion for subsidies was announced by Sir George Perley on September 14. The Commission was composed of Sir Thomas White, ex-Minister of Finance (chairman) ; Chief Justice J. A. Mathieson, of Prince Edward Island, representing the Maritime Provinces, and Mr. E. W. Nesbitt of Woodstock, Ontario, an ex-Member of the House of Commons. This Commission was appointed in accordance with the promise made by the Premier to the three Provincial Premiers (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island) in July when they requested increased financial subsidies from the Dominion under the terms of the Confederation Pact.

During his visit to Europe Mr. Bennett signed in Paris (September 29) a Franco-Canadian supplementary Trade Agreement, providing for the mutual reduction of tariffs on important classes of French and Canadian goods.

Early in October, on reaching London, where Mr. Bennett had audience of the King and conferred with British Ministers on Anglo-Canadian affairs, urgent representations were made by Mr. John I. MacFarland, General Manager of the Wheat Pools, protesting against the character of foreign dealings in wheat futures which, he contended, undermined wheat price structures. These consultations resulted in an authorised announcement by Mr. MacFarland that the Pools Agency would no longer sell its holdings until actual consumers wanted the wheat and that the prices of May and December wheat would be " pegged." With confidence apparently restored by the assurance that the Government-owned wheat would not be dumped on the market, exporters bought freely on the Winnipeg Exchange, and an immediate rise in the price of wheat was effected.

Mr. Mackenzie King, the Liberal Leader, accompanied by Mr. Ernest Lapointe, former Minister of Justice, also paid a visit to England and France during October. " Canadian affairs," stated Mr. King, " are increasingly bound up in world affairs, and we are anxious to get first-hand information on conditions in Britain and Europe."

Following Mr. Bennett's return to Canada (October 26)

a crisis developed within the Cabinet concerning the actions of Mr. Stevens in connection with the Price Spreads Commission. Earlier in the year his outspokenness against certain business practices had embarrassed the Government, and on completing the first part of the Commission's investigations, Mr. Stevens had published a pamphlet—subsequently withdrawn from circulation—dealing with the results of the inquiry, and had made violent attacks on leading Canadian companies.

Strong protests were made from many sources to the Government, including demands for Mr. Stevens' resignation as Chairman of the Commission. After an exchange of correspondence, which was published in the press, between the Minister and the Premier, the Cabinet discussed the situation and Mr. Stevens resigned his portfolio of Trade and Commerce as well as his chairmanship of the Royal Commission. He accepted, however, the Cabinet's invitation to remain a private member of the Commission.

This resignation caused a marked political sensation, Mr. Stevens having many supporters of his uncompromising exposures. The chairmanship of the Commission was filled by Mr. W. W. Kennedy, the Conservative member for Winnipeg.

Later in the month the powers of the Commission, hitherto restricted to specific industries, were widened by Order in Council to include farm and other natural products as well as manufactured goods, and the study of the effect of mass buying on labour conditions and the general social life of those engaged in industries subject to the operation of mass buying.

Reorganisation of the Cabinet followed Mr. Stevens' withdrawal, and on November 17 the following changes were announced: Mr. Richard B. Hanson (York-Sunbury) was appointed Minister of Trade and Commerce; Mr. Grote Stirling (Yale) was appointed Minister of National Defence; and Dr. D. M. Sutherland (Oxford North) was transferred to the Ministry of Pensions and National Health in place of Dr. Murray Maclaren (St. John Albert) who retired.

Negotiations for the long-projected St. Lawrence Waterway Scheme were renewed in November by the visits to Ottawa of Mr. William Phillips, American Under-Secretary of State, and Mr. W. H. Herridge, Canadian Minister at Washington, to confer with the Prime Minister. With the renewal of these negotiations, the possibilities of a trade agreement between the two countries were also explored.

Addressing a meeting of Conservatives at Brockville, Ontario, on December 5, Mr. Bennett reviewed the record of his administration. He defended the Cabinet's trade policy, as he had always stood for a tariff which would make it possible for Canadians to develop the resources of their own country. The Cabinet had been able by its policy to eliminate the dangerous adverse balance of trade which had been created by the Liberals,

and to build a favourable balance of about 200,000,000 dollars, which enabled the Dominion to meet its obligations abroad. It had concluded trade treaties with various countries, but its great accomplishment had been to secure through the Ottawa Agreements a safe outlet for Canadian products in the greatest market of the world. Referring to Mr. Mackenzie King's criticisms of the Agreements, he declared that one of his reasons for undertaking the Conservative leadership in another General Election (in 1935) was to save the Agreements, because the Liberals, if they were returned to power, would terminate them.

To this Mr. Mackenzie King, at the annual meeting of the Liberal Federation on December 11, replied that the Liberals did not contemplate the cancellation of the Ottawa Agreements but rather intended to revise them after discussions and negotiations with the other parties to them, on the basis of the principles suggested by Mr. Stanley Baldwin in his opening speech at the Ottawa Conference.

In the last weeks of the year the findings of the economic Commission appointed by the Government of Nova Scotia were promulgated declaring that " from a purely economic point of view the secession of Novia Scotia from the Dominion of Canada would be sheer folly. The establishment of a free trade zone or of regional tariffs is economically the same as secession, and such a one-sided arrangement would not be tolerated by the other Provinces." The Commission further favoured the payment and administration by the Dominion of old age pensions and unemployment insurance, when adopted, and also urged the appointment of an Economic Commission comprising business and professional leaders, without regard to politics, to assist in marketing and in organising Nova Scotia industries.

Provincial General Elections in Saskatchewan and Ontario were held simultaneously on June 19, both resulting in overwhelming Liberal victories. In Ontario the returns were: Liberals, 66 ; Conservatives, 16; Liberal Progressives, 4; Independent, 4. This success over the Conservative Government of Mr. G. S. Henry brought to an end the 29 years' tenure of the Conservatives in Ontario, interrupted only once when the Farmer Government was in power for four years. The new Premier, Mr. Mitchell Hepburn, and the members of his Cabinet, were sworn in at Toronto on July 10.

In Saskatchewan the Conservative Premier, Mr. J. T. M. Anderson, and all eight Cabinet Ministers, suffered defeat, the returns being: Liberals, 48 ; Co-operative Commonwealth Group, 4; Conservative, 1. As Premier and Provincial Treasurer, Mr. J. G. Gardiner, and the members of his new Cabinet, were sworn in at Regina on July 19.

In Alberta, following a law-suit resulting in the resignation of Mr. J. E. Brownlee, a new Cabinet without change of party

was formed by Mr. R. G. Reid, who succeeded him as Premier and Provincial Secretary, and he, with his Ministers, was sworn in at Edmonton on July 10.

CHAPTER III.

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA—SOUTH-WEST PROTECTORATE—SOUTHERN RHODESIA—BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

JUST as the year 1933 closed with the prospects of party fusion brightly in the ascendant, so came the dawn of 1934. Long-standing causes of schism and suspicion were cleared away in the reorientation of political values, and the result, as General Smuts described it, was the birth of a nation.

The parliamentary session opened on January 26. For once the Government had not to face any serious financial problem, for a substantial Budget surplus was certain; but at this stage fusion was nothing more definite than an expression of hope. Uneasiness existed about the attitude of Dr. Malan's faction, which was openly anti-fusionist. Nor, at the outset of the session, was the policy of Mr. Tielman Roos clearly defined. Although not definitely opposed to fusion he had fought the General Election of 1933 as an independent *{vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 124), who could not see a true coalition in the Hertzog-Smuts pact. At Pretoria, on January 30, however, at a meeting attended by 300 of his followers from the Free State and Transvaal, Mr. Roos contented himself with warning the Government of the consequences of further evasion of the fusion issue. The Malanites, on the other hand, were objectively energetic in their repudiation of the principle. At a conference in Bloemfontein there was much wild talk of a betrayal of Afrikander interests, and the Prime Minister was accused of pandering to the forces of Imperialism and capitalism—an accusation which had become a stock phrase with minority malcontents.

Then suddenly the clouds lifted. Something in the nature of a rapprochement took place between those sworn opponents, General Hertzog and Dr. Malan. In a series of letters they discussed contentious points of the fusion proposal, and so whittled away the barriers which had previously separated them. Dr. Malan made a concession by abandoning the point for which he had previously stuck out, *viz.*, that the identity of the National Party was to be observed even if General Hertzog ceased to be its leader, and agreed to the formation of a new party by an amalgamation of the followers of General Hertzog and General

Smuts. Dr. Malan also agreed that after the principle of fusion **had** been approved by both these leaders and their adherents, any individual who was prepared to conform to the same principle should be admitted to membership of the new party. Here Dr. Malan seemed to surrender a point, for he had previously declared that as the British element in the Smuts Party could never be sympathetic towards Nationalist sentiments, he would be unable to associate with them in a new " fused " party.

Moderate opinion, as represented by what Dr. Malan had described as the British element, was somewhat disturbed upon learning that in the Hertzog-Malan correspondence there was a reiteration of South Africa's right as a self-governing Dominion to secede from the Empire, or Commonwealth, and of the right of individuals to preach the doctrine of republicanism. The Cape Town correspondent of *The Times* observed that there was nothing new in these categorical statements, because they were admitted consequences of dominion self-government as legally expressed in the Statute of Westminster. In Natal, especially, there was a disposition to criticise this generous interpretation of the provisions of the Statute.

If there had previously been doubt and confusion as to the exact implications of the Hertzog-Malan overtures, the uncertainty almost amounted to bewilderment when, on February 18, an official of the Malan group repudiated the interpretation which had been placed on the announced result of the negotiations. The Malanite version of what had actually taken place was embarrassing to the Prime Minister in the suggestion that he as a Nationalist had accepted proposals to which General Smuts could not and would not agree. This, according to the Malanites, left General Smuts, as leader of the South African Party, with the alternative of swallowing the unpalatable clauses of the Hertzog-Malan " understanding" or rejecting them. Such influential ministers as Mr. Havenga (who rose from a bed of sickness to do so), Dr. Pirow and Mr. Grobler, hastened to the Prime Minister and urged that the only way to save the Coalition Government and to save fusion from utter and complete ruin was to issue a denial of these insinuations.

Unfortunately, Dr. Malan, with a zeal approaching fanaticism, then proclaimed the death of fusion, and the resurrection of racialism of a most uncompromising form. This was in February —less than a month after the dispersal of the clouds of uncertainty which had obscured the intentions of the Roos group. The outlook for fusion was never more drear than at this stage. The Prime Mininster responded to the promptings of his ministers, and both he and General Smuts publicly expressed disagreement with Dr. Malan's views. They repeated that the fusion of parties would be on the same general basis as the Coalition, although they admitted that the points on which Dr. Malan placed em-

phasis would be allowed as personal opinions to members of the new party. They added that these points would not form the basis of the principles of the new party. These assurances relieved the tension. It was hoped that they would strengthen the position of the Prime Minister and General Smuts when the time came to launch the new party.

With the advance of the parliamentary session, however, this hope seemed to recede beyond possibility of recapture. The intervention of the long drawn-out debate on the South African Status Bill provided an abundant supply of fuel with which to revive the dwindling flames of racial division. It also revealed the depth and width of the political chasm which divided General Smuts and Dr. Malan : the one steadfast in his allegiance to a broad conception of Commonwealth co-operation ; the other, the apostle of racialism, republicanism and non-co-operation. Dr. Malan impeded, but he did not stop the forward march of fusion. Early in June General Hertzog, as leader of the Nationalists, and General Smuts, as leader of the South African Party, issued the terms of the Pact.

In its essentials the agreement adhered to the seven points which formed the foundations of the Coalition Government of March of the previous year *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 123), and in the opinion of a big majority of the people it provided a rallying point for all who were prepared to give as well as take in the interests of community and country alike. One clause stipulated that the government of the country " shall be conducted on the basis of South African national principles, and in the spirit of South African national independence, in harmony with our sovereign independent status as confirmed by the Statute of Westminster and the Status of the Union Act." Another clause affirmed the " maintenance of the existing relationship between South Africa and the British Commonwealth of Nations and co-operation with its members, subject, however, to there being no derogation from the status of the Union, and no assumption of external obligations in conflict with its interests." It was thought that if herein there were not sops enough to the sturdy if obtuse independence of the Malanites, a *hon bouche* was offered in the shape of the clause which left individuals free to preach the gospel of republicanism, if it so pleased them ; but Dr. Malan rejected the morsel, and Natal found it unpalatable.

The full terms of the form of contract of fusion were issued on June 5, and the head committees of the Transvaal National Party and the Free State South African Party, gave speedy approval. The encouragement which the originators of the movement might have derived from these indications of approbation were offset by the opposition of a section of the South African Party in Natal. Then came the deflection of Colonel Stallard, D.S.O., the popular and highly-esteemed S.A.P. member for

Roodepoort, in the Transvaal. His opposition to fusion sprang from no pettily-conceived resentment. His objection was raised on constitutional grounds. Around him rallied those S.A.P. men who vowed with him that a surrender of principles was too heavy a price to pay for party fusion.

This development took place in June—fortunately too late to distract Parliament, although Parliament had long been aware of what was brewing in this quarter. In June, too, Mr. Roos made another incursion, and diversion, with his Centre Party. The Government was not seriously perturbed. It had safely weathered a particularly stormy session, and now it could congratulate itself on having got rid of what might prove to have been embarrassing attachments. But it still assiduously courted public favour. The Prime Minister and General Smuts, and trusted members of both parties, toured the country to rally their supporters. Their opponents rounded up the opposition groups. The Free State Nationalists split on the Hertzog-Malan issue—as years before the Dutch vote had been sundered over Botha and Hertzog—but Dr. Malan failed to carry more than about 20 per cent, of the voting power, and the practical influence of this was negatived by the tremendous increase of strength which the Prime Minister received from his former opponents of the South African Party. But more important as an indication of the trend of political feeling was the result of the by-election at Heilbron, in September, when the fusionist candidate obtained 2,550 votes and Dr. Malan's non-fusionist nominee 1,550. Only 380 voted for the Roos candidate.

Party activities for the year came to an end on December 5, when Bloemfontein witnessed the triumphant formation of the new United Party, formed from the fusion of the Nationalist and South African Parties. The success of the inauguration was overwhelming. It was the largest congress of political delegates which had ever assembled in the Union. The proceedings were declared to herald the dawn of a new era in the country's political development.

The parliamentary session, which was opened by the Governor-General, Lord Clarendon, on January 26, was the second session of the seventh Parliament of the Union. Its most contentious measure was the Status Bill—a measure embodying the relevant sections of the Statute of Westminster, and the resolutions of the Imperial Conferences of 1926 and 1930. The Bill was introduced by Mr. Pirow, Minister of Railways and Harbours, on March 22, and put through its first reading. But it was at once made evident that stern opposition to certain clauses would be forthcoming.

The vital point of the Bill was contained in Clause 4, wherein it was declared that the Executive Government of the Union, in regard to any aspect of its domestic or external affairs, was

vested in the King, acting on the advice of his South African ministers, and might be administered by His Majesty in person or by the Governor-General. The clause also stated that in future any reference in the South Africa Act, 1909, to the King should be deemed to be a reference to the King acting on the advice of his South African ministers. The words, " heirs and successors," in Section 2 of the South Africa Act, were definitely specified as meaning His Majesty's heirs and successors to the sovereignty of the United Kingdom as determined by the laws relating to the succession to the Crown of the United Kingdom. The term " British subject," was deleted from the Act in various places, and the words " Union national" substituted. The Parliamentary oath of allegiance or affirmation was amended by the deletion of the words " of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland," after reference to the King. Reservation of Bills for the King's pleasure under Section 64 of the South Africa Act was made subject to the new Act. The right of the Privy Council to grant special leave of appeal against the findings of South African courts was preserved. The Governor-General was authorised to assent to Bills in the King's name, or to return Bills to Parliament with recommendations for amendments.

When Mr. Pirow moved the second reading on March 28, he made an eloquent appeal to British and Afrikander alike for constructive and harmonious consideration of the measure : to the Afrikanders not to think that they had not full self-government, and to the British not to believe that they did not have full freedom.

Some of the points of Mr. Pirow's speech should be recorded as emphasising the intention of the Bill. The Minister explained that the constitutional position of the Union was no longer reflected by the South Africa Act, even when taken with the provisions of the Statute of Westminster, because no provision had been made for what was the acid test of true self-government, namely, that in South African matters the King should act, as he was bound to act, exclusively on the advice of South African ministers, and this was now provided for. The Minister emphasised that no new principles were involved other than those laid down in Imperial Conferences and the Statute of Westminster. South Africa and other Dominions of the British Commonwealth were autonomous communities within the British Empire, united in common allegiance to the Crown. The Governor-General's power to dismiss ministers would remain as at present. While South Africa could define its own nationals, there could be no alteration in their common British status without the agreement of all the Dominions. No one could become a parliamentary candidate without five years' residence in South Africa. With two years' domicile every British subject automatically became a Union national.

Mr. Pirow explained that the alteration to the oath section of the South Africa Act was merely for correctness. The oath should be taken either to " the King," or to " the King of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas." The former had been adopted because it was less cumbersome. The Minister added : " I a m considering whether instead of eliminating the words ' British subject,' one should not rather add the words ' who is a Union national.' That would appear to be the same, but I am going into the matter during the recess."

Parliament gave Mr. Pirow full credit for sincerity of purpose. Opposition in the House, as voiced by Colonel Stallard and his supporters, was based on constitutional grounds. Criticism outside Parliament, however, was illogical and ill-informed, and suggested that much of it had been artificially fostered. On the other hand, approval of the measure was expressed in certain Nationalist circles in terms of extreme racial sentiment. During the Easter recess the flood of oratory was in full spate. In a speech at Johannesburg, Mr. Patrick Duncan, Minister of Mines and Industries (a stalwart of the old Unionist Party, who had become a staunch supporter of General Smuts after the amalgamation, and then a leader of fusion), did much to restore the issue to its proper perspective. He made it known for the first time that the Status Bill had been communicated to the British Government before it had been introduced in the House of Assembly, and stated that the British Government had suggested certain amendments which the Cabinet had adopted. This announcement had a two-fold effect. It largely silenced the constitutional objectors, and it suggested to the ultra-Nationalists that their extravagant interpretation of the inner meaning of the Bill was nothing the Imperial connection had reason to fear.

The debate in Parliament was opened when the House met after the Easter recess on April 9. It lasted for three days, and was noteworthy for the high quality of the speeches. General Smuts referred to the Bill as " the great equation of our Commonwealth." He appealed to Parliament to accept it, and to give it to South Africa as one of the foundation stones of her future unity and strength.

The second reading was carried on April 12 by an overwhelming majority, only seven votes being cast against. The Senate passed the second reading without a division, after Mr. Pirow had explained that consultation with the King had been full and adequate and not merely formal. The committee stage was protracted and stormy, but eventually the Bill was adopted by both Houses with but slight alteration, and it was submittted for His Majesty's signature on June 11.

His Royal Highness Prince George, Duke of Kent, sailed from Southampton on January 19 for Cape Town. He travelled many thousands of miles by railway and motor-car in all parts of the

Union and Southern Rhodesia, and everywhere was most enthusiastically received.

Later in the year, in October, General Smuts flew to England by the Imperial Airways route in order to fulfil a number of engagements. These included a visit to St. Andrews, where he delivered an impressive address as Rector of the University.

SOUTH WEST PROTECTORATE.

Political antagonism appeared to derive stimulus from a continued state of industrial and agricultural stagnation. Encouraged by developments in Germany, the German section of the white population—the National-Socialists, as they called themselves—openly demanded the surrender of the Mandate and the return of the Protectorate to Germany. Although this agitation was fed by a mere handful of noisy extremists, it had an unsettling influence, and was wholly responsible for the repressive measures which the Union Government as the Mandatory Authority was called upon to adopt. At the request of a law-abiding majority of the population, it put into operation the anti-Nazi Ordinance which the local Assembly had passed in 1933. This made it a criminal offence to wear party uniform without the Administrators permission, and provided heavy punishment for making threats of violence and incitement to boycott any particular race.

In May there was a definite request from the Legislative Assembly sitting at Windhoek to declare the Protectorate a fifth province of the Union. The German members were absent from the sitting. Through their leader, Dr. Schwietering, they had announced a policy of non-co-operation. Nevertheless, Nazism was still more or less openly advocated. An inevitable sequel was the order delivered on Captain von Losnitzer, leader of the Hitler youth movement in the Protectorate, to leave the country ; the youth movement was declared illegal. Scarcely had the excitement roused by this development died away, when the Attorney-General instructed the police to raid various Nazi branch offices for incriminating papers. So large had become the infiltration of German elements that the Government was urged to demand a sworn declaration of loyalty to the Mandatory Authority from all candidates for election to the Assembly.

Just before the elections took place in October, Dr. Schwietering's Deutscher Bund Party re-entered the political arena as the Economic League, but it was badly defeated at the polls. Major Weigal, was next ordered to leave the country, and his organisation, the Deutscher Arbeiter Partei, was declared an illegal organisation. The Union Prime Minister justified these actions by explaining that the members of the Partei in the Protectorate were bound by oaths of unconditional allegiance to the

head of the German State as " soldiers in the struggle for German freedom." In November the Assembly, by 12 votes to 6, petitioned the Cape Parliament to incorporate the Protectorate as a fifth province of the Union.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

The first session of the new Parliament opened on April 9. As a result of the General Election in the previous September, the Government had a following of sixteen, the Rhodesian Party, which formed the official Opposition, numbering nine. In June, Mr. Huggins, the Prime Minister, came to England on official business. In a series of conferences at the Dominions Office he discussed certain proposed alterations in the constitution of the Colony, and also questions relating to native affairs.

Meanwhile party relationships in the Colony had been under review. The spirit of fusion had spread. There was a feeling that the differences between the Reform (Government) and Rhodesian Parties were too slight to form any serious barrier against amalgamation. Accordingly, in September, the United Party came into being. Mr. Huggins was elected to leadership, and the avowed object of the new organisation was to secure a stable Government for the ensuing five years. Differences and difficulties manifested themselves from the outset. Mr. Fynn, a former Cabinet Minister and leader of the Rhodesian Party, was a whole-hearted supporter of the new policy, but a minority of the Reform Party raised the flag of revolt.

Parliament was dissolved on September 25 ; nominations for the new Parliament were made in the following month, and the election took place in November. The result was a sweeping victory for the United Party. Its candidates won 24 seats, Labour 5, and the Reform malcontents 1. They had fourteen candidates in the field. The Cabinet was constituted as follows : Mr. G. M. Huggins, Prime Minister and Minister for Native Affairs ; Captain Senior, Mines and Transport; Mr. J. H. Smit, Finance and Commerce ; Captain F. E. Harris, Agriculture and Lands ; Mr. V. A. Lewis, Justice, Defence and Internal Affairs ; Mr. P. D. L. Fynn, Minister without Portfolio.

BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE.

Once more the question of the future of the native protectorates occupied the attention of the authorities in this country and in South Africa. This time the Union Government made a definite request for the transfer of their administration from the Imperial to the Union Government. Action on these lines was first indicated in April, when General Hertzog explained to Parliament his reasons for formulating a request to the Dominions

Office. He said that pressure on the Union to take over Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland had become so strong that he doubted whether any Government would be able to resist it.

This statement evoked questions in the House of Commons, to which Mr. Thomas replied that the wishes of the native inhabitants would be most carefully considered before any transfer took place. Apart from official action, many of the white inhabitants of the Protectorates used their influence in furthering the transfer campaign ; the natives loudly proclaimed their desire to remain under Imperial control. Under the chairmanship of Lord Selbourne, an influential Committee known as the Parliamentary South African Protectorates Committee, was set up in July.

CHAPTER IV.

AUSTRALASIA.

AUSTRALIA.

THE visit of the Duke of Gloucester in connexion with the centenary of the State of Victoria, and the memorable air flight from Mildenhall to Melbourne, which brought the Motherland within three days of the Commonwealth, were the outstanding Australian events in 1934. During his tour the Duke dedicated two public memorials to the Australian dead in the World War, and the royal visit furnished opportunities for a series of demonstrations which revealed the affection of the Australian public for the Imperial connexion. Following upon the record flight of C. W. A. Scott and T. Campbell Black on October 24 came the inauguration of the England-Australia air mail service. The English mails which left Croydon on December 8 were delivered in Brisbane on December 20, and in all the larger capital cities by Christmas Day. The corresponding Australia-England air mail left Brisbane on December 10 and arrived in London on December 22, inaugurating a weekly service to and from the Commonwealth, which will be extended to passengers after a three months' experimental period.

In the early months of the year the first Lyons Ministry controlled federal politics, but the Commonwealth House of Representatives was dissolved on August 7, and a General Election was held on September 17. In his policy speech at the Sydney Town Hall, Mr. J. A. Lyons announced that he had no spectacular proposals to put before the electors. " We have eschewed the monetary cranks and spurned the miracle workers," said Mr. Lyons, the reference being to schemes for note inflation which Mr. ScuUin was advocating. Mr. ScuUin had outlined the policy of the Labour Party on July 3, and made banking reform the main plank in its

electoral platform. He said that his party intended to extend the scope and powers of the Commonwealth Bank, until complete control of banking and credit was in the hands of the Commonwealth Parliament. It was also planned to institute a *crddit fonder* system, providing advances to primary producers and home builders. Mr. Beasley, leader of the extreme Labour group, generally known as the Lang Labour Party, made his policy speech in Sydney on August 16. The most sensational proposal was a uniform Commonwealth working week, even down to thirty hours in some industries. Like Mr. Scullin, Mr. Beasley declared war upon the bankers, the key-note of his plan being " the restoration to the people of the control of their own credit." Dr. Page outlined the policy of the Country Party in a broadcast address on August 15, making reductions of tariff rates his outstanding proposal. The result of the polling on September 17 was a victory for Mr. Lyons's United Australia Party, which obtained a clear majority over the combined Labour Party, though it lost seven seats. The division of seats in the new House of Representatives was :—

Parties.	*Neiv House.*	*Old House.*
United Australia	32	38
United Country	16	16
Federal Labour	18	14
State Labour (N.S.W.)	9	5
Independents	0	2
	74 [1]	75

The new Douglas Credit Party, which favoured widespread changes in the economic system, contested 36 seats and secured a considerable number of votes, but failed to return a single representative. The voting for the Senatorial seats, contested at the same time, likewise favoured the Lyons Party. The United Australia Party polled 1,120,768; the Country Party, 364,913 ; Federal Labour, 869,628 ; Lang Labour, 483,182 ; Douglas Credit Party, 132,584 ; Communists, 41,200 ; Independents, 37,625 ; other candidates, 35,903. In the Labour ranks, the success of the Lang candidates in New South Wales tended to weaken Mr. Scullin's personal prestige, and therefore his claim to the leadership of the Opposition.

Following the General Election, Mr. Lyons proposed to form a Ministry from his own supporters, his negotiations with the Country Party having failed to reveal a sound basis for a composite Cabinet. The chief surprise in the Ministry announced on October 10 was the inclusion of the War Prime Minister, Mr. W. M. Hughes, who became Vice-President of the Council and Minister for Health. Sir Harry Gullett, whose health had not

[1] The redistribution in South Australia eliminated one seat, that of Angas.

been good, became Minister without portfolio, charged with the duty of directing negotiations for trade treaties, while the Victorian politician, Mr. R. G. Menzies, became Attorney-General in place of Mr. Latham, who had retired from active politics and was resuming his practice at the Bar. Mr. Latham's resignation was the occasion of tributes from all parties to the public spirit which had persuaded Mr. Latham to vacate the leadership of the United Australia Party in 1932, in order that the position of Mr. Lyons should be unquestioned.

The Federal Cabinet of October 10, however, proved to represent a passing phase. The negotiations between Mr. Lyons and Dr. Page, leader of the Country Party, were resumed. On October 31 it was announced that the leaders had agreed to a composite Ministry, the Country Party having four seats in the new Cabinet, two of the places being held by Ministers without portfolios. Dr. Page was given rank next to Mr. Lyons, and it was agreed that he should become acting Prime Minister in the absence of Mr. Lyons at any time. The new Ministry, comprising fourteen members, was announced on November 7, and will be known as the " Reconstructed Second Lyons Ministry " :—

Mr. LYONS	Prime Minister and Treasurer.
Br. PAGE	Minister for Commerce and Deputy Leader of the Government.
Sir GEORGE PEARCE	Minister for External Affairs.
Mr. MENZIES	Attorney-General and Minister for Industry.
Mr. PARKHILL	Minister for Defence.
Mr. HUGHES	Minister for Health and Vice-President of the Executive Council.
Senator MOLACHLAN	Postmaster-General.
Mr. WHITE	Minister for Customs.
Mr. PATERSON	Minister for the Interior.
Mr. CASEY	Assistant Treasurer.
Sir HENRY GULLETT	Minister without Portfolio Directing Trade Treaties.
Mr. HUNTER	Assistant Minister for War Service Homes.
Senator BBENNAN	Assistant Minister for Commerce.
Mr. THORBY	Assistant Minister for Repatriation.

Mr. J. A. Lyons, as Federal Treasurer, made his Budget Speech on July 24, before the General Election. He explained that the Estimates for the previous year had provided for a deficit of 1,200,000l. Fortunately, revenue increases had brought in 3,600,000l. more than was anticipated, so the revenue for the year ended June 30, 1934, was 73,900,000l. and the expenditure 72,600,000l. For the following year, Mr. Lyons estimated a revenue and expenditure of 72,600,000l. In 1933-34 an additional 3,000,000l. was included in the expenditure as relief for Australian wheatgrowers, otherwise the favourable balance would

have been even greater. Mr. Lyons stated that the direct assistance given to primary producers during the three years in which low world prices had affected exportable products amounted to 9,000,000l. Rather more than 5,000,000l. had been given to wheat growers, another 500,000l. as a fertiliser subsidy, 350,000l. to apple growers, and 560,000l. as a wine bounty. In 1934-35, the Federal Government proposed a bounty of 4,000,000l. to wheat growers, on a basis of 35. a bushel, free on rail at the principal shipping ports.

The need for such grants will be realised when it is remembered that the Wheat Commission estimated the total debts of Australian wheat growers at 140,000,000l. In December 4 a conference of State Ministers met at Canberra and agreed upon a scheme which was even more far-reaching. This included the establishment of a permanent federal rural rehabilitation fund, which would provide 12,000,000l. free of interest to needy farmers, to enable them to satisfy their creditors on a composition basis. In spite of the large amounts distributed in aid of primary production, federal finances continued buoyant, and on June 7 an internal Commonwealth loan for 12,000,000L, bearing *3½* per cent, interest, was oversubscribed. On November 7 a 14,600,000l. conversion loan was issued in London, bringing the total amount of Australian loans converted since October, 1932, up to 124,450,000l., and involving an annual saving in interest which totalled 2,065,000l. sterling, or 2,589,000l. in Australian currency.

In his Budget speech of July 24, Mr. Lyons also announced that his Government had given considerable attention to the question of defence. Owing to the financial situation in recent years, it had not been possible to maintain Australia's defensive arrangements at anything like the proper standard, " with the result that we are faced with expenditure considerably above the level of recent years." For this reason the Government proposed to allocate the balance of the excess of receipts of the last three years (amounting to 4,160,000l.) to a Trust Account, which could be drawn upon for defence purposes over the next few years, in order to relieve the Budgets of these years from any sudden and excessive increase in this regard.

Later in the year the reconstructed Ministry took advantage of the presence of Sir Maurice Hankey, Secretary of the Committee of Imperial Defence, to discuss the general problem of Australian defence from an imperial standpoint. Sir Maurice, who had been invited to visit Victoria in connexion with the centenary celebrations, in company with a number of other well-known Englishmen, made a report to the Commonwealth Government. This included urgent representations that the gauges on the main Australian railway fines should be standardised, in the interests of speedy military mobilisation and concentration.

The defence estimates for 1934-35 showed an increase of

1,538,000l., though the militia had declined from 28,000 to 26,000, and the permanent military force numbered only 1,270 all ranks. On May 16 it was announced that the Commonwealth was taking over the cruiser *Phaeton* from Great Britain, at the cost of 2,250,000l., that it might replace the *Brisbane*, which was being scrapped as obsolete at the end of 1936. *Phaeton* will be renamed *Sydney*, when it joins the Royal Australian Navy. The total appropriations for defence amounted to 9,330,000l., the expenditure upon the Australian Navy being 1,886,000l., upon the Army 1,278,000l., and upon the Air Force 509,000l. As has been said, the whole of the appropriation was not scheduled for expenditure in the current year, but is spread over a period of years. The details of the defence proposals were issued on July 25. A scheme for strengthening the Royal Australian Air Force was approved by the Federal Ministry on August 9, the main part of the programme being the replacement of obsolete machines by modern aeroplanes, such as Hawker Demons and Seagull amphibians at a cost of 450,000l.

Following upon the General Election, the new Federal Parliament was opened on October 23. The Governor-General's speech called attention to the continued need for providing unemployment relief, in spite of the fact that unemployment as a whole was decreasing throughout the Commonwealth. The possibility of unifying railway gauges, national forestry, better housing, and the treatment of coal and shale for oil, were mentioned as matters for investigation in connexion with the unemployment problem. The Governor-General mentioned that the Ministry was negotiating trade treaties with a number of foreign countries, being of opinion that certain primary products of Australia yielded a production far exceeding Empire needs. During the autumn session attention was directed more than once to the new Commonwealth duties upon cotton goods, which had aroused bitter criticism in Lancashire. There were even threats of a boycott of Australian butter and other products in the North of England, where manufacturers and work-people believed their interests were affected by the duties which had been imposed in order to assist cotton production in Queensland. On August 28 minor changes in the duties were made, with a view to conciliating Lancashire opinion.

More far-reaching were the criticisms aroused in Australia by the British proposals to restrict meat imports in the interests of British farmers. Akin to the meat problem was the cognate problem of marketing Dominion wheat in Europe, and such a matter as the over-supply of butter on the English market. These marketing difficulties were so manifest that the High Commissioner, Mr. Stanley Bruce, was invited to Australia in April, to lay before the Government and primary producers the facts of the situation in Great Britain, and the limits to the exports which Australia could reasonably expect to make in

certain commodities. At a conference of Federal and State Ministers at Canberra on April 19, Mr. Bruce even foreshadowed the possibility of Australia ultimately losing markets for certain produce in Britain, if she did not regulate her present exports. The members of the conference, however, continued hostile to any restriction of the British market, and this hostility was maintained throughout the discussion which continued in Parliament and elsewhere to the end of the year. In November, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Under-Secretary for the Dominions, who was visiting Australia in connexion with the Victorian centenary celebrations, devoted, in his public speeches, much attention to the marketing problem. He explained that restriction in Britain was not a selfish policy, but was necessitated by the plight in which British agriculture finds itself owing to the low range of values for food produce.

Faced with these threats of restricted markets, Australia naturally contemplated the negotiation of fresh trading agreements with foreign countries, as the Governor-General had indicated in his speech at the opening of the Federal Parliament. An early result was an agreement with Belgium to prevent continued reprisals owing to Australia excluding certain glass imports from Belgium. These had resulted in an embargo upon Australian barley. Another development was the visit of Mr. Latham to Japan, on what he described as a " good-will " mission. The results were summed up in a report, tabled in the House of Representatives at Canberra on July 6. Mr. Latham pointed out that Japan was beginning to divert her imports to countries which purchased her products, and that Australia could not neglect this source of trade. Mr. Latham advocated an extension of trading facilities throughout the Far East, and proposed the appointment of Australian trade commissioners in Batavia, Shanghai, Singapore, as well as in Japan.

It will be remembered that, for a time, China had taken considerable quantities of Australian wheat; this trade had ceased owing to American long-term loans. Throughout 1934 Japan was buying considerable quantities of Australian wool, and owing to the " Westernisation " of Japanese houses and clothing, the use of wool is likely to increase. There are good judges in Australia who believe that within a decade the Japanese demand for Australian wool may reach 1,500,000 bales a year. Already the Japanese consumption of wool in a year is in the neighbourhood of 750,000 bales. The potentialities of the Japanese market seemed the more important as German purchases of Australian wool are declining. To October, 1934, they amounted to only 3-7 per cent, of the whole export trade of Australia, whereas they were 15.3 per cent, in the corresponding period of 1933. On October 31 a deputation of Australian woolgrowers waited upon Mr. Lyons, suggesting that the Government should examine the

tariff, with a view to trade agreements with foreign countries which might be willing to increase their purchases of Australian wool. The deputation suggested the possibility of extending primage and exchange concessions to these countries, though the concessions at present belong exclusively to Great Britain, and serve as an indirect preferential duty in favour of Britain. Speaking in the House of Representatives on December 13, Sir Harry Gullett stated that he had asked the German Consul-General to submit specific items to form the basis of negotiations for a trade treaty.

Passing from Federal matters to those which more directly affect Governments in Australian States, a grant of 2,000,000l. was made by the Lyons Government from the accumulated Federal surplus, to help in balancing State Budgets. In spite of the need for this aid, the total State deficits in 1934 were well within the limit of 8,500,000L allowed by the Loan Council. During 1933-34, the Budget deficits of the States aggregated 7,900,000/., and in 1934-35 it was agreed that the States should budget for an aggregate deficit of 5,880,000l., the 2,000,000l. allocated by the Commonwealth Government being utilised in order to make the reduction possible. At a meeting of the Loan Council on June 21 it was announced that the Commonwealth and other Australian Banks had refused to finance further deficits by means of Treasury bills unless drastic cuts in the proposed expenditures were made. In the result the Commonwealth Bank agreed to discount Treasury bills to the value of 5,880,000l. to cover the deficits in 1934-35. The Bank, however, declined to continue this method of financing deficits after that year, this being the fifth year after the formulation of the Premiers' Plan, which was an agreed method for securing financial stabihty in the State Budgets after the crisis of 1931.

In February a conference of State Premiers met to discuss changes in the Federal Constitution, and sat from February 14 to the end of the month. The Commonwealth had been in existence for thirty-three years, and it was clear that adjustments were needed if legislative work was to be conducted economically. Apart from finance, trade, navigation, industrial and company law, broadcasting, quarantine and fishing rights were discussed. The proceedings showed that, though public opinion in the big Eastern States was inclined to extend the constitutional powers of the Federal Parliament in certain directions, there was a general objection to increasing Federal authority. The only proposal which was accepted by the conference related to the Federal Parliament's power to regulate whaling and other fisheries in the territorial waters of the States. The States resent the taxing powers which the Federal Government at present possess, and claim that the Constitution should be amended to ensure for the States financial resources adequate for the discharge of their

constitutional obligations. Replying to a resolution of the State Premiers in these terms, Mr. Lyons declared that no further substantial concessions could be made to the States without involving the Commonwealth in the undesirable course of increasing taxation. Western Australia, Tasmania, and South Australia, through their Premiers, pointed out that secession from the Commonwealth might become a live issue in their States if constitutional reforms were not accepted. On this uncomfortable note, the Premiers' conference ended.

The problem of secession from the Commonwealth was carried a stage further in Western Australia, following upon a referendum, as set out in the ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933 (p. 133). The Legislative Assembly in Perth, on May 17, passed a Bill for a petition to the Imperial Parliament to give effect to the referendum vote for secession. A delegation, including Mr. James MacCallum Smith and Mr. H. K. Watson, came to London in the late autumn and presented Western Australia's petition to the Crown. In reply to Western Australia's demand, the Federal authorities issued a pamphlet of 128 pages, setting out the " Case for Union," and replying in detail to the alleged grievances of the State. The " Case for Union," with a foreword by Mr. Lyons, was published on July 31. It supplements " The Case for the Secession of the State of Western Australia," a book of similar size, which presented the West Australian case. The other matter of Western Australian importance was the report of a Royal Commission upon the State Agricultural Bank, issued on August 1. The Commission found that the loss made by the Bank, the soldiers' settlement plan, the Industries Assistance Board, and the group settlements amounted to no less than 6,619,000/. The trustees of the Bank had absolute power to make advances to applicants for assistance, and, said the Commissioners, this discretion had been recklessly exercised. The Commission charged the Auditor-General with wilful neglect and culpable negligence in not informing the State Parliament of the true position of the Bank and its allied institutions.

In New South Wales Mr. Stevens, the Premier and Treasurer, made his Budget statement on September 25, and was able to announce that the State deficit was only 3,900,000/. compared with the deficit of 14,000,000l. during the last year of the previous Government's term of office. Expenditure was 45,000,000/., compared with 57,000,000/. in 193l. Mr. Stevens was also able to announce that unemployment in New South Wales had fallen from 200,000 to 85,000. In Victoria there was a reconstruction of the Ministry, following upon the resignation of Mr. Menzies, who passed into Federal politics. Mr. Ian Macfarlan became the new Attorney-General in Sir Stanley Argyle's Cabinet, with Mr. Kent Hughes as Minister for Labour. Sir Stanley Argyle's Budget speech was delivered in the Legislative Assembly on August 15. It showed an estimated deficit of 243,000/., the estimated revenue being 23,156,000/.

Sir Leslie Wilson, the Queensland Governor, opened the State parliamentary session on August 28, and announced a new bridge connecting the suburbs of Kangaroo Point and Fortitude Valley, Brisbane, at a cost of 2,000,000l. Mr. Forgan Smith, the Premier, made his Budget speech on September 26, and announced a deficit of 1,000,000l., the estimated revenue being 15,350,000l. The South Australian Budget was introduced by Mr. Butler, the Premier and Treasurer, on September 27, the deficit being 517,000l. and the estimated revenue 10,556,000l. Mr. Butler stated that unemployment in the State was still serious, and he proposed a far-reaching scheme of development in the south-east of the State, in co-operation with the Commonwealth. There are fertile tracts in this region, with a good rainfall, and development promises a fair return upon any capital expenditure. In Tasmania a General Election was held in June, as the result of which a Labour Ministry took office under Mr. A. E. Ogilvie, replacing Sir Walter Lee's Nationalist ministry. The State Budget was submitted to the House of Assembly at Hobart on October 23. The deficit for the current year was 207,000l., but a more significant figure was the total of deficits for the past four years, which Mr. Ogilvie said exceeded 2,000,000l. Special Commonwealth grants had been made to meet these deficits, but they were nearly 750,000l. less than the amount needed to liquidate the accumulated deficits. Mr. Ogilvie described the Commonwealth grants as "scandalously insufficient." As for territories outside Australia, they were represented at a gathering of administrators, which met in Canberra on March 1l. Mr. Marr, Federal Minister of Hygiene, presided, and Sir Hubert Murray, for Papua, Brigadier-General Griffiths for New Guinea, and Commander Garcia for Nauru, were able to make satisfactory reports upon conditions in their respective territories.

NEW ZEALAND.

The Forbes-Coates administration remained responsible for the conduct of New Zealand affairs throughout 1934, and it would be idle to pretend that its task was anything but difficult. True, there was diminishing unemployment, and the number chargeable to the Unemployment Fund in the middle of 1934 was 18,000 below the peak figure in 1933. Moreover, the heavy slaughter of sheep and lambs ceased, due to the desire of farmers to raise hard cash at almost any cost. Once more New Zealand flocks registered an increase, though the figure, 28,500,000, was well below the peak year, 1930, when the total was roughly 31,000,000. But throughout 1934 New Zealand producers were faced with a low level of prices, which was the more serious owing to diminishing markets, a difficulty which reached a climax when the British Government intimated that exports of New Zealand meat and dairy produce

would have to be curtailed, if the British farmer was not to be faced with economic ruin owing to glutted markets. These problems of production and marketing coloured the greater part of New Zealand affairs during the year.

When the question of import restriction was mooted by the Mother Country, New Zealand public opinion played for a time with the idea of reducing tariffs in favour of Britain, in the hope that the British Government would be persuaded to waive altogether the restrictions on New Zealand goods. The possibility of bargaining for such an open market so impressed New Zealand opinion that the Dominion Government sent the following cable to the Home Government:—

" There is a widespread belief on the part of producers in New Zealand that if we undertook a drastic reduction or removal of Now Zealand's protective tariff on United Kingdom goods, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom would guarantee continuance of unrestricted entry of New Zealand primary products. His Majesty's Government in New Zealand would be grateful if His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom would indicate their attitude towards this suggestion."

This cablegram was sent on October 25, 1933, but was not published until April 17, 1934. Mr. J. H. Thomas, Secretary of State for the Dominions, replied on December 22, describing the policy of the British Government as " planned marketing of agricultural produce in the interests of all concerned, which involved, where necessary, control of home production as well as home marketing." The object was to raise the price of commodities to a level remunerative to all producers supplying the British market, and he explained that the New Zealand suggestion would involve modification of this policy, " and could hardly be considered with reference to New Zealand alone." Two months later, on February 28, 1934, the New Zealand Government, which had been approached by the New Zealand farmers' organisations on the question of the low price of dairy produce in the British market, sent another cablegram, asking for full information regarding the proposals for a regulated market for dairy produce in the United Kingdom, and enquiring what measure of restriction of imports was contemplated. Mr. Thomas replied on March 9, pointing out the difficulty of precise answers, but explaining that, in general, the desire was to keep the position as open as possible, and this had been done while negotiating trade treaties with Denmark and other countries.

The interchange of messages, and the comment in New Zealand and Great Britain which the published cablegrams aroused, clearly showed that New Zealand had made no " offer " of a reciprocal free trade agreement with the Mother Country, and, indeed, there was no possibility of New Zealand abolishing her moderate protective tariff, particularly at a time when there was serious unemployment in the Dominion.

Mr. Forbes explained later that the New Zealand cablegram of October 25, 1933, had been sent, stating a purely hypothetical case, for the sole purpose of obtaining an authoritative contradiction of the assertion that the offer of a free market for British manufactures would be answered by unrestricted entry for New Zealand products into the Mother Country. It has also been pointed out that neither the New Zealand nor the British Governments could entertain the idea of a section of New Zealand industry claiming the right to such a bargain, which would have entailed trading the protection for secondary industries in the Dominion for immunity from the quota for dairy producers. The appointment of the Royal Commission, gazetted on May 3, was the only possible way of finding a solution for the complexities in which the Government and the New Zealand farmers found themselves.

In the early part of 1934, Mr. Thomas Baxter, chairman of the English Milk Marketing Board, visited New Zealand on the invitation of Mr. Forbes, and conferred with Dominion farmers. His suggested restriction of cheese and butter exports to Great Britain was not received favourably by New Zealand dairy-farmers, who pointed out that the dairy industry in New Zealand was responsible for 45 per cent, of the Dominion's income from export, and severe restriction might make it impossible for New Zealand to meet her obligations to Great Britain. The greater part of the land available for farming was suitable only for dairying, and New Zealand's financial obligations had been undertaken on a certain basis of planned development of the country. When Mr. Baxter's unofficial mission failed, negotiations were resumed between the Governments. In view of the fact that the matter equally affected Australian producers, Mr. S. M. Bruce, the Australian High Commissioner, was also induced to visit New Zealand early in May, and conferred with Mr. Forbes. Mr. Bruce strongly advocated co-operation with Great Britain, and it was arranged that he should work in conjunction with the New Zealand High Commissioner on his return to London.

By the autumn, the problem of the dairy industry was so urgent that emergency legislation was introduced into the House of Representatives on October 25, following upon the report of a Dairy Commission. The Bill included the establishment of an agricultural executive commission of three members, and the reconstitution of the Dairy Export Control Board, set up in 1923, as the New Zealand Dairy Board, of whom three members were appointed by the Government and four by the producers. The Bill permitted the expenditure of 500,000l. upon the improvement of farm and factory equipment. The far-reaching character of the crisis can be judged from a clause in the report of the Dairy Commissioners to the effect that, unless early measures were taken, there would be a general breakdown in the relations of

mortgagers and mortgagees, making it impossible for New Zealand **to** meet its full overseas interest charges, a possibility which was also foreshadowed in the discussions with Mr. Baxter. The trouble is, that apart from Great Britain, no market presents itself for the sale of New Zealand meat and dairy produce, and it is quite impossible to sell it on the home market. Many New Zealand farmers bought their land when the average price of butter was *2Sd.*, as in the season of 1920-21, or 18½d, as in 1928-29, whereas in 1934 the average price for butter-fat received by the New Zealand farmers was 8*d.*

A similar demand from Great Britain for the reduction of meat exports reached New Zealand in July, and, in an address to the Farmers' Union on July 11, Mr. Forbes, the Prime Minister, explained the necessity for co-operating with the British farmer if disaster to all parties was to be avoided. Speaking at Cheviot on July 9, Mr. Forbes said, " we cannot hope to see Great Britain resume a free and open market, and it is therefore prudent that we should face developments which must follow a course designed to make Great Britain more self-supporting in food supplies. We need have no grave fears, as Great Britain will still require nearly half her foodstuffs from overseas, and Empire producers will have substantial preferences." Similar arguments were placed before the public by Lord Bledisloe, the Governor-General, in an address to the Auckland Chamber of Commerce on May 31, in which the speaker developed the conception of an Empire Zollverein, with a view to arresting any downward trend of the standard of life, at any rate within the Empire.

The session of the New Zealand Parliament opened on June 28, and the debate in reply to the Speech from the Throne on July 4 was characterised by a curious refusal of the Labour Opposition to take any part. Mr. Fraser, the deputy leader of the party, explained that he adopted this method of showing his disapproval of the policy of the Forbes-Coates administration. Only Government and Independent members took part in the debate, the Labour members remaining silent throughout. Mr. Coates, as Finance Minister, made his Budget speech on August 23, and was able to give a satisfactory account of the Government stewardship in a time of crisis. In place of the anticipated deficit of 2,094,000l., the deficit was only 709,000l. Thanks to the generosity of the British Government, no payments were required on account of funded war-debts due to the Mother Country. The happier financial conditions made it possible to reduce the special wages **tax** for unemployment relief from 1s. to 10*d.* in the £, and restore 5 **per** cent, of the cuts made in wages and salaries of civil servants in **1931** and 193l. The total revenue was estimated at 24,252,000/., **compared** with 23,492,000l. in 1933-34.

A complete revision of the New Zealand tariff followed upon **the report** of a Tariff Commission, appointed in May, 1933, under

the chairmanship of **Dr. George Craig, Comptroller** of Customs. **The** Commission sat continuously through the year **and** held occasional sittings until March, 1934, rendering its report on March 29, though it was only published when Parliament met on June 28. With reference to clause 7 of the Ottawa Agreement, the Commissioners came to the conclusion that it meant that New Zealand must impose no duties for protective purposes on British goods unless the industries so favoured had a reasonable prospect of success, and they held that the Dominion's obligation under Article 8 was to " impose a tariff intended to equalise costs of production as between home-producers and United Kingdom producers." Mr. J. G. Coates announced the Government's acceptance of this reading of the Ottawa Agreement when he moved the customs resolutions in the House of Representatives on July 10. Mr. Coates explained that the tariff included 449 items, and neither the Commission nor the Government proposed to disturb 344 of them, but changes of various kinds were made in the remaining 105 items, the protective duties being abolished in some cases and drastically reduced in others, amounting on many goods to $50, 33^{1}/_{3}, 25$ and 15 per cent., and, indeed, in many cases exceeding the Ottawa requirements. In introducing the revised tariff, Mr. Coates explained that it was the settled policy of the Government to explore every practicable avenue to increase trade between New Zealand and other units in the Empire, but Mr. Coates intimated that New Zealand should be prepared, subject to the Ottawa Agreements, to reduce foreign tariffs, or to adopt quotas or other regulative devices in return for concessions on New Zealand products. The amendment of the Customs tariff, embodying concessions on British imports, was accepted by the House of Representatives on September 26, and adopted by the Legislative Council on October 4.

During the years of economic stress since 1930, drastic savings were made in the New Zealand defence vote, including suspension of the compulsory training system. In his Budget speech, Mr. Coates explained that the Government proposed to increase the vote to 525,000l., compared with the vote of 215,000L in the Budget of 1931-32, when the expenditure upon defence was at its lowest, and was indeed costing New Zealand no more than *2s. 10d.* a head, as against *11. Ss. 5d.* a head in Great Britain. In addition, there was a naval defence vote of 453,000l. Speaking on September 12, Mr. J. G. Cobbe, the Minister of Defence, explained that the Government proposed long range guns of the latest design for coast defence and also more anti-aircraft guns **and** torpedo-carrying aircraft. It was also proposed to strengthen the liaison with Australia, the first step being the resumption of the training of officer candidates for the New Zealand permanent forces at the Royal Military College, Sydney.

On September 14 a Parliamentary Committee, **appointed to**

investigate the monetary system of the Dominion, made its report, to the effect that trade depression was due to the fall in overseas prices, and not to failure of the New Zealand monetary system. The committee supported the Government's exchange policy, and recommended the use of trade and agricultural bills to finance production, as well as a planned system of public works, by co-operation between the Government, local bodies and banks, to mitigate boom and slump effects. A minority report, presented by the Labour members of the committee, attributed the depression to monetary causes, and recommended that the State should create credit to close the gap between production and consumption. Mr. Downie Stewart, a former Minister of Finance, also presented a report, differing from both the majority and minority judgments.

Parliament adjourned on November 11 until February 13. During the last weeks of the session it was announced that a new political party had been formed, organised by Mr. A. W. Davy, pledged to abolish State socialism, and advocating the placing of State trading concerns on the same footing as private traders. The party will be known as the Democratic Party.

In November a Ministerial delegation left Wellington for Canberra to discuss various trade and tarif matters with the Australian Government. Mr. Coates and Mr. Masters, the Minister of Industries and Commerce, conferred for a week with Sir Harry Gullett and the Australian delegates. On December 1 the failure of the negotiations was announced, it being impossible to agree upon proposals for a comprehensive amendment and improvement of the existing trade treaty between the two Dominions. The negotiations hinged upon Australia's request for the removal of the New Zealand embargo upon Australian citrus fruits, and a counter request by New Zealand for the removal of the Australian embargo on potatoes, apples and pears. The New Zealand delegates asked for a minimum allowance of 10,000 tons of potatoes annually, to which the Australian delegates answered that such an amount would be disastrous to the growers of Tasmania and Victoria. Nor was it possible to reach agreement on the subject of assisting Empire shipping to resist American competition in the Pacific, and the problem was left for future consideration. The heavy American subsidies are the cause of the trouble. The subsidies and loans for building amount to no less than 485,000l. a year. In other words, the American Matson Line and its subsidiaries have to meet no capital charges whatever in connexion with their ships. The New Zealand Shipowners' Federation had long been troubled by what it regarded as unfair competition by United States shipping, and summed up its views in a memorandum published on February 28.

The report of a Commission upon Native Affairs led to the resignation of Sir Apirana Ngata, Minister for Native Affairs, on October 31. The inquiry revealed numerous irregularities and

inefficient governmental methods in connexion with native land settlement, but the Commission paid an ungrudging tribute to the Maori Minister's wholehearted enthusiasm in forwarding the policy of settling the Maori people on the land. The House of Representatives debated the report on November 8, when Mr. Savage, leader of the Opposition, tabled a vote of no confidence in the Government. Mr. Coates explained the reorganisation which had taken place under what may be described as the Maori Five Year Plan, and Sir Apirana Ngata emphatically denied that he had shown favour to any particular tribe. He assured the House that the report would not cause difficulty with the Maoris.

The Maori population of the Dominion was more happily concerned with the celebrations on February 5, in connexion with the Treaty of Waitangi. Showing great generosity and public spirit, Lord and Lady Bledisloe gave the site of the old residency, in which the treaty was negotiated in 1840, to the public of New Zealand. During the celebrations five thousand Maoris gathered at Waitangi, an East Coast chieftain describing the site as " holy ground, the shrine where the Government and the Church of New Zealand were born." From the new park can be seen the Marsden Cross, marking the spot where Samuel Marsden, on Christmas day, 1814, first preached the gospel to the Maoris. Sir Apirana Ngata thrilled the Maori gathering by casting off the top hat and black coat which he wore as a Cabinet Minister, stripping himself to the waist and donning the *mat* of the Maoris. *Mere* in hand, Sir Apirana led five hundred bronzed braves in a ha*ka*, or war dance. He is a full-blooded Maori of the Ngatiporou tribe. There was real sorrow throughout the Dominion over the unfortunate political contretemps which necessitated Sir Apirana's resignation from the Cabinet, as all parties agreed that he had been a victim of unfortunate circumstances. The gift of the Waitangi park happily signalised the approaching end of Lord Bledisloe's term of office as Governor-General. He will be followed by Viscount Galway, D.S.O., O.B.E.

CHAPTER V.

INDIA.

THE year 1934 in India was one of recovery, adjustment to and preparation for the great constitutional advance for which, at its close, after constant investigation for seven years, definite legislative proposals were being shaped. The " greater quietude " at the end of 1933 than for many years noted in the last ANNUAL REGISTER was not only maintained but advanced. Civil disobedience, existing in little more than name in the spring of the year, was closed by the decision of its author, Mr. Gandhi, who

recognised the success of Lord Willingdon's Government in the dual policy of upholding law and order and promoting far-reaching constitutional reform.

On April 7 Mr. Gandhi issued an announcement at Patna advising all Congress men to suspend civil disobedience for *swaraj* (home rule) as distinct from specific grievances. Meeting in the following month at Patna, under facilities afforded by Government, the Working Committee and the All India Committee of the Congress ratified this advice, and withdrew the long-continued boycott of the Legislatures, though on caucus lines. A Parliamentary Board of twenty-five members was appointed " to run and control " the election of members on the Congress ticket.

Consequently the Government of India announced on June 6 withdrawal of the notifications under which various constituent parts of the Congress were declared unlawful. The decision did not extend to the Red Shirt movement in the Frontier Province. Its leader, Abdul Ghaffer Khan, was, however, released in September, under restrictions as to places of residence, but was found guilty of sedition at Bombay, and on December 15 was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. The special laws against terrorism and other forms of political duress passed by the central and provincial Legislatures continued in force, and, indeed, in Bengal and the adjacent province of Assam were supplemented. At the end of July the Communist Party of India was declared unlawful. It had fomented on political rather than industrial grounds a serious strike of textile mill workers in Bombay, and had through a *kisan* (peasant) organisation in the Punjab sought to make propagandist capital out of economic discontent arising from low prices of agricultural produce.

Though the Terrorist movement in Bengal was checked, there was a sharp reminder of its persistence in the narrow escape of Sir John Anderson, the Governor, on May 8, at the Lebong races near Darjeeling. Two young Bengalis fired at him at almost point blank range, and of six other Bengalis arrested four also carried revolvers. Sir John had in hand ameliorative measures for economic ills, and had placed a Rural Development Commissioner in charge of plans of rural reconstruction. The attack upon him did much to rouse public opinion in Bengal from inertia or timidity, and in September large public meetings representative of many communities and political groupings were held to promote practical measures of co-operation with Government for eradication of the evil.

Meanwhile the adjacent province of Bihar was making recovery from one of the greatest earthquakes in history, which on the afternoon of January 15 ran through its northern districts and the Himalayan kingdom of Nepal. The damage, in less intense form, extended east into Bengal and Assam and west into the United Provinces, the total area affected being 120,000 square

miles. The region of severe intensity in Bihar was an irregular ellipse of some 6,000 square miles. Some half million people there were rendered homeless, and the bulk of the cultivating population found their scanty margin of subsistence jeopardised. The number of ascertained deaths in the province was 7,252, but very many fatalities remained unregistered. In Bihar and Nepal at least 10,000 people perished. The work of relief and reconstruction was carried out with great efficiency by the Bihar Government. Some 700,000l. were raised for relief in response to the Viceroy's appeal and that of the Lord Mayor of London, and by the Congress organisation, which co-operated with Government in the humane work of succour.

There were serious floods in the Ganges valley at the end of August, submerging many villages and interrupting railway communications; but in general the monsoon was favourable, and the year was one of gradual economic recovery. The wholesale prices of Indian primary products, after years of progressive decline, rose appreciably. Sir George Schuster, who was later succeeded in the Finance Membership by Sir James Grigg (late Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue) showed in his Budget statement on February 27 that India was moving back towards her normal favourable balance of trade in merchandise. The Budget imposed an Excise duty of Re.l 5as. (25.) on factory sugar, to help to make up the loss of Customs revenue from protection of the industry ; abolished the export duty on hides ; reduced the import duty and excise on silver; and transferred half the jute export duty to the producing provinces, predominantly Bengal. The steady strengthening of the financial position under a policy of economy and retrenchment was reflected in the statement of the Viceroy at Calcutta on December 17 that the credit of India stood higher than it had done for twenty years.

This favourable position assisted Government in taking the initial steps for the establishment of a Reserve Bank to manage, free of political control, Indian currency and exchange in accordance with an Act which reached the Statute Book in February. Early in October it was announced that Government proposed to constitute the Bank formally early in 1935. Sir Osborne Smith, the head of the Imperial Bank of India, was appointed Governor of the Bank, with Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan and Mr. J. B. Taylor, I.C.S., as Deputy Governors. Another necessary prelude to prospective constitutional legislation was the issue in April of the report of a committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Hugh Dow, I.C.S., on various administrative and financial questions connected with the projected separation of Sind from Bombay and its erection into a separate province.

In replacement of a Safeguarding of Industries Act passed early in the year, which was having a prejudicial effect on negotiations at New Delhi for a fresh commercial agreement with Japan,

ad hoc legislation imposed minimum specific duties on many articles of general merchandise in which cheap Japanese imports compete with indigenous industries. The negotiations for an instrument to replace the Indo-Japanese Commercial Convention of 1905, which the British Government had denounced in 1933, were brought to completion in final form in April. The agreement, while continuing most-favoured nation treatment, safeguarded the interests of the Indian cotton textile industry by providing maxima quotas of imports of Japanese piecegoods, and secured a stable market in Japan for a substantial portion of the exportable surplus of Indian raw cotton.

This instrument and the Pact between a textile mission from the United Kingdom and the Bombay millowners reached in the previous autumn (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 146), outdated in some important particulars reports of the Tariff Board, published in February on the cotton and artificial silk textile industries and the sericultural industry. The Cotton Tariff Act passed in April extended, as the Board recommended, the protection of the mill industry for a period of five years, to March, 1939, but on a basis of preferential terms for British imports. Negotiations for a supplementary trade agreement between the United Kingdom and India to implement further the Ottawa Agreement were in progress through the greater part of the year. It was announced in December that the main difficulties had been surmounted, and that in return for certain assurances from the United Kingdom, agreement was being reached on the principles to be followed in fixing on a preferential basis the Indian protective duties on United Kingdom goods.

The Tariff Board was engaged at the beginning of the year in considering the question of a renewal of protection to Indian iron and steel. A small but thoroughly representative delegation from the United Kingdom manufacturers gave evidence and established cordial relations with the Indian industry. The Report of the Board was published in July, and Government adopted the recommendation of extension of protection to the industry for seven years to March 31,1941. The resulting Iron and Steel Duties Act of 1934 extended the application of the principles of the Ottawa Agreement, for while the United Kingdom shipments continue to pay " revenue duties " they are either exempt from the protective schedule or pay much lower rates than those applied to foreign countries.

Other decisions of the Indian Legislature included the withdrawal on August 24 in the Assembly of the Temple Entry Bill, with the promotion of which Mr. Gandhi had been actively identified, and which had evoked strong opposition in the circles of Hindu orthodoxy; the passing of a comprehensive Factories Act reducing, *inter alia*, maximum hours of labour from 60 to 54 a week ; of a Dock Labourers Act for the protection against

accidents of workers employed in loading and unloading ships ; and of the Indian States (Protection) Act, designed to insure the States from subversive activities of all kinds in British India.

While such matters occupied the Legislature, it was the political future of India which held the field in the public mind. The visit of the Viceroy, with Lady Willingdon, to England in the summer (when Sir George Stanley, Governor of Madras, acted as Viceroy) served to deepen the attention that was being paid to any clues, real or imaginary, that might seem to indicate the findings of the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee. Speaking to the Indian Legislature on August 29, Lord Willingdon said that he had found that feeling in England was full of goodwill and sympathy for the natural aspirations of Indians in regard to political advance.

Congress politicians were not disposed to meet this spirit of friendliness by abatement of their demands. The annual general session of the Congress held at Bombay at the end of October —the first since that at Karachi in March, 1931—while approving the ending of civil disobedience and of boycott of the Legislatures, reaffirmed the goal of complete independence. Mr. Gandhi adhered to a decision, announced in September, to retire from leadership of the Congress, to give himself to uplift of the *Harijans* (depressed classes) and village improvement, and to be free to pursue civil disobedience if he should think fit, as the person "most versed in its science." The proceedings, however, demonstrated afresh his ascendency as the one great figure in the movement. He told the session that his advice on political questions would always be available to those who desired it. His retirement was, indeed, a symptom rather than an isolated event.

It was generally expected that in spite of disunity on both policy and methods, the Congress on return to constitutionalism would, with its substantial resources and organisation in town and village, secure considerable representation in the Legislatures. In the General Election to the Assembly, which was virtually completed, except in Burma, before the issue of the Report of the Joint Select Committee, Congress nominees gained 44 of the 105 elective seats. (There are in addition 40 nominated or ex-officio members.) Besides being the largest single group in the House, Congress was expected to be supported usually by nine members of the Nationalist Party (formed in opposition to the Communal Award) and by two Sikhs and at least two Muslims with strong tendencies towards its aggressive brand of Nationalism.

The Report of the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, issued simultaneously in India and the United Kingdom on November 21, was denounced as inadequate and as increasing the safeguards, and thus shared the unfavourable reception in India of every important State paper on the subject

from the Report of the Simon Commission in 1930 onwards. The Congress Working Committee **and** Parliamentary **Board,** meeting at Patna on December 6, condemned the scheme as reactionary and unacceptable, and called for its " rejection " with a view to the issue being referred to a constituent assembly in India. The National Liberal Federation, meeting at Poona on December 30, passed a resolution, on the motion of the Right Hon. Srinavasa Sastri, describing the report as introducing " further highly objectionable reactionary features " and declaring that instead of allaying it would very much intensify the existing deep political discontent in the country. In newspaper discussions of the subject dismay and dissatisfaction were expressed at the absence of any re-affirmation of the goal of Dominion status made in 1929 by the Viceroy (the present Lord Halifax) with the concurrence of the Labour Government; and at the depreciatory references made to the phrase by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Crewe in the House of Lords debate on the Report.

This cold reception of an historic document tended to obscure its effect in a re-orientation of political opinion. There was much direct and far more indirect recognition that the political theorising of seven years of inquiry had now come into conflict with reality in the form of a constitutional scheme to be placed on the British Statute Book within a short distance of time. It was seen that talk of " rejection " did not imply, even in Congress circles, that the reforms would not be worked. A realistic view was presented by two of the most influential Indian delegates to the three sessions of the Round Table Conference—Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar. In a joint statement issued on November 29 they intimated that they could foresee no possibility in the near future of any Constitution being devised, whether in England or in India, which would be acceptable to the country as a whole. They emphasised the consideration that a " negative and destructive policy " such as had already influenced adversely the general outlook in England " would seriously affect our future for a long time to come."

In Burma, where the meetings of the Legislature had been marked by unseemly friction between the so-called anti-separationists and the separationists, the People's Party, led by Ba Pe, issued a statement welcoming the report in so far as it recommended separation from India, but expressing disappointment that this recommendation was not accompanied by " the simultaneous grant of an acceptable Constitution, as demanded by the country." The statement claimed " Burmanisation " both of the Army and the Military Police. The three members from Burma returned to the Central Legislative Assembly were supporters of **the** People's Party.

The more important States showed a spirit of practical realism in **handling** the report. A conference of Ministers **held** in Bombay

in the middle of December, under the chairmanship of Sir Akbar Hydari, Finance Minister of Hyderabad, resolved that the report constituted in many ways an advance on the White Paper proposals from the States' point of view, particularly in the financial provisions, and that in general the recommendations should prove acceptable to the States, subject to certain important reservations. It was further decided that the early establishment of a Council of Ministers was necessary, and that it should be as small a body as was consistent with the principles of giving representation to the important interests concerned. This decision was largely influenced by the loss of prestige of the Chamber of Princes as a medium of expression of States' opinion, in view of withdrawal from it of the interest and support of some of the larger States. At the end of the year the Chancellor of the Chamber (the Maharaja of Patalia) issued an intimation that the Princes' opinion on the Federal proposals would be announced only after they had examined the forthcoming Constitution Bill,

Within the States the outstanding event was the creation, under the orders of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, of a State Assembly based on an elective system and possessing powers comparable to those conferred in British India under the Morley-Minto Reforms. The election in the thirty-three constituencies took place on September 3, and there were fourteen constituencies for which members were nominated by Government. The Assembly, completed by the addition of sixteen State Councillors and twelve official members, was inaugurated by the Maharaja in a durbar held on October 17, and a useful session followed. Another satisfactory event was the settlement announced in June, on the lines of an arbitral award by Lord Dunedin, of the long-standing controversy between the Government of India and the State of Jamnagar in regard to sea Customs collected at the port of Bedi. In December came the welcome announcement of a settlement on similar lines with three other maritime Kathiawar States—Junagadh, Porbandar, and Morvi.

In British India the work of economic development, though checked by financial stringency, was steadily pursued. On August 21 Sir George Stanley, who later made over the Governorship of Madras to Lord Erskine, opened the Cauvery-Mettur irrigation dam designed to protect the great granary of the Cauvery delta from the evils of drought and famine. The dam, which is situated 180 miles south-west of Madras, has a capacity of 90 thousand million cubic feet, and has cost 5,500,000l. There were important developments in the field of civil aviation, to make up for the inadequacy of ground organisation, and also in broadcasting. The erection of a large transmitting station in New Delhi by the Government was to be the first step toward the establishment of a complete system of broadcasting covering the

whole of India, under which provinces will have the benefit of the expression of their own culture in their own literary languages, with the addition of English programmes.

The policy of Indianisation of the Indian Army was promoted by the passing in August of the Indian Army Act (Amendment) Bill to enable Indian graduates of the Dehra Dun Academy to receive Dominion commissions in the King's name, but over the signature of the Governor-General. The Indian Navy (Discipline) Act gave the full status of a Navy to the Royal Indian Marine, which was originated on a small scale in 1612 ; and on October 2 the Royal Indian Navy, so designated with the approval of His Majesty, was inaugurated.

Sir Malcolm Hailey, one of the ablest administrators of his day in India, made over charge of the United Provinces Government to Sir Harry Haig at the end of November.

As a fitting culmination of generations of friendship with the kingdom of Nepal, the mediation of the Government of India in diplomatic relations was replaced in the early summer by the establishment of a Legation in London, under the charge of Commanding General Sir Bahadur Shumshere Jung Bahadur, eldest son of the Prime Minister and Marshal of Nepal. The status of the British Envoy at Khatmandu was correspondingly raised to that of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentary at the Nepalese Court.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

DURING 1934 the history of the League of Nations reflected, even more vividly than usual, the alternation of fear, suspense, relief and hope which characterised the political history of the world. For Europe especially it was a year of violent shocks and alarms, intensified by bloodshed in many countries. There was an ever-present threat that internal unrest might overflow into international anarchy. Twice, in July and October, political assassinations came near to producing complications of the most serious character, but on each occasion the danger of war was averted.

In face of the challenge forced upon it by the persistently troubled situation, the League of Nations was at first nervous and hesitant, but at length found escape from the paralysing depression that had frustrated its activities for two or three years past. At the annual Assembly in September, the first distinct signs of revival were visible. After the Council had achieved two major successes, the year closed with unmistakable evidence of renewed confidence in League methods. ,

Outside Europe, notably in Asia and South America, black spots remained. Japan, in accordance with her ambitious Far Eastern policy, quietly consolidated her position in Manchuria, while the League maintained the appealing eloquence of a discreet silence. Alone among League members, Salvador, with the avowed object of " cultivating harmonious and peaceful relations with all nations," stultified the relevant Assembly resolution by recognising " Manchukuo." A working arrangement was, indeed, reached at Geneva in connexion with Manchurian mails. For the rest, a good deal of uneasiness about the future was apparent beneath the surface, and unquestionably Russian fears of Japan helped to precipitate the entry of the U.S.S.R. into the League.

Disarmament.—Another meagre chapter was added to the story of the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments. In the absence of Germany, progress proved to be impossible, except in connexion with a number of minor points. Considerable negotiation went on outside the orbit of the League.

During the early part of the year, memoranda were **exchanged** between the chief European Powers **in** the hope of breaking the deadlock. The parleys, however, were cut short after the publication of the Germany military budget in April, when France violently denounced Germany's alleged infraction of treaty obligations.

At the conference, delays and postponements came with monotonous frequency. When the officers of the Bureau met in January, they decided not to interrupt the " parallel and supplementary negotiations" which were proceeding between the Governments of the United Kingdom, France and Italy. Next month, whilst there was still not sufficient progress to justify an early meeting of the Bureau, expectations were centred around the forthcoming mission of Mr. Anthony Eden, the Lord Privy Seal, who was to visit Paris, Berlin and Rome on behalf of the British Government. April saw a false start made at the Bureau, and then action was deferred until the end of May.

On May 29 the General Commission of the conference initiated a not entirely useless discussion which lasted more than a week. By a resolution of June 8, the Bureau was invited to seek the solution of outstanding problems. Special committees on security and guarantees of execution were set up, while the Air Commission and the Committee on the Manufacture of, and Trade in, Arms were instructed to resume their work. It was expected that the Assembly in September would be made the occasion of further discussions, but the President announced that it was " undesirable to convene the Bureau."

A change of method occurred in November. On November 20 Mr. Henderson made a statement to the members of the Bureau, in which he declared that the committees had " satisfactorily if partially " carried out their work. He proposed that certain questions, considered to be sufficiently advanced, should be dealt with in separate protocols, which should come into force one by one without the conference being obliged to wait for the completion of the full Convention. The subjects chosen for treatment in this way were *(a)* the control of the manufacture of, and trade in, arms ; (6) budgetary publicity ; and (c) the establishment of the Permanent Disarmament Commission. The ultimate aim, as the President emphasised, still remained the completion of the comprehensive Disarmament Convention to which the nations had solemnly pledged themselves.

The United States delegation submitted an important proposal. This was in the form of a series of draft articles for the regulation and control of the arms traffic, and the establishment of a Permanent Disarmament Commission. It was also decided that the Russian motion relating to a permanent Peace Conference **should** be studied.

Political Action by the Council.—Throughout the year **the**

League continued its efforts to stop the war in the Gran Chaco between Bolivia and Paraguay. When the Paraguayan Government declined to prolong the armistice which expired on January 6, the Chaco Commission had to report to the Council the failure of yet another attempt at conciliation. A plan of settlement was then proposed. To this Bolivia at first assented, but Paraguay refused to accept it as a whole. In March a meeting between the delegations of the two parties was arranged in the hope of bridging the gulf, but both maintained their divergent points of view. Between April 23 and May 9 the members of the Commission which the League had sent to the spot met in Geneva to draw up their report. In six chapters they clearly set out the geographical facts, the historical background of the dispute, a summary of the negotiations, the question of an inquiry into the responsibility for the war, a survey of the military situation, and the Commission's conclusions.

In the light of striking evidence contained in this report regarding the supply of war material to the belligerents, the representative of the United Kingdom proposed an arms embargo. Considerable difficulties were experienced before this measure could be put into general operation, certain countries at first insisting upon the fulfilment of existing contracts. Meanwhile, in June, Bolivia took the drastic step of requesting the Council, under Article 15, paragraph 9, of the Covenant, to refer the whole matter to the Assembly. At the annual Assembly an interesting discussion took place upon a legal point raised by Italy regarding the legality of the arms embargo. There followed, in November, an extraordinary session of the Assembly, which made another appeal to the belligerents. As the views of the two parties apparently remained irreconcilable, the Assembly adopted a report under Article 15, paragraph 4, of the Covenant. Its recommendations provided for the cessation of hostilities, measures of security, peace negotiations, and an arms embargo.

In the Leticia dispute between Colombia and Peru, the peace negotiations begun in 1933 under a neutral chairman reached a successful conclusion. The Council heard on May 19 that complete and final agreement had been reached at the conference at Rio de Janeiro. A protocol and general convention were signed, covering all questions relating to the frontier.

Further negotiations with regard to the League's plan of assistance to Liberia proved abortive. The negro Republic, while accepting in principle, formulated a number of reservations which the Council could not countenance. Consequently, in May, the Council decided to withdraw its offer, at the same time assuring the Liberian Government that further proposals could always be submitted.

Preparatory measures for the plebiscite in the Saar Territory involved constant and painstaking labour for the Council. When

the matter appeared on the agenda of the January session, France suggested that Germany should be invited to consider the desirability of being represented. The latter country promptly refused for reasons of principle. A Committee of Three, composed of the representatives of Italy, Spain and the Argentine Republic, was then asked to prepare a report for the May session of the Council. In point of fact, the issues at stake proved to be so delicate that a final report was not ready until June 2, The measures proposed aimed at ensuring that the plebiscite should take place under such conditions as would secure the freedom, secrecy and trustworthiness of the voting. The importance of securing the collaboration of both France and Germany, as signatories of the Treaty of Versailles, was also stressed. On June 2, in response to an appeal from the President of the Committee, the German and French Governments undertook to abstain from pressure of any kind, to abstain from discrimination against any persons having the right to vote, and to punish any action by their nationals contrary to these undertakings. The Council thereupon fixed Sunday, January 13, 1935, as the date of the voting, and made arrangements for the establishment of a Plebiscite Commission with powers of organisation, direction and supervision in connexion with the plebiscite. It was also decided to set up a Supreme Plebiscite Tribunal, together with eight divisional tribunals, to have jurisdiction in all disputes arising out of the plebiscite.

Despite the Franco-German understanding, the situation in the Saar Territory steadily deteriorated. Reports from Mr. Knox, the Chairman of the League Governing Commission, drew attention to a systematic campaign of intimidation by the *Deutsche Front* and widespread corruption among the police and other public officials. The Commission decided that, in the circumstances, there was no alternative to the recruitment of foreign police. Events seemed to be drifting in the direction of a Franco-German clash, and serious trouble nearer the date of the plebiscite was generally anticipated. Fears of a Nazi *Putsch* led M. Barthou to inform the Council that, if an emergency arose, his Government would not shirk the duty of sending French troops into the Saar. Early in November, however, the situation took a turn for the better. With both France and Germany in the mood for conciliation, the League machinery was used to good purpose. For a month the League Committee of Three, under the skilful chairmanship of Baron Aloisi (Italy), conducted conversations in Rome which were attended by French and German experts. The League Secretariat and financial experts played a greater part than appeared on the surface. On December 3 the world learned with relief that an agreement had been reached, settling in advance such difficult problems as the financial terms for the re-purchase of the Saar coalmines from France in the event of the Territory

reverting to Germany. Already tension was relaxing. The British Government chose this auspicious moment to propose, at the extraordinary session of the Council, that an international force should be despatched to the Saar to preserve order during the period of the plebiscite. Great Britain, Italy, Sweden and Holland agreed to supply contingents of troops, under British command.

Fresh from this sudden spectacular achievement, the Council immediately had a second opportunity of demonstrating its ability to deal with a difficult situation. The shadow of coming events might have been seen when, in May, the Hungarian Government had brought to the Council's notice certain incidents which had arisen on the Yugoslav-Hungarian frontier. That was before the assassination of King Alexander and M. Barthou at Marseilles (Oct. 9), a tragedy which added fresh incitements to old hostilities and prejudices. Yugoslavia's appeal to the Council, alleging Hungarian complicity in the crime, was couched in strong language. At the request of Hungary, the matter was dealt with at once, instead of being held over until the next ordinary session of the Council. At the outset, Dr. Benes, the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, graphically reminded the statesmen of their responsibility. "If," he said, "the case which is before the Council had happened before the war or before the League existed, war between the two States concerned would have been a sad reality to-day." The outlook was not hopeful when the French Foreign Minister publicly supported the Yugoslav Government, and Italy retaliated with a declaration in favour of Hungary. If this incident revealed an inherent weakness due to the Council's composition, subsequent developments demonstrated that it need be no insuperable obstacle to efficiency. British leadership, in the person of Mr. Anthony Eden, recalled the Council to a sense of its responsibilities. It was to the credit of France and Italy that they then subordinated their partisanship to the urgent necessity of securing a satisfactory peaceful settlement of the quarrel. The Council framed proposals to this end which were accepted by both parties to the dispute. In addition, the important decision was reached to set up a committee of eleven to consider the preparation of a draft convention for the repression of terrorist activities.

Certain other international disputes were left at inconclusive stages at the end of the year. These included the claim brought by the Finnish Government against the Government of the United Kingdom in respect of Finnish ships used during the Great War by Great Britain. Another reparations question was raised by Switzerland against Germany, the British Empire, France and Italy, concerning damages suffered by Swiss citizens as a result of war-time events.

At the end of November the Iraqi Government lodged an

appeal against the Imperial Government of Persia under Article **11** of the Covenant, alleging a series of boundary violations. **The** following month, incidents in the frontier regions between Abyssinia and Italian Somaliland were the subject of a number of accusations and counter-accusations received by the Secretary-General at Geneva.

Arbitration.—Conciliation and mediation, during 1934, overshadowed arbitration. Certain States renewed their ratifications of the " Optional Clause," but the total number of those thus bound in advance mutually to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice in suitable cases remained unchanged at forty-two. Twenty-two States were parties to the General Act for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, covering other forms of disputes not coming within the scope of the " Optional Clause."

The Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague had a comparatively quiet year. When its 31st session opened on February 1, the so-called " Lighthouses " case was submitted to the bench under a special agreement concluded between the parties, the French and Greek Governments. The point at issue concerned the 1913 contract between the Ottoman Government **and** the *Administration generate des Phares de l'Empire ottoman,* prolonging certain concessions for the management and maintenance of lights on the Turkish coasts in the Mediterranean, the Dardanelles and the Black Sea. After the Balkan Wars and subsequently, some of the territories in question were assigned to the Greek Government which, in 1929, desired to take over full management of all lighthouses. The Court was asked to decide whether the original contract had been regularly concluded and whether, in consequence, the concession remained valid. By 10 votes to 2, judgment was pronounced on March 17 in favour of the French contention. Further proceedings for the settlement of all pecuniary claims did not directly concern the Court as, failing a direct agreement, this matter was to come before an arbitral tribunal appointed for the purposes of the case.

Two further sessions of the Court were devoted to a second case involving the British and Belgian Governments. It was alleged that Mr. Oscar Chinn, a British subject at all material times resident and carrying on business in the Belgian Congo, **had** sustained loss and damage in consequence of regulations **relating** to fluvial transport on the waters of the Belgian Congo. **Both** parties, by a special agreement concluded on April **13,** 1934, **agreed** to accept the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court. The **issue** depended **upon** the **legal** construction **placed upon the 1919 Convention** of **St. Germain-en-Laye. By 6 votes to 5, the Court upheld the contention** of the **Belgian Government.**

The Court was also requested to appoint **an umpire in a dispute which had arisen between** the **Imperial Government of Persia and**

the Ceskomoravska-Kolben-Danek Company. Sir John Fischer Williams, K.C., K.C.B., was chosen and, on September 22, announced his award.

On December 28 the death of M. Adatci robbed the Court of one of its most illustrious judges. Elected to the bench in 1930, M. Adatci served as President from 1931 to 1933.

The Fifteenth Assembly.—By general consent the 15th ordinary session of the League Assembly, which met at Geneva from September 10 to 27, was the most business-like session held in recent years. Of the 57 States which were members of the League when the Assembly opened, 53 were represented. The delegates included 5 Prime Ministers and 25 Ministers for Foreign Affairs. The admission of the U.S.S.R. on September 18 was in accordance with expectations, but two surprises were in store for the closing days of the Assembly when Afghanistan applied for membership and Ecuador decided to take the place which she could claim as an original signatory of the Covenant. Thus the League for the first time attained a nominal membership of 60 States.

Unfortunately the Russian entry was badly mismanaged. That country's demand for a definite invitation such as Turkey and Mexico had received, and the impossibility of securing the requisite unanimous vote from the Assembly, led to a feverish burst of secret negotiations, which was checked by Mr. de Valera's reasoned protest against " hotel-room diplomacy." At length the difficulty was overcome by means of an invitation to Russia signed by 30 States, coupled with the assurance that a permanent seat on the Council would be forthcoming. The actual motion for Russia's admission was adopted by 39 votes to 3, with 7 absentions.

A second crisis in the Assembly was caused by Poland, whose Foreign Minister, Colonel Beck, told the delegates that, " pending the introduction of a general and uniform system for the protection of minorities, my Government is compelled to refuse as from to-day all co-operation with the international organisations in the matter of the supervision of Poland's application of the system of minority protection." Sir John Simon, in reply, declared that it was not possible for any State to release itself from obligations of this kind by unilateral action ; and he was strongly supported by M. Barthou. After a long and at times heated debate in the Sixth Committee, Poland withdrew her proposal for a general minorities treaty, but not her virtual refusal to fulfil obligations.

It was in the arduous, technical work of the committees that the Assembly reached its highest level. The First Committee dealt with legal and constitutional questions ; the Second with the League's technical activities; the Fourth with League finances and the Secretariat; the Fifth with social and humanitarian questions ; and the Sixth with political matters. The Third Committee, which normally deals with all questions relating to the reduction of armaments, was not appointed.

Chief interest in the Council elections was due to the fact that both China and Spain, who had reached the end of their term of office, applied for "re-eligibility"—that is, they asked the Assembly's permission to stand again for election. This was granted in the case of Spain but refused in the case of China. Spain was then re-elected, while Turkey and Chile were chosen to fill the places of China and Panama.

International Co-operation.—One result of the world's preoccupation with political problems was that the minor activities of the League received less attention than they deserved. Undaunted by this comparative neglect, the expert committees advising the Council consolidated their work in the several spheres of international co-operation.

Among the special investigations carried out by the Health Organisation were inquiries into the effects of the depression upon public health, and on medical education. Reorganisation of public health services continued in China, Greece and Czechoslovakia. The Health Section of the Secretariat issued an illuminating survey of work done in the international field during the past ten years for the prevention and treatment of malaria.

The 1931 convention for the limitation of manufacture of dangerous drugs was, for the first time, in full operation. No international conventions have been more widely ratified than those dealing with the drug traffic. By the end of 1934 the original Hague convention had secured 58 ratifications, the 1925 Geneva convention 52, and the Limitation convention 48. In accordance with an Assembly resolution that "more general publicity should be given to the great success achieved by the League in this sphere," the Secretariat published a complete survey of League action against the drug traffic.

The Traffic in Women Committee was instructed to draft an international convention for the punishment of *souteneurs.* Action was contemplated to rescue Russian refugee women in China who had fallen victims of the traffic. The League's plan for the settlement of the Assyrian Christians from Iraq in Brazil broke down, but an offer to provide land for them in British Guiana was investigated. The Child Welfare Committee submitted proposals for mitigating the effects of the economic depression on children and young people.

Intellectual Co-operation was the subject of a series of League meetings during July. Matters discussed included League of Nations teaching, revision of school text-books, educational information centres, and a draft international convention on broadcasting and peace. The first International Congress on Educational Cinematography met in Rome during April.

International Labour Organisation.—In many respects the year 1934 was even more eventful for the International Labour Organisation than it was for the League. On August 20 the

United States of America accepted membership, and the entry of the U.S.S.R., Afghanistan and Ecuador during September made a total membership of 62 nations.

The 18th session of the International Labour Conference, held in Geneva from June 4 to 23, saw the adoption of two new conventions. These dealt respectively with unemployment insurance and assistance for the unemployed, and with the reduction of hours of work in automatic sheet glass works. In addition, the scope of the 1925 convention on compensation for occupational diseases was extended, silicosis being the most important disease added to the schedule. Partial revision of the 1919 convention on night work for women was carried through, minor changes being made to facilitate ratification by certain countries. At this session, the amendment to Article 393 of the Treaty of Versailles came into force, enabling the conference to elect an enlarged Governing Body.

By December 31 the total number of ratifications of International Labour Conventions registered at Geneva was 636, an increase of 58 ratifications in the course of the year.

The growing universality of the International Labour Organisation was well illustrated by the missions which it sponsored to a large number of countries. Mr. Harold Butler, the Director of the Office, went to Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia in the spring, and later visited the United States and Mexico. The report written by Mr. Fernand Maurette, after his mission to Japan, aroused keen interest in commercial, industrial and labour circles. Other officials visited South America.

It will be seen that 1934 for the League of Nations was a strange mixture of fruitless endeavour and success where perhaps it was least expected. In sum, the disappointments outnumbered the positive achievements, but the psychological effect of events towards the close of the year transformed the League's prospects for the future. By its action in the Saar and in the Yugoslav-Hungarian dispute, the League re-emerged as a vital force in world affairs. As its own ebbing confidence returned, so its prestige in the eyes of the nations became (in part, at least) rehabilitated.

CHAPTER II.

FRANCE AND ITALY.

FRANCE.

IN the closing days of December, 1933, there had been discovered a financial fraud involving the Municipal Loan Office of Bayonne, which, at the suggestion of an adventurer named Stavisky, had **placed in** circulation 200 milliards worth of forged bonds.

Stavisky, who was known as an old offender, was already **in** flight. **Soon** after came the news of his violent death, on January 9, in a villa at Chamonix, to which he had been tracked down by the police.

M. Dalimier, now Minister for the Colonies, had, when Minister of Commerce, induced the insurance companies to invest their funds in bonds of municipal loan offices. For this, he found himself obliged to resign on January 9. The Prime Minister, M. Chautemps, reconstructed his Ministry without bringing in any fresh blood. The Chamber, which had reassembled in the ordinary way after New Year and had re-elected M. Fernand Bouisson as President, affirmed its confidence in the Government. On January 12 it rejected by 379 votes to 196 a motion brought forward by the Opposition for appointing a Commission of Inquiry. While, however, M. Chautemps retained the support of Parliament, the behaviour of the street crowds already showed the agitation prevailing in Paris and the feeling aroused by the scandals. The Keeper of the Seals, M. Raynaldy, and other high officials were openly charged with complicity; the name of M. Pressard, the brother-in-law of M. Chautemps, was also dragged in; and on January 28 M. Chautemps and his colleagues resigned, after having sanctioned the appointment of a Committee which should report on all the obligations of an administrative or political character incurred since the beginning of the Stavisky affair.

On January 30 M. Daladier formed a Ministry slightly more inclined towards the Centre, and declared his intention of striking "hard and quickly" at all the guilty. At a Cabinet Council held at the close of February 3, he decided upon certain changes in the administration and judiciary. M. Chiappe, who had been Prefect of Police for seven years, was appointed Resident General in Morocco; the Attorney-General, M. Pressard, Councillor in the Court of Appeal, and M. Thome, Director of the Surete Generale, administrator of the Theatre Franyais. The removal of M. Chiappe was interpreted as a sop to the Socialists who, though he was very popular at Paris, had been for some weeks demanding his dismissal, on the ground that he was making preparations for a *coup d'etat.*

The refusal of M. Chiappe to accept the post offered to him, the resignation of the Prefect of the Seine, M. Renard, who made common cause with his colleague, the withdrawal of MM. Pietri and Fabry, Ministers respectively of Finance and War, and the substitution for them of MM. Paul-Boncour and Marchandeau, raised public feeling to fever pitch. The breach between the Government and the Republican elements of the Centre became definite. M. Daladier found himself at the head of a Ministry closely akin to that of M. Chautemps and able to count henceforth on the support of the Socialists.

On February 6 the Cabinet met the Chambers in an atmo-

sphere of gloom. A number of groups, among them a very strong contingent of ex-soldiers, had resolved to demonstrate in the evening in the vicinity of the Palais Bourbon. The danger of incidents arising became acute, all the more as the preservation of order in Paris was in the hands of two inexperienced officials, MM. Frot, Minister of the Interior, and Bonnefoy-Sibour, Prefect of Police. While a dramatic sitting was going on within, the ex-soldiers tried to approach the Chamber. Atrocious scenes took place in the Place de Ia Concorde, fifteen persons being killed and hundreds wounded. On the next day M. Daladier, who in the night had obtained a vote of confidence by 343 votes to 237, felt himself obliged by the excitement in the streets to resign. Fresh disorders took place on February 7 and 9 in Paris, the former provoked by mischief-makers, the latter by the Communists.

The President of the Republic now appealed to M. Gaston Doumergue, an ex-President of the Republic, who for three years had been living in retirement in his country house at Tournefeuille, near Toulouse. M. Doumergue arrived in Paris on February 8, and on the next day formed a Cabinet in which all parties were represented except the Unified Socialists and the Communists. The Ministry of War was entrusted to Marshal Petain. Two ex-Prime Ministers, MM. Andre Tardieu and Edouard Herriot, joined the Government, other prominent members of which were M. Cheron as Minister of Justice, M. Barthou at the Foreign Office, M. Sarraut as Minister of the Interior, and M. Germain-Martin as Minister of Finance. The Cabinet contained twenty members, of whom six were Radical-Socialists. It came before the Chamber on February 15 as a Government of truce, appeasement and justice, and secured a big majority. This was followed by the approval of Bills enactmg that the Budget should be voted *en bloc,* and authorising the effecting of economies by decree. Finally the Chamber appointed two Commissions of Inquiry of forty-four members each, one to investigate the Stavisky scandals, the other to fix the responsibility for the events of February 6.

On February 21 the magistrate, Albert Prince, who had been in charge of the papers connected with the Stavisky affair, in his capacity of head of the financial section of the district of the Seine, was found dead on the railway line near Dijon. The body, which had been laid on the rails, had been crushed by the train. The circumstances of his mysterious end have not yet been cleared up. They helped to aggravate the prevailing anxiety.

The task awaiting the Cabinet of National Union was even more difficult than that which had devolved on the Poincare Cabinet in 1926. To financial and budgetary difficulties there were added grave external problems, while the crisis arising from the scandals still persisted. It was bad enough that the swindler

had used official recommendations to unload on the public his fraudulent bonds. But behind this affair lurked the danger of a bitter conflict between those who desired an ever increasing State control of industry (that is to say, the Socialists, not to mention the Communists, and a part of the Radicals), and the upholders of the existing regime of bourgeoisie and economic liberty.

On February 12 there was a general strike openly directed by the C.G.T. and the C.G.T.O., with the concurrence of the Socialists and the official patronage of the Radical-Socialist Party, but it passed off without incident. Its purpose was to protest against the "Fascist peril," and the number and orderliness of those who took part showed at once the strength of the masses and the desires of the working-class. The Government commenced to put into operation its programme of economies. M. Doumergue threatened to resign if the Budget was not voted by February 28. This somewhat exacting demand was fulfilled by the hour specified.

In March he obtained permission from the Chambers to carry out economies by means of decrees which were to be ultimately submitted for their ratification. In face of threats of strikes and disturbances, he made important reductions in the salaries of officials and in the pensions of ex-service men. He also made attempts to strengthen the powers of the Executive as against Parliament. He demanded the right of dissolution without having to wait for the consent of the Senate.

Parliament adjourned on March 16 till May 15, having first decided to appoint a Commission to study the various schemes of constitutional reform.

While there was a truce within the Cabinet, there was none between the parties themselves. The Right and a part of the Centre intensified their propaganda, making the best of their unexpected accession to power. The Socialists found in the events of February a ground for a "common front" with the Communists. The Radical-Socialists, in preparation for their Congress, examined what steps they should take so as to save themselves from being crushed between rival groups. As always in involved situations, the extremist parties made demands—which had been rendered superfluous by the passing of the Budget and the grant of plenary powers—for the dissolution of the Chamber. In order to calm public opinion and pave the way for the reduction of salaries, M. Doumergue gave a broadcast address on the evening of March 24.

The change of Government was made by France the occasion for renewing her diplomatic activity. In a memorandum addressed in February to Germany, the French Government alluded to the German military preparations, particularly to the Hitlerian organisations, and expressed its determination not to consent

to any further weakening of France, in **the face** of the rearmament of the Reich.

After his conversations with Mr. Eden at **Paris** and with M. de Broqueville at Brussels, M. Barthou seemed to incline to a convention of which the bases would be the legalisation of German rearmament within certain limits to be fixed, the limitation of the armaments of nations supposed to be better armed, and guarantees of security or at any rate of execution. Thereupon the British Government by a verbal Note asked for explanations of what M. Barthou required as guarantees of a possible convention. The French Note sent in reply on April 17 cleared the air. It condemned as illegal the rearmament of the Reich, called attention to the violent and calculated rupture of Berlin with the League of Nations, invoked the right of security which could not be refused either to France or to any other nation, and maintained that military preparations were to be governed by treaty provisions. The Note of April 17, which was very important as defining the French position, caused some surprise by its suddenness and outspokenness; it put an end to a period of equivocation. One could no longer speak of a large French army and a small German army.

In the second half of April, M. Barthou visited the capitals of Poland and Czechoslovakia. There was a perceptible difference between the somewhat cool welcome given to him at Warsaw, where since the " Four-Power Pact " there had been a certain mistrust of France, and the warmth of his reception at Prague.

Another problem of vital importance for European peace was that of the Saar. The time was approaching when the people of the Saar would have to decide its lot and declare by a plebiscite whether it desired to rejoin the Reich, to become French, or retain its present regime under the protection of the League of Nations. The question of the preparatory measures which should be taken had been on the agenda of the Council of the League in January, 1934. France, as a member of the Council, found itself saddled with the responsibility for the plebiscite ; but it was unable to accept a proposal to settle the question of the Saar by direct negotiations with Germany. The French Government held that it had only one right and one duty : to assure the proper functioning of the popular vote. In May the Council appointed a Committee of Three to supervise the preparations, but M. Barthou objected to the date of the plebiscite being fixed definitely before the signing by Germany of a declaration which should guarantee the liberty of the voters and the security of the inhabitants.

Further, on May 30, before the General Committee of the Disarmament Conference, M. Barthou demanded " the parallel and progressive reduction of armaments, accompanied by necessary securities." He suggested the appointment of committees which should deal respectively with security, with guarantees of

execution, with aerial forces, **and** with **the traffic** in **arms. He** spoke of the return of Germany to the conference as desirable.

While there was a general disposition to close the conference provisionally, there also seemed to be a desire to have recourse afresh to pacts of mutual assistance. In any case the *rapprochement* of France and Great Britain was the true pledge of success. The Franco-British entente remained the only possible path between Paris and Berlin.

Parliament resumed its labours on May 15. In the recess M. Doumergue had made efforts to balance the Budget. To the first measures of economy, which effected a saving of about 3 milliards, were now added those of administrative reform which reduced the number of civil servants by a tenth and involved deductions from their salaries.

On the reassembling of the Chamber, a vigorous attack was delivered by M. Froissard, a Socialist, on the decrees. His motion for an immediate discussion of them was rejected by 360 votes to 205, among the latter being 31 Radicals. The abstention of 13 others, among whom was M. Daladier, was the subject of much comment.

The Radical-Socialist Congress at Clermont-Ferrand, as was expected, decided in favour of M. Doumergue ; the speech of M. Herriot swept the audience off its feet. The proceedings, however, brought out clearly the divisions in the party. The Right Wing confined itself to defending individual liberty and the right of property, and in consequence advocated a very moderate programme of reforms, while the Left Wing went much further and demanded reforms allied to those demanded by the " common front."

Numerous other congresses held during Whitsuntide revealed the state of flux prevailing in the ideas of the advanced parties. Thus at Toulouse the S.F.I.O. (the French section of the Workers' International) sought, at the instigation of M. Leon Blum, to form an entente with the Communists against Fascism. They declared that, once installed in power, they would not allow themselves to be limited by any programme, but would establish agricultural offices and carry out the socialisation of the great industries.

The neo-Socialists, who reproached the Socialists with their impotence, collaborated with the National Government. Although they had decided to vote against the Government, they authorised their representative in its midst, M. Marquet, to continue his participation.

At Vichy the Federal Union of Ex-service men formed " the coalition team " which demanded a strong Government, purity in political life, and planned economy.

Meanwhile at Paris the Minister of the Interior was supervising in this same month of May the reorganisation of the Surete Generate.

At the same time that Signor Mussolini met Chancellor Hitler at Venice, the official representative of the latter, Herr von Ribbentrop, came to Paris. The reply he received from the French Government was that the proper place for Franco-German conversations was not Paris but Geneva.

Meanwhile M. Barthou had resumed his European travels. After having, on the station at Vienna, affirmed to Chancellor Dollfuss the intention of France to work in accord with England for the maintenance of the independence of Austria, he met on June 20 at Bucharest the three Foreign Ministers of the Little Entente, MM. Titulesco, Yevtitch and Benes, and the solidarity of France with the Little Entente was once more solemnly confirmed. The reception accorded to M. Barthou alike at Bucharest and at Belgrade demonstrated the existence of an anti-revisionist Europe.

In the course of his visit to London on July 8, 9 and 10, M. Barthou proposed the formation of regional Pacts of mutual guarantee. One of these Pacts had long been under discussion in Eastern Europe, under the impulse of the Soviet Government, and it was intended that Germany should be invited to join. People spoke in this connexion of an Eastern Locarno. From this moment the *rapprochement* between France and Russia on the field of security became marked. In September Russia actually entered the League of Nations and so strengthened the treaties and the cause of peace ; Poland and Germany, on the other hand, refused to sign the Eastern Pact.

Public opinion in France demanded a reform of the State. The Committee of the Chamber which had set itself the task of studying the laws in force, examined the legislative, executive and judiciary powers, and the relations between the State and economic forces, as well as the regulation of the Chamber itself. In the Senate another committee was trying to collect the views of the principal confederations. Meanwhile the Government took advantage of its plenary powers to initiate the work of reform by way of decrees. But this very step showed that it was more important to effect economies than to organise the State on a new basis.

On July 15 military and aerial credits were granted for the purpose of fortifying the frontier of the East and reorganising the Air forces.

On July 18 the political atmosphere which had cleared up somewhat was again disturbed by a declaration made by the Minister, M. Tardieu, before the Stavisky Commission. He made a bitter attack on the ex-Prime Minister M. Chautemps, still one of the leaders of the Radical Party. The Radicals looked upon this outbreak as the end of the truce, and the question arose whether the six Radical Ministers should resign. M. Doumergue broke off the brief holiday which he was enjoying at TournefeuiUe,

returned to Paris, and by his tactful handling managed to reconcile the divergent elements in the Cabinet at least till October. He " mended the china."

The Government spent the summer months in advancing the preparations of reforms and laying down the lines for its diplomatic activity. Events in Germany and Austria prepared the way for a *rapprochement* between France and Italy. Similarly the visit of the King of Yugoslavia to Paris was intended to improve the relations between that country and Italy. The King duly arrived at Marseilles on October 9, and was received by M. Barthou. Scarcely had the royal motor-car left the harbour when a Croat terrorist jumped on to the running-board of the vehicle and opened fire, killing the King on the spot and wounding M. Barthou, who died an hour afterwards. The murderer, a Croat, Petrys Kalemen, after shooting himself was lynched by the crowd. He was found to have a Czechoslovak passport vised in Hungary, and to belong to a vast terrorist organisation. Both these facts invested the outrage with an international character of exceptional gravity. Criticisms levelled against the inadequacy of the police precautions led afterwards to the dismissal of certain officials, and the resignation of the Minister of the Interior himself. M. Cheron, the Minister of Justice, who had been vehemently attacked on account of the delays in the Prince affair, also resigned on October 14. M. Laval became Minister of Foreign Affairs, being succeeded at the Colonial Office by M. Louis Rollin, while M. Lemery became Minister of Justice. The death of the veteran statesman, M. Poincare, a close friend of M. Barthou, on October 15, was said to have been hastened by this tragedy.

The elections for the Conseils Generaux (Departmental Assemblies), last elected in 1928, was invested by circumstances with an unusual importance. M. Doumergue, in his broadcast address, had sounded an appeal to law-abiding citizens to oppose the " common front." In fact the changes caused by the election were very small, affecting only 53 seats out of a total of 1518, and marked a slight weakening of the Centre to the benefit of the Extremists.

On October 18 President Lebrun took part in the solemn funeral rites at Belgrade in honour of the assassinated King.

Meanwhile M. Doumergue persisted in trying to force on the nation the reform of the Constitution, including increased powers for the Prime Minister, on the British model, with the right to dissolve the Chambers, and the sole right of the Government to propose expenditure.

The Radical-Socialist Congress, which opened at Nantes on October 25, ended in spite of everything, under the influence of M. Herriot, in supporting the policy of M. Doumergue. Soon **after, however, in** Paris differences on the subject of the reform of the Constitution broke out in the midst of the Cabinet. M.

Doumergue, in broadcast messages to the country, maintained his outlook, not without sharpening his attack on the " common front." He found hostile majorities both among the Deputies, who were anxious not to incur the expense of electoral campaigns brought about by an unexpected dissolution, and the Senators, who were desirous of preserving the prerogatives of the Upper House. What was still more serious, the Left complained that the Truce Government had brought no economic improvement, and no relief for the growing distress. The effects of the fiscal reforms had been harmful rather than beneficial, and French prices remained generally higher than world prices.

For the sake both of the political truce and of budgetary equilibrium, the Government maintained its attachment to the gold standard. Parliamentarians of the Right, however, and especially M. Paul-Reynaud, carried on a campaign in favour of the devaluation of the franc. While the Government tried to deal with definite problems like those of wheat, of wine, and of unemployment, the Minister of Commerce was making trade agreements on the basis of quotas, with the purposes of limiting imports into France. But the limitation of imports involved that of exports, which in turn impeded business, so that in the end the equilibrium of the Budget, which was the object of such careful attention, remained in jeopardy.

On their return from Nantes, four of the Radical Ministers, objecting to the demand put forward by the Government for provisional monthly grants, offered their resignation. On November 8 M. Doumergue decided himself to retire.

M. Lebrun called first upon the President of the Senate and then upon M. Laval to form a Government, but both refused. M. Flandin, who was then approached, accepted the offer, and in twenty-four hours succeeded in forming his Cabinet. He kept twelve of the members of the Doumergue Cabinet, he himself being the thirteenth. M. Laval remained Minister of Foreign Affairs, while the presence in the Government of MM. Herriot and Louis Marin symbolised the continuance of the truce.

M. Flandin based his policy on a programme of economic liberty, and shelved the reform of the Constitution. In foreign affairs he affirmed the continuity of French policy. He announced his intention of getting the Budget voted before thinking of possible modifications of the Constitution, and on November 13 he obtained a vote of confidence, with a majority of 305. He then immediately proceeded to tackle the wheat and wine problems. In regard to wheat, a regime of controlled liberty was to be restored after the market should have been rectified by the liquidation of the stocks unsold during the preceding years. The Budget was rushed through before the end of the year. In view of the European situation, military expenditure was increased by some hundreds of millions.

The plebiscite which was to decide the future of the Saar began more and more to engross attention. Tension between France and Germany increased. Threats from Berlin were greatly exciting the Saar population. Resolutions of the League of Nations had already authorised France to throw troops into the Saar on the request of the governing Commission. On December 5 M. Laval declared at Geneva that France was ready to fulfil these obligations, but that it would be preferable for order to be assured in the Saar under the authority of the League of Nations by an international force, in which the Powers interested, namely France and Germany, should not participate. The idea, which was supported by Great Britain, was favourably received by the Council and then by Germany, and produced an immediate *detente* in Europe. It was decided that the force should be composed of British, Italian, Dutch and Swedish contingents, under the command of a British general.

The session of the Council witnessed two other decisions which were received in France with satisfaction. The complaints of Yugoslavia regarding the assassination of King Alexander led to a resolution demanding the punishment of the guilty. The crime of Marseilles was denounced. M. Laval remarked : " Whoever desires to alter a good frontier disturbs the peace of Europe." The firmness shown by France, Great Britain and Italy strengthened the peace of Europe.

The year 1934 witnessed the Franco-Soviet *rapprochement.* The way having been paved by the visit to Russia of M. Herriot in 1933, it was rendered concrete by the signing of a commercial agreement (January 11, 1934) and of a political accord, signed on December 6 at Geneva by MM. Laval and Litvinoff. This latter excluded all bilateral alliances. The French and Russian Governments undertook to conclude no separate negotiations with any of the States invited to join the East European Pact. After being proposed by France and Russia to Berlin, Warsaw and Prague, as also to the Baltic States, this was left in suspense. The difficulties came from Berlin and Warsaw. In view of the Germano-Polish *rapprochement* this caused surprise in Paris ; the two Powers having agreed to renounce all hostile action for ten years, it seemed logical that they should consent to enter into a more comprehensive arrangement.

While France was proposing an Eastern Pact, Italy was working for a Danubian Pact. The atmosphere of Franco-Italian relations improved. This was due chiefly to various proceedings on the part of Germany. The Nazi attempt on Vienna on July 25, the assassination of Chancellor Dollfuss on the eve of his departure for Italy, the furious tirades of the Press of Dr. Goebbels against Fascist diplomacy, modified the views of the Duce, who now preferred to join with the Cabinets of Paris and London in an attempt to bring about a *d-marche* at Berlin for the benefit of European peace.

The questions discussed between France and Italy were those of the status of the Italians in Tunis, the rectification of the frontier between Libya and the French territory in Africa, naval parity, and the relations of Italy and the Little Entente.

The year 1934, after the Stavisky scandals and the troubled days of February, was emphatically that of the Doumergue Government, which through the provisional party truce, though it did not effect any constitutional or economic reforms, allowed scope for an appreciable moral recovery of the nation.

ITALY.

In internal affairs, the three outstanding features of the year were the institution and launching of the professional Corporations, intended to serve as the machinery of the corporative regime, the logical goal of the Fascist programme ; the progressive militarisation of the Italian nation, justified by Fascism on the ground both of its own doctrine and of the threats of war perceptible on the European horizon ; and the fight for the defence of the lira and the financial and economic husbanding of the resources of Italy, which have been severely hit by the crisis.

The Bill for the institution of Corporations which had been drawn up by the Grand Fascist Council, after being approved by the Senate (January 13), was passed by the Chamber of Deputies on January 18, in the last sitting of the 28th Legislature. In a speech delivered in the Senate in the course of the debates on the Bill, Signor Mussolini summed up the objects and functions of the Corporations as follows : The corporative system respects the principle of private property. Property is a right, but it also entails duties. There must be no passive ownership, but active ownership which develops and multiplies the products of wealth. The corporative system respects private enterprise. The State intervenes only if private enterprise is deficient, non-existent or inadequate. The corporative system introduces order into economic life, directing and guiding it. It is not only industrial economy which requires to be directed and disciplined ; this is equally necessary for agriculture, for commerce, for banking, and for manual labour. How can this discipline be put into effect ? By the self-discipline of the classes concerned. Only at a later stage, if the classes have not found a means of agreement and equilibrium, will the State be able to intervene. It will have the sovereign right to do this, since it represents the consumer, the anonymous mass which, not being organised in its capacity of consumer, must be protected by the authority which represents the total body of citizens. When we have sufficiently observed the practical working and effect of the Corporations, we shall reach the stage of constitutional reform. Only in this stage will the Chamber of Deputies be suppressed and replaced by a National Assembly of Corporations.

The law instituting the Corporations was promulgated on February 5. It was not, however, until May 9, after three months of discussion on the number of the categories and of their members, as well as the division of the categories, that the Central Corporative Committee, presided over by Signor Mussolini, decided on the creation of twenty-two Corporations divided into three main groups : first, Corporations in the agricultural, industrial and commercial productive sphere, comprising (1) cereals ; (2) horticulture, floriculture and fruiticulture; (3) viticulture and industries connected with wine ; (4) Oils ; (5) Beetroot and sugar; (6) Animals and fish ; (7) Woollens ; (8) Textiles : secondly, Corporations of the industrial and commercial productive cycle, comprising (9) Metallurgy and machinery ; (10) Chemicals ; (11) Clothing ; (12) Paper and printing ; (13) Building and public works ; (14) Water, gas, electricity ; (15) Extractive industries ; (16) Glass and pottery : and thirdly, Corporations of productive services ; (17) Loans and credit; (18) Liberal and artistic professions ; (19) Maritime and aerial transport; (20) Land transport; (21) Entertainments, and *(22)* Hospitality (tourist industry).

The decrees instituting the twenty-two Corporations appeared June 4-23. The members of the twenty-two Councils were proposed by the syndical confederations and selected and appointed by the Government. The syndical organisation was modified at the end of June in such a way as to harmonise it with the new regime. The confederations were reduced to nine ; eight confederations (four of employers and four of employed) for agriculture, industry, credit and insurance and commerce, and the ninth for the liberal and artistic professions. These confederations comprise a number of sectional federations (for example, the confederation of manufacturers comprises forty-five national federations of various industries). The basis therefore is still the local syndicate.

The Councils of the twenty-two Corporations (the members of which were chosen between June and November) were solemnly installed by Signor Mussolini on November 10 in the course of a ceremony which took place at the Capitol. The total number of members for the twenty-two Councils, originally fixed at 739, is actually 1026. There are three representatives of the party for each Council, one of whom occupies obligatorily the post of vice-president, the presidency of each Council being reserved for the Minister of Corporations. This makes 66 ; and there are also 823 representatives of the workers and employers' organisations and 137 technicians. A first programme of work has been submitted to each of the corporative Councils.

The elections to the Chamber of Deputies, which had been dissolved on January 18, took place on March 25, according to the plebiscitary system in force. The national governmental list received 10,045,477 votes against 15,201. The number of those

who voted was 96 per cent, of those registered. The percentage of votes favourable to the Government was 99-84, against 98-33 in 1929 and 62-50 in 1924. The percentage of votes against was 0-15, compared with 1-57 in 1929 and 34-50 in 1924.

At the beginning of March Government instructions were issued for the introduction of military training in the primary, secondary and advanced schools, in order to make of Italy a " military nation." The participation of battalions of Blackshirts in warlike operations was studied at close quarters. The Army manoeuvres which took place in August in the region of Bologna were concluded with a speech from Signor Mussolini at Tre-Poggioli, affirming his intention to make of the Italians not only a military but also a warlike people. The enrolment of children in the Balilla was made to begin at six instead of eight. From the age of six to eight the Italian children are to be included in the organisation of Children of the She-wolf. On September 18 the Council of Ministers decided that Italians should-henceforth be soldiers from the age of six to fifty-five. At the end of October, Signor Mussolini decided on the creation of a pre- and post-military corps of inspectors.

Signor Mussolini also took part in the manoeuvres of the first and second naval squadrons in the Bay of Queta (August 6-8). Two cruisers of 35,000 tons were laid down.

The financial year 1934 commenced in Italy with the issue of Treasury Bonds, followed by the conversion of Consols. On January 10 there was an issue of 4 milliards of Treasury Bonds for nine years at 4 per cent., for the purpose of covering the repayment of nine year bonds at 5 per cent, which were falling due. Nine milliards were subscribed, but the Government did not accept more than the 4 milliards demanded.

On February 3 the Council of Ministers decided on the conversion of the 5 per cent. Consols, and of the so-called Littorio Loan of 5 per cent, into redeemable stock of 3½ per cent., with a bonus to holders who accepted the conversion of 4 lire 50 for every hundred lire of nominal capital, payable on April 23, 1934. In addition prizes of 10 millions for every milliard converted were offered, payable on December 20, 1934. Out of 6 milliards of Consols and Littorio in circulation, repayment was demanded for only 123 millions—a fact which prompted the Fascist Press to emphasise the confidence of depositors in the regime.

At the end of February tightness on the exchanges led to a rumour of the devaluation of the lira and the abandonment of the gold standard on the part of Italy. An official denial of this was issued by the Minister of Finance, who affirmed the fidelity of Italy to the gold standard. As the fall of the lira continued, the Minister of Finance further denied the rumours in circulation of a foreign loan. These rumours and denials brought into relief the difficult situation of Italy as manifested in a

budgetary deficit and a still more serious commercial deficit. On November 19 the Council of Ministers decided on the issue of two fresh milliards of Bonds for nine years at 4 per cent, for covering the requirements of the Treasury. At the beginning of December the Government decided to place an embargo on gold; all Italian citizens were required to declare their holdings in securities and foreign loans, whether in Italy or abroad, and their conversion into lire at the normal rate of exchange was made obligatory on the demand of the Bank of Issue.

Besides this regulation of foreign commerce, numerous other steps were taken to remedy the economic crisis, chiefly in the way of reducing unemployment. On December 15, 1933, Signor Mussolini approved the throwing open to competition of 6,761 places in the public administration. In March the Cotton Administration was invested with legal personality, and various measures were taken for the protection of the silk industry by means of State intervention. On April 14 the Council of Ministers decided on a fresh reduction of the salaries of civil servants (the last one had been in 1930). This reduction was from 6 to 12 per cent, on salaries, 12 per cent, on allowances, and from 10 to 50 per cent, on family allowances. On the same day another decree reduced rents by 12-15 per cent.

At the beginning of the winter a series of agreements was concluded between employers and employed in all branches of economic activity. In industry the 40 hour week was adopted, but without the maintenance of the same level of wages. The amounts saved on the payment for the eight hours dropped were to be used for engaging fresh workers. In commerce the employment of women and children was reduced. In agriculture part of wages became payable in kind.

All these measures pointed to the gravity of the crisis and tended to lower sensibly the standard of living in the Peninsula.

All the same the stability of the regime did not seem to be affected by these difficulties. In 1934 no sentences of death were passed by the Special Tribunal. The only two trials for anti-Fascism held by the Special Tribunal which attracted some attention were those of the Catholic anti-Fascist intellectuals of Milan and of the intellectuals of Piedmont. Several of the last-named were Jews, a fact which led for a time to an anti-semitic campaign.

In the provinces annexed in 1918 a campaign was carried on against the Bishop of Trieste who was accused of favouring the Slovene elements. On the other hand, a more liberal spirit was shown in the permission accorded in the Upper-Adige for the giving of private instruction in German.

Mention should be made of the birth at Naples, on September 23, of the Princess Maria-Pia, eldest child of the Prince of Piedmont and the Princess Marie-Jose of Belgium. While this did not

assure the continuity of the dynasty as the birth of a son would have done, the event was welcomed as of happy augury for the future of the House of Savoy.

In the course of the year Signor Mussolini delivered numerous speeches and presided over numerous demonstrations. His speech at the second quinquennial assembly of the regime (March 18), that of May 26 in the Chamber on the economic situation, and that of October to the workers of Milan were the most striking. He presided at the inauguration of the Province of Littoria, and at those of the communes of Pontiniana and Sabaudia, won from the Pontine Marshes, as also at the inauguration of numerous archaeological researches and urban improvements.

In foreign affairs the year 1934 was one of great activity for Italy. Her chief preoccupation was the Danubian problem and the maintenance of Austria's independence, while at the same time she continued her efforts to bring about a more general European equilibrium, in which Germany would have its place. The abandonment by Germany of the League of Nations, the assassination of Chancellor Dollfuss, the accelerated rearmament of Germany, led to a progressive *detente* in the relations between France and Italy, though the proposed visit of M. Laval to Rome, by which it was to be consummated, had not yet taken place by the end of the year.

In his anxiety about the *Anschluss,* Signor Mussolini tried to obtain guarantees and assurances on this subject directly from the Government of Berlin. For this purpose, Signor Suvich, Under-Secretary of State in the Foreign Office, went to Berlin in December, 1933. In return for the guarantees which he demanded from Germany, he offered Italy's good offices at Geneva in the matter of disarmament. In January Sir John Simon visited Rome, where he discussed with Signor Mussolini disarmament and the reform of the League of Nations. At the beginning of February, the French, English and Italian proposals and the German counter-proposals on the subject of disarmament were made public. The Italian memorandum demanded principally the limitation of military expenditure and of land equipment to the existing level; in other words, a stabilisation of armaments, and the granting of permission to Germany for an army of 300,000 men serving one year. The French Note of April 17, which rejected the second part of the Italian memorandum, created keen disappointment in Italy.

Meanwhile Signor Suvich had visited Vienna (January 19) and Budapest (February 21) to pave the way there for a series of Italo-Austro-Hungarian agreements. On March 13 Chancellor Dollfuss and M. Goemboes, Prime Minister of Hungary, arrived in Rome, where, on March 16, three draft agreements were signed. The first of these was political, being a consultative Pact for the maintenance of the independence of the three States participating ;

the other two were to promote the development of economic relations between them on the basis of a balance between exports and imports. The agreements signed on May 14 applied in detail the principles laid down in the two protocols : providing for the purchase of wheat from Hungary, preferential treatment for Austria for a large number of industrial products, etc.

These agreements were interpreted by the Little Entente as a feeler put out by Italy towards Austria and Hungary, and as an attempt by her to establish a Danubian hegemony. Italy strongly disclaimed all pretensions to a hegemony in Central Europe, but could not see without disfavour the conclusion of the Balkan Pact and the *detente* between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria (March). The Socialist rising in Vienna and its harsh suppression by Chancellor Dollfuss prompted Italy to accuse the Little Entente, especially Czechoslovakia, of having assisted the Socialists.

On April 22 and 25 Signor Suvich had interviews with the English political leaders, particularly on the problem of disarmament. As agreement could not be reached on the basis of the Italian plan, in consequence of the opposition of France, the Fascist Government desired the adjournment *sine die* of the Disarmament Conference, and at the beginning of June, at Geneva, the Italian delegate, Signor di Soragni, opposed the appointment of a Committee for Security which should under this new name carry on the work of the conference.

At the session of the Council of the League of Nations which took place at the same time as the Conference on Disarmament, Baron Aloisi, President of the Committee of Three charged with making preparations for the plebiscite in the Saar, succeeded in finding a formula which was accepted both by France and Germany. Italy's intervention was regarded by France as a friendly gesture, and the French Foreign Minister, M. Louis Barthou, warmly thanked Signor Mussolini for it.

On June 14 and 15 conversations took place at Stra and Venice between Signor Mussolini and Herr Hitler. Signor Mussolini did not obtain from the German Chancellor the guarantees which he desired on the subject of Austrian independence, and one may say that it was from this moment that the Franco-Italian *rapprochement* became definitely marked. After the executions of June 30, which were strongly condemned in Italy, a *dEtente* could be observed even in the relations with the Little Entente. The assassination of Chancellor Dollfuss, on July 25, on the eve of his visit to Italy, aroused keen indignation in the Peninsula, and the Government, to guard against a possible Nazi seizure of power in Austria, mobilised several divisions in the Upper-Adige. Italian opinion invariably opposed the racial idea, which it characterised as anti-Latin, anti-Western and anti-Christian.

The policy of *rapprochement* with France, which was to be

sealed by a visit of M. Barthou to Rome, the policy of improved relations with Czechoslovakia, with Rumania and with Yugoslavia, met with a setback first from a violent Press campaign between Italy and Yugoslavia, and then and above all from the assassination of King Alexander and M. Barthou. Among the questions which King Alexander was proposing to discuss in France, one of the very first was in fact the problem of his relations with Italy. The accusation brought by Yugoslavia against Hungary, the friend of Italy, before the League of Nations, was calculated to envenom the situation still further. At this juncture, France and Italy for once worked hand in hand, France moderating Yugoslavia and Italy pressing Hungary to accept the decision of Geneva. In this way all danger of war on the Danube was eliminated.

Italy on her side worked actively to reconcile the French and German points of view on the subject of the liquidation of the Saar question after the plebiscite. She also consented to send into the Saar a military contingent to collaborate with the British, Dutch and Swedish troops in keeping order before and after the plebiscite.

The Franco-Italian *rapprochement* was marked by several journeys to Italy of French ex-Service men, two visits to Rome of M. Henri Berenger, President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate, and above all by the resumption of active negotiations for settling the Franco-Italian questions still outstanding, especially the colonial questions. The negotiations, interrupted by the death of M. Barthou, were protracted, and at the end of the year their outcome was still doubtful.

In the course of 1934 an Anglo-Italian-Egyptian accord fixed the eastern frontier of Libya (on the 25th meridian east of Greenwich up to the 20th parallel north, then along this same parallel up to the 24th meridian, then along this meridian up to a boundary still to be fixed with the French possessions).

Relations between Italy and Great Britain remained excellent, though the elimination of the Italian language from the educational establishments and from the law courts in Malta caused keen regret in the Peninsula.

Relations with Albania were somewhat unsatisfactory. Some steps taken by the Government (especially in the matter of schooling) were frankly anti-Italian, and the renewal of the Italian credits was suspended for many months.

From the autumn onwards, a series of frontier incidents took place between Italian and Abyssinian troops on the Ethiopian frontier. At first they were settled amicably, but later they became more serious. That of Wal-wal (December) in disputed territory, in which more than 200 Abyssinians and about 60 Italians lost their lives, was the object of an exchange of Notes with the League of Nations. These incidents testified to great nervousness

in the interior, resulting from rumours that France and England would give Italy a free hand in Ethiopia. The long journey, accompanied by numerous military parades, made by King Victor Emanuel III. in the autumn in Somaliland further increased Abyssinian apprehensions.

In the course of this year Fascism intensified its propaganda abroad, taking the greatest care to keep aloof from German racialism and National-Socialism. The development of Fascism in England, in Poland, in Switzerland and even in France (Francisme) was promoted by the International Committee for the Universality of Rome, which in December organised an International Congress of Fascism at Montreux, in Switzerland.

CHAPTER III.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

GERMANY.

IN 1933 the totalitarian state was established in Germany. The Nationalist-Socialist Party had destroyed all other political parties and had taken their place, but the political and social dissensions which distracted the German people were not thereby settled ; they were simply transplanted in a yet more intense form into the N.S.D.A.P. itself. The tension within the governing party became more and more clearly apparent from the beginning of January, 1934, and finally culminated in the catastrophe of June 30.

Within the Nationalist-Socialist Party three main tendencies could be distinguished from the beginning of 1934. The Right Wing was conservative in outlook regarding all economic and social questions, anxious to protect the private property of captains of industry, bankers and large estate-owners alike, hoping to develop private initiative in industry and at the same time to be able to maintain the historic growth and organisation of the German Army. The most important members representing this wing within the party were the Prussian Prime Minister, General Goering, the leader of the S.S. (the carefully selected party-police force), Herr Himmler, and the President of the Reichsbank, Dr. Schacht. The Right Wing was at all times assured of the assistance of the Generals commanding the Reichswehr, in particular the Minister of Defence, General Blomberg, and the but lately elected Chief of the Army, General Fritsch. Furthermore, they could rely on the big industrialists and on the Stahlhelm. The latter organisation, militaristic and conservative, was now known under the name of the Union of the National-Socialist Front-line Combatants. The Stahlhelm, led and protected by the Minister for

Labour, Herr Seldte, continued to insist on its separate entity, even under the new nomenclature. Hitler himself was sympathetically inclined towards the Right Wing of the party.

The Left Wing of the party was held by the extreme National-Socialists, who demanded a determined fight against capital and in its place the building up of a communal industry. These were bitterly disappointed with the trend of events since the summer of 1933. Gregor Strasser was the accepted leader of the Left Wing ; formerly he had been the most important person in the Nationalist-Socialist movement, second only to Hitler himself, but when he took up a position in opposition to Hitler, he had lost his party posts. Nevertheless, he still had a wide sphere of influence, especially among the old members of the N.S.D.A.P., and in many circles he was looked upon as the coming man.

Between the two flanks stood the S.A., which under the leadership of Roehm became a mass movement. In the S.A. was actually vested the Brown Terror, and the S.A. was the motive force of the National-Socialist revolution. Though the S.A. leaders were not wholehearted Socialists, they stood under the pressure of their members, who consisted in the main of proletarians, ruined lower middle-class men, and unemployed professional men. It became increasingly evident that with the renewed strengthening of the historic conservative influences, the S.A. would gradually become completely superfluous. Thus it became imperative that the S.A., who wished to become the heir of the old constitutional Germany, must, to maintain its very existence, perforce take up the cudgels against the Right Wing. In the course of this struggle the views of the leaders of the S.A. approached those of the Left Socialist Wing. Roehm had a firm hold over the most important of the leaders of the S.A. Chief of these was Heines, the S.A. leader in Silesia, a man of ruthless disposition, who at the same time was a past-master in the art of kindling the enthusiasm of the masses and who was exceedingly popular in the S.A.

The discord which was spreading within the National-Socialist Party at first showed itself only in intrigues and secret meetings, since the rigidly censored Press was not allowed to publish any news on this subject. Many of the leaders of the party, feeling safe in this political twilight, took up for the time being an equivocal position, so that it was impossible to state definitely where their sympathies actually lay. This was particularly true of the Reich Propaganda Minister, Dr. Goebbels.

The most important objective of the skirmishes was the control of the Army. From the beginning of 1934 the re-armament of Germany was actively proceeded with and the Reichswehr was strengthened beyond the prescribed number of 100,000 men. Roehm wished to profit by this opportunity to incorporate the

S.A. and its officers within the ranks of the Reichswehr in such masses that the non-partisan character of the Reichswehr would be much compromised and the attitude of the Army in the expected clashes would at the very lowest computation be a really neutral one. The two Generals commanding the Reichswehr, Blomberg and Fritsch, categorically refused the demands made by Roehm ; they did not wish to have S.A. leaders as officers, and preferred to select their own recruits without taking the S.A. into consideration. When the conflict became acute, Hitler sided with the Generals of the Reichswehr and against the S.A. The relations between the S.A. and the Army were as a result extremely strained and Roehm was perpetually on the watch for a chance to reverse the decision which affected him so unfavourably. Moreover, during the spring local clashes and conflicts between the S.A. and the Stahlhelm and the police were on the increase. Government authorities, in Prussia especially, were not prepared to stand by any longer and allow the S.A. to interfere with constructive action and the administration of justice, while the leaders of business life were equally impatient of the dislocation of their plans by the S.A.

Roehm and his followers made ready for a decisive conflict. While their plan of campaign was not actually directed against Hitler himself, it aimed at the complete exclusion of the men prominent in the Right Wing of the party, men like Goering, Seldte and Schacht, and at the reinstatement of the S.A. in a paramount position. It would appear that Roehm was in close touch with Gregor Strasser as well as with the former Chancellor and Minister of the Reichswehr, General Schleicher. The latter was the arch-enemy of the then leaders of the Reichswehr, who had deposed him from his post in January, 1933. He had always been eager to play the role of the "Social General," and it did not seem unlikely that he might be won over to participation in a scheme which while anti-capitalist in aspect would inevitably give him the opportunity of avenging himself on Blomberg and the others. As Schleicher could still count on a certain following in the Reichswehr, an alliance between him and Roehm might have been very useful to the S.A. ; at its lowest it might at least hope, when it came to the ultimate struggle, to render the Reichswehr neutral through the influence of Schleicher.

Gradually wider and wider circles of the German people were initiated into the subterranean machinations of the governing group. Excitement grew from month to month. On May 11 Dr. Goebbels announced an extensive propaganda campaign against all critics and carpers. It was not immediately clear against whom this campaign was directed, whether against the discontented S.A. or against their opponents, who were venturing to criticise the S.A. But during the course of this campaign, which was continued to the end of June, the issues became clearer.

Heines informed his S.A. men that the revolution was far from being over; promptly came the reply from Hitler's entourage that anyone who even dared to think of a second revolution was a traitor.

It was at this juncture that a group of Conservative and Catholic politicians attempted to speed up developments. By his antecedents the Vice-Chancellor, Herr von Papen, was an uncompromising opponent of the S.A. and of all so-called nationalist Bolshevik tendencies. The German Catholics had been antagonised by the persecution of their Church, and they rightly assumed that their enemies were to be found among the extremists of the S.A. Papen, secure in his personal friendship with President von Hindenburg, wished to hasten the trend of events and to encourage the Hitler-Goering coalition to take up a resolute standpoint against the Left Wing. On June 18 Papen made a speech, declaring that the so-called critics and carpers were justified in certain important points, and that ordered conditions must once more be reintroduced into Germany. Papen's speech came like a bomb-shell, and it was no longer in doubt that affairs were about to take a decisive turn. The Generals commanding the Reichswehr assured Hitler and Goering that they could count on the complete loyalty of the Army. Upon this the Right Wing decided to annihilate the opposition of the S.A. leaders and of the Left Wing. But, in order to kill two birds with one stone, it was resolved also to take action against the Catholic group attached to Papen. It was acknowledged that Papen had no connexion whatsoever with Roehm, Schleicher and the others, but it was assumed that the Papen group was aiming not only at the downfall of the Left Wing National-Socialists but at undermining the whole of Hitler's power and at the return to the *status quo* of January, 1933.

Hitler gave orders that the S.A. were to be given leave for the whole month of July that " they might recover from their heavy duties." That was a plain enough challenge, and it demonstrated Roehm's weakness, since he did not dare to reply to it with armed defiance. To do this, the S.A. leaders would have been compelled to call upon the masses of the people to revolt openly against the capitalists and the generals. But it was this very S.A. which had crushed under foot by the most cruel methods the Socialist and Christian working-classes, and indeed all the democratic forces in the country. Thus it was not possible for the S.A. now to turn for help to these very people whom they themselves had consistently ill-treated. At the decisive moment, therefore, the S.A. found itself completely isolated and helpless.

On June 30, throughout Germany, all the headquarters of the S.A. were suddenly occupied by the Reichswehr, the State Police and the S.S. Roehm, Heines and hundreds of other S.A. leaders

were arrested and immediately shot. Most of the executions took place under the most horrible circumstances in Munich and Berlin. In addition to the S.A. men, Strasser, Schleicher and a number of prominent Catholic leaders were also shot. Papen himself was saved by the Reichswehr, but was forced to give up his office of Vice-Chancellor and was sent as German Ambassador to Vienna. The massacre of hundreds of people, many of them well known, without even the pretence of any legal formalities, made a deep impression in foreign countries. The German people had for years been used to scenes of horror. With the exception of their own immediate friends, the murdered men had not enjoyed much sympathy, and after June 30 many Germans rejoiced that Hitler had taken such drastic measures with these undesirables.

On the expiry of its month's leave, the S.A. was allowed to continue to exist, but it was rigorously disarmed and its numbers were reduced. The new S.A. leader, Lutze, took no further part in politics, and the new S.A., which in August once more made its appearance in public life, was but a mere shadow of the old Brown Terror groups. Through the loss of its old leaders the S.A. did in the most literal sense become headless. Its self-respect was broken and it now became merely a kind of uniformed training-school for the N.S.D.A.P. June 30 destroyed the Left Wing of the National-Socialists, and the Conservatives had won all along the line. Private property and the old authorities were once more firmly in the saddle. Conservative Germany placed itself under the leadership of Hitler and Goering. Goebbels, too, who in good time had managed to declare himself for the right side, kept his post. At the same time, with the destruction of the Papen group, the incipient attempts to form a Catholic Political Opposition were nipped in the bud.

On August 2 President von Hindenburg died [see under Obituaries]. As this event took place after the political issues were decided on June 30, it did nothing to alter the state of affairs in Germany. The Cabinet immediately promulgated a new law, whereby the offices of Chancellor and President were united, Henceforward Hitler was to function in both capacities as "Leader and Chancellor" *(Fuhrer und Reichskanzler).* The Reichswehr took the oath of allegiance to Hitler personally. Outwardly the power and importance of Hitler had vastly increased since August l. Actually, since the S.A. no longer had any military or political significance, he was completely dependent on the generals and captains of industry.

On August 19 a vote of the people was taken, whereby the new position of Hitler was to be regularised. There was no question of any other candidate or of any open electioneering against Hitler. Every method of propaganda was used by the State and the Party apparatus to convince the masses of voters that

everybody had to vote for Hitler. Large masses of the people did not believe in the secrecy of the ballot. It was assumed that to abstain from voting, or to give a definitly negative vote, would be regarded as high treason and be punished accordingly. Under this menace the electors, more especially in the small towns and rural districts, voted solidly for Hitler. Yet the results did not come up to the expectations of the Government. Of the 45-5 million voters, 38-4 million voted for Hitler, while 7 million German electors protested against the Hitler regime. More than elsewhere the workers in the large towns, with astounding courage, in view of the danger of such a proceeding, cast their votes against Hitler. Thus in Hamburg, out of a possible 909,000 voters, only 651,000 declared for Hitler. In the Labour district of Wedding in Berlin, of the total 262,000 votes recorded, only 179,000 were in the affirmative, 80,000 being openly opponents of Hitler. The result of the election showed that an appreciable portion of the workers still clung to the prohibited Socialist doctrines. It is true that the various Socialist groups in Germany can only continue their illegal work under the greatest difficulties. To carry on open warfare the Socialist and Democratic Opposition were without the necessary strength.

The only quarter in which the Left Wing, even after June 30, continued to exercise any influence was the Protestant Church. The result was continuous—and for the Government exceedingly inconvenient—disputes among the Protestant communities throughout the latter half of 1934. The Radical National-Socialists, banded together in the " Union of German Christians," tried to gain the upper hand within the Protestant Church, and under the pretext that they were exterminating the influence of the " Jewish spirit," sought to destroy the whole structure of Christian tradition. In vain the Protestant Reichsbishop Mueller, Hitler's creature, attempted to arbitrate between the "German Christians " and the adherents of traditional Christianity. The clergy of the old school organised for the struggle and demanded the complete exclusion of the " German Christians " from the administration of the Church. Reichsbishop Mueller would not agree to this, and in consequence the Conservatives within the Church also turned against him in most decided fashion. Under the slogan, " For the Bible and against a new Heathenism," the Union of Orthodox Clergy stirred up throughout Germany a popular agitation against Bishop Mueller and the " German Christians."

At first Bishop Mueller tried to suppress by force the opposition of the adherents of the Bible. A number of rebel clerics were deprived of their livings, among them the Protestant bishops of Wurttemberg and Bavaria. The result was a regular schism within the Church. The Opposition declared they would no longer recognise the authority of Mueller and his followers. A new ecclesiastical organisation was formed by the Opposition.

While originally only the Conservative clergy had been involved in the struggle, now large numbers of the Democratic and Socialist masses gradually began to take part in it. They took up their stand behind the adherents of traditional Christianity and the Bible in order to strike a blow at the Hitler regime by these means. Mass meetings and even street demonstrations took place to protest against Reichsbishop Mueller and the local Government and Party authorities who were on his side. The Opposition declared they would not rest satisfied until Mueller and his whole illegal organisation had been deprived of power. Autocracy within the Church was rejected and in its place the right of the communities to the free choice of their own Church officials was demanded.

These were phenomena hitherto unheard of in National-Socialist Germany. Nevertheless Hitler could not make up his mind to take up arms against the Protestant opposition. A violent destruction of the Protestant opposition would have embittered just those circles of the Conservative masses against Hitler upon whom he mainly relied outside the Protestant Church, and he would at the same time have thus left the Church to the cultural and political adherents of Roehm. Hence, towards the end of the year, Hitler declared that the Government would take up an entirely neutral attitude in the Church struggle. The dispossessed Church dignitaries were reinstated in their offices, the authority of the Reichsbishop being thereby strongly undermined. Nevertheless, by the end of the year peace had not been re-established nor had the cleavage within the Protestant Church been healed.

Just as little progress was made with the points at issue since 1933 between Hitler's Government and the Catholic Church. The wholesale shootings of June 30 had but served to increase the dissatisfaction of innumerable Catholics in a marked degree. With the approach of the Saar Plebiscite, however, a silent armistice was entered into during the last months of the year by both Government and the Catholic Church, in consideration of the fact that the majority of the population of the Saar were Catholics.

The anti-semitic laws and attitude of the Government remained unchanged by the events of June 30. After the Jews had been expelled from the official and cultural life of Germany, the silent boycott against them in the economic sphere was relentlessly continued. In Franconia more than elsewhere the position of the Jews became steadily worse. There the National-Socialist Leader, Streicher, published a periodical, *Der Stuermer*, which, owing to its relentless enmity to the Jews, achieved international notoriety. *Der Stuermer* repeatedly accused the Jews of ritual murder, though somewhat shamefacedly the Berlin Government, in view of the public opinion of the world, pretended

to prohibit the circulation of the issue containing this mad charge. Through Streieher's influence the whole Jewish population was forced to leave certain districts of Franconia.

The collapse of the S.A. had brought about the disappearance of illegal terrorism in Germany, but the legal oppression of Democrats, Socialists, Communists, militant Catholics and other opponents of the Government in power in no wise diminished. A law of May 3 constituted a new and extraordinary Court of Justice, the so-called People's Court, for all political offences. This tribunal as well as the old regular courts in numerous cases passed excessively severe sentences on opponents of the Government. A number of death sentences were imposed and carried out.

On January 30 an important measure for the reform of the Reich was announced. Nevertheless, the unification of the Reich during this year did not make much progress. A kind of personal union was established between the Ministries of the Reich and the corresponding Prussian departments, much on the same lines as had been tried by Chancellor Papen in 1931. Furthermore, the competence of the Reich in matters of education and justice was extended. Yet the German States continued with their own governments and their separate administrations. The growing influence of the Prussian Prime Minister, Goering, tended, more particularly after June 30, to consolidate the separate existence of the Prussian State.

In the economic sphere Dr. Schacht, the President of the Reichsbank, was accorded virtually dictatorial powers, when on August 2 he was asked to deputise for the Minister Schmitt who had fallen ill, and take over the direction of the Ministry of Economic Affairs. A corporative planned economy was carried through only in agriculture. But in industry, commerce and finance no attempt was made at a central, governmental control, in as far as this was not rendered necessary by the shortage of foreign currencies or of raw materials. The position of the workers was regularised through important laws. The law for the protection of work of national importance came into effect on May 1, and on October 24 the constitution of the German Labour Front was published. Nationalist-Socialist laws assign enormous powers to the employer as " Leader " of his undertaking *vis-a-vis* his workers. The State commissaries have, however, the right of intervention in cases of abuses, and such employers as transgress the legal conditions may be summoned to appear before so-called Courts of Honour.

The Government did all in its power to decrease the number of unemployed. They were in fact successful in reducing the number, which at the end of 1933 had been 4 million, to 2-6 million by the end of 1934. Of the 1-4 million persons who could be taken off the lists a large proportion did not return to productive work, but were absorbed either by the increase in the

numbers in the Army or by being called up for duty with the compulsory labour camps organised on military lines for adolescents. The remainder found work in the armaments factories and on public buildings and special work of a similar type.

The financing of public works, the expenditure on increased armaments, and the fight against unemployment were difficult, first because the Government was anxious on psychological grounds to avoid a new inflation, and because Germany was unable to obtain additional foreign credits. The money in circulation remained practically stationary, but a palliative was found by means of a kind of credit-inflation, whereby the Government issued Treasury Bills, of which there were by the end of 1934 something like 5 milliards of marks in circulation.

Germany's balance of payments became more and more adverse with the continued shrinkage of her export trade, due both to the boycott of German goods by the political opponents of the Nazi regime abroad, and to the generally difficult conditions of world trade. The Government was thus confronted with the almost insoluble problem of buying abroad, without new foreign credits, essential raw materials for German industry, foodstuffs and fodder, while maintaining simultaneously the value of the mark. The gold and foreign currency reserve of the Reichsbank standing at the end of 1933 at 400 million marks, had dwindled by the end of 1934 to 80 millions ; in short, it had for all practical purposes ceased to exist. The Government by means of most stringent regulations stopped the export of German money. At the same time the import of foreign goods into Germany was restricted to a minimum, and German payments to foreign creditors were, wherever possible, prohibited. It was hoped by these means to bring about an artificial forced balance of payments and thus to stabilise the currency.

By a law of March 24 governmental control and distribution of raw materials for industry was introduced ; in a sense this was a return to war-time conditions. In order to render Germany independent of foreign raw materials the Government fostered and encouraged the manufacture of all manner of substitutes. But the results were extremely meagre. The threatened scarcity of goods led to a rise in prices and a rush to purchase stocks. Thereupon, on November 5, Dr. Goerdeler was appointed with unlimited powers Reich commissary for keeping down prices. Goerdeler had held the same post in the Bruening administration. The Government was able by the most stringent measures to stem the rise in prices. German industry subsists, in the main, still on old stocks. Thus at the end of the year goods were to be found in sufficient quantities and at prices within the reach of the people in all shops in Germany.

On June 14 the Reichsbank declared that, in consequence of the lack of foreign currency, Germany would be unable to pay

interest on the long-term foreign loans as from July 1. The protests of her foreign creditors led to protracted negotiations. On November 1 an understanding was arrived at between the English and German experts.

From the material point of view the position of the farmers was the most flourishing in Germany. The Government guaranteed the prices of their produce at a rate far above that quoted in the world markets. The industrialists were doing well through the increased outlay on armaments and public works. But the position of the workers remained precarious; indeed, their standard of living was no better than during the time of the greatest slump. Unfavourable, too, was the condition of the small shopkeepers and dealers; the provision merchants, for example, had to pay the farmers high prices while they themselves were not permitted to do the same *vis-a-vis* the consumers. In the towns and industrial districts dire need is still the lot of large masses of the people. The Government sought by means of winter relief and through charitable collections on a large scale to mitigate the hardships.

The chief aim of Hitler's foreign policy was, in the first place, to avoid the isolation of Germany, which might have been the result of the withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations and her increased armaments programme. The disarmament negotiations came to a complete standstill. Germany demanded the recognition of her equality in military matters, and without waiting for the permission of the Allied Powers began to re-arm. It seems that the strength of the German Army had been increased from the 100,000 men permitted by the Treaty of Versailles to close upon 300,000. The old Reichswehr men, with twelve years' service, were augmented by new recruits who had in the first instance only signed on for twelve months. In order to equip the enlarged Army with the necessary weapons and aircraft German industry worked at high pressure. This German re-armament aroused very definite war-fears both abroad and in Germany itself. In Germany itself the movement denoted a quite extraordinary accession of strength for the Reichswehr, *i.e.*, the Conservatives as against the S.A. and the other Radical and adventurous elements.

In order to dissipate the alarm abroad, Hitler's first step was to come to a friendly understanding with Poland (January 26). Both parties undertook to decide any differences of opinion between the two countries during the next ten years by friendly mediation. Hitler thereby renounced for the same period all claims to a change in the Eastern boundaries, now so unfavourable to Germany. This is a gain for Poland which none of the Republican Governments prior to Hitler's advent had been willing to concede. On June 14 Hitler met Mussolini in Venice in order to strengthen the ties of friendship between Germany and Italy.

By these means the German Government sought, through a complete understanding with Poland and Italy, to compensate for the estrangement of Russia and France.

In July the National-Socialists of Austria attempted a revolt, in the course of which the Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Dollfuss, was murdered. The revolt was a complete fiasco. The Italian Government was convinced that German instigation was behind the attempt of the Austrian National-Socialists in order thus to bring about the union of Germany and Austria. As Mussolini would under no circumstances permit such a union, the events in Austria in July put an end to German-Italian friendship. Within the League of Nations, which had in the meantime also been joined by Soviet Russia, a distinct *rapprochement* between France, Russia, and Italy took place, obviously, as it was assumed in Berlin, against Germany. To counteract this Germany attempted to enter into friendly relations with Yugoslavia. But this effort to make a breach in the Little Entente was without success. In the last months of 1934 the German Government began an intensive propaganda campaign in order to influence the Saarlanders in her favour in the imminent Saar Plebiscite.

In spite of the reiterated assurances of her desire for peace, Germany became more and more isolated in her foreign policy during the year, more so, in fact, than she had been in 1914. Internally, there can be no doubt that the Hitler regime became more firmly established than before, thanks partly to the conservative attitude adopted after June 30. But it is inevitable that the constant consideration of the interests of the capitalists and the farmers shown by the Government must, in the long run, increase the discontent and opposition of the whole of the workers, to which must be added the unsolved problems in the domain of economics and foreign policy.

AUSTRIA.

At the cost of hundreds, if not thousands, of lives, great damage to property and heavy outlay for the State, the Heimwehr Fascist movement, which was created—in its final form—by the late Chancellor Monsignor Ignaz Seipel, achieved in 1934 its oft-proclaimed aims of the destruction of the Social-Democratic Party, their violent ejection from the control of Vienna to which two-thirds of the population had elected them, the arrest of their leaders and the sweeping away of parliamentary Government in Austria. Thus culminated the anti-Socialist policy inaugurated by the late Monsignor Seipel in 1926. Equally serious fighting occurred later in the year against a rising of National Socialists following on an attempted *coup d'e'tat,* in the course of which the Chancellor, Dr. Engelbert Dollfuss, was assassinated. At the close

of the year the Republican Constitution had been destroyed and Austria was left a " Christian authoritarian German state " as the official description ran—actually a Fascist State governed arbitrarily by decree without parliamentary control of any sort.

There is little doubt that the destruction of Socialist power in Austria was agreed upon at the conference at Riccioni (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 185) between Dr. Dollfuss and Signor Mussolini as part of the terms on which the latter would support the former in his resistance to the Nazi movement. The Socialist revelation of the illegal traffic in arms from Italy through Austria to Hungary on January 9, 1933 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 178), with the resulting *dEmarche* by the Powers, seems to have convinced Italy that her military plans in Hungary and Austria could make no headway until the Socialist watch-dog had been destroyed. From the beginning of 1934, the anti-Socialist campaign was vigorously pushed forward in Austria, while the Nazis were handled with velvet gloves, although they were throughout the aggressors and the Socialists very much on the defensive. On January 5 Prince Starhemberg, leader of the Heimwehr, presented to Dr. Dollfuss ultimative (and entirely unconstitutional) demands far more revolutionary than anything ever demanded by the Socialists or Nazis—the suppression of the Social-Democratic Party, the dissolution of the Trades Unions, the proclamation of a dictatorship on the Italian model, and the military occupation of Vienna City Hall, the seat of the Social-Democratic municipal administration. On January 10 he proclaimed in a fiery speech to his followers that a new year of battle had begun for the abolition of Democracy and the overthrow of the Socialists, concluding with the war-cry, " On to battle for a Fascist Austria." The death penalty had been reintroduced in Austria in preparation for the coming struggle and (although the President had pardoned a wealthy farmer-murderer) the first man to be hanged in Austria for fifteen years was executed (in the person of a half-witted tramp named Strauss) on January 11, for burning a hayrick. The execution was insisted on by the Heimwehr Fascists. The long maintained camouflage was dropped by the counter-revolutionaries at the beginning of February. From February 1 to 4 armed Heimwehr marched into most of the provincial capitals, demanding the abolition of parliamentary government, the suppression of the Socialist Party, and that the local Governors of the provinces should nominate Fascist councillors to rule in place of the Diets. These bodies refused to disperse. The Heimwehr official organ declared that this was a " national uprising," and Dr. Dollfuss' organ, the *Beichspost*, declared on February 5 that a new authoritarian, non-democratic and non-party system had been born of this counter-revolution. The police stood by without intervening. On February 3 the French Minister in Vienna was told by Dr. Dollfuss that his promise that no violent action should be taken

against the Socialist Party could no longer be maintained; it was on this express condition that the French Socialists had voted the "Lausanne Credits" the previous summer. In all this Dr. Dollfuss played the role of a Chancellor being pushed into action by his Fascist allies under Prince Starhemberg. On February 8 Heimwehr with machine guns, assisted by police, raided the Vienna headquarters of the Socialist Republican Defence Corps, with the object of paralysing their resistance in the coming struggle for the overthrow of the Republic. Meantime the police, paying little attention to the Nazi bomb-throwers who continued to terrorise the population, arrested nearly all the local leaders of the Republican Defence Corps in Vienna and elsewhere, and indeed all the "key men" of the Socialists whom they could find. Dr. Otto Bauer, the spiritual leader of the party, Dr. Julius Deutsch, Commander-in-Chief of the Republican Defence Corps, and a few other leaders who were warned in time, went into hiding, but the Fascists succeeded in paralysing to a large extent the preparations which had been made for years to meet just such an emergency. Several of the secret arms depots of the Republican Defence Corps were seized. On February 10 the Socialist Mayor of Vienna was deprived of all control over the police of the city. On February 11 Dr. Dollfuss expressly declared in newspaper interviews that he approved the action of the Heimwehr against Parliament and the Parties. He summoned for February 12 a conference of the Provincial Governors and the Heimwehr leaders who had impaired their authority. On February 11 Major Fey told the Heimwehr that he had received assurances that Dr. Dollfuss would back them, "and to-morrow we are going to start cleaning up Austria; we shall make a complete job of it." Dr. Dollfuss confirmed indirectly his surrender to the Heimwehr by applying the same day to the Social-Democrats the favourite Heimwehr term of abuse for them —"Austro-Bolshevists."

On Monday, February 12, the storm broke. The Social-Democratic leaders had held many secret conferences, seeking any way of avoiding bloodshed short of allowing the Fascists to destroy them. To all demands of the sub-leaders that the party should strike before they had been disarmed and rendered unable to defend themselves and the Republic, the party chiefs counselled patience. On Monday the Fascists and the Government planned to start the last move—the raiding of the great blocks of workers dwellings, in which it was known that the principal stores of arms of the Republican Defence Corps had lain bricked up for many years. The Republican Defence Corps Commander at Linz, Bernashek, told the party leaders secretly that he could no longer hold his men in check in face of the incessant Heimwehr provocations, and that if the attempt was made to seize their arms, they would resist. The party chiefs again urged patience; either

the message did not reach Bernashek or he ignored it, for when the anticipated raid was made at 8 A.M. on Monday, February 12, his men arrested the police raiders and prepared to defend themselves. Firing began at once, and the Government started to shell the workers' headquarters. A general strike broke out at Linz. The news reached Vienna about 11 A.M., and the employees of the municipal electricity works struck, paralysing the tram service, and called upon all workers to strike in support of the Linz comrades. The Clerical Fascist Government arrested Herr Karl Seitz, Socialist Mayor of Vienna, and dragged him from his mayoral chair to prison. Other councillors and parliamentary deputies were seized and imprisoned ; some of them were arrested while negotiating in the Government Building for Lower Austria with the Governor of that province in an endeavour to avoid the general strike and bloodshed. Among them were the aged ex-Chancellor, Dr. Karl Renner, and General Koerner, a former military adviser to the Republican Defence Corps. By the evening of February 12 the Heimwehr had fulfilled their threat so often made by Prince Staremberg, Major Fey and others ; they had evicted the elected Mayor of the municipality and Governor of the Vienna Province, and hoisted their green-white flag over the Rathaus. A Commissary Burgomaster was installed, following the Nazi precedent.

Early in the morning of February 12 martial law was proclaimed, and two cordons of barbed wire and troops drawn around the Inner City in Vienna. Newspapers could not be published, and at night the city was plunged into darkness, lighted only by searchlights and the flashes of the guns. The Government story of this tragedy being caused by an attempted Socialist *coup d'dtat* was nowhere accepted abroad or (outside its own ranks) in Austria ; for years Prince Starhemberg, Major Fey and other Heimwehr leaders, and Dr. Dollfuss and the Government, had made no secret of their deliberate determination to follow the lead of Italy and Germany and destroy the Socialists by force. The repeated Socialist offers to help the Government against the Nazis had all been rejected ; it was abundantly clear that their destruction had always been the Government's first objective. Sporadically the strike spread throughout the city and the provinces during the afternoon of February 11. The Socialist leaders accepted the situation and threw themselves whole-heartedly into active defence measures. All who had not been previously arrested went to their battle stations. The Republican Defence Corps drew at last their secret stores of arms (about half could not be found owing to the arrest earlier on, of the only men who knew where they were) and fired on the Heimwehr and Government forces who came to raid the houses. The unequal battle was joined at last, the Socialists, after a few unsuccessful attempts to man hastily-erected street barricades retiring into the workers'

blocks and keeping up rifle and machine-gun fire from there on the aggressors. Dr. Dollfuss had entrusted the work of destroying the Socialists in Vienna to the Heimwehr Major Fey, and (without attempting a bloodless victory by cutting off gas, water and electricity to starve the workers into submission), he brought artillery into action against their houses the same night. For the next three days and nights howitzers, field guns, trench mortars and machine-guns poured a merciless fire into the buildings. The general strike parole, given late and clumsily conveyed, was only acted upon in part by the workers, thus hampering the Socialists' defence. The failure of the railwaymen to come out *en masse* (their spirit had been broken by an unsuccessful strike early in the year) enabled the Government to move troops easily all over the country to attack the Socialists wherever they had defended themselves against disarmament. In the provinces there was fire fighting at Linz, Graz and Steyr. The workers fought a hopeless battle with remarkable courage and tenacity. In the Karl Marx Hof in Vienna, a great workers' block half a mile long, the Republican Defence Corps men returned again and again after the Government forces had driven them out and resumed the battle. Mostly un-uniformed, ill-clad and ill-shod, they faced the overwhelming superiority of their enemies ; no single case of plundering was reported. On the night of February 14/15 Dr. Dollfuss broadcast an offer of full amnesty for all except ringleaders who laid down their arms by mid-day on February 16. The Socialist leaders in secret conference decided that it was best to accept defeat: those leaders who were known made for the frontier, the others " went underground " and began at once the organising of an illegal party (for the Socialist Party had been declared dissolved early on February 12), and the rank and file were advised to surrender their arms and take advantage of the amnesty. (The amnesty promised, however, was disregarded, and many rank and file who surrendered were imprisoned.) Many of the best of the arms, especially machine-guns, were re-hidden, and were never found by the Government forces. Dr. Bauer and Dr. Deutsch made good their escape into Czechoslovakia, and at once founded an *emigre* centre at Brtinn from which the old party organ, the *Arbeiter Zeitmg,* is still issued, and the fight against Austrian Fascism directed.

The actual cost in lives of this destruction of Social-Democracy and the Democratic Republic will never be known ; Socialists estimated their dead at 1,500 to 2,000, including many women and children ; a conservative estimate for both sides would be 1,000 killed and 5,000 wounded, with as many prisoners. The Government figures were far lower. They were : on the Government side, 102 dead and 319 wounded ; on the Socialist side, 137 killed and 339 wounded. Large quantities of arms were surrendered. Hundreds of workers' homes were wrecked by shell fire, and the

wonderful buildings of the Socialists, housing 200,000, which had been the admiration of town planners (irrespective of politics) all over the world, were a tragic spectacle. The attempts of the Government propaganda machine to persuade the world that they had been designed as " fortresses " failed completely. The first victim of the courts was hanged three hours after sentence on February 14—Karl Munichreiter, who had to be brought into court and to the gallows on a stretcher, suffering from terrible wounds. In all, eleven men were hanged after summary proceedings, including Koloman Wallish, member of Parliament and Mayor of Bruck, on whose head Major Fey had put a price. Six were sentenced to life imprisonment and 1,182 to a total of 1,339 years of hard labour.

The Nazi tactics in Germany were now closely followed in dealing with the defeated enemy. Concentration camps were established and Socialists sent there by thousands without trial, the property of the party and trades unions seized, and the latter dissolved. In many cases the private property of the leaders was confiscated. There was much talk of trying the leaders of the party, including women (arrested before the fighting) for high treason, but actually they were kept in prison without trial for many months—some for over a year. Socialists were dismissed wholesale from public, and often from private, employment. The prestige of Dr. Dollfuss abroad, which had been very high so long as it had been possible to depict him as a champion of Austria's liberty, fell almost to zero. World-wide sympathy was aroused, even among political opponents by the gallantry of the Austrian workers' struggle against hopeless odds, and large sums were subscribed internationally for their relief, while the Diplomatic representatives of Great Britain and other countries urged clemency on Dr. Dollfuss. The Government forbade the distribution of the funds received by workers from abroad, and tried to force those in distress to apply to the Catholic organisations. Eventually, however, most of the foreign funds were distributed through the Quakers, the balance being paid by secret Socialist organisations. Two Englishwomen, among others, were arrested for some hours for having given money to starving Socialist families. The Socialist Party did not disappear ignominiously like that of Germany after its open destruction. Its underground organisation was built up slowly and, of course, at heavy cost in arrested organisers. Illegal trades unions were formed, an enormous illegal Press came into being, and despite the severest sentences on all those having any dealings with it, steadily increased its flow of literature throughout the year. The Socialist rank and file remained, as far as can be judged, almost solidly faithful to their old party, and hostile both to the Government and the Nazis. Immediately after the defeat, a certain number joined the Nazis, but soon returned to the fold ; large numbers,

however, went over to the Communists—before the Government's attack on the Socialists a negligible force—and did not all return to Socialism.

The struggle involved in the second of the Austrian Government's " fight on two fronts "—that against the Nazis—though internationally of greater importance, and productive of a second and equally terrible civil war, had not the same consequences at home. It was a defensive action against an unsuccessful attempt to seize power by violent methods, and left the form of the State unchanged, whereas the struggle with the Socialists was essentially the effort of the minority Government to overthrow the Republic, in which it was successful. As the Government at the beginning of the year concentrated on its plans for attacking the Socialists, the Nazi outrages increased. An average of 200 bombs per week —mostly harmless—was achieved in January. Aided by supporters in Austrian high official circles, the Nazis carried their outrages into the highest quarters. On January 10 the Innsbruck Chamber of Commerce in a resolution calling on Dr. Dollfuss to make peace with the Nazis, gave indication of the growing hostility to the Government among the largely Nazi peasantry in Tyrol and other provinces. On January 12 intrigues in high places with the Nazis, which were steadily in progress while outwardly the Clcrical-Heimwehr Government was united against them, was revealed by the arrest of Count Alberti, leader of the Lower Austrian Heimwehr under Prince Starhemberg at the home of Alfred Frauenfeld, leader of the Vienna Nazis, while conferring with him and other Nazi leaders on the night of January 11, in the presence of Prince Waldeck-Pyrmont, a German diplomat attached to the Legation staff. The Prince was expelled from Austria. Three days before this, secret negotiations between Dr. Dollfuss and the German Nazis had almost reached their climax. Herr Habicht, the military leader of the Austrian Nazi centre in Germany, on January 8 was actually on his way by air to meet the Austrian Chancellor (who had agreed to Herr Habicht's request for the interview) in Vienna, when the Chancellor changed his mind in consequence of the intensified Nazi terrorism, and Habicht had to fly back to Germany without landing. Count Alberti (who, of course, was never brought to trial) declared that he had a written authorisation from Prince Starhemberg (which the latter denied) to start these negotiations. The whole incident was never cleared up, but apparently Major Fey, who had been put in charge of the Security Service only the day before the arrest, feared that in this rush to come to terms with the Nazis he was going to be left out in the cold, and consequently gave publicity to what was afoot by making the arrests, which clearly greatly embarrassed the Government. There was a brief pause in the continued anti-Government demonstrations of the Nazis during the counter-revolution against the Socialists in February,

as the Nazis, keenly as they desired the downfall of the Government, were not willing to help the Socialists in any way. Had they done so, the Government would, of course, have been swept away over night, as it would have been had the defeated Socialists in their turn risen to help the Nazis in their revolt in July, but the weakness of the Government in having to fight on two fronts appeared in another light when it joined issue with each enemy singly. For each of these enemies hated one another just a little more than they hated the existing regime. Almost the only instance of Socialists and Nazis co-operating was when Bernashek, the instigator of the Socialist resistance at Linz which started the fighting in February, escaped from prison to Germany and was well received by the Nazis, who finally allowed him to go to Soviet Russia.

Immediately after the defeat of the Socialists, Nazi activities recommenced and rose to a crescendo in July. The Government, while proclaiming the death penalty for the acts of terror which the Nazis committed daily, never enforced it, and continued to handle Nazis with a velvet glove, which was in striking contrast to the mailed fist which it eagerly showed to the Socialists. The higher officials, the army, and above all, the highest ranks of the police and gendarmerie were so permeated with Nazi adherents that the Government did not care to go too far. Finally, behind all polemics with them was a lurking feeling that in the end the Nazis would win the day, and nearly everyone in high places was playing for safety in the event of a Nazi triumph. So the bombings, shootings and other outrages continued, while German money and explosives poured into the country. But Herr Dollfuss, after the cancellation of his secret invitation to Herr Habicht to come to Vienna, had burnt his boats and made no more efforts to come to an agreement.

On July 25 the Nazis attempted a daring *coup d'etat* which resulted in the killing of Dr. Dollfuss. The plan worked out was to take the whole Cabinet prisoner, and while they were under arrest, to form a new Cabinet presided over by Dr. Anton Rintelen, a prominent Heimwehr-Fascist and Austrian Minister in Rome. At 10 A.M. the Nazis selected to execute the plot assembled in a German gymnastic hall, put on the uniforms of Heimwehr and regular soldiers, drew arms and mounted motor lorries. Among them were a number of soldiers of the regular Army and members of the Vienna police force, though these damaging facts were concealed by the Government as long as possible. Various warnings of what was afoot reached the police and Major Fey, the Commissar for Security, and his adjutant, Major Wrabel, in the course of the morning, but although an alarm commando of police could have been ordered to the protection of the Chancellor at any moment, no decisive step was taken. The truth about the failure to act, and the full facts as to how far up in the ranks of

the officials complicity in the plot extended, **has never been** revealed.

Shortly before 1 P.M. the motor lorries with the rebels drove up to the Chancellery and were allowed past the sentries. Only when they were inside and had closed the gates did the rebels reveal their real mission. But they had failed in their chief objective, which was to arrest the Cabinet as a whole ; although they knew that all the Ministers would that morning be present at a Cabinet Council, they did not receive notice in time that just before their *coup* began the Council had adjourned for lunch. Simultaneously with their *coup,* another group of fourteen Nazis, also with police accomplices, broke into the building of the Austrian broadcasting station, and after announcing that Dr. Dollfuss had been deposed in favour of Dr. Rintelen, withstood a siege of concentrated police and machine-guns for three hours before they were forced to surrender. Inside the Chancellery, Dr. Dollfuss was shot by one of the Nazis, an ex-sergeant of the Regular Army named Otto Planetta, as he was trying to escape. His wounds were roughly bandaged, but the rebels refused to allow anyone to leave the building to summon a doctor, and the Chancellor died while in their hands. Major Fey parleyed from the balcony with the forces, which on the orders of the remaining members of the Government had invested the Chancellery, forbidding any attack, and declaring that Dr. Rintelen was expected to arrive and settle the matter. His attitude caused grave suspicion to attach to him afterwards. The Commander of the Government forces outside finally gave a guarantee of safe conduct to the rebels if they would surrender, and at 7 P.M. they did so. The guarantee of safe conduct was disregarded, and all the rebels taken to prison. The explanation offered for disregarding the promise was that when it was given it was not realised that the Chancellor was dead, but the masses who detested the Nazi putsch in itself felt that although a guarantee of safe conduct never should have been given, the ignoring of it was dishonourable and on a par with the failure to observe the amnesty promised by Dr. Dollfuss to the Socialists. It is a curious fact that almost the last official action of Dr. Dollfuss was to send to the gallows the night before his murder a young Socialist who had endeavoured to blow up a railway signal, and had wounded the policeman who arrested him. Herr Rintelen was arrested and attempted to commit suicide. Dr. Rieth, the German Minister to Austria, who, with the consent of the Austrian authorities, went to the occupied Chancellery and witnessed the (unfulfilled) promise of safe conduct to the rebels, was recalled to Germany.

Sporadic fighting followed throughout the provinces, but, curiously enough Vienna remained quiet. Despite the assertions of Government propaganda, it would seem that the Nazi plotters really hoped for an almost bloodless triumph. Apparently they

believed that with the whole Government (which could not in any case claim that it was a Constitutional Government) under lock and key, they could easily substitute it, and that the army and police would fall into line. The revolt in the provinces probably followed plans long prepared and put into force on the authority of local leaders in one district, and suspended on the same authority in the next. A plot to kidnap President Miklas in Carinthia failed ; Prince Starhemberg, the Vice-Chancellor, was in Italy ; his aeroplane attempted to reach Austria on July 25 but returned, and landed only on July 26.

The fighting in the provinces laster over four days, and the casualties were approximately as heavy as those incurred in the civil war against the Socialists. Thousands of Nazis escaped across the frontier into Yugoslavia, and once more the prisons overflowed into huge concentration camps. Seeing that the *coup* had failed, Herr Hitler disowned both its authors and the rebels generally, declaring that any who reached the German frontier would be arrested. This naturally greatly disheartened those who had been risking everything because of their faith in his doctrines, and resistance soon collapsed. The Nazi arms were mostly those secretly supplied by Italy for the destruction of the Socialists to the Heimwehr, many of whom in the provinces had gone over to the Nazis.

The gravest danger to European peace arose outside the Austrian frontiers. Signor Mussolini, in accordance with his secret agreement with Austria, rushed troops to the frontier, Yugoslavia, in view of the Italian threat which this meant to that country, did the same. Had Herr Hitler not realised in the eleventh hour that the Nazi plans in Austria had failed, and had he not stopped the "Austrian Legion"—Nazi fugitives from Austria who had been armed, uniformed and trained in Germany for invasion—from crossing the frontier, a European conflict would have been inevitable. In Austria a series of hangings followed the conflict with the Nazis as they had that with the Socialists, the first two to suffer being Sergeant-Major Planetta, who had fired the fatal shot, and Sergeant Franz Holzweber, one of the chiefs of the insurgent band. Both repeated immediately before their execution that their orders had been to avoid bloodshed, that they had been assured of the support of those in high places, and had been promised unconditional safe conduct. This promise (after their arrest) was repeated by the Police President of Vienna on condition that the actual murderer of Dollfuss confessed. To save his comrades, Planetta then said he admitted his guilt. This promise was also ignored by the authorities, and none of the rebels was released. Paul Hudl, the actual commander of the rebels, escaped the death penalty as the result of intervention from very high quarters, although his subordinates were hanged. Several of the highest police officials in Vienna involved in the

putsch were arrested. Other guilty police escaped across **the** frontier. Of the eight Vienna police officers who actively took **part in** the seizure of the Chancellery four were hanged; it was not suggested that they had caused any loss of Ufe. Several prisoners declared that Major Fey was to have had a post in the Nazi Cabinet of Dr. Rintelen. After the abortive putsch the Nazi movement in Austria rapidly declined in importance. In October, Dr. Schuschnigg, Dr. Dollfuss' successor in the Chancellorship, began private negotiations with so-called " moderate Nazis," which fell through on their receiving unexpected publicity abroad. In all, thirty-one death sentences were passed on Nazis, of which thirteen were carried out. Imprisonment for life was imposed on forty-two Nazis, and 686 were sentenced to a total of 2,967 years of imprisonment.

Relations with Germany were extremely bad throughout the year. On January 17 the Austrian Minister in Berlin protested to the German Foreign Office against the continued anti-Austrian propaganda from the German sending stations. On January 24 the Austrian Minister in London informed the Foreign Office that if the German propaganda against Austria did not cease, there would be an appeal to the League. Actually this step was never taken. On February 1 the German Government replied denying that the broadcasts were intended otherwise than to inform German listeners about Austrian affairs. On February 15 and February 19, in one of his radio speeches, Herr Habicht, the German chief of the Austrian Nazis, made very violent speeches urging the Austrian soldiers to disobey the orders of their superiors. In May, June, July and August, many big transports of arms and ammunition coming from Germany for the Nazis were seized. On January 29 Dr. Dollfuss announced that another note of protest was being sent to Germany. In consequence of the bad relations between the two countries after the murder of Dollfuss, the Austrian Government delayed for several weeks the *agrement* for Herr von Papen as German Minister to Austria to replace Dr. Rieth, who had been recalled because he had taken part in the negotiations between the Austrian Government and the rebels in the Chancellery. On August 8 the *agreement* was issued. On October 8 there were signs that Dr. Schuschnigg was co-operating in a gradual *rapprochement* initiated by Herr von Papen ; an order was issued to the Austrian Press to adopt a friendlier tone towards Germany and to suppress all references to German re-armament. Little by little the Schuschnigg Cabinet began to relax towards the Austrian Nazis during the last few months in the year; there were some abortive " peace negotiations" with " moderate Nazis " headed by Herr Reinthaller, a Nazi newspaper of an anti-Habicht complexion allowed to be published, and various camouflaged Nazi institutions which had been closed allowed to re-open. Germany generally suppressed attacks in her Press

against Austria, and made in November some slight modification of the thousand-mark barrier against tourists to Austria.

In the course of the year Austria changed from a nominally democratic Republic to a fully fledged autocratic Fascist State prepared for a Monarchical restoration. Immediately after the overthrow of the Socialists the destruction began of all institutions with an electoral and democratic basis, and autocratic nominations were employed to replace them. Since the Government had no hope of obtaining the necessary parliamentary majority of two-thirds for changing the Constitution by constitutional means, it adopted the simple method of declaring that the seventy-two Socialist seats in Parliament were annulled, and proceeded to have a new Fascist Constitution passed on April 30, only by the members of its own two parties—the sixty-six Clericals and eight Heimwehr. The Landbund members (ten), and seven of the nine pan-Germans refused to attend the parliamentary session. The two pan-German spokesmen present, after protesting against the " unconstitutional action of a Government supported only by bayonets " and ruling by " concentration camps, persecution of men, women and children and the employment of spies and informers," voted against the new Constitution. This abolished the title " Republic " and Parliament, and created four purely advisory bodies—the Council of State, the Council of Culture, the Economic Council and the Provincial Council, all of whose members were to be nominated. A fifth body, chosen from members of the foregoing, called the Federal Council, was allowed the function of accepting or rejecting, but not amending, the Government Bills. No provision was made for unseating an unpopular Government, even through the corporations which were declared to be the basis of the whole political structure. Even this Constitution remained on paper most of the year (although on November 1 the members of the various new Councils were nominated) and the Government continued to govern as before by arbitrary decree.

Throughout the year propaganda for the restoration of the Habsburgs was carried on with increasing intensity, and with the obvious approval of the Government. Eventually the newspapers were forbidden to refer to it, in order not to alarm the Little Entente States, but no effort was made to stop the propaganda itself. Indeed, wives of Cabinet Ministers openly attended Monarchist demonstrations, notably on Otto von Habsburg's 22nd birthday on November 30. Dr. Dollfuss was himself a Monarchist, but Dr. Schuschnigg is still more pronounced in his royalist views. The whole Austrian Government is Monarchist, and certainly plans an eventual restoration—at its own time and on its own terms. The official attitude at all times when questioned as to restoration plans was that the question was " not immediate/' But by the filling of one key post after another with Monarchists, they

continued throughout the year to prepare the way. There was no sign of any popular demand for a restoration, but also little sign that it would be energetically resisted.

Relations with Italy became closer throughout the year; one reason for the unpopularity of the Government with the middle classes was its increasing dependence on Italy. Signor Suvich, the Italian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, visited Vienna on January 18. His visit was made the occasion for violent pro-Nazi and anti-Italian demonstrations. The electric light cables on the Ringstrasse were cut, plunging Signor Suvich's hotel into darkness. He made another brief visit to Vienna on February 25, just after the destruction of the Socialist Party, which, it is believed, Dr. Dollfuss had previously promised Signor Mussolini should be carried out, and inspected the shattered Socialist model dwellings. Austrian relations with Hungary also became very close under Italian patronage, culminating on March 18 in the signature of the Three Power Pact between Italy, Austria and Hungary at Rome. Herr Schuschnigg visited Signor Mussolini for the first time at Florence on August 21. With Yugoslavia relations were strained; Yugoslavia resented Austria's harbouring of Croats believed to have been connected with the murder of King Alexander, and resented the threat to Yugoslav unity which she saw in the Habsburg Monarchist propaganda and in the triumph of Yugoslavia's bitterest enemies in Austria, the Clerical reactionaries. Austria objected to Yugoslavia's granting asylum to 5,000 Nazi fugitives after July 25. In connexion with the Yugoslav complaints to the League, of Hungarian harbouring of Croat terrorists, the Hungarian Premier, General Gombos, paid a sensational visit to Austria on November 23, to discuss the situation created for Austria, Italy and Hungary by Yugoslavia's accusations.

Statistics published in December by the Vienna police give some idea of the state of affairs in Austria. During 1934, in Vienna alone (population 1,800,000), there were 106,319 houses raided by the police, which yielded results in 27,876 cases. Arrests totalled 38,132, of whom 19,090 were Nazis, 12,276 Socialists and 6,775 Communists. This meant an average of nearly 200 raids and 70 arrests for each detective. These figures apply to political cases only.

CHAPTER IV.

SOVIET RUSSIA — ESTONIA — LATVIA — LITHUANIA — POLAND — DANZIG — CZECHOSLOVAKIA — HUNGARY — RUMANIA—YUGOSLAVIA—TURKEY—GREECE—BULGARIA.

SOVIET RUSSIA.

IN his speech to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union held early in 1934 M. Molotov, Chairman of the Council of Commissars, made the following statement on the Union's relations with foreign countries: "Soviet relations with Great Britain are at present satisfactory. Co-operation witlr France has entered on a new stage and shows prospects of a good future. In its relations with Germany, however, the policy of militant National Socialism, impregnated with reactionary desires and predatory imperialist aims has opposed the Russian policy of universal peace. We will continue our policy of peace towards Japan, but we must prepare against all possible attacks, from which we cannot consider ourselves quite secure at present."

Thus Russia's chief object in the field of foreign affairs was to secure herself from attack on her western and eastern frontiers. With this end in view, on April 4 the Soviet Government signed a Ten-Years' Non-aggression Pact with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and on April 7 a similar Pact with Finland. After strenuous efforts on May 5 it succeeded also in inducing Poland to extend her Treaty with the Soviet Union into a virtual Ten-Years' Non-aggression Pact. In these Pacts the Russian definition of " Aggressor " was definitely adopted, *viz.*, that an aggressor is the State which first declares war against another State or supports armed bands which invade the territory of another State or refuses to take all possible measures to deprive those bands of aid and protection. In order to secure the Pact with Poland, Soviet Russia virtually recognised that country's claim to Vilna.

In its search for security the Soviet Government went even further. The ground having been prepared by a second visit of M. Herriot to Soviet Russia early in the year, the Soviet Government sent through him a proposal to the French Government offering an extensive pact of mutual assistance against any likely aggressor. In view of France's membership in the League and the requirements of the Locarno Treaty, which provides for a special position of Members of the League in cases of aggression by Germany, the question arose of the Soviet Union joining **the League.** Such **a** development would make it possible for France to help Russia in a case of aggression from Germany and would make it incumbent on all members of the League to come to her

rescue if attacked by Japan. Such an attack seemed at the time not unlikely. Early in May the head of the Turkish Military Mission in Moscow informed the Russian War Secretary that the Turkish Ambassador in Tokio had received a proposal from the Japanese Foreign Office to abandon Russia in the struggle which was to begin between Japan and Russia in 1935, promising to give Turkey a free hand in the Caucasus, to supply her with a number of naval units and to help her to build fortifications on the Bosphorus. Similar conversations were held by Japanese representatives in Berlin and Warsaw, where the attitude of the respective Governments to the Japanese proposals was more favourable than that of the Turkish Government.

It was with this information in his possession that, during the session of the Disarmament Conference at the end of May, M. Litvinov restated the anxiety of the Soviet Government with regard to those States " which openly sketched out a programme of conquest of foreign territories " and appealed to the Powers represented to think of a method of guaranteeing peace which would be more effective than partial disarmament. In the circumstances the question of still closer co-operation with the League and of eventually joining it became one of practical importance and even urgency, and Soviet diplomacy set itself to remove some of the difficulties in its way. Early in June M. Litvinov, before leaving Geneva, exchanged letters with M. Benes and M. Titulesco by which Soviet Russia finally renounced all her former claims to Bessarabia, and the three Governments undertook " not to create or support on their respective territories organisations aiming at armed conflict against the other State, or attempting to use force against its political or social regime, or organising or inciting to acts of terrorism against its official representatives as well as organisations claiming Governmental functions in the other State or any part of its territory." The signatory States further undertook " to forbid the recruitment on or entry into their territories of armed forces, arms, munitions or any sort of military material intended for the use of such organisations." Yugoslavia, the third member of the Little Entente, in principle joined this agreement, although there were still a few points remaining to be settled. By this agreement the Soviet Government dealt a blow at the various official remnants of old Russia which had their military and political organisations in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Rumania plotting to bring about an intervention, and cleared the way for a closer agreement with France and entry into the League.

One of the indications of the coming *rapprochement* with the League was a decision of the Soviet Government to order in France four cruisers and several submarines and the appointment by the British Government of a Military Attache in Moscow and of a Soviet Military Attache in London.

Russia's urgent and anxious desire to join the League of Nations was, by most of the principal Governments, greeted with satisfaction as a means of strengthening the authority of the League and as a compensation for the withdrawal of Japan and Germany. France undertook to be sponsor, and with some assistance from Great Britain and Italy succeeded in allaying the scruples of a small number of Governments of minor countries which for various reasons were opposed to Russia's admission. Partly to save Russia the " humiliation " of an application for admission, but mainly for reasons of League procedure, and in order to obviate the difficulties of obtaining a satisfactory vote, a telegram signed by representatives of thirty Governments was sent in the middle of September to M. Litvinov saying in effect that " seeing that it is the purpose of the League of Nations to secure world peace, and that to attain that purpose the adhesion to the League of as many nations as possible is necessary, the signatories invite Russia to join the League of Nations." Although the wording of the invitation had been discussed beforehand with M. Litvinov, who was staying at a village in the vicinity of Geneva, the actual text, when received, was not considered by him sufficiently friendly to enable him to give acceptance immediately, and an inquiry was sent to Moscow. In its reply the Soviet Government declared that its policy had always been the organisation and consolidation of peace, and said it was willing to respond to the invitation which had come from the majority of the League members and to take the place due to itself (a permanent seat in the Council), and undertook to observe all international obligations and decisions binding upon members in conformity with Article 1 of the Covenant. Attention was drawn to Articles 12 and 13 of the Covenant (submission of disputes between States to arbitration or judicial settlement), and it was distinctly laid down that the method of arbitration was not to be applied to conflicts which had arisen before Russia's entry into the League.

Soviet Russia was given a permanent seat on the Council, and subsequently a Russian was appointed to the important post of Assistant to the Secretary-General of the League. Although carefully prepared and anxiously directed by Russia's sponsors, the actual process of her admission was not unattended with difficulties ; at the Sixth Commission the Swiss Government stated that they considered the Soviet Government, the Communist Party and the Third International to be morally one, and they expressed the hope that the other States would help them in preventing Geneva from becoming a centre of Communist propaganda.

Russia's entry into the League was generally considered an important event in the diplomatic history of the year. For Russia itself it was a decisive change, a change so sudden and unexpected that the Soviet Government thought it advisable not

to acquaint with it the Russian public until long after the event, and the announcement was made in such a form that no discussion of it was permitted.

After Russia's entry into the League, the relations between the Soviet Union and France became very intimate, and on December 5 M. Laval and M. Litvinov signed a special protocol by which they undertook to work for an Eastern European Pact and to abstain until it was concluded from entering into separate bilateral agreements. The protocol, though it condemned bilateral negotiations with Germany, did not preclude Germany from joining the Eastern European Pact. On the other hand, it was more than a provisional agreement, as the parties also agreed to " renounce any future diplomatic undertaking of the same kind," which probably meant that Franco-Soviet close co-operation would continue irrespective of whether the negotiations for the Pact succeeded or failed.

Although Soviet Russia had thus strengthened its rear in the West, the Government did not consider itself as yet ready for a serious conflict with Japan, and in spite of numerous incidents and misunderstandings which had occurred during the summer in connection with the administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway and which were to a considerable extent caused by Japanese provocation, carefully refrained from military operations. Negotiations for the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway were resumed in the summer, and on September 24 agreement was reached provisionally on the basis of a price of 170 million yen, of which two-thirds would be paid in goods and the balance in cash. Final agreement, however, had not yet been reached by the end of the year.

A temporary Trade Agreement was signed in Paris with France on January 11—about ten years after diplomatic relations had been resumed. Diplomatic relations were resumed with Hungary on February 6. Two days later the Commercial Treaty with Italy, signed in May, 1933, was ratified. On February 16 the Soviet Government signed a temporary Commercial Agreement with the British Government. The principal features of this agreement were to grant diplomatic immunity to three members of the Russian Trade Delegation and part of their premises in Bush House and to establish the principle that Russian payments in the United Kingdom in respect of purchases and services used must within a period of four years (by the end of 1937) almost reach the payments to Russia for goods exported from that country to the United Kingdom.

While official statistics must still be treated with great reserve, there seems to be good reason for believing that much substantial progress was achieved in the economic sphere during 1934. The principal branches of the heavy industries were stated to have shown considerable increases in output over 1933 (the increases

are in percentages)—electricity by 32, coal by 24, coke by 40, iron-ore and pig-iron by 49, steel by 36, rolled metal by 36-9, copper smelting by 26, lead by 92, zinc by 39, motor lorries by 35, tractors by 31, and motor-cars by 104. The outcome of this improvement was that the Soviet Government was not only able to diminish its imports, but also to pay its foreign debts, and so strengthen its commercial position abroad.

At the World Economic Conference, and in their subsequent negotiations, the Trading Organisations of the Soviet Union made it clear that they would not make important purchases unless better terms of credit were granted them. Their strengthened position in Europe enabled the Soviet Government to liquidate a large proportion of their debts to Germany and rearrange their economic policy with a view to closer co-operation with Great Britain, France and the U.S.A. In March the German Government agreed to increase and extend the credits granted to Russia in 1933 for a further year with an option of further extension in August for another 25 million marks. In July the Soviet Government informed the German Government that they did not require any new credits. Part payment for German exports to Russia (200,000,000 marks) was to be effected by export of Russian goods to Germany, according to a schedule of 19 articles which Russia desired to export to Germany. German economic policy in the sphere of agriculture made it impossible for the Germans to take the amounts of Russian exports agreed upon in March, and Soviet Russia turned to other markets and other trade connections.

In 1934 it was openly admitted that the rationing system had failed and a number of " State Commercial Shops " were opened to supply the population with what they could buy. Practically all commodities, with the exception of bread, flour and a few other cereals, were removed from the rationing system, but the prices at those shops were fixed by the Government, and those prices were exceptionally high. The lowest grade workers received a wage of 92 Rbls. monthly, the better paid classes being given not much more. Considering that the prices fixed by the Government were : for butter 8 Rbls. a pound, meat 2-2 Rbls., sugar 4-50 Rbls. and tea 8 Rbls., there was not much the workers could get for their money. With regard to bread, the Government organs and the State Co-operative Societies bought from the peasants their rye at 72 Rbls. per ton and wheat at 88 Rbls., or at slightly higher prices, when the peasants were " persuaded " to sell " voluntarily " part of what had been left to them after the compulsory collection at the lower prices. The Government sold their supplies to the factories at 525 Rbls. (rye) and 600 Rbls. (wheat) per ton. The enormous profits made by the Government went to cover a portion of their Budget, and even the cheap ration sold to the workers cost them thirty to forty times more

than the Government paid to the peasants. The Government decided to abolish rationing for bread as from January 1, 1935, and this measure was hailed all over Russia as a great improvement.

During the period of collectivisation half of all Russian cattle perished either through slaughter or through fodder famine. According to orders from M. Stalin himself, 1934 was to see a break, but the improvement stated to have taken place was comparatively small—the number of horned cattle (but not cows) increased by 10 per cent., of pigs by 44 per cent., while the number of horses actually diminished by 5-8 per cent.

Housing was extremely bad in the large number of new industrial towns springing up in new areas rich in minerals ; in the old industrial centres the improvement in the housing conditions did not keep pace with the rapid increase of the town population caused by the building of new factories.

A definite plan was published in 1934 for digging the Volga-Don Canal—one of the dreams of Peter the Great, A 5 kilometer dam is to bridge the Don river and create a vast reservoir which will raise the water level by 40 metres and the canal—100 kilometers long—will allow 5,000 ton vessels to pass between the rivers. The waterways of Russia will thus be enormously improved and a vast area in the Volga region will receive additional water for irrigation purposes.

Great progress was made during the year with the establishment of the northern route from Vladivostok to Murmansk. The icebreaker *Litke* left Vladivostok on June 28, and arrived in Murmansk on September 20. The eighty-three days thus spent en route included twenty-three on which the icebreaker carried out a number of additional commissions. The Soviet Government is increasing the number of wireless and flying stations in the Polar regions, in order to watch the position of the pack ice and enable ships to find a passage through the open waters. The traffic on Kara Sea trade route gradually developed and in 1934 twenty-four ships (sixteen British) took part in it.

Very important changes became noticeable in the social conditions of Russia during the year. The authority of O.G.P.U. was definitely curtailed and important political crimes were exempted from its jurisdiction. The intellectual classes began to receive more consideration from the authorities and their position improved. There appeared a definite tendency towards administrative decentralisation—large trade unions were divided into smaller ones with much less interference from the Centre. The electorate to the local Soviets was extended and a number of categories of new voters were admitted. Great play was made with patriotism and the patriotic duty of defending the Soviet Fatherland. In connexion with the preparations for Russian entry into the League, and for the purpose of influencing European public opinion, the idea of a united front between Communists and

Socialists in Western Europe was fostered by the Soviet Government, and at one time rumours spread that the Soviet Government would establish a united front with the Russian Socialists and would decree an amnesty for the scores of thousands of such Socialists who had been deported to the wastes of Siberia and the Solovetzki Islands in the White Sea. People in Russia began to breathe more freely and there was much less fear of the O.G.P.U. and the militia. There was a very marked tendency among the Communists and the Youth-League to adopt European ideas of personal cleanliness, of better dress, of smartness in appearance, and jazz-dancing, nose-powdering, lipstick, clean collars, shaving and what was generally called by them " humanism " were all assiduously discussed at their meetings and voted for. A radical change began in the school system and in the teaching of history. Soviet writers were given much more freedom in their activities and the old classics began to regain their popularity. In short, Russia showed definite signs of a cultural and intellectual awakening. Unfortunately the murder of Kirov—Stalin's right hand man—on December 1 caused a set-back to this process. Terrorism was re-established, the authority of the O.G.P.U. was restored, and heresy-hunting began with a new vigour.

ESTONIA.

At midnight on January 23 the new Constitution was ushered in with a salute of twenty-one guns at Tallinn. It was intended that a new President should be elected on April 22 and 23 and a new Diet of fifty members on April 29 and 30. Meanwhile M. K. Pats remained in office as Pro-President, with M. J. Seljamaa, the Foreign Minister, as his deputy. In consequence of the agitation carried on by the so-called " Liberators " (Estonian Fascists) in connexion with the Presidential election, M. Pats in the middle of March appointed General Laidoner Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, with extraordinary powers. The Liberators were proclaimed an illegal organisation, some 400 of their leaders were arrested, all their newspapers were closed, and emergency law was reintroduced throughout the country. General Larka, the nominal head of the Liberators, being a candidate for the Presidency, was allowed immunity from arrest, but in the middle of April he made his peace with M. Pats and retired from political life. The state of emergency was continued throughout the summer. In October the Diet which had been elected in 1932 was summoned, but it was immediately dismissed, as it showed itself to be out of harmony with the Acting President. In the middle of November Dr. Arthur Sirk, the chief organiser of the Liberators, escaped from prison in Tallinn, where he had been interned for about seven months, and fled to Finland.

In January proceedings were commenced against **General** Torvand, Chief of Staff, and other highly placed persons, on a charge of having defrauded the Government of nearly 100,000l. in connexion with the sale of two warships to Peru in the previous year. Both General Torvand and M. A. Kerem, formerly Minister of Defence, who was charged with him were acquitted in December.

A trade agreement was concluded with Great Britain in July and with Russia in October. Estonia joined the Baltic Union *(vide* Latvia) in August, and declared itself in favour in principle of the proposed East European Pact. In August, English was made the first compulsory language to be taught in the secondary schools, German being the second.

LATVIA

At the beginning of March the Government of M. Blodnieks, after being in power for a year, resigned, and a new non-Socialist Cabinet was formed with M. K. Ulmanis as Premier. On May 15 M. Ulmanis, in conjunction with General Balodis, the Minister of War, carried out a *coup d'eat* without bloodshed or serious resistance. M. Paul KaLnins, the Chairman of the Diet, and all the most prominent Socialist members were placed under arrest. A state of emergency was declared, the Diet was dissolved, and a new Government on non-party lines was formed with M. Ulmanis as Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and General Balodis as Minister of War. All the elected municipal councils were dissolved and new mayors appointed, with a number of municipal departmental chiefs. At the end of November Dr. Paul Kalnins was brought to trial with three other ex-members of the Diet on a charge of having collected a stock of firearms for subversive purposes. Dr. Kalnins was acquited, but his son, Bruno, was sentenced to prison for three years, and two others to periods of a few months.

On September 12 a " Treaty of Agreement and Collaboration " was concluded at Riga between Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, by which the three countries undertook to work in common in their foreign relations [see under Public Documents]. This was regarded as the first step towards the " Little Baltic Union " which had been under discussion for the past twelve years *(vide* Lithuania). Like her two partners, Latvia declared her willingness to join the East European Pact.

At the beginning of February the Government refused the application of local textile interests for permission to import new spinning and weaving machinery, on the ground that it was undesirable to expand the textile industry of Latvia in view of the trade agreement which it was trying to negotiate with

England. The agreement was duly concluded in the summer. Owing to Latvia's maintenance of the gold standard for her currency, the export bounties on butter, bacon and other articles became very burdensome, and suggestions were made that the gold standard should be abandoned, but the Minister of Finance refused to entertain them.

An agreement to settle the Lazard Brothers loan to the city of Riga was at last signed in August. The nominal value of the bonds was reduced by 40 per cent., interest between 1917 and 1934 was cancelled, the rate of interest was reduced from 4½ to 4 per cent., and the period for redemption prolonged. The first payment under the new scheme was made in November.

A new Latvian-British Society was founded at Riga at the beginning of March for the purpose of fostering friendship and mutual understanding between the two countries. In August English was made the first foreign language to be studied in the State schools.

A great shock was caused to the Latvian public by the murder on October 10 or 11 of Archbishop John, the Primate of the Orthodox Church in Latvia, and well known as a strong advocate of co-operation between the Orthodox and Anglican Churches and a determined opponent of Communism and Socialism. The murderer was not discovered and the motive of the crime remained unknown.

LITHUANIA.

At the end of April the Government of Lithuania laid before the Governments of Latvia and Estonia a memorandum suggesting that an agreement establishing solidarity between the three countries should be entered into by them. Such an agreement had long been a desideratum, but the obstacle hitherto had been Lithuania's insistence on a recognition of her right to Vilna. She now consented to waive all reference to this, and accordingly the proposed pact of union was duly concluded at Riga on September 11.

Early in the year there was an intensification of anti-Polish activity in Lithuania. This, however, soon died down, and in the summer informal approaches were made from both sides which seemed to herald the approach of better relations between the two countries.

On June 6 an attempt was made by certain officers of the Army to restore Professor Valdemaras to power by means of a *coup d'itat.* The attempt failed and Professor Valdemaras was arrested. He was tried by court martial on June 17, and sentenced to twelve years penal servitude. For their share in the coup, the former Chief of Staff and two other officers were sentenced to death (which was later commuted to penal servitude), and other officers were degraded and dismissed from the Army.

Great rigour was shown by the Government during the year to the German population of Klaipeda (Memel), on the ground that it was trying to throw off the Lithuanian yoke. In December, 1933, the Government refused further domicile to 100 residents of German nationality, including two judges, the Public Prosecutor, and other highly placed officials, who had not become Lithuanian citizens. In January a number of Germans were arrested and two Nazi organisations were closed. The result of these steps was to create acute friction between Lithuania and Germany. In May the Governor, in consequence of some difference, closed the Diet, and on June 28 he relieved Herr Schreiber of his post of President of the Directory, appointing a Lithuanian, M. Reisgies, in his place. On September 4 the representative of the German-born inhabitants of the territory handed the High Signatory Powers of the Memel Convention (Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan) a protest against alleged violations of the Convention by the Lithuanian Government. On December 14 the trial began at Kovno of 126 citizens of the territory, all of German origin or German sympathies, on a charge of preparing to restore the territory to Germany by means of armed revolt and of other disloyal activities. It was also asserted by the prosecution that the prisoners were acting under instructions and with the financial support of official establishments in Germany, and, in particular, that the German Consulate at Klaipeda was playing a leading part in the conspiracy.

Meanwhile the Klaipeda Diet was in abeyance, as owing to the obstruction of the Lithuanian authorities a quorum could not be assembled. At the beginning of December, the Directorate headed by M. Reisgies resigned, and a new Directorate was formed with M. J. Bruvelaitis at its head.

Lithuania in July concluded a trade agreement with Great Britain. Owing to difficulties of export there was a glut of geese in the country, and in October the Government, to stimulate demand, ordered all its employees to purchase a certain minimum number for consumption by themselves and their families.

POLAND.

At the beginning of 1934 Poland took a step which materially altered her relations to various States, and shifted to no small extent the balance of power in Eastern Europe. On January 26 a Non-Aggression Pact for a period of ten years was signed at Berlin by the Polish Minister, M. Lipski, and the Reich Minister **for** Foreign Affairs. In this way Poland relieved herself for that period of her besetting anxiety with regard to the Corridor, and secured herself much greater freedom for determining her foreign relations.

Although this event had been to some extent foreshadowed by the visit of M. Lipski to Herr Hitler in 1933, it came as a surprise in political circles, where it was not expected that Germany would be prepared to make the sacrifice involved in renouncing her pretensions to the Corridor. In France and Russia in particular it caused no small concern, and both countries exerted themselves to win or retain Poland's friendship. At the end of April M. Barthou, the French Foreign Minister, visited Warsaw. His reception was not over-cordial, and he was given to understand that, while Poland had no desire to weaken her friendship with France, she objected to being treated as a "vassal State," and would henceforth direct her foreign policy according to her own ideas. In February the Polish Foreign Minister, M. Beck, paid a visit to Moscow in order to assure the Soviet Government that the Polish-German Agreement was not directed against Russia. Not long afterwards (May 5), the Polish Ambassador in Moscow signed a Protocol extending the Non-Aggression Pact between the two countries till December 31, 1945, in consideration of an undertaking from the Soviet Government that it would not intervene in matters in dispute between Poland and Lithuania.

A visit of Dr. Goebbels to Warsaw in June did not make a particularly favourable impression, but when the question of an Eastern Pact arose later in the year, Poland snowed herself inclined to side rather with Germany than with France and Russia. While her objections to the Pact in itself were not serious, she made it clear almost from the outset that she would not join it without Germany, and from this attitude nothing would induce her to budge. A further cause of estrangement from France arose in the summer from a financial scandal connected with the French-owned Zyrardow textile mills, near Lodz; the behaviour of some of the French directors, and the efforts of the French authorities to protect them, gave the impression that France was trying to exploit Poland. In September, in order still further to show her independence, Poland repudiated the supervision of the League of Nations in the matter of the protection of minorities, "pending the introduction of a general and uniform system" for such protection. As the League had in fact shown little disposition to interfere with Poland's treatment of her minorities, this declaration could be regarded only as a demonstration to the outside world; and though it raised some apprehensions among the Ukrainians under Polish rule, events showed that it heralded no change of policy.

In internal affairs, the chief concern of the Government was still to improve the condition of the agricultural classes. The problem was aggravated this year by the disastrous floods which swept over a large part of the country in July, and rendered some 50,000 families homeless. For the relief of the victims, compulsory "voluntary" contributions were exacted from all

classes of the population—from the farmers, 1 to 3 kg. of rye plus 10 kg. of potatoes per hectare of arable land ; from industry and trade, 15 per cent, of the industrial or trading licence fee ; and from workers, 1 to 2 per cent, of their salary or wages for three months. In the latter half of the year, strenuous efforts were made to lighten the financial burden of agriculture by reducing the rate of interest payable on agricultural loans, spreading the repayment over a larger number of years, writing off large amounts of unpaid taxes, and so forth.

The financial situation remained difficult throughout the year. The Budgets for both 1934-35 and 1935-36 showed deficits which were to be covered by loans. At the beginning of July the Government decided to wind up the Credit, Economic and Special Repayment Funds, which had been formed in previous years for financing various undertakings and repaying Government debts before maturity. The result was to wipe off a large number of frozen debts to the Government, and increase the cash in the State Treasury by about 50,000,000 zlote.

Politically, the year was on the whole calm, and somewhat uneventful. After an acrimonious debate, the draft of the new Constitution was passed by the Diet on January 27, the Opposition having walked out *en bloc.* One of its provisions was that only citizens who had won some special distinction would be allowed to vote for the Senate, but in the summer the Government decided not to insist on this. The draft had not been submitted to the Senate by the end of the year.

On May 13 the Cabinet of M. Jedrzejewicz resigned, and two days later a new Government was formed by M. Leon Kozlowski. On June 15 the new Minister of the Interior, M. Bronislaw Pieracki, was murdered in Warsaw. The assassin was not discovered, but the Government laid the blame on the Opposition organisations, and proceeded to suppress the Ukrainian Terrorists, the Radical (anti-Semitic) wing of the National Democrats, and the Communists, large numbers being arrested, and some being placed in concentration camps. Certain members of the Right Wing of the "B.B."—the non-party Government Bloc—were implicated in the Zyrardow Mills scandal *(vide* supra), and this led to some dissension between the Right and Left Wings of the Bloc.

One of the first fruits of the German-Polish Pact of Non-Aggression was the settlement of the tariff war which had existed between Germany and Poland since June, 1925. On March 15 the exceptional tariffs and restrictions were withdrawn on both sides. In October a temporary German-Polish Trade Agreement was initialled at Warsaw, providing for the export from Poland of geese, butter, eggs and timber against the import of agricultural machinery and equipment to the value of 10,000,000 Reichsmarks. A Polish delegation went to London in June, and another in

October, to discuss the conclusion of a new Anglo-Polish Commercial Treaty, while numerous British missions visited Poland in the course of the year. At the beginning of October the new Auxiliary Military Service Law came into force. It provided for the calling up of practically the entire civilian population in the event of war or national emergency, and for the enlistment of trained women up to the age of 45. On October 28 a Decree was issued abolishing the summary courts which had been established on August 26, 1931.

FREE CITY OF DANZIG.

In consequence of the improvement in Polish-Danzig relations which had taken place in 1933, it was arranged in January that an attempt should be made to settle differences between the two parties by direct negotiations instead of through the agency of the League of Nations. As a result of these negotiations a series of agreements were concluded on August 6, regulating various questions outstanding between Poland and Danzig, and providing among other things for the control of Customs by Danzig and the abolition by Poland of separate import quotas for Danzig. In other respects, however, the Free City abandoned certain of her treaty rights in order to obtain the agreements. At the end of August a further agreement was reached under which appointments of German citizens as Danzig State officials were to be suspended for five years.

On January 24 Mr. Lester, the new High Commissioner, took up his duties in succession to Dr. Rosting. On the latter's departure from Danzig, it was stated that during his fifteen months of office he had settled twenty-two out of the forty outstanding matters in dispute, and that the remainder were being dealt with by the Experts Committee of the League or by direct negotiation.

On November 29 Dr. Rauschning resigned from his position as President of the Senate. He was succeeded on the same day by the Vice-President, Dr. Greiser.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The Coalition Government which had been formed in the autumn of 1932 under M. Malypetr, the leader of the Agrarian Party, was still intact at the beginning of the year. In February, however, one of the small Czechoslovak parties—that of the National Democrats, with thirteen members—seceded from the Coalition and went over into Opposition. A partial reconstruction of the Ministry then took place (February 14). The Ministry

of the Interior, which till then had been in the hands of a permanent official, was entrusted to a prominent Agrarian deputy, Dr. Cerny, and the Ministry of Education to a non-party man who is not a member of Parliament, Dr. Krcmar, Professor of the University of Prague, who had once before held the same post in a so-called " Cabinet of Officials." The Ministry of Commerce, the post held by the National Democrat member of the Cabinet till his withdrawal, was taken over by M. Dostalek of the Catholic Popular Party, who till then had been Minister of Public Works, while the latter post was entrusted to Dr. Czech, the German Social Democrat, who had hitherto been in charge of the Department of Social Welfare. The only other changes were those made in the posts held by the Czechoslovak Social Democrats ; Social Welfare was taken over by Dr. Meissner, who had been Minister of Justice, and the Department of Justice was in turn given to Dr. Derer, the Slovak deputy, who till then had been Minister of Education. The endeavours of the Government Coalition to extend their ranks, in view of the depressed economic situation, by the addition of one or two Opposition Parties (the Czechoslovak Traders' Party, the autonomous Slovak Party) proved unsuccessful, but even after the withdrawal of the National Democrats (which increased the influence of the Agrarian Party in the Cabinet) the Government still possessed a majority in Parliament.

The withdrawal of the National Democrats, who represented industry and the middle classes, from the Coalition, was due to their refusal to follow the new orientation of the Malypetr Cabinet in the matter of financial policy. The Government had adopted the view of the former Minister of Finance, Dr. Englis, that as a result of the appreciation of gold there had arisen between the purchasing power of the Czechoslovak crown at home and its purchasing power abroad a pronounced disparity which acted as an obstacle to Czechoslovak export trade by disturbing the basic parity of competition, and that this disparity between the value of the crown at home and its value abroad should, in the interests of Czechoslovakia's normal economic development, be removed. This could be accomplished either by perseverance in the policy of deflation hitherto pursued or by accommodating the value of the Czechoslovak crown abroad to its lower value at home ; and since the consequences of further systematic deflation, that is, a further reduction of the domestic price level, would prove intolerable, the only choice left was to adopt the other course. The Government therefore resolved to remove this currency disparity by a devaluation of the Czechoslovak crown, with the object of facilitating the export trade of the home industries and so opening up a way out of the economic crisis. The National Democrats put forward, in opposition to this, a scheme for assisting industrial export by means of reduced

taxation, and when their proposals met with no acceptance they withdrew from the Government ranks. A further reason was their unwillingness to accord recognition to Soviet Russia, which in the opinion of the Government could no longer be postponed. They also had an eye on the approaching elections : they wished to be free of responsibility for measures which the Government was forced to take in view of the difficulties of the economic situation and which might possibly prove unpopular.

The first step taken by the reconstructed Cabinet under M. Malypetr was a new adjustment of the currency. An Act of Parliament passed on February 17 reduced the gold content of the crown from 44-58 to 37-15 milligrammes, and the gold cover in possession of the National Bank was reduced to 25 per cent, of the total fiduciary circulation. This 25 per cent, cover was henceforth to consist entirely of gold, whereas the former 35 per cent, cover could consist as to one-half of foreign currency. The same law also made a substantial reduction in the debt due by the State to the National Bank in respect of bank notes taken over from the former Austro-Hungarian Bank. This reduction was equivalent to the increase in the value of the gold reserve in relation to the reduced gold content of the crown, and it was designed to promote the stabilisation of the currency.

In connexion with the adjustment of the currency, changes were made in the management of the bank of issue. Dr. Englis, Professor at the Masaryk University, Brno, who as an expert in political economy and as Czechoslovak Minister of Finance for many years had frequently influenced financial policy, was appointed Governor of the National Bank. At the first general meeting following his appointment, Dr. Englis declared that under him the National Bank would adhere to the newly stabilised basis of Czechoslovak currency, and would never permit inflation.

While the reduction of the gold cover liberated credits for the normal requirements of business and at the same time helped to preserve the stability of the currency, the establishment of a Czechoslovak Re-discount and Loan Institution, in pursuance of an Act of Parliament passed on March 14, increased the liquidity of those banking institutions that had a considerable proportion of their assets invested in State loans, and thus contributed to a revival of their credit operations for the advantage of enterprise.

Along with the currency, economic matters continued to be the main care of the Government, owing to the continuance of the economic crisis, and formed the subject of the majority of the laws and decrees promulgated in 1934. A special Economic Department was established, attached to the Cabinet Council and entrusted to an independent economic expert. Agriculture, still labouring under a grievous crisis, was as in previous years the special object of the Government's consideration. The greatest and most important step in this field was taken in

connexion with grain production. After the harvest of 1933 grain prices, in spite of the Government's efforts, fell below the level at which production was profitable, while prior to the 1934 harvest they began rapidly to rise. The so-called " intervention scheme " at first adopted by the State was found to entail too great a financial risk ; in 1933-34 the grain purchases under the scheme represented a sum of 750 million crowns. The Government, therefore, by a decree of July 13 introduced a Grain Monopoly for a term of three years, and established a Czechoslovak Grain Society, composed of companies and co-operative societies trading in agricultural produce, possessing the exclusive right to buy from the farmers home-grown grain and to import grain from abroad, to sell these products, and, should there be a surplus, to export them.

Among the measures passed to encourage industry the most important was the establishment of an Export Institute, which was designed to take the place of, or be supplementary to, existing institutions of the same character, and to assist in the development of Czechoslovak export trade, especially by concentrating and organising publicity, information, advice, study, research, training, and acting as an intermediary.

The slight improvement in the economic situation was reflected in the Budget for 1935 which was submitted to the legislature at the end of October. The ordinary expenditure for 1935 was estimated at 7,983 million crowns, and the revenue at 7,985, so that there was a surplus of 2 millions.

The most important political event of the year 1934 was the election of the President of the Republic. Well before the election, which was fixed for May 24, it was certain that T. G. Masaryk would again be chosen as Head of the State. This fourth election had a special ceremonial character, by reason of the place which was for the first time selected for this joint act of the two chambers of Parliament sitting as the National Assembly—the historic Vladislav Hall of the Kings of Bohemia at the Castle of Prague. Against a Communist candidate, Masaryk received 327 votes out of a total of 418. The votes recorded for him included not only those of all the Government parties but also of several Opposition groups; fifty-three ballot papers which were handed in blank were those of the Slovak Autonomists, of the Magyar Nationalists, and one or two Czech Opposition members. The illness from which the President suffered shortly after his election, and the subsequent period of convalescence, kept him for some considerable time away from affairs of State.

The uncertainty of the international situation influenced the internal policy of Czechoslovakia, and was responsible for several special measures which in certain departments extended the executive powers of the Government, without, however, limiting the powers of Parliament or affecting the democratic character

of the State. The so-called Enabling Act of June, 1933, empowering the Government to act by decree, was prolonged, as well as the law touching the dissolution of certain political parties passed in the autumn of 1933 ; similarly the Press law was to some extent made stricter, and the local government elections which were to have been held in the autumn were, in view of the approach of the General Parliamentary Elections, postponed to the following year, so that all elections could take place in the same year.

A menacing foreign situation also led to the passing of several laws directed towards strengthening the country's defensive forces. These included a law establishing a fund of 3,000 million crowns for Army supplies, a law extending the period of compulsory service in the Army to two years, a law giving civil servants increased advantages in respect of their military service, and a law providing for a " defence " tax payable by those citizens who have not been called upon for military service.

In foreign policy Czechoslovakia continued to act in close conjunction with her partners in the Little Entente, which in 1934 was by a Pact of Organisation built up into a complete diplomatic unity. In 1934 a second joint organ of the Little Entente—the Economic Council—also began its functions. The first session of the Economic Council, following the preparations made at a conference of experts in November, 1933, was held in January at Prague, where plans for a strengthening of mutual trade relations were drafted ; that session was followed by a second at Bucharest in May, and a third at Belgrade in September. At the regular sessions of the Standing Council of the Little Entente—at Zagreb on January 22-23, at Bucharest on June 18-20, and at Geneva during the September meeting of the League of Nations—the Foreign Ministers of the Little Entente States had an opportunity of conferring together and deciding on a common policy. The chief features of this were the maintenance of Austrian independence and opposition to Hungary's revisionist aims and to a Habsburg restoration. Attempts to establish closer economic collaboration between the Danubian States were foiled by Hungary's refusal to join. A visit of M. Barthou to Prague on June 26 strengthened Czechoslovakia's ties with France, but there was some friction with Poland in the course of the year.

The Little Entente States were among those who supported the admission of Russia to the League of Nations at the autumn Assembly. Prior to that (June 9), following joint negotiations at the January meeting of the Standing Council of the Little Entente, normal diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and Russia were finally established. Czechoslovakia's attitude to international politics, or at least to the most urgent problems in that sphere (the Austrian question, the new constellation of

political forces in Europe), was clearly defined by Dr. Benes, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in his speeches in the Foreign Affairs Committees or plenum of the Czechoslovak Parliament (March 21 and November 6), in which he emphasised the Little Entente's view of the Peace Treaties and the inviolability of frontiers guaranteed therein as the only safe basis of European stability.

HUNGARY.

The year 1934 brought to Hungary a certain improvement in economic conditions, but much disappointment and some humiliation in the sphere of foreign relations. General Gomb5s continued to direct the affairs of the country on the lines of what he called "progressive Conservatism," with a semi-dictatorial authority which was not seriously questioned during the year.

Up to the end of 1933, Hungary had always cherished hopes of being able to win over French opinion for the idea of a revision of the Trianon Treaties—her paramount interest. This idea was forcibly expressed in a lecture on revision given by Count Bethlen at the beginning of the year, which attracted much attention. These hopes received a serious set-back from the Stavisky scandals in France at the beginning of 1934, as it transpired that Stavisky was engaged in an elaborate financial operation for the redemption of Hungarian Optant Bonds, and that he was also connected with certain Press propagandist activities on Hungary's behalf. Hungary, in consequence, lent a readier ear to the advances of Italy. A warm welcome was given to Signor Suvich, the Italian Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, when he visited Budapest on February 21, and his invitation to General Gftmbos to visit Rome in March in company with Chancellor Dollfuss was readily accepted.

General Gombos duly went to Rome on March 12, and on the 17th signed three Protocols designed to bring about closer co-operation between Italy, Austria and Hungary, both in the economic and the political spheres. The central point was naturally the maintenance of Austria's independence and integrity, but for Hungary the chief interest of the proceedings lay in Signor Mussolini's open championship of her revisionist claims. In fact, the agreement with Austria had, on the political side, its drawback, in so far as it tended to estrange Hungary from Germany, with which country also General Gombos desired to remain on terms of close friendship, though in this he had not the support of a large part of the nation. Speaking of the Protocols in Parliament on April 19, the Premier praised them as offering an exit from Central European chaos, at least as a first step, and as containing the promise of considerable benefit for Hungarian agriculture.

In its insistence on revision, Hungary repeatedly refused invitations of the Little Entente to co-operate with it in the economic reconstruction of Central Europe. On June 17, on the eve of the meeting of the Little Entente Ministers at Bucharest, General GOmbos justified this attitude on the ground that it would mean Hungary's remaining " mutilated," and indicated that he relied upon the help of Austria, Germany and Italy to extricate Hungary from her present position. M. Barthou's uncompromising declaration against revision made at Bucharest immediately afterwards infuriated Hungarian public opinion. He was burnt in effigy by the students in Budapest, and vigorous protests against his remarks on Yugoslavian " rights " were made by members of all parties in Parliament and by all sections of the Press.

While making revision its principal object, the Government did not entirely neglect the task of watching over the interests of Hungarian minorities in other countries. On May 13 the Hungarian Minister at Berne presented to the League of Nations a memorandum complaining of Yugoslavia's treatment of the Hungarians in her borders, and asking for the intervention of the League. The chief effect of this step was to provoke countercharges from Yugoslavia that the Hungarian authorities were conniving at the activities of Yugoslav terrorists on Hungarian soil. The League recommended the parties to discuss their grievances directly, which they did. The question of the treatment of Hungarian minorities in the three Succession States was brought up by Hungary's representative, M. Eckhardt, at Geneva in September, but M. Benesh turned the tables on him by references to Hungary's treatment of her own German and Slovak minorities.

Great concern was caused to Hungary by the growing estrangement between Italy and Germany, as also by the friendliness between Germany and Yugoslavia manifested in the early part of the year. The events of June 30 in Germany caused a strong revulsion of feeling in Hungary against that country, and the Premier was compelled, somewhat against his will, to throw in his lot more completely with Italy. On November 5 he paid another visit to Rome, and gave expression to the " unchanged and complete agreement in policy " of Hungary with Italy, and her " resolve to continue the policy of co-operation with Austria."

Before the end of the year Hungary had the mortification of seeing Italy not only drift away from Germany, but draw nearer to France, while to crown her vexations she was worsted in an encounter with Yugoslavia gravely affecting her honour before the League of Nations.

After the assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia at Marseilles on October 9, great indignation, not unmixed with alarm, was caused in Hungary by attempts of the Yugoslavian, Rumanian, and even French Press, to fix at least the moral

responsibility for the crime on Hungary. In Hungary, on the other hand, the whole blame was laid on internal conditions in Yugoslavia. On December 8, M. Eckhardt, the Hungarian representative at Geneva, made a full reply to the Yugoslavian Note and Memorandum charging the Hungarian authorities with complicity, describing them as "a mere development of the odious Press campaign against Hungary," and as intended only to " compromise Hungary's good reputation." He stated, among other things, that Yanka Pusta, the alleged home of the terrorist gang, was not a camp, but " a modest farm, inhabited by thirty to forty Yugoslav emigres," and that it had been evacuated in April. In the discussions which followed, Italy was practically the only country which sympathised with Hungary ; but Italy also advised her to accept the verdict of the League that " certain Hungarian authorities may have assumed, at any rate through negligence, certain responsibilities relative to acts having a connexion with the preparation of the crime of Marseilles," and to take steps to punish the guilty ; and she had no alternative but to obey.

Considerable hopes were built in Hungary on a visit paid by General Gombos to Warsaw on October 18-20. He was, indeed, received with very marked honour, and had a long conversation with Marshal Pilsudski ; but the only result of his visit, so far as was made known, was a convention on Polish-Hungarian intellectual co-operation, including the exchange of professors and students. The Polish official Press was cordial but vague, while the Opposition Press was openly critical.

By agreements based on the Rome Protocols, and signed on May 14 at Rome, it was provided that the Italian Company Safni should buy from a Hungarian organisation yet to be formed one million quintals of wheat at a remunerative price, with the option of buying a second million, and Austria also pledged herself to buy 2,200,000 quintals of Hungarian wheat. In consequence largely of these agreements, the condition of agriculture improved considerably. In a broadcast address delivered on the second anniversary of his taking office in October, the Premier asserted that economic life was slowly on the up-grade. The Budget deficit had been reduced from 108,000,000 to 62,000,000 pengo ; the total trade turnover had increased from 420,000,000 to 473,000,000, and for the first eight months of 1934 exports exceeded imports by 22,000,000. In a speech delivered on November 12, he declared it to be his fixed policy to support agriculture as much as possible, and announced that he had a plan for dealing with the " one-child system," the spread of which in Hungary was causing alarm among her statesmen by contrast with the high birth-rate among her Slav and Rumanian neighbours.

The Budget estimates which were laid before Parliament on April 6, fixed expenditure at 1,150,700,000 pengo, and revenue at

1,084,600,000 pengo. The Minister of Finance, Dr. Imre'dy, frankly confessed that it was hardly possible to reduce expenditure by further economies in face of the improved standard of living demanded by the nation. General State administrative expenses figured at 746,000,000 pengo, the two next heaviest items being National Defence (148,500,000) and Interior (146,000,000). The sum assigned for the reduction of the debt was 87,200,000 pengo.

General GombOs's avowed sympathies with the Third Reich did not lead him to give the least encouragement to the National-Socialist movement in Hungary. In a speech delivered on January 14, he made a strong attack on Count Festetics and his new Nationalist-Socialist Party, and suggested that instead of trying to import the foreign swastika into Hungary, he should begin the social reforms he demanded by cutting up his own vast estate of 40,000 yokes. On July 17 the Government ordered the dissolution of the National-Socialist military organisations in Hungary as illegal. Dissensions had already broken out in the party, and at its Congress, M. Mesko was deposed from the leadership.

On November 15 celebrations were held in honour of the fifteenth anniversary of Admiral Horthy's entry into Budapest after the fall of the Bolsheviks and the Rumanian evacuation, and General Gombos was promoted to the rank of Field-Marshal-Lieutenant.

RUMANIA.

On January 3 M. Angelescu, who had temporarily taken over the post of Premier on the assassination of M. Duca at the end of 1933 *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 210), resigned. At the request of the King, M. Tatarescu then formed a Government, retaining the same personnel as that of M. Duca's Cabinet, except that M. Dinu Bratianu, who had been elected Leader of the Liberal Party, was replaced as Minister of Finance by M. Slavescu. M. Tatarescu was very anxious that M. Titulescu should retain the office of Minister of Foreign Affairs, but he did not finally persuade him to do so till January 10, after certain members of the King's entourage to whom M. Titulescu objected had resigned.

M. Tatarescu announced on January 5 that he would continue the policy of M. Duca, a chief feature of which was the rigorous suppression of the " Iron Guard " organisation. On January 18 the magistrates who had been inquiring into the assassination of M. Duca came to the conclusion that it was part of an extensive plot to seize power, and was not a matter for the Civil Courts. They accordingly handed over the whole of the evidence which they had collected to the Bucharest Military Tribunal.

The trial by court-martial of Constantinescu, the assassin of

M. Duca, and fifty-one members of the Iron Guard, including M. Codreanu, its leader, accused of complicity in the murder, opened at Bucharest on March 19. On April 5 the court-martial, after hearing numbers of witnesses, sentenced Constantinescu and his two immediate accomplices to imprisonment for life, and acquitted the remaining forty-nine Iron Guards. This verdict was a severe blow to the Tatarescu Government, and for a short time rendered its position highly precarious. It was fortunate enough on the very next day (April 6) to discover a plot against the King formed by Lieut.-Col. Precup, the man who had brought the King back in an aeroplane to Bucharest in 1930. Although Precup and his fellow conspirators were found to have no connexion with the Iron Guard, the prompt action of the Government in arresting them somewhat restored its authority. King Carol also gave it his full support, and enabled it to tide over the crisis.

In May there was some unrest in the Army, and rumours were current that the King, in order to forestall a possible *coup d'dtat* on its part, was thinking of offering the Premiership to General Averescu, who was popular in military circles. To prevent this, the Liberals and National Peasants intimated to the King that they would not work with General Averescu, and he thereupon abandoned his plan, though to placate the Army, General Vica was removed from the Cabinet and M. Tatarescu became Minister of War in his place.

At the end of June the Government succeeded with some difficulty in obtaining permission from Parliament to issue during the Recess decrees having the force of laws for dealing with certain urgent administrative and financial problems, such decrees to be subject to ratification by Parliament not later than December 15, 1934. Fears were expressed that this meant conferring dictatorial powers on the Cabinet, but it was argued that on the contrary this was the most effective protection against a dictatorship.

On July 4 the Cabinet ordered the dissolution of all National-Socialist organisations in Rumania and placed a ban on German Minority Political Groups acting contrary to the National Defence Law. On August 5, in a speech delivered at Temisoara, the Prime Minister declared that he was unable to repeal martial law (which had been introduced after the assassination of M. Duca), and abolish the Press censorship, as extremists were still carrying on propaganda which was dangerous to public order. On October 1 the Government resigned, largely in consequence of differences between the Prime Minister and two of his colleagues, M. Titulescu, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and M. Teodorescu. the Minister for Industry and Commerce. At the King's request, M. Tatarescu a few days later formed a new Government on a Liberal basis, in which M. Titulescu resumed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Parliament sat from the beginning of February till the end of

June. It paid special attention to the question of the relief of debtors. At the end of February the Chamber of Deputies approved the prolongation of the moratorium on agricultural debt till June 1. On April 7 a new law was passed for the relief of debtors of all classes. By it the debts of all Rumanian citizens, at least 30 per cent, of whose income was derived from agriculture, were reduced by one-half, the remaining half being made payable in half-yearly instalments over a period of fifteen years with the addition of 3 per cent, annual interest. A reduction on a somewhat smaller scale was made in the debts of urban householders who derived at least 30 per cent, of their whole income from their properties. The State undertook to pay 450 million lei annually to the National Bank to offset any losses which it might sustain through the operation of the laws.

The financial situation continued to be unsatisfactory. The deficit on the financial year amounted to about 3,000 million lei. In July the Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance went to Paris, and there secured valuable concessions from the bondholders with regard to the payment of interest coupons, but in spite of this M. Auboin, the expert adviser to the Rumanian National Bank, estimated that there would be a similar deficit in the coming year. The paper circulation was about 31,000 million lei, as compared with 22,000 million paper lei in 1929-30. An attempt to improve financial conditions within the country was made by means of a new banking law which came into operation on September 27, and which placed banks under much stricter control than heretofore.

Great anxiety was caused in the summer by a marked decline in the value of exports, due to the fall in the world prices of oil and grain, in part also to a poor wheat harvest. In order to maintain a favourable trade balance, the Government, on July 11, issued a decree reducing the import quota of Great Britain for the July-September quarter by 40 per cent., and of other countries by 20 per cent. Further restrictions on imports were introduced in September and December, while towards the end of the year a regulation was issued for controlling the prices of industrial products. In December an agreement was concluded with Czechoslovakia by which that country undertook to import up to the end of 1934 Rumanian goods to the value of 125 crowns for every 100 crowns' worth of Czechoslovak exports to Rumania, in order to wipe off the existing balance in favour of Czechoslovakia.

Rumania, on February 9, along with Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey, signed the Balkan Pact guaranteeing mutually the security of all their Balkan frontiers. On June 10, following decisions taken by the Little Entente Permanent Council on January 22 and June 9, Rumania formally recognised the Soviet Government, and resumed diplomatic relations with it. Great concern was caused in Rumania by the renewal in Hungary of the revisionist

campaign, in which that country now seemed to have the support of Italy. On April 16 M. Titulescu visited Paris, and called the attention of the French Government to the danger. On June 20 M. Barthou returned M. Titulescu's visit, and, at a special session of the Chamber and Senate, held in his honour, greatly reassured Rumanian opinion by declaring that France also was unswervingly opposed to any revision of the Peace Treaties or any territorial adjustments.

YUGOSLAVIA.

In the course of 1934 the tension which had existed for years between Yugoslavia and her two neighbours, Italy and Hungary, was increased by a number of untoward incidents almost to breaking point. Only the most delicate handling of affairs prevented an outbreak of hostilities which might have involved the whole of Europe, and succeeded towards the end of the year in bringing about a definite relaxation.

One of Yugoslavia's chief grievances against these two countries was that they allowed Croat emigres to make preparations on their soil for terrorist activities. One such act was perpetrated just before the meeting of the Little Entente Foreign Ministers at Zagreb on January 22, when a bomb exploded in the Vienna-Zagreb express near Brezice, 25 miles west of Zagreb, causing the death of two Austrians and one Yugoslav. The Yugoslav Government possessed indisputable proof that the bomb came from Italy, and it naturally assigned the crime to one of the band of Bulgarian and other terrorists who were notoriously tolerated on Italian soil. Nevertheless, it refrained from publishing the facts, in order not to exacerbate a delicate situation.

The conduct of Italy at this time roused suspicion in Yugoslavia that that country was aiming at establishing a kind of domination over Austria. One effect of this fear was to establish a certain community of feeling between Yugoslavia and Germany, which showed itself in various ways. Sympathetic references to each other were made by the Press of each country. In April the Reich Minister, Herr Roehm, paid a visit to the coast of Dalmatia, and was received with high honours by the authorities there. He was accompanied by a Trade Delegation, which secured the signing, early in May, of a Commercial Treaty between the two countries, one of the main objects of which was to promote German tourist traffic along the Dalmatian coast and divert visitors from Austria. This leaning towards Germany, however, did not affect Yugoslavia's friendship for France, and when the French Foreign Minister, M. Barthou, visited Belgrade in May he had an extremely cordial reception. The execution of Captain Roehm and his associates on June 30 made a painful impression in Yugoslavia, and led her to treat German approaches with greater reserve.

Yugoslavian suspicions of Italy were intensified when, after the assassination of Dr. Dollfuss in July, Italian troops were moved to the Austrian border. Even before this, Yugoslav troops had been held in readiness along the Austrian border, and till the Italian forces retired, the situation was fraught with some danger. Yugoslavia was placed in an awkward position by the action of some of the Styrian rebels in entrenching themselves at a point where they could hardly be dislodged by the Austrian troops without an infringement of Yugoslavian territory. It avoided complications by cutting off food supplies from the rebels and disarming them when they crossed the border, and placing them in concentration camps. M. Yevtitch, the Yugoslavian Foreign Minister, was subsequently formally thanked by the Austrian Government for his correct behaviour in this emergency.

One purpose of M. Barthou's visit to Belgrade had been to bring about a *detente* between Yugoslavia and Italy, an object for which France did not cease to work throughout the year. Partly in pursuance of this object, King Alexander, in October, left for Paris to discuss matters with the French Government. Through the force of circumstances, his well-meant effort came near to producing the opposite effect to that intended. He reached Marseilles on October 9, and soon after landing was assassinated in the streets of that city. The discovery that the assassin was a Croat terrorist who had long found a refuge at the notorious terrorist centre of Yanka Pusta in Hungary and had come from Hungary with a forged passport, and that he had accomplices in Italy, aroused intense resentment in Yugoslavia against both Italy and Hungary. A furious Press campaign was, without hindrance from the Government, carried on against both countries, and as their Press replied with equal acerbity, a dangerous situation arose.

M. Uzunovitch, the Premier, and a large part of the Cabinet, were in favour of taking strong measures against Hungary, and to vent their fury they ordered a mass expulsion of Hungarian subjects settled on Yugoslavian territory near the Hungarian border. Prince Paul, however, the new ruler of Yugoslavia, and the Foreign Minister, M. Yevtitch, insisted upon a more moderate course. Their first step was to secure the suppression in the Press of all references to the part played by Italy in the terrorist movement. They then, following the counsel of France and England, submitted Yugoslavia's case to the League of Nations. On November 22 M. Yevtitch handed to the League Secretariat a Note on " certain grave aspects of the crime," in which again Italy was spared and the attack was concentrated upon Hungary. Complaint was made that, though Yugoslavia had in June drawn attention to terrorist action in Hungary, even mentioning specifically persons afterwards implicated in the Marseilles crime, and had at the League's request concluded a direct agreement with

Hungary, that country had still allowed terrorism to be organised on its soil. It therefore invoked Article 11 of the Covenant (the right of a Member-State " to draw attention to any circumstance which threatened to disturb international peace "), and asked that the question should be placed on the agenda of the January session of the Council. The Note was followed a week later by a Memorandum showing in detail how the activities of Croat terrorists had been systematically directed from Hungarian soil for years past, and had been actually favoured by the Hungarian Government.

The Yugoslav Note and Memorandum were couched in a stiffer tone than had been anticipated, and their presentation created a strained atmosphere at Geneva, which it required strenuous efforts on the part of other Powers, especially England and France, to moderate. Thanks to their representations, Hungary was induced to make a conciliatory reply, which Yugoslavia accepted. The tension between the two countries was relaxed ; Yugoslavia put a stop to the mass expulsion of Hungarians, and the danger of war was obviated.

The corner-stone of Yugoslavia's foreign policy in 1934, as in previous years, was adherence to the Little Entente and close co-operation with Czechoslovakia and Rumania. M. Yevtitch, the Foreign Minister, met his colleagues from the other two countries at Zagreb on January 22 and at Bucharest on June 18, and joined with them in expressing strong opposition to Hungary's revisionist aims or to a restoration of the Habsburgs in Austria. He also cordially approved of their desire to re-establish relations with Moscow. For Yugoslavia, however, this was rather more difficult than for the other two countries, on account of the large number of Russian refugees in Yugoslavian territory, and formal recognition had not yet been granted by the end of the year.

On February 9 Yugoslavia signed the new Balkan Pact at Athens. King Alexander would have preferred to delay this step in the hope that Bulgaria might be persuaded to join, but he yielded to the pressure of Greece and Rumania. Throughout the year he devoted himself with no small success to cultivating better relations with Bulgaria. On May 9 M. Yevtitch paid a visit to Sofia, being the first Yugoslav Foreign Minister to do so since the war. He expressed his delight at the change of atmosphere which he observed in the relations between the two "kinsmen," and begged Bulgarian journalists to come to Belgrade to convince themselves of the friendly tone of Yugoslav public opinion. On September 27 King Alexander and Queen Marie paid a State visit to Sofia, and were received everywhere with the same cordiality which had marked the visit of King Boris and Queen Giovanna to Belgrade a year before.

Internal affairs for the first ten months of the year were uneventful. Opposition to the regime was kept in check by the

critical condition of foreign affairs, in his handling of which the King had the united support of the whole country. On January 25 the Premier, M. Srskitch, resigned, on account of certain financial irregularities in the execution of the Land Reform of 1918-19 which, in the opinion of the King, he ought to have prevented. After a short interval M. Uzunovitch formed a new Cabinet, very little different in personnel from its predecessor. A few weeks later some further changes were made, the chief being the appointment of General Miloslavljevitch as Minister of Transport and Communications in place of M. Radivojevitch, who was accused in the Skuptchina of having granted illegal railway concessions to foreign contractors. On July 11 General Miloslavljevitch in turn resigned, the reason being, as was generally supposed, that he had refused to hush up the scandals which had led to the resignation of his predecessor. In the middle of July Dr. Matchek, the Croat Peasant leader, was removed from prison, where he had fallen dangerously ill, but still kept in confinement. On July 23 the trial was opened at Belgrade of thirty-one Croat "Ustasi" (rebels); two were condemned to death *in absentia,* four were sentenced to imprisonment for life, and twenty-two received sentences of five to twenty years.

The assassination of King Alexander on October 9 filled the whole country with grief and horror. During the conveyance of the body to Belgrade all sections of the population vied with one another in demonstrating their esteem and affection for their late monarch. The funeral brought together to Belgrade by far the most distinguished gathering that had ever been seen there, including King Carol and Prince Nicolas of Rumania, and the mother Queen Marie, President Lebrun and Marshal Petain, the Duke of Kent and Princess Marina, Prince Cyril of Bulgaria, the Duke of Spoleto, General Goering, the Czechoslovak Premier and Foreign Minister, MM. Malypetr and Benes, and many other notables. Politically the country remained quiet. The King's young son was brought by his grandmother and mother from the preparatory school in England at which he had recently been placed, and ascended the throne without incident, with the title of Peter II. As soon as the news of the King's death arrived, his cousin, Prince Paul, had summoned to the Palace the Premier and various high officials and Generals, and had opened in their presence the King's will, dated January 5, 1934. The care of the boy King was found to be entrusted to a triple Regency, consisting of Prince Paul, Dr. Stankovitch, and Dr. Perovitch, who accordingly, on October 11, took the oath to the King at a joint session of the Senate and Skuptschina. The appointment of Prince Paul to a post of such responsibility caused some surprise, as he had so far taken little part in public affairs, nor were his coadjutors politically men of note, but his choice was fully justified by the event, and during the next two months he steered

the country with no less success through its internal than through its external crisis.

In view of the demonstrations of national unity which the late King's death had called forth, hopes were widely entertained that it might now be possible to form a Government of National Concentration in which the Opposition parties should be represented. M. Uzunovitch, however, against the wishes of some of his colleagues, reconstructed his Cabinet on the old basis, adding General Zivkovitch as Minister of War, and two ex-Premiers, MM. Marinkivitch and Srskitch, as Ministers without portfolios. This Government was in control while M. Yevtitch, who was more friendly to the Opposition, was presenting the Yugoslav Note at Geneva and Prince Paul went to London to attend the wedding of his sister, Princess Marina, to the Duke of Kent; and it was this which ordered the Hungarian expulsions. When M. Yevtitch returned from Geneva, he was warmly welcomed by the public in Zagreb and Belgrade, but was given a very cool reception by his colleagues in the Cabinet, who pointedly refrained from thanking him for his efforts. He accordingly resigned on December 19, and the whole Cabinet followed suit. The Regents thereupon invited M. Yevtitch to form a Cabinet. After some hesitation he formed a " Cabinet of Personalities," which contained several members of the Opposition Parties, but none of the leaders. One of his first steps was to order the release of Dr. Matchek, but for the present he refused the Radical demands for the abolition of the Press censorship and freedom of assembly.

TURKEY.

Although the year 1934 provided several landmarks in respect of Turkey's foreign relations, the main concern of the Turkish Government remained centred in the economic development of the country. A notable advance was made in the policy previously initiated of placing that economic development under the immediate control of the State with the object of rationalising industry, agriculture and home trade. In launching her Five-year Plan [ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 216] Turkey aimed at freeing herself from the tyranny of foreign supplies, having regard to the possibility that, her peaceful intentions notwithstanding, she might one day find herself at war again. In the detailed scheme supplied to the public the chief place in the programme of industrial expansion was allotted to the textile industry, which was estimated to require a sum exceeding 15,000,000l.T., metallurgy came second with 10,000,000LT., paper with slightly less than 4,000,000J.T., chemical industries with 2,000,000l.T., others being hemp, woollen yarns, cellulose, semi-coke **and** china. A start was made with the laying in August

of the foundation stones of four factories for the manufacture of paper and cardboard, cellulose, glass and bottles and semi-coke.

In spite of the importance attached to the principle of a balanced Budget as the basis of financial order, the Government found itself obliged to introduce at the outset of the financial year a supplementary credit of 20,000,000l.T.—11 per cent, of the total estimated expenditure (184,075,000l.T.) for National Defence, which had already been allotted over 45,000,000l.T. Successive reductions had brought the proportion of the sums spent each year on National Defence to the total State expenditure down from one-third to one-fifth, but the additional amount required sent this proportion up again to practically one-third. The amount required was to be raised by increased taxation, for the most part consumption taxes.

In pursuance of the Government's policy for the regulation of imports and exports, commercial treaties were signed during the year with Italy (April 4), Yugoslavia (entering into force on July 20), and Japan. On September 18 the commercial treaty with Great Britain of March 1, 1930, was denounced by Turkey. In the expectation that a new Commercial Convention would be concluded at an early date British exporters were temporarily accorded the privileges accruing to countries having clearing agreements with Turkey, or with a trade balance favourable to Turkey, in respect of certain categories of goods placed o n a " free list " carrying the right of importation without quota restriction. Tho effect of the various trade agreements and regulations led to a decline in the volume of Turkish trade, but gave the country an active trade balance at the expense of reduced commercial activity. Experience showed that the trade agreements did not always have the desired results, owing to the difficulty that Turkey's customers found in liquidating the balances standing to their credit.

The outstanding features in the realm of foreign affairs were the signature of the Balkan Pact [see under Public Documents] in Athens on February 9 and the visit to Turkey of the Shah Riza Pahlavi of Persia. The Turkish Foreign Minister, Tewfik Rushtu Bey, had been the most active among the signatories of the Pact in the endeavour to secure the adherence of Bulgaria, and possibly in none of the four member countries was the chagrin over the Bulgarian attitude more keenly felt.

The visit of the Shah was acclaimed as a striking testimony of the solidarity of the friendship between Turkey and Persia, which had found formal expression in the treaty which the Turkish Grand National Assembly ratified on January 3. His Majesty crossed the Perso-Turkish frontier on June 10 and reached Trebizond on June 14. On June 16 he arrived in Ankara, leaving on June 21 in company with the Ghazi, Mustapha Kemal, to visit

Smyrna and Istanbul. The Shah's stay in the latter city lasted from June 26 to July 2, when he set out on the return journey to Teheran, crossing the frontier on July 6. The selection of Ankara as the first foreign capital to be visited by Riza Shah Pahlavi since his accession to the throne was in itself a source of gratification to Turkey, but it would not appear that the expectations of the Turkish Government in regard to the economic results to be obtained from the visit were realised. It had been hoped to convince the Persian sovereign of the advantage to his own country, no less than to Turkey, of through railway communication between Teheran and the Black Sea, or, failing a railway, of developing motor transport between the two countries. In the absence of any announcement of definite arrangements concluded, it has to be inferred that the Shah, while impressed with the warmth of Turkish hospitality, did not consider himself justified in embarking upon any big communication project until the strain of financing the Caspian-Persian Gulf Railway had been relaxed.

The zeal of Turkish sentries involved the Government in three international incidents during the year. On July 14 soldiers opened fire on a sailing boat off Samos containing British officers ; one officer was killed and another wounded. A joint commission of inquiry was held, and the matter was closed with the payment of compensation and the holding by units of the British and Turkish fleets of a memorial service at the spot where the incident occurred. On July 24 an Italian fishing boat also came under fire from the Turkish coast ; and on October 2 two French destroyers were fired upon by coastguards while entering the port of Smyrna. In the latter instance there were no casualties, and it was established that the French ships were approaching Smyrna under the misapprehension that the requisite authority had been granted. The French authorities had applied for leave to visit Istanbul and Smyrna and permission had been given only in respect of the former.

Earlier in the year misgivings had been aroused in Turkey by a speech delivered by Signor Mussolini, in which he laid stress on Italy's interest in Asia. In response to Turkish inquiries, Signor Mussolini explained that his words were not intended to apply to Turkey, whom he regarded as a European Power, and in the Grand National Assembly the Foreign Minister was able to declare that the Turkish Government was entirely reassured by Signor Mussolini's friendly words. Shortly afterwards, however, the Ghazi found occasion to undertake a military tour in Western Anatolia, to inspect the national defences in the region of Smyrna and the Dardanelles.

The end of June and the early days of July witnessed a sudden migration of Jews from Thrace to Istanbul, for which no clear explanation was at first forthcoming. Both the Istanbul

authorities and the Ankara Government were taken by surprise, and an official inquiry was at once instituted. It was found that a report that the Government intended to remove its Jewish subjects from Thrace had intensified local anti-Jewish feeling, with the result that some 3,000 Jews migrated in panic to Istanbul. Disciplinary action was taken against the local officials, and the Prime Minister, Ismet Pasha, declared in the Grand National Assembly that anti-Semitism was not a Turkish product. The explanation of the report that had circulated in Thrace was to be sought in the Government's decision, of which the public announcement was made on July 8, to divide Turkey into three zones for the installation of immigrants ; the first zone to be restricted to a population of Turkish culture, a second zone in which would be placed those who were to be impregnated with Turkish culture, and a third zone, which would be reserved for military occupation.

On September 17 Turkey was accorded a seat on the Council of the League of Nations.

The Greco-Turkish Mixed Commission, instituted in virtue of a convention signed at Lausanne in January, 1923, which held its first session on October 7 of that year, was finally dissolved on October 30, 1934. It had consisted of Greek and Turkish members as well as representatives of three States neutral in the Great War, and had been instrumental in settling questions arising out of the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey.

On September 24 the thirtieth Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union met at Yildiz Kiosk, Istanbul, and on October 2 Turkey received a visit from the Crown Prince and Crown Princess of Sweden. The representatives of the four States of the Balkan Pact met at Ankara on November 2 to draw up the statutes of the organisation, and created an Economic Council to arrange for the closer economic co-operation of the members.

The work of modernising Turkey was advanced by the passing of a Bill through the Grand National Assembly in July making family names obligatory for Turks. Effect was given to its provisions before the end of the year, among the more notable changes of names being that of the President, who assumed the name of Kamal Atatiirk (Chief Turk) ; the Prime Minister, Ismet Pasha, took the name of Inonu ; Tewfik Rushtu Bey, that of Aras ; and Fethi Bey, Turkish Ambassador to the Court oi St. James's, that of Ogyar. On November 26 the Grand National Assembly passed a further law abolishing all titles and appellations such as Aga, Effendi, Bey, Pasha, Hanim and the like. Citizens of both sexes were to be known before the law and to be designated in official documents by their names only. All civilian ranks, official decorations and medals were abolished, with the exception of war medals. Military ranks were, however retained, Maresal

becoming the equivalent of Field Marshal. The sole mode of address to be used henceforth in Turkey is Bay, before the name for men, and Bayan for women.

GREECE.

The tenth anniversary of the proclamation, on March 25, 1924, of Greece as a Republic found the country under a Government of monarchist convictions ; but, true to his undertaking on assuming office, that he would not raise the Constitutional issue, the Populist Prime Minister, M. Tsaldaris, did not allow any feelings that he or his colleagues may have entertained on the subject to interfere with the three days' official celebrations of the event. The internal political situation, however, remained throughout the year dominated, as in 1933, by unsuccessful attempts to evolve a working agreement between Government and Opposition. The need for such an agreement arose from the fact that, whereas the former had a majority in the Chamber, there was a Venizelist majority in the Senate. Accordingly, any measure that passed the Lower House was liable to be blocked by the Upper, and could become law only by recourse to the lengthy procedure laid down in the Constitution. Among the more important items in the Government's programme were a reform of the electoral system and changes in regard to superannuation in the Army, while the problem presented by the Senate was of necessity always to the fore. The last elections had been held under Proportional Representation, with Old Greece divided on a basis of large constituencies and New Greece on one of small constituencies. The Government favoured the majority system of voting, with large constituencies ; the Opposition, under the leadership of M. Venizelos, supported Proportional Representation. In the background of the political quarrels was the circumstance that the five-year tenure of office of M. Zaimis as President of the Republic expired in December, and it was necessary for the two Houses of Parliament in joint session to elect a new President. In the opinion of the Tsaldaris Cabinet, M. Zaimis, who had been the nominee of a Liberal Government under M. Venizelos in 1929, was the only possible candidate for the Presidency, but without the co-operation of the Liberal majority in the Senate his re-election could not be secured. M. Venizelos proposed to make his consent conditional on the Government's yielding to his point of view in regard to the electoral system and the Army question, and at one time threatened to become a candidate himself for the Presidency of the Republic. M. Tsaldaris refused to be a party to any bargain involving the highest office in the State, but declared his readiness, in return for the re-election of M. Zaimis by general

consent of the political parties, to provide an opportunity for the Government and the Opposition to arrive at agreement regarding a new electoral law.

The political antagonism came to a head in the summer months. In June a passage of arms in the Chamber between M. Papanastassiou, leader of the Socialist and Agrarian Party, and General Kondylis, Minister of War, was followed by the throwing of a chair, which struck the former. A general uproar ensued, as the result of which the Opposition Parties withdrew from the Chamber and refused for several months to return. In July the Senate rejected the new Electoral Bill which the Government had introduced into the Chamber when it found that all its offers for an accommodation were rejected by the Opposition. Controversy then broke out on the interpretation of the Article in the Constitution which provided for a joint session of the two Houses when a Bill passed by the Chamber had been rejected by the Senate. The Opposition maintained that the provision was obligatory and that the fate of the measure would be decided by the voting in the joint session ; the Government and its supporters held that the procedure was merely permissive, as far as the Government was concerned.

The dispute lasted over the summer holidays, and with the approach of the autumn, in view of the urgency of a decision regarding the Presidential election, the Government was confronted with the necessity of finding means to end the deadlock by constitutional methods in resorting to a dissolution or by other means. At the eleventh hour the problem was solved by the action of seventeen Liberal Senators belonging to professional and business classes, who informed the Government of their readiness to support the re-election of M. Zaimis as President in reliance upon M. Tsaldaris's undertaking to repeal the electoral law. At the joint session of the two Houses held on October 19 the motion for the re-election of M. Zaimis was, accordingly, supported by 197 votes, 12 more than the requisite quota ; the rest of the Liberal Opposition refrained from voting.

On December 14 M. Zaimis was duly installed as President of the Republic for a further term of five years.

Apart from political questions, a serious bone of contention between Government and Opposition existed in the failure of the authorities to bring to book the perpetrators of the outrage on M. Venizelos on June 6, 1933, when the Liberal leader and Mme. Venizelos had the car in which they were returning to Athens from Kephissia riddled with bullets. Two police officers had been arrested for complicity in the plot, but the actual occupants of the car from which the shots were fired remained at large. On October 3 a fresh chapter in the history of the affair was opened with the arrest in Athens by members of M. Venizelos's private police of a notorious brigand, Karathanassis by name,

who was suspected of having played a leading part in the shooting. The fact that this arrest should have been made by others than the official police still further embittered relations between the Venizelist factions and the Government. The Minister of the Interior at once handed in his resignation ; the Chiefs of the Gendarmerie and the Athenian Police as well as the heads of the Secret Police were also replaced. Delay still dogged the trial of those accused of participation in the outrage, and the proceedings had to be relegated to the *new* year.

A personal conference between M. Tsaldaris and M. Venizelos failed to bring about any understanding between them, and the Liberal leader retired to Crete, where he remained for the rest of the year, refusing to return to resume his duties as a deputy in the Chamber, on the ground that the Government had failed to guarantee his personal safety. There was, however, a noticeable improvement in the relations between the two main political groups as the year progressed, and after the re-election of the President the Opposition returned to the Chamber.

In foreign affairs the most important event for Greece in 1934 was the signing of the so-called Balkan Pact in Athens on February 9 by the foreign Ministers of Rumania, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece. The initialing of this agreement in Belgrade a few days earlier is understood to have been hastened by fears lest the *rapprochement* between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria might bring about an entirely different orientation of Balkan politics. The Pact acquired no wide measure of popularity in Greece ; the view of the Opposition Parties was that it was both unwise and superfluous. M. Venizelos subjected it to criticism in detail, and before it was ratified by Parliament the Government had to give an assurance that Greece would not become involved in war with any Power outside the Balkans in the event of an attack on any of the signatories by a non-Balkan Power. Although the Turkish Government took up the same position in regard to the Pact, the rather cavalier attitude of Greece as a whole, and of M. Venizelos in particular, had the effect of toning down the previous exuberance of Greco-Turkish relations as far as the peoples of the two countries were concerned. Before the end of the year official visits were exchanged in Ankara and Athens to emphasise the solidarity of the understanding between Greece and Turkey, which sustained further buffeting when a Turkish law was passed prohibiting ecclesiastics in Turkey from wearing clerical garb when not actually officiating at a religious service.

A further cloud on the international horison was formed by the action of the Albanian Government in placing all foreign secular schools under State management and forbidding general instruction in any language other than Albanian. The measure was introduced to combat what was regarded as Italian propaganda, and was made of general application to minimise the

injury to Italian susceptibilities. **In** deference to Greek representations, the insistence upon **Albanian** as the medium of general instruction in the Greek schools was waived, but all Greek teachers were required to be drawn from the Greek minority in Albania and were not to be recruited, as previously, from Greece itself. The Greek Government appealed on the subject to the League of Nations, basing its contention on the Albanian Declaration of October 2, 1921, which contained an Article guaranteeing minorities in Albania the right to maintain and control at their own expense schools and other educational establishments. Feeling on the matter ran high for some time in Greece, but tended to subside as the fuller knowledge was gained of the actual state of affairs in the districts affected.

On the other hand, a controversy between Greece and Bulgaria which had helped to keep relations between the two Governments strained for many years was closed during the year. The dispute concerned certain forests in the Dospat region in the Rhodopes which had been proclaimed State lands. The Greek Government had interested itself in the concession and had obtained from an arbitrator appointed by the League of Nations judgment against Bulgaria for the sum of 475,000 gold francs as compensation. Bulgaria had pleaded inability to pay, but in September arrangements were made by Greece to accept payment in kind.

In July the famous Monastery of Megaspelaeon in the Peloponnese was destroyed by fire.

During 1934 the economic improvement which had set in during 1933 continued. The revenue showed an improvement on that of the previous year, while trade figures increased in regard to both volume and value, and the year closed with the prospect of a balanced Budget. The Government's policy of restricting imports and the efflux of foreign exchange in proportion to the value of the exchange recoverable for exports served to maintain the drachma in terms of gold at a steady level throughout the year. The cover of gold and foreign exchange reached its peak at the end of June, 4,156,000,000 drachmae as compared with 1,599,000,000 drachmas at the end of 1931.

BULGARIA.

The last few months of 1933 had witnessed **a** series of efforts on the part of her neighbours to induce Bulgaria to enter into a Balkan agreement. The Bulgarian Prime Minister, M. Moushanoff, had declared his readiness to agree to **a** Pact of non-aggression within the framework of the League of Nations, but would not commit the country to any consolidation of the existing order, in other words, to the renunciation of all claims to treaty revision. A final attempt to win the Bulgarians

over was made during the visit of King Boris and Queen **Ioanna** to King Carol of Rumania at Sinaia (January 24-29) but without success, and within a week the representatives of Rumania, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece had initialed in Belgrade the so-called Balkan Pact, which was formally signed in Athens on February 9. In Bulgaria it was believed that the conclusion of the Pact had been hastened by fear on the part of at least one of the signatories of the increasing cordiality of Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations. It was noticeable that the Pact did not interfere with the *rapprochement* between the two countries, although the course of domestic affairs in Bulgaria tended to interrupt its translation into concrete form.

M. Moushanoff's Government represented a coalition of four political parties—Democrats, Agrarians, Liberals and Radicals, with the Minister of War as an Independent. For some time there had been constant bickerings among the Ministers themselves, while there was more or less open antagonism between the parties that provided the Cabinet with its majority in the Sobranye. The effect of this state of affairs was described by Colonel Kimon Gheorghieff, who assumed office on May 19, in the following terms : The economic situation was becoming more and more embarrassed, the State finances were going from bad to worse, with no prospect of any improvement, the impoverishment of the people, especially of the rural population, was steadily increasing ; the Government had shown itself lacking in energy, and Parliament incapable of reducing public expenditure to the level of actual revenue ; those in authority and the political parties showed complete indifference to this dangerous situation ; in education, materialist aims were encouraged at the expense of spiritual and moral principles ; electoral institutions were not only compromised and devoid of any prestige, but had also become centres of destruction and dissolution for the nation ; Parliament, instead of being an emanation of the intelligence, competence and morale of the nation, personified idleness, apathy and lack of responsibility; the disorganisation of the State machinery was becoming dangerously aggravated ; the Government of the National *Bloc* was doing nothing to arrest the dissolution of the State, and the process had assumed alarming proportions ; political parties had no understanding of the important problems that they criticised without offering any point of view of their own, because they had none, and, when forced to give an opinion, contenting themselves with enunciating the opposite to that advanced by any party with which they were in conflict. In the face of this state of affairs the economic position was manifestly heading for a catastrophe, and financial bankruptcy, with an empty Treasury, was inevitable.

By the beginning of May it was generally recognised that only drastic measures could cope with such a situation. There were

two schools of thought actively engaged behind the scenes, both of them able to count on military support: the one, ranged behind Dr. Tzankoff, who had been Prime Minister after the *coup d'etat* of 1923 and was credited with personal ambitions in the shaping of the destinies of Bulgaria ; the other, a political body known as Zveno, formed in 1930, which was understood to entertain strong views on the necessity for purging the whole administration of the country and for introducing a new conception of public duties and responsibilities, having behind it the Officers' League, founded in 1928 by Colonel Damian Veltcheff.

On May 14 M. Moushanoff handed to the King the resignation of the Government, rendered inevitable by his acute differences with his Agrarian colleagues. Before he could reconstitute his Cabinet, the country found itself, on May 19, confronted with a *coup d'etat.* During the night troops had taken control of the capital and at daybreak occupied the Government offices. A Government of " National Union," comprising three officers and four politicians, assumed office under Colonel Kimon Gheorghieff, and King Boris signed a proclamation dissolving Parliament. The real leader of the movement was Colonel Damian Veltcheff, one of the principal organisers of the *coup d'etat* of 1923. He preferred to remain in the background, and during the Gheorghieff regime held the unofficial post of " Adviser to the Prime Minister," while providing the motive power behind the Government. His action on May 19 was believed to have anticipated by twenty-four hours a similar movement, also enjoying military support, which would have placed Dr. Tzankoff in office. In spite of his strong antipathy to unconstitutional methods, King Boris found himself obliged to accept the accomplished fact ; but for some time it was recognised in the country that relations between the Crown and the Government were strained and irregular. The new Cabinet, however, lost no time in proving its capacity for good government, and on August 28 it was possible to stage a public demonstration of solidarity between King, Government, Army and People on the occasion of a national celebration at the Shipka Pass.

Colonel Gheorghieff's Government lost no time in setting to work. Parliament was dissolved, political parties were suppressed, arrears of salaries in the civil service were paid, both the central and the provincial administration were reorganised, steps were taken to balance the Budget, and an attempt was made to cope with the economic situation. The most spectacular action on the part of the new regime, however, was the suppression of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation. This formidable body, led by Ivan Mihailoff, had long dominated south-western Bulgaria, and in virtue of the influence—not altogether divorced from a species of terrorism—that it had contrived to exercise over successive Governments, had been a power to be reckoned with

in Bulgaria. It had been responsible for terrorist acts in Yugoslavia, and, in pursuit of its declared aim to secure the liberation of Bulgarians from Yugoslav jurisdiction, had been opposed to any *rapprochement* between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. In April, 1934, partly as a result of the increasing difficulty experienced in dispatching its emissaries across the frontier into Yugoslavia, Mihailoff had agreed to an informal truce, to see whether improved Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations might lead to a removal of the disabilities of the Bulgarian population in Yugoslavia. The truce abroad was a signal for an intensification of the feud at home between the rival factions of the Organisation—Mihailoffists and Protogueroffists—and murders on one side or the other were frequent in Sofia and other centres. Mainly owing to the resultant insecurity, public sympathy was gradually alienated from the Organisation, and when the Gheorghieff Government struck, it had the general support of the nation behind it. The Organisation, previously regarded as all-powerful, was taken by surprise and collapsed at once. Large quantities of arms and ammunition were seized, and the leading revolutionaries took to the mountains, fled abroad or were arrested, to be banished to other parts of the country, there to remain under police supervision. Mihailoff himself escaped, early in September, with his wife to Turkey, where they were received as political refugees.

The elimination of the Macedonian revolutionaries paved the way for a State visit of King Alexander and Queen Marie of Yugoslavia to Sofia in the last week of September—a return of the visit paid to Belgrade by the Bulgarian Sovereigns in the previous September. The meeting marked a definite advance in the consolidation of Yugoslav-Bulgarian friendship, and would, no doubt, have had more practical results if it had not been followed almost immediately by the murder of King Alexander at Marseilles. The fact that the murder, although committed by a man of Macedonian origin, caused no cloud in the relations of the two countries was in itself evidence of the good feeling already existing between them.

The efforts of the Gheorghieff Government to improve the economic condition of the country did not meet with much success, and it may have been due in part to this circumstance that the year was marked by subversive activities labelled Communist. A large conspiracy was discovered in the Plovdiv garrison, and of the 123 soldiers placed on trial, seven were sentenced to death, 72 to varying terms of imprisonment, and only 44 were acquitted. In all 50 Communists were sentenced to death during the year.

The Government's economic policy had as its avowed aim the improving of the condition of the peasants, who comprise 80 per cent, of the population, and whose interests previous regimes had been inclined to neglect in favour of industry. The

need for revenue, however, led to the establishment of monopolies and to the hasty application of various measures, which defeated the object in view by bringing about, as a result of the prevailing uncertainty, stagnation in trade and industry. In April an arrangement had been made with the foreign bondholders for the payment of the coupons of Bulgaria's two League Loans at 32½ per cent. Later in the year the difficulty of obtaining foreign exchange caused the Government to approach the League Loans Committee for a reconsideration of this agreement. Bulgaria was induced to transfer a sufficient sum to enable the coupon due on January 1, 1935, to be met, but the Committee undertook to make a further investigation of the economic and financial situation of the country. The report of that Committee, delivered in January, 1935, was not favourable to the Bulgarian claims, and held the Government responsible for an ill-advised policy, which had been largely responsible for its internal financial difficulties.

CHAPTER V.

LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE: BELGIUM —NETHERLANDS — SWITZERLAND — SPAIN — PORTUGAL — DENMARK—ICELAND—SWEDEN—NORWAY—FINLAND.

BELGIUM.

THE whole Belgian people were plunged into deep grief by the accidental death on February 17 of their King, Albert I., while climbing among the crags of the Meuse Valley [see under Obituaries]. The gallant conduct of the deceased monarch during the war was well remembered both at home and abroad, and the scene at his obsequies, which took place on February 22, and many public references, testified to the esteem and affection in which he was held not only by his own people but by all who had ever come in contact with him.

His son, King Leopold II., was duly enthroned on February 23, at the age of 32, amid general demonstrations of sympathy and confidence, the only jarring note being struck by a Communist Deputy in the Chamber. The new King's first act was to grant a remission of sentence to a large number of civil and military prisoners. On March 14 the Government requested the Chamber to increase the King's Civil List from 9,500,000 fr. to 12,000,000 fr., and to grant the Queen Mother a pension of 2,000,000 fr. It was pointed out that, though the late King had asked the Government not to increase his allowance, his income had, in fact, been inadequate, and he had had to make great personal economies. The Socialists, while disclaiming any hostility to the dynasty, opposed the proposal on the ground that all increases

of expenditure were to be deprecated at the present time. The Chamber and Senate eventually consented to both grants.

Early in January Count Carton de Wiart, Minister of Social Welfare and Hygiene, and Viscount Poullet, Minister of the Interior, resigned, and their places were taken by M. van Cauwelaarts and M. Pierlot respectively, with somewhat different functions. Early in June the Ministry was, through the opposition of the Liberals, defeated on two minor measures, and Count de Broqueville somewhat unexpectedly tendered the resignation of the Cabinet (June 6). The King accepted his resignation but asked him to form a new Cabinet, which he succeeded in doing by June 11. The new Ministry contained eight Catholics and six Liberals ; its *personnel* was largely the same as that of the previous Cabinet, the most notable change being the substitution of M. Jaspar for M. Hymans as Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The new Government's declaration of policy contained an announcement that it would at an early date seek for special powers for dealing with financial and economic problems. On this account it was strongly opposed by the Socialists, but the Liberals, while critical of the Government on the score both of its *personnel* and its programme, continued to support it, and on June 21 it obtained a vote of confidence in the Chamber by 93 votes to 81.

A Bill asking for the grant to the Government of special powers for six months was duly laid before the Chamber on July 4. It was explained that the Government would use these powers to reduce public burdens, and give some relief to taxation, and also to reduce costs of production so that Belgian industry could compete in foreign markets. Public works schemes for the relief of unemployment would also be part of the Government's policy, but it had no intention of interfering with the currency. The situation was declared by the Prime Minister to be serious ; there was no diminution in the number of the unemployed ; taxation was sapping the substance of the country ; and Belgium was consuming her capital. The Bill was strongly opposed by the Socialists on the ground that some of its provisions were contrary to the Constitution, but in spite of this it was supported by the Liberals, and it was passed by the Chamber on July 20 by 89 votes to 77, and two days later by the Senate by 89 votes to 60.

In September and October acute differences arose within the Cabinet over the qixestion of fixing the national expenditure for 1935. There was an estimated deficit in the Budget of over a thousand million francs, and to meet this the Premier and the Minister of Finance demanded cuts in the social services, to which the Minister for Social Affairs would not accede. In November two Ministers resigned, and M. de Broqueville, feeling he had not

the confidence of Parliament, also resigned on November 13. At the request of the King, M. Jaspar attempted to form a Government, but without success. The task was then undertaken by M. Theunis, an ex-Premier who was not a party man and had not even a seat in Parliament. On November 19 M. Theunis announced the formation of a Cabinet in which M. Hymans returned to the Foreign Office, M. Deveze remained Minister of Defence, and the Ministry of Finance was entrusted to M. Gutt, who, like M. Theunis, was a non-party man.

The new Government met Parliament on November 27, and asked for a month's prolongation of the special powers granted to the previous Cabinet. The chief object of the Government was stated to be the balancing of the Budget, while its general policy would follow that of the previous Cabinet. On November 29 the Government obtained a vote of confidence from the Chamber by 93 votes to 83, and on the next day from the Senate by 90 votes to 63. On December 1 the Chamber passed by 94 votes to 83 a Bill prolonging till February 1 the grant of special economic and financial powers made to the previous Cabinet.

On November 4 the previous Government, just before it resigned, had announced that it had balanced the Budget by means of drastic cuts in expenditure. The new Government had no time to introduce the 1935 Budget before Christmas, and accordingly, on December 19, the Chamber by 93 votes to 76 granted it provisional credits for three months.

On July 12 the Chamber, by 94 votes to 74, passed a Bill prohibiting the wearing of uniforms by members of political associations, and forbidding them to carry out military operations, or in any way to usurp the functions of the regular public forces of the State—the police and the army. As a result of the Bill, the " Dinaso " group, composed of Flemish Fascists, was dissolved at the beginning of August, and a couple of days later the Labour Defence Militia was also abolished.

In the middle of September the coal-owners announced their intention of reducing wages by 5 per cent, and the miners thereupon decided to strike. The Government intervened, and the owners consented to drop the reduction on receiving a promise of certain concessions, one of which was that the whole of the proceeds of the tax of 15 francs per ton on imported coal should be handed over to them.

The rearmament of Germany was viewed with grave concern in Belgium, and the idea of a preventive war was mooted in some quarters. The Prime Minister, however, speaking in the Senate on March 7, declared that such a remedy would be worse than the disease. On the next day the Foreign Minister, M. Hymans, endorsed the Premier's statement that a resort to force must be avoided, and declared that a solution must be arrived at through an international convention. On March 27 the French

Foreign Minister, M. Barthou, visited Brussels, **and in company with M.** Hymans issued **a** statement that it was **desirable to avoid the perils** of a possible armaments race by the conclusion of an international agreement with guarantees that would secure **its** execution. On July 16 M. Jaspar, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, expressed his gratification at **a** statement made by **Sir John** Simon on July 13 in the course of his speech on the proposed Eastern Pact, that " the integrity of the territory of Belgium was no less vital to the interests and safety of Great Britain to-day than it had been in times past." M. Forthomme, the Minister for Public Works, declared that the speech was the most important event affecting Belgium since the Armistice. On July 4 M. Deveze, the Minister of Defence, in the course of a debate in the Senate on a Bill for strengthening the defensive forces of the country, stated that should Belgian territory be again violated, the Government would appeal to all friendly Powers, and he had no doubt that they would all come to the assistance of Belgium.

Differences arose in June between the Minister of Defence and the Army Staff owing to the opposition of the latter to the scheme of defence works along the eastern frontier, for which Parliament had in 1933 voted a credit of 799,000,000 fr. Early in October General Nuytens, the chief of the General Staff, was relieved of his functions. On December 19, as a measure of economy, a Bill was passed reducing the annual militia contingent from 44,000 men to 40,000.

In March the Banque du Travail, a Socialist bank, the shareholders of which were mostly Socialist co-operatives and trade unions, fell into difficulties, and on the appeal of M. Vandervelde, the Socialist leader, the Government advanced it 150,000,000 fr. from the State Savings Bank. On October 2 the Bank suspended payments. Shortly before, acute differences had arisen in the Socialist Party between the orthodox and the more advanced sections.

THE NETHERLANDS.

The year 1934 was clouded by losses in the Royal Family, which gave the people of the Netherlands an opportunity to testify in a most unambiguous manner its devotion to the Throne. On March 20 there occurred the death of the aged Queen Mother, who had become exceedingly popular, partly by the dignified manner in which, in the years 1890-98, she performed the duties of Regent and guided the education of the young Queen, and afterwards by her manifold works of charity. On July 3 the Prince Consort died [see under Obituaries]; he had won great respect by the tactful manner in which he had, in his somewhat difficult position, succeeded in taking **a** prominent part in **all kinds of** activity.

In April the Crisis Cabinet, with Dr. Colijn as Premier, lost its Minister for Economic Affairs, Dr. Verschuur, on account of a serious indisposition. After an interregnum by Dr. Colijn, Dr. Steenberghe was on June 25 put in charge of the economic policy of the country. This placed an extremely heavy task on the shoulders of the still youthful Minister, as in 1934 the economic difficulties of the country, already sufficiently great, increased rather than decreased. Towards the end of the year the number of unemployed rose from 320,000 to 354,000. Imports, which in the year 1933 amounted to 24,082 million kilos with a value of fl. 1,744 million, dropped in 1934 to 22,735 million kilos valued at fl. 1,170 million. For exports, the corresponding figures were in 1933, 12,769 million kilos, with a value of fl. 1423 million, and in 1934, 13,324 million kilos and fl. 1,017 million. Exports were particularly hampered by quota and high import tariffs in neighbouring countries, which placed serious impediments in the way of the export of agricultural and market gardening produce. As the Government, in co-operation with the Netherlands Bank, was firmly determined to maintain the gold standard, competition on the foreign market proved in many cases extremely difficult. In the autumn the Netherlands Government took part in the conference of the so-called gold bloc countries at Brussels, where it was decided to devise means to promote as much as possible the exchange of commodities between those countries. By the end of the year this conference had not yet yielded any tangible results. Meanwhile, the Netherlands Bank maintained its gold position, although the gold stocks dropped somewhat (fl. 842 million on December 31, 1934, as against fl. 923 million on January 1 of that year), as a result of which the covering percentage decreased from 81 to 76.

Opposing devaluation, the Government on its side continued its policy of deflation. The State expenditure was considerably diminished by the conversion of loans to a total amount of fl. 900 million, by a reduction of salaries and wages, and by stricter measures against tax evasion. A general amnesty for taxation frauds committed in previous years yielded the Exchequer fl. 10 million. The new sources of revenue also included a tax on property in mortmain, which was passed only after prolonged opposition.

Retrenchment also proved necessary on unemployment doles. Partly as a result of Communistic action, this retrenchment in the course of the summer caused disturbances in various labour districts of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague. More especially in the first-named town, rigorous repression proved necessary, involving some loss of life. However, peace was restored within a few days.

In order to relieve unemployment a fund of fl. 60 million was created by the Government, in co-operation with the States

General, to finance the carrying out **of** various works of **more** or less importance, and to provide further employment. Home industry was promoted by quota measures. In May an Emergency Act was passed, giving the Government power to insist upon the acceptance of its proposals for the imposition, removal, increase or decrease of import duties, and further to enforce provisionally clauses supplementing the original proposal, or deviating therefrom, as also, subject to the ultimate approval of the States General, to levy, in the interests of industry, fresh import duties or to amend those already existing. The existing tariff Act underwent a technical revision, whereby various duties were increased, whilst fresh duties were levied on a number of semi-finished goods and materials for industrial purposes, which had so far been free.

In various cases this policy of reprisals proved to have a beneficial preventive effect. Old commercial treaties, among others that with Turkey, dating as far back as 1612, were revised. With Great Britain a *modus vivendi* was effected, whilst new treaties were concluded with Spain, the Argentine, Italy, Portugal and Uruguay. Towards the end of the year a commercial treaty was concluded with Germany, whilst negotiations were in progress with Belgium and the United States. With various countries clearing agreements were made. With Germany an arrangement in that direction was not concluded till December, after various abortive attempts ; despite certain drawbacks this has rendered possible a satisfactory commercial intercourse between the two countries. The invasion of the Netherlands by foreign labour was discouraged in various branches of economic life.

In 1934 radical measures again proved necessary in support of the agrarian population. The area under sugar beet and potatoes for industrial purposes was restricted by Government measures, as well as pig breeding and the cattle stocks, which threatened to outgrow the demand on the home market and the greatly diminished possibility of export. In the autumn centralisation of the various crisis services took place, which led to material retrenchment and simplification. Under the pressure of circumstances, efforts were made to reorganise economic Ufe as much as possible with a view to home consumption, *inter alia* by promoting wheat-growing.

As was natural, all these measures met with much criticism not only on the part of the small number of advocates of devaluation but also from other sides. More especially the reduction of salaries and wages and of unemployment doles aroused discontent not only among the Social-Democrats but also among certain categories of Roman Catholics. This discontent found expression in the States General, without, however, leading to a serious conflict. The Radicals also proved to be dissatisfied because the promises of considerable retrenchments on the defence

forces failed to materialise, the Government—including its Radical members—not considering itself justified in effecting such a retrenchment. They voted against the Defence Budget. In the southern provinces, on the other hand, a wish was manifested for greater local safety in case of a Western European war, by strengthening the defences.

In order to create a better guarantee for the maintenance of peace and order within the country, the National Socialists were debarred from the State Service. On that ground, among others, the National Socialist leader Mussert was also discharged. Revolutionary Socialists and Socialists were debarred from office or any occupation with the defences. A new law on public order provided for a penalty on insults to public bodies and incitement against certain groups of the population. The standing orders of the Second Chamber were made more strict in order to prevent revolutionary action in Parliament.

On August 17 the Netherlands opposed the admission of Russia to the League of Nations. On the other hand, it co-operated willingly in the maintenance of peace and order in the Saar district by sending 350 controlling officials and a detachment of marines as its League of Nations contingent.

The 1935 Budget for the ordinary Service was fixed at a total of fl. 724 million for expenditure (for 1934 fl. 731 million) and fl. 631 million for revenue (for 1934 fl. 540 million), leaving a deficit of fl. 93 million as against 191 million in the Budget for the previous year. It is hoped that further retrenchments will lead to the total disappearance of the deficit. At the end of the year the floating debt amounted to fl. 610 million (in 1933 fl. 613 million) and the consolidated debt to fl. 2,723 million (in 1933 fl. 2,700 million).

SWITZERLAND.

In 1934 two members of the Bundesrat (Federal Council) resigned—Herr Haberlin and Herr Musy. This was a very unusual occurrence, as the seven members of the Bundesrat, which is the supreme organ of government, are elected by the Joint Federal Assembly, consisting of the two Chambers, the National Council (Nationalrat) and the Cantonal Council (Standerat), for the full term of the National Council (three years), and there is no legal means of forcing a member of the Bundesrat to resign.

On March 11 the law for the defence of the State which had been passed by Parliament in June, 1933, but which had yet to be submitted to a referendum *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 236), was rejected by the people by 486,168 votes to 415,964. On the next day, Bundesrat Haberlin, the originator of the Bill and the head of the Department of Justice, resigned. On March 22

the **Federal** Assembly elected Standerat Baumann (Appenzel a. Rhoden) as successor to Herr Haberlin, like whom he belongs to the Liberal (Freisinnige) Party. On March 22 Bundesrat Musy (Freiburg), head of the Finance Department, resigned, in consequence of vehement attacks made on him, especially in the Press, on account particularly of his efforts to limit the State expenditure, chiefly by reducing the salaries of officials. On March 28 the Joint Federal Assembly elected Standerat Etter (Zug) in his place. The Bundesrat itself was reconstructed, finally assuming the following form: Political Department, Motta (Catholic-Conservative); Military Department, Minger (Peasant, Artisan, and Citizen Party); Department of Economy, Schulthess (Liberal); Posts and Telegraphs, Pilet (Liberal); Department of Justice, Baumann (Liberal); Home Affairs, Etter (Catholic-Conservative); Finance, A. Meyer (Liberal). In the first four of these Departments there was no change. Through the substitution of the German-Swiss Etter for the French-Swiss Musy the number of French-Swiss members of the Bundesrat was once more reduced to two, as before 1917. Bundesrat Schulthess, however, whose retirement is expected in 1935 (he has been a member of the Bundesrat since 1912), is to be replaced by a French-Swiss.

There was much popular unrest during the year—due in the first place to the economic crisis—which displayed itself first and foremost in the fact that almost all the legislation passed by Parliament had to undergo the ordeal of the referendum, and that in addition a number of projects for new laws (Initiatives) were suggested by popular vote. The referendum on the law for the defence of the State has been mentioned above. On September 28 both Chambers approved a Bill for prolonging the training period of recruits—the "recruit schools" (for infantry, artillery, and engineer corps) from 66 to 88 days, in order to qualify them for the higher demands of modern tactics. A referendum was secured against this, the demand receiving 76,176 signatures (only 30,000 are required); it will be taken on February 24, 1935. For fiscal reasons it was decided to impose a tax on wine, in spite of the opposition of the deputies from the wine-growing districts. In the Canton of Wallis some communal authorities refused to help in the collection of the tax, and had to be reminded by the Bundesrat of their duty.

The situation of the railways remained unsatisfactory. The reductions in week-end fares and for travellers from abroad were retained. To combat the loss in freight traffic caused to the railways by motor competition, a "traffic apportionment" law was passed reserving for the railways all transport of goods for more than 30 km. A referendum was demanded against this also (by 100,823 signatures), the vote on which is to be taken in 1935. On May 20 the Bundesrat laid before Parliament a project for

helping the railways. An Initiative was launehed with the object of withdrawing the administration of the railways from political influence.

The increasing burden of taxation led to an Initiative for " protecting the rights of the people in matters of taxation " (103,727 signatures). The " National Front," together with other groups of the " renewal movement "—the Young Conservatives, the " Call-to-arms Movement " (which advocates a corporative State on a Catholic basis), and the " New Switzerland " (representing chiefly the small traders), starting out from different standpoints and with different goals, but united in their rejection of the Liberal-Democratic State, carried an Initiative, with 77,578 signatures, for a complete revision of the Federal Constitution (of 1874). In 1935 the people is to vote whether a complete revision shall take place or not. An Initiative, put forward by the Fronts, was also carried for prohibiting secret societies (especially the Freemasons).

The Front movement itself suffered a serious setback from the sanguinary events of June 30 and July 25 in Germany and Austria. Only the most extreme of the Fronts, the National Front, occasionally gave some signs of life, and then almost exclusively through anti-Semitic demonstrations. At the same time it would be premature to regard the Front movement as dead.

The economic condition of the country deteriorated in 1934. After falling to 44,000 in May, the number of unemployed rose at the end of the year to 76,000—5,000 more than in the previous year. Through the import restrictions in foreign countries on the one hand, and on the other hand through the increased demands for relief put forward by the most destitute classes and the artificial maintenance of a high cost of living, the export industries were reduced to serious straits. Agriculture, supported by a whole system of State subsidies, sought to make up for the drop in prices by increased production, only to fall into the worse evil of over-production. Devaluation of the currency as a means of overcoming the crisis (the note circulation is fully covered by gold) was universally rejected, but demands were made for the abandonment of the policy of State subventions, and for the substitution of a new policy better adapted to the changed conditions, so that Switzerland should again become capable of competing in world markets.

Against these tendencies on the capitalist side, the Social Democrats and the trade unions, supported by the smaller industrialists, the employee class and above all the " Young Farmers " movement, launched the so-called " Crisis Initiative " (with more than 300,000 signatures). The object of this was to secure the addition to the Constitution of a clause binding the Federation for the period of five years " to take comprehensive measures for combating the economic crisis and its effects."

The object of these measures should be "to secure an adequate livelihood for all Swiss citizens." The specific proposals put forward were for a general minimum of wages and prices, for the relief of heavily indebted agricultural and small industrial concerns, and for adequate unemployment benefit. Demands were also made for systematic development of commercial relations with foreign countries in the sphere of exports and tourist traffic. For financing the proposals, premium bonds and loans were suggested. Voting on this Initiative—which its opponents designate "Bankruptcy Initiative"—will take place in 1935; it will be one of the most important in the modern history of Switzerland.

The progressive mechanisation of army transport among neighbouring States has increased the danger of sudden attacks. In order to strengthen the frontiers and to safeguard the mobilisation and assembling of the troops, small permanent works are to be laid down as barriers. For the present, 5 million francs have been voted for this purpose.

The advanced Socialist regime of M. Nicole in the Canton of Geneva *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 248; 1933, p. 236) won for that province considerable notoriety in the course of the year, and also caused the Federal Government no small anxiety. The execution of Federal laws and the financial administration were so unreliable that there was serious talk of appointing a Federal Commissioner. In spite of pecuniary assistance from the Federation, the financial crisis had not been overcome by the end of the year. On November 18 the people of Geneva rejected by a majority of some 10,000 votes the Socialist Tax and Finance Initiative. On December 17 the Grand Council (Cantonal Parliament) demanded by 49 votes to 40 the resignation of the Government. Having, however, been elected directly by the people, the Government was not bound to comply with this demand, and in fact did not do so.

In foreign affairs, the most important event was Switzerland's protest against the admission of Soviet Russia into the League of Nations, delivered by Bundesrat Motta before the Assembly of the League on September 18 in accordance with a unanimous decision of the Bundesrat on September 4, and supported by him in a speech of great force. For this the Bundesrat was vehemently attacked in Socialist quarters and also by some sections of the bourgeoisie, but it had the approval of the great majority of the Press organs. Switzerland has not recognised the Soviet Government and is not likely to do so. Gaps in her criminal law and the inadequacy of the police forces of the municipalities and Cantons (there is no Federal police) might render the activities of a Soviet Embassy in Switzerland dangerous for her internal peace.

In accordance with its settled policy of neutrality, the Bundesrat declined to furnish police and military for the Saar district

or to allow recruiting for it. On the other hand, it had no objection to a large number of Swiss being selected to supervise the voting.

The Franco-Swiss Arbitration Agreement of 1923 was ratified by the French Senate on March 6 and at length came into force. Switzerland has now obligatory Arbitration Agreements with all her neighbours and with many other States. The obligatory Arbitration Agreement with Italy of the year 1924 was prolonged for ten years.

Relations with France and Italy were undisturbed and cordial. The internal weakness of Austria was very disquieting to Switzerland, which has the closest interest in the genuine independence of Austria. An armed intervention from abroad extending to the Austrian Federal Province of Vorarlberg would place Switzerland in a very serious strategic position.

Relations with National-Socialist Germany were less disturbed than in 1933. The Pan-German propaganda was dropped. Frontier incidents still occurred, but were less frequent. On July 21 certain German S.A. men were arrested at Rorschach on the Lake of Constance while trying to smuggle explosives from German territory *via* Switzerland to Austria. The Bundesrat protested to the German Government against this violation of Swiss territory. On November 28 the smugglers were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from fourteen months to three years.

In retaliation for the prohibition of Swiss newspapers in Germany, the Bundesrat on July 6 forbade the entry of the German newspapers *Volkischer Beobachter, Angriff* and *Berliner Borsenzeitung.* On the next day the German Government prohibited for six months the Swiss (Liberal) papers *Der Bund, Neue Zilrcher Zeitung,* and *Nationalzeitung.* Later the prohibitions were prolonged on both sides. The religious struggles in Germany, especially in German Protestantism, were closely followed by the public and in the Press, without, however, producing any political repercussions. Sympathy was throughout with the Confessional Church.

SPAIN.

The story of Spain in 1934 is the story of the preparation, outbreak and collapse of the revolutionary movement planned by the Socialists and Separatists.

The year began with the election of Sefior Companys as President of the Generalidad of Catalonia. His party of the Esquerra (Republicans) made use of the Municipal Elections in Catalonia on January 14 to regain the ground it had lost in the General Elections, whereupon the Regionalist Lliga, or Right,

withdrew **in** protest from the Catalan Parliament. In the Spanish Parliament the situation was confused and was to remain so throughout the year. A Radical minority under Senor Lerroux governed by consent, as it were, of Senor Gil Robles, the young leader of the C.E.D.A. or " Confederation Espaiiola de Derechas Autonomas," the majority party of the Right. This compromise enabled the Government of the country to be carried on, but precluded any real work of restoration and was the subject of attacks from both the Extreme Right and the Left. As early as the latter half of January there were changes in the Radical Party, Senor Martinez Barrios taking over the Interior, and Senor Hidalgo, the Ministry of War. The Socialists, finding themselves baulked in Parliament as at the polls, adopted the methods of direct action. The gunman and the bomb were now introduced to Madrid, but the main political weapon was the general strike, which was called on the slightest pretext and kept particularly the capital in constant alarm. Early in February the Socialists of Madrid established a common front with Syndicalists and Communists for social revolution, and on February 5 the Socialist leader, Senor Prieto, openly announced the triumph of that revolution. That the revolutionaries possessed large stocks of arms distributed throughout the country was common knowledge and was publicly recognised by the Government. But the latter was itself in difficulties, which were not allayed either by the declaration of the Agrarian Right in favour of the Republic nor by the announcement by Senor Gil Robles that he was prepared to govern. February passed amid strikes and disorders in Madrid and the splitting of the Radical Party,

On March 1 the Government fell, but was reconstructed under Senor Lerroux on March 3 with the moderate Radical, Senor Alonso Salazar, in the all-important post of Minister of the Interior. A state of alarm was proclaimed in Madrid on March 7 ; and on March 15 the printers' strike ended after three days' struggle in the victory of the newspapers of the Right, who managed to free themselves from trade union tutelage. In Saragossa, however, the arrest of prominent anarchists following upon a bomb outrage led to the declaration, on March 28, of a general strike that lasted for weeks and brought ruin and misery in its train.

In the midst of this social strife only two meagre measures of the election programme could be forced through Parliament. On April 4 the annual sum of 16,000,000 pesetas (440,000l.) was allotted for the pensions of the 28,000 clergy who had been deprived of their stipends. The second measure, the Bill of political amnesty, was the occasion of stormy debates, in the course of which the Minister of Justice resigned and Senor Prieto intervened, brandishing his pistol. In promulgating this law, by which, among others, General Sanjurjo was set free and Senor

Calvo Sotelo enabled to take his seat in Parliament, the President of the Republic saw fit to publish a qualifying preamble, and this action led to a total crisis on April 25. Several days were spent in fruitless consultation. Finally a comparatively unknown Radical, Serior Samper, assumed government with a Cabinet which otherwise suffered little change, and which Hkewise did not possess a Parliamentary majority.

Senor Samper was immediately confronted with the problem of the Catalan farming law. This was a measure by which the Esquerra hoped to secure the support of the *rabassaires,* or tenant farmers, for the cause of social revolution by practically installing them as owners of the land they farmed. The mere hint of revision provoked a characteristic outburst from the Catalan Counsellor, Serior Lluhi, who announced that the law would be applied in the teeth of any opposition from Madrid. The threat was carried out when the Court of Constitutional Guarantees declared the measure to be illegal, and by the end of June a fantastic situation had been reached in which the Government bowed meekly to this open flouting of law and authority.

Less successful was the attempt to stir up rural revolt in the rest of Spain ; for, owing partly to the splendid harvest, the national strike of agricultural workers, called for June 5, proved a failure. But the time had passed when the revolutionaries contemplated such relatively pacific measures as a general strike. On June 6 the police discovered a secret arsenal of arms, including 80,000 rounds of ammunition, in the custody of trade union officials at Madrid ; and a few days later twelve parcels of pistols in the flat of the Socialist deputy, Senor Lozano. On July 3, the day before the Cortes went into recess for the summer, Senor Prieto actually announced, " Every town and village is replete with arms. Let all who will have to fight us take warning ! "

Events now precipitated themselves. While the Central Government were being entertained by Senor Companys in the fond hope that the farming law might yet be rendered constitutional, a storm was brewing in another quarter. Not only in Catalonia had Separatist hopes been fostered since the advent of the Republic, but Basque Nationalism had also raised its head and was now made the cat's-paw of the revolutionaries. On the ground that the continuance in office of the Municipal Committees that had been appointed under Senor Azafia constituted an infringement of Basque autonomy, the Nationalists decided, in the face of Government prohibition, to hold fresh elections on August 1l. These were prevented by force, and mass meetings at Bilbao and Zumarraga, where Basque and Catalan Separatists fraternised under the direction of Serior Prieto, were broken up.

The situation became more strained as the summer wore to an end. On September 8 the Catalan landowners met in Madrid in spite of determined opposition by the Esquerra and the

Socialists. On September **9** the **Catholic Youth held a great assembly** at Covadonga notwithstanding the sabotage practised **by** their Asturian opponents. On September 10 Catalan Separatists captained by Badia perpetrated a gross outrage in the Law Courts of Barcelona, which they attempted to set on fire. Finally, on September 11, came the discovery of the landing of arms and munitions from the small steamer *Turquesa* at San Esteban in Asturias, when 116,000 rounds of rifle ammunition were seized in boats and two Socialist deputies were found directing the operations of unloading into lorries belonging to the Provincial Council of Oviedo. That the revolutionaries were arming and drilling had long been known to the authorities and the public ; nevertheless the scale of operations and the extent to which official bodies under Socialist or Separatist control, and even members of former Governments, were implicated, came as a shock. It was followed by the discovery of several caches of arms in Madrid and other places. When the Cortes met on October 1, the Samper Government fell, and on October 4 Senor Lerroux returned to power, this time with three members of the C.E.D.A. Party.

That same night the Republican minorities of Sefiores Martinez Barrios, Sanchez Roman and Maura declared the Government to be a faction, and the Socialists called a general strike and began to mobilise their forces, as did the Separatists in Barcelona, where Senor Azafia had taken refuge and whence the movement was directed. At 8 p.m. on Saturday, October 6, attacks were launched on the Ministry of Interior, the barracks and police-stations of Madrid, whilst in Barcelona the Generalidad proclaimed Catalan independence. Communications by rail and road were cut throughout the country ; and the general strike had paralysed the life of the nation. But Senor Lerroux rose to the occasion, and as the troops marched through the streets of Madrid to proclaim martial law they received a rousing welcome. The loyalty of generals might be suspect, but the discipline of the younger officers and the conscripts from the country was unshaken. When at midnight General Batet thought to sound the corps of officers at Barcelona, they declared unhesitatingly for Spain and duty. In vain did Senor Companys launch desperate appeals to the *rabassaires ;* at the first shells the flamboyant army of *estat catald* melted away, and the Separatists surrendered at discretion or took to ignominious flight, Senor Azafia himself being discovered in hiding a few days later. The news of the Catalan collapse was received with manifestations of joy in Madrid, though the general strike and sporadic shooting lasted for several days more.

The full force of the revolution was felt in the mining districts of the north, particularly of Asturias, where some 15,000 to 20,000 miners were mobilised, who in addition to arms and

ammunition had unlimited supplies of dynamite at their disposal. Isolated posts of Civil Guards and Police were overrun throughout the coal-fields and their heroic defenders butchered. By October 6 the capital, Oviedo, the arsenal of Trubia and the port of Gij6n had been seized and a Communist regime proclaimed throughout Asturias. Gij6n was relieved after a short naval bombardment, but the battalion garrisoning Oviedo with some 300 Civil Guards and Storm Police could barely hold the barracks and some posts scattered through the city. Few troops were available for relief, and the mountain passes forming the main line of communication were blocked; a weak column acting from Leon was soon held up, and General Lopez Ochoa, who had hastily brought over 500 men from Galicia, thought it wiser to turn back to the coast. But the sea was open, and legionaries and Moorish Regulars were rushed from Northern Africa to Gijon and after methodically clearing the plain and the outskirts of the capital retook the ruined city on October 13.

The movement had been crushed, but it had cost untold losses in property and lives on both sides.[1] When the criminal excesses committed by the revolutionaries became known, a wave of indignation swept the country, and a clamour arose on all hands for justice to be meted out on the ringleaders. To that clamour the President of the Republic turned a deaf ear, but the Minister of War and Senor Samper, who had clung to office as Minister of Foreign Affairs, were forced to resign. Such Socialist deputies as were not in prison or had not fled the country, did not attend in Parliament, but the Esquerra members brazened it out in the Cortes. Some fifty trade unions were declared dissolved; and the Statute of Catalonia was provisionally suspended. The rest of the year was spent in hunting down the last rebels in the Asturian mountains, where two of the fifteen millions rifled from the Bank of Spain were recovered, and in a general cleaning of the Administration.

PORTUGAL.

During 1934 Portugal continued to make progress in various directions under the prudent administration of Dr. Oliviera Salazar's Dictatorship. For the seventh time in succession the Budget

[1] **Official figures were given as follows:—**

Dead.—Civilians, 1,051; Civil Guards, 100; other police, 70; Excise men, 16; Army, 98; total, 1,335.

Wounded.—Civilians, 2,051; Army and police, 900; total, 2,951.

Buildings or public works destroyed or damaged by fire or dynamite.—Public buildings, 63; churches, 58; factories, 26; bridges, 58; roads, 31; railways, 66; private dwellings, 730.

Arms and explosives captured.—Rifles, carbines, and shot guns, 89,354; pistols, 33,211; light machine-guns, 247; other machine-guns, 27; guns, 41; bombs, 31,345; petards, 3,507; 350,000 cartridges; and 60 tons of dynamite.

for the year ending June 30 showed a surplus, this time of 18,000,*0001*. The economic condition of the country improved, and there was a further tightening-up of the administration, both civil and military. Order was well maintained, and through its watchfulness the Government was able to suppress without difficulty a revolutionary movement instigated by the General Confederation of Labour and Communists on January 18. Some conflicts took place between soldiers and revolutionaries, but the Government kept the situation well in hand, and the general public was not aware that anything untoward was happening. The ringleaders were tried and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

In spite of the achievements of the Government, public opinion began to grow impatient at the delay in restoring a constitutional regime. The Government accordingly, on May 26, summoned a first meeting of the National Congress, and Dr. Salazar, after outlining the programme of a Corporative State which he had in mind, announced that elections would be held in good time to enable the National Assembly to meet next year. Much preparatory work, however, required to be done, and he asked for patience on the part of the public. The speech, and the celebrations which followed, had a soothing effect on the public mind.

In June, Senhor Preto, the leader of the National Revolutionary Syndicalists, commonly known as the Blue Shirts, addressed a letter to the President of the Republic strongly criticising the Government. He attempted to get the letter published in the Press, but it was suppressed by the censor. Shortly afterwards he was arrested and imprisoned along with another leader of the Blue Shirts, the Count of Monsaraz. The Prime Minister issued an official statement in reply to Senhor Preto's allegations, and addressed to his followers an appeal, which proved effective, to abandon their hostility to the Government.

The elections for a National Assembly took place on December 16. The franchise was confined to about a tenth part of the total population, and there were no Opposition candidates. About 78-9 per cent, of the electors went to the poll. In a statement issued soon afterwards, Dr. Salazar claimed that under President Carmona's dictatorship, Portugal had regained in the world a position in keeping with her historic past. He announced that with the proposed meeting of the National Assembly and the Corporative Chamber in January, a new governing body would be formed, based upon the Constitution already voted, and with the creation of this body the dictatorship would nominally be ended.

On February 8 the Portuguese Government, after twelve years of negotiation and discussion, at length came to an agreement with **Great** Britain on the subject **of flag** discrimination.

It promised that flag discrimination against British ships should cease after July 1, 1934, in the ports of Portugal, Madeira and the Azores, and by July 1, 1936, in colonial ports. England in return agreed to prohibit till June 30, 1941, the importation of all wines called Port or Madeira save those from Portugal and her possessions.

In June an exhibition of the colonial products of the Portuguese Empire was opened in Oporto. It was a great success, being visited by a million and a half people, among whom was the Prince of Wales.

DENMARK.

The Ministry of Hr. Stauning maintained itself in office throughout 1934, not without difficulty. It was violently attacked on various occasions both by the Conservatives and the Left, but it skilfully took advantage of the differences between these sections so as to strengthen its own position in the country.

On February 1 the Collective Agreements in a number of Danish industries, after having been prolonged for a year, came to an end. The Official Arbitrator suggested that they should be prolonged for another year on the same terms. Both sides agreed, with the exception of the Seamen's Unions, which demanded an increase in pay for firemen and sailors engaged in long-distance shipping, because the depreciation of the currency had reduced the purchasing power of their wages abroad. The shipowners rejected the demand, and the men struck. Conflicts with the police took place at Esbjerg, and a general strike of twenty-four hours was declared there on April 17, during which the Communists created disturbances. A strike also took place at the same time in the bacon industry, to settle which the Chambers of April 20 passed a Bill for the appointment of an Arbitration Court with power to make obligatory decisions. On April 23 the seamen also came to an agreement with the shipowners. In the course of the year a number of threatened disputes were averted through the agency of the Official Arbitrator. Unemployment rose somewhat towards the end of the year but remained substantially lower than in 1933.

On June 27 the Government laid before the Riksdag a Bill for the relief of agricultural debts, and another for continuing for the present the existing temporary arrangements regarding rents and other housing matters. Both Bills, especially the former, met with strong opposition in the Riksdag, and at one time it seemed likely that the Government would have to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country. However, eventually the Riksdag passed both measures. Both, however, were rejected by the Upper House. Fortunately about this time a rise in agricultural prices took place which greatly eased the situation, so that the Government did not find it necessary to proceed with the Agricultural Debts Bill.

Throughout the year an agitation was **carried on in** the **country** for **the** abolition of the Upper House. To a certain extent this demand had the sympathy of the Government; on March 24 the Prime Minister declared in a public speech that a good deal of the discontent with the political situation was due to the obstructive attitude of the Opposition in the Landsting, and at the opening of the session of the Riksdag in October he intimated that in the course of the session there would be an attempt to reform the Constitution, possibly involving the abolition of the Upper House.

In July, in consequence of certain criticisms of the Navy made in the Riksdag, a Commission, with the Prime Minister as Chairman and Vice-Admiral Rechnitzer, Commander-in-Chief of the Navy, as Vice-President, was appointed to consider the reorganisation of the Navy within certain financial limits. In October a suggestion was made in the Riksdag by the Conservative leader, Hr. Moller, apparently with the concurrence of the General Staff, that Denmark should co-operate with Sweden in protecting the Sound, but it was not favourably received by the Government. A little later the Prime Minister also turned a deaf ear to an appeal from the Independent Conservative leader, Count Holstein, to increase the country's defence forces.

At the beginning of the year it was reported that there was an intensification of Nazi activity in South Jutland, and demands were raised in certain quarters for a proscription of the Nazis. On January 18 the Government brought in Bills for the better preservation of order, among them one prohibiting political associations which preached the use of armed force. These became law at the beginning of May. About that time, however, the Nazis on both sides of the Dano-German frontier, apparently on instructions from the German authorities, began to adopt a much more moderate attitude. The Nazi movement in Denmark received a severe setback from the events of June 30 in Germany and the assassination of Chancellor Dollfuss in the next month.

At the beginning of March, a trade agreement was concluded with Germany for the current year, providing for the maintenance of Danish agricultural exports to that country. An agreement was concluded with France on August 1 by which the French import surtax of 15 per cent, on Danish goods was removed and Denmark abolished the restrictions imposed three years before on the import of French wines.

ICELAND.

The results of the General Election held at the end of June gave the Home Rule Party 20 seats, the Progressive Party 15, the Socialist Party 10, the Peasant Party 3, and the Independent

Party 1. The Socialists gained five seats, and in consequence Hr. Asgeirsson with his Coalition Cabinet of Progressives and Home Rulers resigned, and a new Coalition Ministry, composed of Progressives and Socialists, was formed by Hr. Hermann Jonnasson (Progressive). The new Ministry was expected to have the support of 26 members in an Alting of 49.

SWEDEN.

The Social-Democratic Cabinet, formed by Mr. P. A. Hansson in 1932, remained in office during 1934 and pursued its domestic policy on the lines laid down in the previous year.

The crisis policy of the Government provoked a great deal of controversy, owing to the fact that it implied a revision of the measures hitherto taken for the relief of unemployment. The fundamental idea of this policy, as carried out in 1934, was to provide opportunities of employment by opening up big public works—including in the first place building operations and the electrification of railways—and only to stop them gradually as the situation improved. The strongest argument in favour of these public works, which for Sweden are quite considerable, rested in the fact that they contributed to an increase of employment in the industries which supplied the necessary materials, and in this way helped to bring about an improvement in the industries affected.

The Social-Democrats succeeded in the 1934 Riksdag, as in 1933, in gaining the support of the Peasants' Party by means of an exchange of concessions on questions of importance to these parties. This policy of co-operation resulted in the Government getting most of their proposals passed in this Riksdag also.

When the Riksdag assembled (January 10) no changes of any consequence had taken place in the position of the parties. The general economic outlook was characterised by a slight easing of the depression. Exports showed a considerable increase and unemployment was diminishing. But in spite of the encouraging turn for the better serious difficulties still remained, and a quick recovery was not expected even by the most optimistic observers. Generous support from State funds seemed necessary to the Government in this situation, owing to the depletion of both private and municipal resources. This support could only be secured by continued co-operation; as the Prime Minister said before the opening of the Riksdag, party gains and sectional interests were not to stand in the way of the general good.

The Budget debate naturally centred on the unemployment problem. In the opinion of the Conservatives and the People's Party, the wages which were paid in public works were in many cases higher than those obtaining in the open market and therefore caused a " concealed unemployment." The criticism of the

Opposition Parties was also directed against the policy of financing a great part of the unemployment schemes by loans. The Government pointed out, however, that a larger percentage of unemployed had actually been provided for by this " welfare policy " than had previously been the case, and emphasised that, thanks to the public works, the burden upon the communes for unemployment was lessened, as was proved by the decrease in their expenditure for poor relief.

During the unemployment debate which took place at the end of the session, the Conservatives in particular urged a revision of the relief policy, but did not succeed in gaining the approval of the Riksdag. Fifty-one million kronor were assigned to " reserve works," that is to say, works started by the public authorities, in which only registered unemployed could be employed; 93-5 million kronor to State orders, housing and other public works ; 9 millions only to pecuniary relief; and 5-5 million kronor were voted for the juvenile unemployment scheme—a total of 159 million kronor for unemployment purposes.

Supplementary to the immediate measures for the combating of the crisis the idea of unemployment insurance as a long-term measure was again brought forward. A proposal to introduce voluntary unemployment insurance had been put before the Riksdag of the previous year, but fell through on account of the opposition of the Upper Chamber. The Government reverted to the question this year with a scheme which was accepted on May 30 with certain small modifications, in spite of opposition from several parties, including even the Peasants' Party. According to the unemployment insurance thus introduced in Sweden, the insurance funds are formed by the workers themselves, while the State contributes a grant on condition that the former comply to certain legal stipulations.

On May 16 the Riksdag accepted, with certain modifications, the proposal put forward by the Government regarding assistance to agriculture. The provisions for the milling of Swedish wheat and rye in the production of flour, which were introduced in 1930, were prolonged. In order to deal with the surplus of cereals, which had accumulated as a result of the State purchases, a resolution was passed to set aside a part of this surplus as fodder. It was also decided that a certain levy on wheat should be imposed as a means of limiting the growing of wheat. The regulations regarding the imposition of a milk levy were likewise continued this year. In order to raise the prices of meat (beef, mutton and pork) and eggs to a level corresponding to the prices of cereals and butter, the Government was authorised to impose a certain import duty on oats, maize and other fodder, also on foreign wheat bran. The Government was also authorised to regulate the import of meat and eggs and to impose an import duty. The revenue derived from these taxes is mainly to be paid into

a price regulation fund for agricultural produce, intended to be used for promoting the production of meat and eggs.

A question which aroused great attention and led to a fierce controversy in the Riksdag was the Government's proposal of a credit agreement with Soviet Russia. According to this agreement Sweden was to grant a loan to Soviet Russia of 100 million kronor to be repaid by Russian bonds without special security. The loan was to be used exclusively for the purchase in Sweden of industrial and agricultural products and was regarded by the Government as a part of their unemployment policy. The proposal was subjected to strong criticism by the non-Socialist Parties in both Houses. They pointed out that the prospects of the repayment of the loan were not sufficiently good, and that the branches of industry which were most likely to receive the bulk of the Russian orders were in the main such as at present worked under relatively satisfactory conditions.

This question attracted great interest in the country during all stages of the debate. The Peasant Party seemed at first to be in favour of the agreement, but they eventually definitely decided against it, and the prospects of its being approved by the Riksdag then became very slight. The question was, however, never put to the vote of the Riksdag, as on the eve of the decision of the Parliamentary Committee dealing with it information was received from Russia to the effect that the Soviet Government had decided not to ratify the agreement because certain of its stipulations were considered to be unfavourable. A negative decision by the Swedish Riksdag was thus forestalled and the matter dropped.

During the whole of the session the problem of securing protection for "neutrals" or "third parties" in labour and other economic disputes attracted a great deal of attention. At the end of the session, which terminated on June 21, the Riksdag requested the Government to submit as soon as possible, and preferably before the end of the year, a bill on this subject. This implied a request for the convocation of an extraordinary session, as the Riksdag does not normally assemble in the latter part of the year. The Government, however, did not consider it necessary to summon an extraordinary session, but the Prime Minister promised definitely that a bill would be put before the 1935 session.

The County Council elections were held in September. These take place every fourth year, and are of considerable political importance as the representatives elected not only discharge certain local administrative duties, but also exercise a decisive influence on the composition of the Upper Chamber of the Riksdag, seeing that they elect members to it. It was evident that this year's election would acquire a special significance as a test of the opinion of the country on the much debated policy of the present Government. In the event those parties which had

supported the crisis policy, the Peasants' Party **and the** Social-Democrats, won no less than 25 and 38 seats respectively from the Right and the non-Socialist Left, which lost 50 and 17 seats respectively. The Government could consequently feel that it had obtained a decisive vote of confidence.

With regard to party positions in the country two important changes took place during the year. Within the Left Radical Party of the Riksdag a coalition was formed between the Kilbom Communists and two representatives from Goteborg who were formerly Social-Democrats. This group was named "The Socialist Party," but it is still of no great political significance. A more important coalition occurred in August in the non-Socialist Left, when the Liberal Party and the People's Party joined together in one party called "Folkpartiet" (People's Party). The two parties were remnants of the old Liberal Party, which split on the question of prohibition into "Sveriges liberala parti" (Sweden's Liberal Party) and "Frisinnade folkpartiet" (literally, the Liberal People's Party). The new People's Party has therefore to be distinguished from the latter.

During the year the Foreign Minister, Mr. Sandler, took an important part in the work of the League of Nations in general, and in the efforts to solve the disarmament problem in particular. The decision of the Swedish Government to comply with the request of the League Council to dispatch a military force to the Saar testified to the desire of the Swedish Government to support a policy of international solidarity. The Swedish contingent, consisting of 250 men, arrived in the Saar on December 21. The Government's decision was received with practically unanimous approval.

The most important event in the field of commercial policy was the new clearing agreement, made in December, with Germany regarding the regulation of payment for goods between Sweden and Germany, and modelled on the lines of the previous agreement, which regulated the transfer of payments for goods and interest in a way which gives security to both sides.

NORWAY.

Although commanding the support of only about a sixth of the Storting, Mr. Mowinckel's Liberal Government succeeded in maintaining itself in power throughout 1934.

The new Storting, elected in October, 1933, assembled on January 11. Mr. Johan Nygaardsvold, the leader of the Labour Party, was elected President. Mr. C. J. Hambro, the Conservative leader, who had been President for several years, was elected Vice-President. The reason for this change in the office of President was the refusal of the Farmers' Party to give Mr.

Hambro their votes, owing to his outspoken criticism of Mr. Hundseid's Agrarian Cabinet during the Greenland controversy. This criticism was considered unfair and deeply resented by the Agrarian leaders.

Mr. Nygaardsvold's election as President of the Storting caused some sensation, this being the first time that a Labour leader occupied the post, although several Labour members have been Vice-Presidents. Owing to the pronounced Marxist character of the Norwegian Labour Party, which for a short time (1920-23) even joined the Moscow International, the Conservative Press considered Mr. Nygaardsvold unfit for an office which, according to the Norwegian Constitution, ranks next to the King, and the holder of which has frequently to represent the State. Mr. Nygaardsvold, however, even at the formal opening of the Storting by the King, managed to some extent to reassure the Conservatives by his loyal and correct behaviour. Presiding at the ceremony he replied to the King's speech in the traditional manner, and concluded his speech with the customary "God protect the King and the country."

The Labour Group of the Storting also waived its boycott of Court ceremonies, and at the annual dinner at the Royal Palace for the members of the Government and the Storting Mr. Nygaardsvold proposed the toast of the Royal family. The changed attitude of the Labour Party to the Court was of considerable political importance, indicating that the party was aware of its increased responsibility as by far the biggest group of the Storting and as a party prepared to take over the reins of Government.

The estimates for the financial year 1934-35, submitted to the Storting on January 18, balanced at 373,500,000 kroner, an increase of 23,500,000 kroner compared with the preceding financial year. No increase of taxation was proposed. To meet the increased expenditure the Government proposed to suspend payment of the national debt and to raise a loan of 11,000,000 kroner to be spent on public works and various measures for alleviating the economic crisis, involving an expenditure of 42,900,000 kroner. These measures included railway electrification, the extension of the telegraphic services, the construction of new roads, and cultivation of new land, all in order to reduce unemployment.

In a statement submitted to the Storting on January 19 the Government explained its position after the General Elections of October, 1933. The election had—in the opinion of the Government—created no majority in the Storting for a new Cabinet. The political situation being very obscure, the Government considered it its duty to remain in power until the Storting had had an opportunity of declaring its attitude.

The opportunity presented itself during the debate in the Storting on the Speech from the Throne, which commenced on

January 26. Mr. Nygaardsvold, on behalf of the Labour Party, proposed the following vote of no-confidence: "The present Government having at the last General Election obtained the support of only a small minority of the nation, it is thus clearly demonstrated that the Government does not possess the confidence which it particularly needs in these difficult times."

The Agrarian leader, Mr. Hundseid, on behalf of the Farmers' Party, proposed a resolution recommending the formation of a Coalition Cabinet with the chief object of dealing with the economic crisis.

The Premier, Mr. Mowinckel, replied that the Government could not accept the resolution submitted by Mr. Hundseid. If the resolution of the Labour and Agrarian Parties obtained a majority of the Storting, the Government would resign. He was willing to co-operate with the other Bourgeois Parties in the Storting, but the formation of a Coalition Government was a practical impossibility. A homogeneous party Cabinet was in his opinion a much more efficient administration than a Coalition of various parties. The Premier strongly criticised the vast plan for economic reconstruction presented by the Labour Party, which necessitated an outlay of 150,000,000 kroner. He also emphasised the fact that there was a gulf between the Liberal Party and the Labour Party.

Mr. Hundseid thereupon withdrew his motion. The vote of censure, proposed by the Labour Party, was rejected, receiving only 69 votes (the Labour members and one Independent).

Another unsuccessful coalition move was made in March, this time by the Conservative Party. Mr. Hambro, on behalf of the Conservative group of the Storting, approached the Premier and urged him to assent to the formation of a Coalition Cabinet. Mr. Mowinckel's reply being again in the negative, no more attempts at forming a Coalition Government were made during the remainder of the Parliamentary session.

A serious political situation arose in the last days of March during the debate in the Storting on the various measures for economic reconstruction proposed by the Government. In a special Committee appointed by the Storting to report on these measures, it had proved impossible to reconcile the divergent views of the Liberal and Agrarian Parties on agricultural policy. The result was, however, a victory for the Government, whose proposals were adopted by the Storting with some modifications.

In a speech made by the Premier, Mr. Mowinckel, in his constituency on April 2, he declared that the Cabinet intended to remain in power as long as it was able to lead. If the Government lost the leadership it would at once resign.

The General Federation of Trade Unions in April decided to waive its boycott of the International Labour Office at Geneva and appointed its Chairman, Mr. Halvard Olsen, Labour delegate to the International Labour Conference in June.

A Bill amending the existing law on labour disputes was passed by the Storting in June. The most important of the new provisions concerned the vote in trade unions on proposals made by the official mediator for the settlement of disputes, the object of the new and somewhat stricter rules being to ensure that the vote should really express the opinion of the workers. Although the rules had been approved by the Chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions before the Bill was submitted to the Storting, they met with strong opposition in the Labour Party. During the debate in the Odelsting the trade unions proclaimed a general strike of 5 hours' duration in the Capital as a protest against the new rules. The strike passed off very quietly. After lengthy debates in the two Houses of the Storting, the Odelsting and the Lagting, the Bill was adopted, the Labour members voting against it.

The Government and the Farmers' Party having agreed on a compromise regarding some new measures for relieving the agricultural crisis, the session, which had not been wanting in dramatic incidents, came to a close on June 29.

The municipal elections which took place in October resulted in considerable gains for the Labour Party at the expense of the three Bourgeois Parties, corresponding to the progress made by the Labour Party at the General Election in October, 1933. The Labour Party obtained the majority in the municipal councils of 8 towns, including the capital, Oslo, and of 150 country districts —a net gain of 56 councils.

At a National Trade Union Congress held at Oslo in November, a resolution was passed criticising the Chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions, Mr. Halvard Olsen, and his colleagues on the Executive Committee of the Federation, for having approved the new rules regarding the voting in trade unions. Mr. Olsen and his colleagues resigned, and Mr. Olav Hindahl was elected Chairman of the Federation. The Trade Union Congress also passed resolutions supporting the economic reconstruction plan of the Labour Party and demanding the formation of a Labour Government.

The Minister of Finance, Mr. Per Lund, resigned on November 1 to take over the new post of Director-General of Taxes. He was succeeded by Mr. Gunnar Jahn, for many years Director of the Statistical Department and a former member of the Economic Committee of the League of Nations. The new Minister of Finance enjoyed the confidence of all parties owing to his generally recognised authority as one of the leading financial experts of the country.

In foreign politics the year was calm. The seizure of British trawlers in Norwegian waters and the sentences passed on them by Norwegian courts caused some resentment in the British fishing trade *(vide* English History, p. 83). Notes were exchanged

between the Norwegian and the British Governments regarding the territorial limit, the Norwegian Government upholding the old 4 miles limit. These negotiations were still pending at the end of the year, but a provisional agreement was signed for the settlement of reparation claims arising out of the destruction of fish nets by trawlers. Committees were set up in both countries for the rapid handling of disputes of this kind. Supplementary commercial agreements were concluded with France and Portugal, and a new clearing agreement with Germany.

No strikes of a serious character occurred during the year. There was a slight decrease in the number of unemployed, and the economic situation generally showed several signs of improvement. Of particular importance was the improved position of the whaling industry, owing to a large sale of whale oil to Germany in the autumn. That Norway was very favourably situated economically, compared to most other countries, was also demonstrated by the fact that the national accounts for the financial year 1933-34 showed a surplus of 9,000,000 kroner.

FINLAND.

The year 1934 was for Finland one of political calm and economic improvement. The improved political atmosphere was due in part to a Bill passed by the Diet at the beginning of April, by 138 votes to 26, prohibiting the wearing of uniforms or other emblems indicating adherence to political organisations. On May 18 Dr. Paasikivi, on the occasion of his election as Chairman of the Coalition Party in succession to Dr. Virkkunen, also made a speech on the subject of political behaviour which attracted wide attention. He pleaded for a spirit of compromise and conciliation in political discussions, where questions of principle were not involved, and for considerate treatment of political opponents by members of the Diet in all circumstances. He described these as " English " principles. The speech was highly praised by the Press, and seemed to influence public opinion.

The Budget for 1934-35, which was passed at the beginning of January, showed revenue as Fm. 3,065,556,250, against Fm. 2,877,362,150 in 1933, and expenditure as Fm. 3,020,969,200, against Fm. 2,877,336,500 in 1933. There was thus an estimated surplus of Fm. 44,587,050 instead of the deficit of Fm. 34,526,016 in the previous year. The Socialists demanded a reduction in the vote for the Skyddskar (militia), on the ground that it was a " class army," but without success. In the debate on the Government's annual report for 1932, the Social Democrats also criticised the Commander of the Skyddskar, General Malmberg, for his conduct during the Mantsala rising in that year. A report

criticising the Government of the day for its handling of the rising was adopted by 147 votes to 34.

The Finno-German Trade Treaty was terminated early in January, and shortly after a trade war broke out between the two countries, each placing restrictions on imports from the other. After difficult negotiations, a new Trade Treaty was concluded towards the end of April, by which Finland undertook not to allow any boycott of German products and to reserve a certain percentage of Finnish coal imports for Germany. On May 18 the President gave his approval to a law giving foreign officials power to take action against anyone engaged in smuggling in the territorial waters of Finland.

On April 7 the Finnish Non-Aggression Pact with Russia, which was due to expire in July, 1935, was prolonged for ten years.

On February 13 the trial opened at Abo of a Mrs. Mary Louisa Martin, or Schul, and twenty-seven other persons, many of them alleged to be Communists, who were charged with espionage on behalf of a " foreign Power," the one referred to obviously being Russia. On April 23 they were all found guilty, and Mrs. Martin was sentenced to eight years imprisonment.

In the autumn, the Government prepared a Bill for the further reduction of the use of Swedish in the University of Helsingfors. Petitions signed by 758 Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish professors were thereupon presented to the Finnish Charge d'Affaires in Stockholm asking that due regard should be paid to the interests of the Swedish-speaking population of Finland in this matter. The Prime Minister, Hr. Kivimaki, stated that the Cabinet could not allow its attitude on the question to be altered by the petitions. Shortly afterwards, the Finnish Ministers in the Scandinavian countries were instructed to put the Government's point of view more clearly. It was pointed out that the knowledge of the Swedish language had of late years considerably diminished in Finland. The present system under which all University teachers were required to possess such a knowledge of Swedish as would enable them to give instruction in that language was a heavy burden on them, which the new University Bill sought to rectify. Swedish-speaking students, it was declared, would still be guaranteed facilities for preparatory instruction and for complete instruction in matters necessary for Swedish cultural demands.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MIDDLE EAST : PERSIA—AFGHANISTAN—IRAQ—PALESTINE—SYRIA—ARABIA.

PERSIA.

IN 1934 the Shah for the first time went outside of his own dominions in order to pay a State visit to the President of Turkey, a ruler with whom he felt himself to have much in common. He left Teheran on June 5, accompanied by his Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Seyyid Bagher Khan Kazemi, the Turkish Ambassador, and a number of military and other Persian notables. He travelled by motor car to Bayazid, on the Turkish frontier, which he reached on June 10, and where he was received with great ceremony, and from there, still by motor, to Trebizond. From Trebizond he was conveyed in the Turkish warship *Yawuz* (formerly *Ooeben)* to Samsun, whence he went by rail to Angora, arriving on June 16. From the time he crossed the Turkish frontier, the Shah observed the strict etiquette of the Persian Court, taking his meals in solitary state, and driving alone in his motor car.

The Shah was met at the station by the Ghazi, and had a warm reception from the populace. At a dinner given by the Ghazi in the evening, to which only high Persian and Turkish dignitaries were invited, the Ghazi and the Shah addressed each other as " great friend and dear brother." The Ghazi declared that the present rulers of Turkey and Persia had realised that the common interests of the two countries demanded the closest co-operation between them, and that his Majesty's visit would set the seal on Turko-Persian friendship. The Shah, in replying, expressed similar sentiments, and said that he looked forward to an early visit from the Ghazi to Persia.

After spending three days at Angora, the Shah, in company with the Ghazi, paid a visit to Smyrna, the Dardenelles and Constantinople. From there (July 2) he travelled in a Turkish steamship to Trebizond, and thence back to Teheran by the same route as he had taken in coming. A statement issued by the Persian Legation in London on July 5 declared that his Majesty's visit to Turkey had been an unqualified success, and had aroused the utmost enthusiasm among the whole Turkish people. On all questions affecting the two countries, as well as on international questions, it had been found that the views of the two Governments were identical.

Early in April the Qavam-el-Mulk, the leader of the Arab tribes of Fars, in Southern Persia, who had been arrested in the previous year in connexion with the Bakhtiari revolt, was released

from prison in Teheran and allowed to remain in his own house until further orders. Soon afterwards it was announced in the Teheran newspapers that Sardar Assad, the former Minister of War, who had been arrested at the same time on a charge of treason but had not yet been brought to trial, had died in prison of apoplexy. His fate thus bore a strong resemblance to that of another Court favourite, Timurtash Khan, who had similarly died in prison six months before. In November, after trial by court-martial, eight Bakhtiari chiefs were executed on charges of treason and of having plotted rebellion, and others received sentences of from three to fifteen years' imprisonment.

In November the Iraqi Government requested the Council of the League of Nations to consider at its next session the situation caused by " the persistent disregard and violations of the Iraqi-Persian border by official agents of the Persian Government." On December 26 the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Seyyid Bagher Khan Kazemi, telegraphed to the Secretary-General of the League that although Iraq was well able to settle the frontier question directly with Persia, the Persian Government was ready to submit it to the Council of the League, and that he would therefore attend the next meeting of the Council in January.

In August, after a lapse of some years, a Persian Minister again took up his residence in London in the person of Hussein Khan Ala, whose father had been Minister in London from 1890 to 1906. Shortly afterwards the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs paid a brief visit to England.

The grant of a concession for oil exploitation by the Sheikh of Bahrein to the Standard Oil Company of California led the Persian Government to revive its claim of sovereignty to the island, which it had apparently abandoned to Great Britain a few years earlier *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, Persia, 1926, 1927 and 1928). In May it sent a protest to the British Government and a letter to the United States Minister in Teheran stating that it refused to recognise the concession granted to the Standard Oil Company, on the ground that it had been made without its authority or consent. Copies of the letter were circulated to all the States belonging to the League of Nations.

On October 3 the Government and the people commenced the celebration of the millenary of the birth of the great Persian national poet, Firdausi. A Firdausi Congress was held at Teheran which was attended by Orientalists from many countries. On October 11 the Shah met the members of the Congress at Tus, near Meshed, the birthplace of Firdausi, and thanked the visitors who had come from all over the world to help the Persians celebrate the millenary of Firdausi. He then cut the ribbon surrounding the monument which had been erected to the poet.

AFGHANISTAN.

The first year of the reign of the new King, Zahir Shah, passed peaceably. The assassination of the former King, Nadir Shah, at the end of the previous year *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 258) produced no political repercussions, and the country soon settled down. Early in the year the religious leaders published a statement thanking the Afghan nation for having shown wisdom in discharging its duty to the late King by recognising his son as King. Ghilzais wintering in India also sent declarations of their allegiance to the new King to Kabul by leading representatives. A pretender who claimed that he was a relative of the ex-King Amanullah appeared soon after among the Madda Khel tribe just over the Indian frontier south-east of the Khost, but the Indian Government prevented the tribesmen from giving him any support.

Afghanistan in September made application through its Minister in London, Ali Mohammed Khan, to be admitted to the League of Nations. The application was duly granted on September 26. In presenting the report of the sub-committee appointed to deal with it, Tewfik Rushdi Bey said that Afghanistan " was making resolute efforts towards international co-operation, and would give valuable aid to the League's work for peace." Sir Denys Bray said on behalf of India that India would be glad to welcome Afghanistan, which had already shown its will to work for the League's ends during the Disarmament Conference; while M. Litvinoff, on behalf of Russia, said that it was good to know that all the U.S.S.R.'s neighbours were to be united within the League. Mr. Skelton said that the Afghan entry was in conformity with a long-felt desire of the United Kingdom, and the representatives of Iraq, China, France and Italy also added their congratulations.

In the course of the year steps were taken by the semi-official trading company, the Shirkatiashami, to organise the trade in petrol, sugar and cement. On August 8 a trade exhibition was opened by the King at Kabul.

On October *25* the Government of the United States extended recognition to the present Government of Afghanistan, under date of August 21, 1934. Afghanistan was the first Indian border State to be thus recognised.

IRAQ.

There were two changes of Government in Iraq in the course of the year. On February 13 the Cabinet of Jamil Beg Midfai resigned, but eight days later he formed a new one, having got rid of most of his previous colleagues. This Cabinet lasted until

August 25, when it fell without any apparent reason. On the following day a new Cabinet was formed by Ali Jawdat Beg, the King's Chamberlain. The retiring Prime Minister held office in the new Cabinet, whose policy showed little if any diversion from that of its predecessor. The one subject of any general interest with which the Government dealt in the course of the year was that of compulsory military service which had been on the tapis for some years. Under the National Defence Act all Iraquian men between the ages of 19 and 21 years, with a few insignificant exceptions, are required to serve with the colours unless they purchase exemption. An attempt to exempt certain districts, that is to say certain nationalities, failed.

The Iraquian topic of more general interest was, however, the efforts, still fruitless at the end of the year, to secure a land of settlement for the Assyrian Christians who in consequence of their experience in the previous year, were anxious to leave the Kingdom finally. The problem of finding a home for them was undertaken by the Council of the League of Nations. It was at one time thought that the goal had been attained in Brazil, and the scheme proceeded so far that the Brazilian Government agreed to the settlement of a few thousand of these refugees. But the suggestion of an Assyrian immigration immediately aroused hostility among the local population and the Brazilian Government was forced to withdraw the provisional consent it had given. At the end of the year the possibility of settlement in British Guiana was under consideration.

A difference between the Governments of Iraq and Persia on the subject of frontier raids was referred to the Council of the League of Nations by the Iraqui Government in November, but had not been considered by them at the end of the year.

PALESTINE.

The year 1934 was relatively quiet in the history of Palestine. The hostility of the Arabs to the Zionist settlement remained unabated and the lack of confidence on their part in the Government increased. But the year saw no outbreak of violence so far as Arab and Jew or the Government were concerned. The earlier part of the year, however, saw many scuffles and fights between rival sections of the Zionists, the Revisionists or advocates of an almost immediate Jewish Government, and the Labour Party, who display a little more patience ; and the calls on the police in connexion therewith at times interfered seriously with their normal duties. The prosperity of the country, especially of the Jewish districts, continued. Jewish immigration was greater than ever and the proportion of immigrants with money, mainly those coming from Germany, was considerable. As a consequence there was for Palestine a very large amount of money

lying idle at the Banks, and a great and growing gap between the totals of imports and exports. With two largely self-contained populations it is possible, and it happened that while one mainly prospered the other largely suffered destitution. The difference between the economic state of the larger towns and the plantations on the one hand and the agricultural villages and small towns on the other was very noticeable, and on more than one occasion during the year the Government had to come to the assistance of the cultivators outside of the orange groves, almost entirely Arabs, and not only remit their taxation but also institute relief works. Out of the prosperity of the towns and the orange growers the Government was able to build up a considerable surplus and reserve fund.

The internal conflicts among the Zionists arose in part out of the murder of Dr. Haim Arlosoroff, the Labour leader, in June of 1933. Three members of the Revisionist Party had been arrested for the crime, two of them being charged with the murder, and the third as an accessory. The case against the third could not be proved, but he and other members of the Revisionist Party were charged with being members of an illegal organisation, convicted and sentenced to imprisonment. Of the two other prisoners, the case against one was in effect non-proven ; the other was convicted and sentenced to death. On appeal, however, the conviction was quashed on technical grounds, the judges, however, showing no doubt on the question of guilt, the Chief Justice saying in his final judgment, " If this case had been heard in England, or in most of the British dependencies the conviction would stand." The case led to a great division of opinion among the Jews of Palestine, opposing sides showing intense bitterness in their attitude towards one another. On the Sabbath after the judgment of the Appeal Court, there was a riot in the principal Tel Aviv synagogue on the appearance of the two released prisoners.

Although, in the words of a correspondent of *The Times*, the number of Jewish immigrants who settled in Palestine during the year was equalled only by the immigration under Joshua, the Zionists protested frequently and vehemently during the year at what they termed the restriction of Jewish immigration. The total number of Jews who settled in the country with or without permission during the year must have exceeded 60,000. The illegal settlement of Jews in Palestine which continued almost without abatement, led to increasing attention on the part of the Government, and the newspapers reported almost daily prosecutions and convictions of illegal entrants. The measures taken, however, by no means cured the evil, and younger Arabs more or less genuinely in fear for their own future, organised unofficial bands of coastguards. The existence of these was very naturally resented by the Jews, who organised counter-bands, and scuffles

inevitably oocurred, in the course of which blows were given **and** taken. Before anything more serious could occur, the Government intervened and suppressed both sets of bands.

The principal participants in the Arab outbreak at Jaffa of October 27 were sentenced to imprisonment on March 19, but on appeal an alternative of bonds to be of good behaviour for three years was substituted. This alternative was accepted by all of the prisoners with one exception. Three months earlier, on March 26, Musa Kiazim Pasha, the highly respected, veteran leader of the Arab Nationalists, died, his death having probably been hastened by the events of the preceding autumn, when he was a participant in both of the processions of protest that had been broken up by the police. These disturbances were followed by the inevitable inquiry by a commission which found that the charges against the police were without exception unfounded, and that all ranks had shown loyalty, courage, and discretion. The commission reported on February 9. The Government relaxed, however, somewhat from its attitude of prohibiting political processions on the part of the Arabs. Processions of this character took place on January 17, and passed without disturbance.

The proposed Legislative Council approached no nearer during the year except that the High Commissioner on his return from leave in November reiterated the intention to establish such a Council as soon as the newly elected Municipal Councils had begun to work. These Councils were elected throughout Palestine in the course of the autumn, the election that attracted most attention being that of Jerusalem. The Council of this city had previously consisted of four Jews and eight Arabs, but the Jewish members had resigned early in 1930 as a protest against the Mayor, Ragheb Bey el-Nashashibi. Their places had not been filled, and the Jewish majority of the city had therefore remained unrepresented on the Council for almost five years. The new Council consists of six Jews and six Arabs, one of the unsuccessful candidates being the Mayor who had held office for fifteen years as the nominee of the Government. His successful opponent had the support of the extreme Arab party, Ragheb Bey being the leader of the moderate Arabs. As an election petition had been filed, the election had not, however, been finally determined at the end of the year. There were the usual protests in the form of strikes, manifestos, and deputations in the course of the year, the principal ones being a general half-day strike by the Jews in May as a protest against " the Government's restrictive immigration policy," the proposed Palestine Loan and a recent change in the law regarding picketing in labour disputes. The Arab protests, apart from the processions of January, took the form of deputations to the High Commissioner. In response to one of the latter, on December 1, the High Commissioner announced the transfer to a Jewish group of a pre-war concession held by Syrian

Arabs, for the drainage and **development of about 10,000 Acres in the Lake Huleh** district. Of this land, in accordance **with** the **recently** adopted policy of the Government, about 3,750 acres are to **be** reserved for Arab settlement.

Parliament authorised the guarantee of the projected loan of 2,000,000l. for development and public works on May 11, but the loan had not been put on the market by the end of the year. In the meanwhile, however, much of the authorised work had been commenced, the Government surplus affording the means. The pipe-line from Iraq was completed in October, and the first oil arrived at Haifa from the Mosul oilfields on October 14.

The deadlock over the election of an Orthodox Patriarch *in* succession to Monseigneur Damianos, who died in August, 1931, continued, but a proposed amendment of the law which it was hoped would render an election practicable, was published.

On June 2 an agreement between the High Commissioner of Palestine and the Emir of Trans Jordan, authorising the Emir to appoint consuls in neighbouring States and abolishing the Customs frontier between Palestine and Transjordan, was signed in Jerusalem. The following day the Emir left for England, his visit arousing much political excitement and speculation which appeared to be quite unjustified.

SYRIA.

The year 1933 in Syria was one of continuous agitation on the subject of the Mandate, dissatisfaction with the French proposals being almost unanimous. The year 1934 cannot be said to have carried the question any further towards solution. The High Commissioner returned in March from one of his frequent visits to France, and at once dismissed the Cabinet and prorogued the Syrian Parliament for seven months. This step led to vehement protests and another widespread strike. The excitement went so far as to lead to an attempt on the life of the President of the Syrian Republic (June), a nominee of the French. A few weeks later, on June 25, in the course of anti-French demonstrations, bombs were thrown in Damascus, without however doing any appreciable damage. The French High Commissioner returned again from France at the end of October, and his first step on arrival was to suspend the Syrian Parliament, on this occasion indefinitely. The Syrians then appealed to the Council of the League of Nations, pointing out that the French were unable to co-operate even with a Parliament of Moderates elected more or less with the assistance *of* the French. Their demands were in effect a united Syria with a Constitution similar to that of Iraq, and they were emphasised by demonstrations in which both men and veiled women took part, and strikes in Damascus and Hama. In

October an agreement was made with the Iraquian Government whereby a complete accord was reached by the Bedouin tribes centred on both sides of the frontier. The Governments of Syria and the Lebanon also at the end of the year laid down their policy with regard to Jewish immigration. Jewish immigrants of means were to be allowed to settle, provided they created employment for native labour and renounced Zionist ideals. Even then the purchase of land near the Palestine frontier was prohibited.

The Provisional Government of the Lebanese Republic was ended and the provisional Constitution abolished on January 3. Under the new Constitution, which was also provisional, the executive power was placed in the hands of a President appointed by the High Commissioner with a legislative chamber of twenty-five members, of whom seven were directly appointed by the President. As President a man of 75 was appointed, so that the Government was in effect entirely in the hands of the High Commissioner.

ARABIA.

The year 1934 saw war in the Arabian peninsula between Ibn Saud, of Saudi Arabia, and the Imam Yehia of the Yemen. The hostilities were of short duration, and ended in the overwhelming victory of Ibn Saud. The war lasted for six weeks, in the course of which the whole of the Imam's territories on the coast was overrun. At the same time, Ibn Saud's forces invaded the Yemen from the north, and if the hostilities had lasted much longer it seems probable that the whole of the country would have been dominated. The dispute which was territorial in character had been proceeding for some time, and there had been negotiations over some months, negotiations that even continued simultaneously with the hostilities. The Imam had accepted Ibn Saud's terms, and it was only when it appeared that he had no intention of carrying them out that war broke out. An armistice was signed on May 13, and the final negotiations were opened five days later, the Imam agreeing to evacuate the districts in dispute, to surrender the hostages he had seized, and to surrender the Idrisis who had taken refuge with him after their territory had been occupied in 1932 by Ibn Saud. The Treaty of Peace was signed on June 19. Under its terms all future disputes are to be settled by peaceful means, each contracting party acknowledges the other's independence and sovereignty, the frontier between the two States is clearly drawn and the territories in dispute given to the victor. Finally a " moral " alliance was arranged between the two Powers.

On September 10 the Treaty of Friendship and Bon Voisinage between Saudi Arabia and Transjordan, signed in the previous July and ratified in December, was published. Both parties

undertook to do their utmost to prevent raiding or other hostile action against one another's territory, and to assist one another in suppressing such action. On the other hand, the peaceful freedom of movement across the frontiers of the Border Tribes was assured. Provision was made for arbitration in the event of any difference arising out of the treaty.

A Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Co-operation between the Yemen and the United Kingdom and India was signed at Sanaa on February 11. Under the treaty, which was to be in force for forty years, the complete and absolute independence of the King and Imam of the Yemen was acknowledged. Perpetual peace and friendship between the two parties was declared, and the King of the Yemen undertook to assist by every possible means in the suppression of the slave trade. A commercial treaty was to follow, but in the meanwhile mutual most-favoured-nation treatment was guaranteed. Negotiations for the settlement of the boundary between the Yemen and the Aden Protectorate were also foreshadowed. Thus there is a prospect that the long-standing dispute between the Imam of the Yemen and the British Government as representative of the Aden Protectorate has ended.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FAR EAST: CHINA—JAPAN—THE NETHERLANDS INDIES.

CHINA.

THE year 1934 was not a very prosperous one for China, being marked by a good deal of internal fighting and a certain decline in foreign trade and economic productivity. Communications in the country were somewhat improved, but little progress was made with the social and political regeneration of the Chinese people.

At the beginning of the year the Nanking Government took active steps to suppress the revolt which had broken out in the Province of Fukien at the end of 1933 *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933). On January 12 the Government troops inflicted a decisive defeat on the 19th Route Army at Paisha, 25 miles from Fuchow. On January 16 General Tsai Ting-King and his staff evacuated Fuchow, and the resistance of the rebels collapsed with the issue on January 21 of a manifesto signed by the commanders of four of the principal divisions of the 19th Route Army announcing their adherence to the Central Government. On January 21 the rebel troops at Changchow transferred their allegiance to Nanking, and by the end of the month all the leaders of the revolt had fled from Fukien.

The ease with which the revolt was suppressed was due in no

small measure to the failure of its leaders to secure the co-operation of the political chiefs in Canton and South China, on which they had confidently counted. These were equally opposed to Nanking and the domination of Chiang Kai-shek, but they had been alienated by certain steps taken by the rebel leaders which seemed to them to savour of Communism. Chiang Kai-shek now attempted to placate them by making tempting offers to General Chen Chi-tang, the Governor of Canton, if he would consent to the absorption by Nanking of the Cantonese Army, Navy and Air Force, and the abolition of the South-West Political Council. Discussions on these matters went on throughout the year.

Towards the end of the year Sun Fo, the President of the Legislative Council, went on a mission from Nanking to Canton, and persuaded a number of the leaders there (but not the most prominent) to attend a session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, which was held on December 10-14. The Committee approved a number of proposals dealing with education, relief, the administration of justice and other matters, which were to be referred to the Departments concerned.

During the first half of the year little progress was made in the conflict with the Communists. In the spring it was reported that the Communists had inflicted a severe defeat on the Government troops at Chicheng on the Kiangsi-Fukien border, causing 7,000 to surrender. On the other hand, military quarters reported towards the end of May the occupation of Kienninghsien, in West Fukien, after five days' fighting, during which the Communists lost 4,000 men. In the summer an effort was made to starve them out of the Province of Kiangsi, their main stronghold, by means of fortifying the cities and building block houses along the roads. The first result of this was to cause numbers of them to evacuate Kiangsi and invade Fukien and Kwei chow. In the former, on August 11, they captured Shuikow, a town less than 50 miles west of Foochow, but they were driven out again a few days later by Chiang Kai-shek. By the beginning of November their position in Kiangsi had become nearly untenable. They began to move westwards through Hunan, with the object of joining forces with their fellow Communists in Kweichow and Szechuan. Their entry into Kwangsi was barred by the General of that Province, Pei Chung-hsi, and some heavy fighting took place between them. The Government forces claimed a number of victories, but in spite of these, the main body of the Communists made good their escape to Kweichow. A heated altercation thereupon took place between Chiang Kai-shek and Pei Chung-hsi, each blaming the other for allowing the Communists to get out of their clutches. Meanwhile, the Governor of Szechuan applied to Nanking for a loan to enable him to renew the war against the Communists in his Province, and he received from Nanking promises of money, and of troops if necessary.

At the beginning of April, Chiang Kai-shek summoned his Cabinet to meet him at Nanchang to discuss the possibility of a *rapprochement* with Japan. The meeting was attended by the Southern General Huang Fu, and came to no positive decision. Chinese opinion was greatly embittered by the pronouncement of a Japanese " spokesman " on April 17, asserting Japan's paramount interest in China *(vide* Japan). In the first half of the year the passes through the Great Wall were gradually restored by Japan to China, and the latter country then consented to allow the resumption of a through railway service between Pekin and Mukden and to station Customs officers at the frontier of Manchuria. Towards the end of the year there was a certain slackening of the anti-Japanese boycott in China.

The fourth plenary session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang was held at Nanking, on January 20-25. The Committee issued a manifesto exhorting the nation to co-operate with the Government in the maintenance of peace and order, and passed various resolutions recognising the urgency of preserving the national economy and enjoining the Economic Council to take the necessary measures. Lin Sen was re-elected President of the National Government, and a banner of honour was presented to Chiang Kai-shek in recognition of his military success in Fukien and in campaigns against the Communists.

The position of rural economy gave great concern to the rulers of the country. In the Annual Report of the manager of the Bank of China, published in the spring, it was estimated that the farmer's income for 1933 had been only 80 per cent, of his expenditure, which meant that something like 40,000,000 families had incurred heavy loss during the year, and so had been able to make purchases only on a very limited scale. The value of land had fallen greatly, and farmers could not always borrow on the security of their land. The report noted that the value of imported agricultural products, mainly rice, wheat, flour, cotton and sugar, had amounted to no less than 405,000,000 dollars out of a total import trade of 1,345,000,000 dollars. On May 21 a National Finance Conference, attended by over 100 delegates from all the provinces of China, was opened at Nanking for the purpose of rehabilitating rural economy by the readjustment of taxation, which had become very oppressive, the farm " surtax " being often twenty-five to thirty times as great as the " regular " farm tax.

Partly owing to the excess of imports over exports, and partly to the fall in the American dollar, silver began to be exported from the country in great quantities. In order to prevent too great a drain on the currency, the Ministry of Finance, on September 10, issued an order prohibiting sales of foreign exchange, except for the purpose of financing legitimate normal business requirements, contracts entered into prior to that date, and

reasonable travelling and other requirements. Speculation in gold was also forbidden. Soon after, the Chinese Minister in Washington requested the American Government to co-operate in preventing a further increase **in** the price of silver, and in the maintenance of "stability as contemplated by the London Agreement." As his representations produced little effect, the Chinese Government, on October 10, imposed a Customs duty of 10 per cent, on the export of silver, and authorised the further imposition of an equalisation charge on exports of silver if this was not sufficient. The immediate effect of these measures was to paralyse trade and to cause silver dollars to be smuggled out of the country in vast quantities.

On May 9 the Report of Dr. Rajchmann, the Technical Agent of the League of Nations in China, was published at Geneva. It stated that China would spend this year 15,000,000 dollars on development work, including road building, improving crops, and reconstruction in North-West China. This sum was three times the amount spent in the previous two years. Later in the year Dr. Rajchmann stated that, except in some specialised domains, the number of Chinese capable of taking part in the economic reconstruction of their country was steadily increasing. Towards the end of the year a group of engineers was, at the request of the Chinese Government, sent out by the League to investigate certain problems relating to water conservancy and road communications.

In 1934, after an interval of many years, China attempted to reassert her influence in Tibet. The Dalai Lama having died at the end of 1933, a mission headed by General Huang Mu-sung left Nanking for Tibet at the beginning of the year in order to induce that country to enter the Chinese Republic and to place the new Dalai Lama, when he should be found, in the tutelage of a Chinese Resident. General Huang reached Lhassa in August, but his proposals found no acceptance with the Tibetan authorities, and he soon left the country. Nor did the Tibetans show any strong desire for the return of the Tashi Lama, who had been residing in China since 1924, and was under Chinese influence. On the other hand, Kashgar in Eastern Turkestan, which had been captured by the Tungans, was reoccupied in August by General Kung Cheng-hang in the name of the Nanking Government.

JAPAN.

During 1934 Japan continued to pursue an essentially expansionist and militaristic policy, but with a good deal more caution and reserve than in the previous year. For this there were two main reasons. One was that Japan began to feel more keenly her isolation in world affairs, and became anxious, if she could not regain the active friendship of the Great Powers, at least to prevent

their further estrangement. The other was that in the country itself strong misgivings began to be felt at the possible effects of the "forward" policy on the national finances, and cries of warning were uttered which the military and naval leaders could not ignore.

In his speech at the opening of the Diet on January 22, Mr. Hirota, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, struck a highly conciliatory note. Alluding to the traditional amity between Great Britain and Japan, he said that by sympathetic appreciation of each other's position and by whole-hearted co-operation the two countries could effectively serve the cause of universal peace. As regards the United States, he expressed the hope that the historic friendship with Japan would be maintained. There were between the two countries no questions intrinsically difficult of solution, and if the United States would realise Japan's role as the stabilising force in Eastern Asia, the emotional tension still lingering between the two peoples would disappear. Although Japan, he continued, had left the League of Nations, it was not therefore her purpose to isolate herself from that body or to stand alone in the Far East. On the contrary, she wished to make clear to the world that her cause was a just one, and to promote confidence between herself and other nations. He regretted that relations with China and Russia were not satisfactory; but he promised that any advances made by China towards a better understanding would be met by Japan more than half-way, and he complained that, although Japan's attitude to Russia had always been fair and equitable, the Soviet Government was broadcasting unwarranted criticisms about her.

To reinforce this declaration, the Japanese Ambassador in Washington towards the end of February delivered a Note (first made public on March 21) to the State Department which breathed the same spirit. It declared that Japan "had no intention whatever of provoking or making trouble with any other Power, that no question existed between the United States and herself fundamentally incapable of an amicable solution," that "he had no doubt all the issues between the two countries would be settled in a satisfactory manner," that it was Japan's sincere desire that "the most peaceful and friendly relations should be firmly established between herself and her great neighbour across the Pacific," and that he had been exerting his best efforts to that end ever since he assumed office.

Unfortunately, the value of these declarations was seriously discounted by certain other utterances which, though coming from less authoritative quarters, were yet generally regarded as being more truly indicative of the mind of the Japanese rulers. Chief among these was a statement regarding China made by the official "spokesmen" of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tokio on April 17. He said, in effect, that while Japan wished to preserve

her friendly relations with other countries, she must, in the interest of the preservation of peace and order in the Far East, be prepared to act on her own responsibility. Japan was opposed to any attempt on the part of China to play off one Power against another, or to use other Powers to resist Japan. Any joint operations undertaken in China at that moment by other countries were bound to acquire political significance, and if carried through must cause complications involving perhaps the partition of China. Japan, therefore, was opposed to such undertakings. She would not interfere with any country negotiating individually with China on questions of trade and finance, but she would oppose projects for building aerodromes in the country, for supplying it with aeroplanes or military advisers, or for providing loans for political purposes.

This message was followed a few days later (April 22) by an "explanatory statement" from the Japanese Ambassador at Washington, which conveyed even more bluntly a "hands off China" warning to other Powers. Japan, he said, demanded to be consulted before any important transactions between the Nanking Government and foreign interests were concluded. It was not her intention to interfere with legitimate business, but any projects which would help the Chinese to continue their internal wars, or to prepare themselves to fight Japan, must be stopped. As examples of such projects, he mentioned the scheme of some French banking interests to float a small loan and the recent purchase of 50,000,000 dollars' worth of surplus American cotton and wheat through United States Government credit; most of the cotton and wheat, he asserted, had been sold, and the proceeds used for the purchase of munitions.

Although, strictly speaking, unofficial, these statements were known to be approved in Tokio; and naturally, therefore, in the light of Japan's proceedings in Manchuria, they were looked upon abroad as a sign that Japan was contemplating the establishment eventually of a hegemony over China. Nor was this idea repudiated by the Government, though, in reply to representations from England, it disclaimed any intention of interfering with the "open door" in China *(vide* English History, p. 46). To allay foreign apprehensions, the Minister for Foreign Affairs assured the British Ambassador at Tokio that Japan would observe the provisions of the Nine-Power Treaty, and reaffirmed her acceptance of the policy of the "open door." Similar assurances were also given to the United States, to France, and to Italy. In spite of this, however, the Minister for Foreign Affairs stated early in May, in a speech to the prefectural governors at Tokio, that the gratuitous assistance of outsiders, animated by selfish motives, would not help China to realise her aspirations, and that Japan could not remain indifferent to any act of conspiracy against the peace and order of Eastern Asia, or to any step by a third Power calculated to complicate her relations with China.

The policy of the ruling military clique was strongly criticised in the debates in the Diet in January and February on the military and naval estimates, when on several occasions the Ministers of War and the Navy were boldly reminded that the Constitution forbade the two Services from meddling in politics. In the House of Peers protests were made against the cost of national armaments, and in the Lower House one speaker went so far as to suggest that the Naval Budget should be postponed. Attempts to work on the feelings of the public with the bogy of a " great crisis " in 1935-36 were treated with derision. The Ministers of War and the Navy replied to these attacks in an unusually conciliatory tone, and they were eventually dropped ; it was significant, however, that about this time General Araki, the Minister of War, who had long been the moving spirit in the " forward " policy, resigned, ostensibly on the ground of ill-health. His successor, General Hayashi, was imbued with much the same ideas.

Indignation again flared up against the ruling clique in October, when the Intelligence Department of the Ministry for War issued a pamphlet entitled " The Fundamental Principles of Defence and Pleas for its Strengthening." Apart from its general tone, which was sufficiently indicated by its title, particular exception was taken to its pointed references to " America's increased offensive power, both in the air and on the sea," and Russia's " continual military preparations." The pamphlet was generally regarded as an attempt to prepare public opinion for the next military Budget, and it was denounced as an example of the readiness of the military authorities to interfere in matters outside their province. The latter, however, disclaimed any such intention.

The state of the national finances justified the apprehensions of the business world. On January 22, at the opening of the Diet, the Minister of Finance, Mr. Takahashi, stated that there had been a large increase in the national expenditure owing to Manchurian appropriations, emergency relief, losses from exchange, and appropriations for national defence. The Budget, in consequence, showed a deficit; and as the economic condition of the country did not warrant a further increase in taxation, it had been decided to make good the difference in expenditure and revenue by means of loans. Accordingly, on July 14, the issue of a loan of 200,000,000 yen was announced by the Minister of Finance, for meeting the cost of road construction, the rehabilitation of areas affected by earthquakes, expenditure on Manchuria, and Budget deficits. On the recommendation of the Shipping Investigation Board, the Government decided to continue the system of shipping subsidies for another five years, during which a total of 24,000,000 yen would be distributed. The Budget for 1935-36 introduced at the end of the year balanced at 2,122,326,000 yen, with the help of loans for 683,153,000 yen. The appropria-

tions for the fighting Services were: Army, 491,276,000 yen; Navy, 520,192,000 yen.

A Cabinet crisis arose in the summer in consequence of the arrest of the Vice-Minister of Finance and three officials of his Department on a charge of being involved in a share purchase scandal. On July 3 the Cabinet considered a report of the Minister of Justice on the case, and decided that the Ministry should resign *en bloc.* On the next day a new Government was formed by Admiral Okada, a former Minister of Marine. Four portfolios in the new Ministry, those of the Interior, Foreign Affairs, War and Marine, were retained by their previous holders, Mr. Goto, Mr. Hirota, General Hayashi, and Admiral Osumi respectively. Two posts were given to members of the Minseito Party, and three to members of the Seiyukai. The latter, however, were ordered by their party leaders to resign, and on their refusal to do so were expelled from the party. At the end of the year the Minister of Finance, Mr. S. Fujii, resigned, ostensibly on the ground of ill-health, and his place was taken by Mr. K. Takahashi, who had held the same post in the previous Cabinet.

Japan's export trade continued to expand in 1934, though not at the same rate as in the previous year. This was due in part to the increasing number of restrictions placed on the entry of her goods by foreign countries, notably the British colonies *(vide* English History, p. 41). In retaliation for this treatment, the Diet on March 25 passed a law, called the Trade Control and Defence Law, empowering the Government, on the advice of a statutory committee, to increase or reduce tariffs and to prohibit or restrict exports and imports. On January 8 the trade negotiations in India *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 146) were brought to a successful conclusion. An agreement was reached by which the duty on Japanese piece goods was fixed at 30 per cent, *ad valorem* or 5¼ annas per Ib., and on other cotton goods at 50 per cent., and the basic quota of the Japanese piece goods exportable to India was fixed at 325,000,000 square yards yearly against the purchase by Japan of 1,000,000 bales of raw cotton. The Japanese boycott on Indian raw cotton was immediately raised. The agreement was not well received by the Osaka spinners, who objected to the principle of Imperial preference contained in it, and, owing to their opposition, was not finally initialled till April 19. It was signed on July 13 and ratified in London on October 21. The Japanese industrialists who had gone to England at the end of 1933 to confer with the Lancashire manufacturers were unable to reach any agreement *(vide* English History, p. 5). On September 27 a Mission representing the Federation of British Industries arrived in Tokio, and in the course of the next few days were received by the Prime Minister and the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, Finance, and Commerce and Industry. They stayed in the country till October 25, investigating conditions

and exchanging views with leading industrialists and financiers. Their report, published on December 21, stated that the Mission had found in Japan a genuine spirit of friendship towards Great Britain, and suggested various directions for co-operation between the two countries in the spheres of industrial production and export.

On January 27 the Minister of Marine announced in the Diet that when the Washington and London Naval Treaties came up again for discussion, Japan would demand a change of ratios and claim equality with Great Britain and the United States. This statement was received with some misgiving, and on May 16 Baron Wakatsuki, the leader of the Minseito, declared that the renewal of competition in naval armaments would place Japan in a serious financial condition. His protest, however, carried little weight with the militarists; on May 24 the Ministry of Marine declared that the Treaties of Washington and London were obsolete, and on June 20 the " spokesman " of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs asserted that it was absolutely necessary to revise the Washington Treaty, and that, owing to the change in the situation and the great increase of Japan's responsibilities in Manchuria, it was the national conviction that the country must be strong enough at sea to safeguard her position in the Pacific Ocean. In the summer Japan acceded to a request from the British Government " to participate in preliminary bilateral conversations through diplomatic channels on questions of procedure and technical questions." At the conversations, which opened in London on October 23, Japan was represented by Admiral Yamamoto. He proposed the abolition of the rationing principle, and the placing of the three Powers on a basis of equality as regards tonnage, the limitation of naval armaments in such a manner as to make them sufficient for defensive purposes only, the imposition of a general maximum global tonnage, within the limits of which each nation could build as it needed, and the abolition of certain classes of warship. The conversations broke down on December 19 *(vide* English History, p. 110), and soon after Japan denounced the Washington Treaty.

A state of tension continued to exist throughout the year on the border between Siberia and Manchuria, and numerous complaints were made on both sides of violations of territory. The Soviet Government further charged the Japanese with harrying the Russian officials of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and with failure to protect the line against brigands. However, an open breach between the two countries was avoided, and in July the negotiations for the purchase by Japan of the Chinese Eastern Railway, which had been suspended in the previous summer, were resumed. For a time it seemed as if a breakdown was again imminent, but at length in October Russia accepted Japan's offer of 140,000,000 yen, of which 40,000,000 was to be paid in cash

and the balance in kind, in the shape of machinery, electrical apparatus, rice, wheat and miscellaneous commodities. In addition, retiring allowances to the amount of 25,000,000 or 30,000,000 yen were to be granted by the Manchurian Government to Soviet employees of the line. Details still remained to be worked out at the end of the year.

During 1934 Japan took further steps to consolidate her position in Manchuria. On March 1 the Regent Pu Yei, with the support of Japan, assumed the title of Emperor of Manchukuo. The chief object of this change was to mark more clearly the separation of the country from China. On May 19 the new State of Manchukuo obtained its first recognition—from the Republic of San Salvador. Towards the end of 1933, a proclamation was made by the Japanese Kwantung Army that the whole of Inner Mongolia belonged to Manchukuo, and in 1934 Japanese troops entrenched themselves in Chahar and forced the Chinese Governnor, General Sung Che-yuan, to withdraw his army from that Province.

On April 9 it was announced that arrangements had been made for the transfer of the administrative control of the South Manchuria Railway settlement area from the South Manchuria Railway Company to the Japanese Government, as represented by the authorities at Port Arthur. In September, after prolonged discussions between the Ministry for War and the Department of Overseas Affairs at Tokio, a scheme was evolved for reforming the Japanese administrative machinery in Manchuria, the net effect of which was to place much more power in the hands of the Ministry of War. In October the Manchuria Petroleum Company, a predominantly Japanese concern, one of the chief shareholders in which was the South Manchuria Railway, acquired from the Manchurian Government a monopoly, as from the beginning of 1935, of the sale of oil throughout Manchuria.

At the end of December, 1933, the trial was held at Seoul of 245 persons accused of Communistic tendencies ; twenty-two were sentenced to death, twenty to penal servitude for life, and 203 to periods of imprisonment of from one to fifteen years. In the course of 1934 further wholesale arrests of Communists were made. Early in 1934 the trial of the civilians implicated in the terrorist disturbances which took place at the time of the assassination of M. Inukai was concluded. The leader of the movement was sentenced to penal servitude for life, the head of the patriotic society which financed the plotters to fifteen years penal servitude, and eighteen others to terms varying from three and a half to fifteen years.

On March 21 the town of Hakodate in the Hokkaido was burnt down for the third time in sixty years, 1,987 people losing their lives. On September 21 a tidal wave accompanying a typhoon caused enormous damage in Osaka and the neighbourhood,

the casualties, according to the Ministry of the Interior, being 2,593 killed, 13,990 injured, and 653 missing. The total loss suffered was estimated at some hundreds of millions of yen, and the Government appropriated 17,000,000 yen for relief works.

THE NETHERLANDS INDIES.

For the Netherlands Indies the economic factors in 1934 were far more significant than political conditions, although the development of the balance of power in the Far East compelled the Government to practise extreme vigilance, both with respect to the spirit among the native population and to the pacific penetration which Japan continued to exercise in the form of strengthening the commercial and cultural relations with the native population and of the establishment of Japanese enterprises in the Archipelago. For the Netherlands Indies the great difficulty lay in the fact that whilst, on the one hand, the Japanese competition, at extremely low prices, constituted a great danger to imports from Europe, and more especially from the mother country, on the other hand, those low prices of Japanese goods helped the natives and certain categories of the European population to tide over the present difficulties. For a considerable time during the year a conference was held at Batavia with Japanese delegates, with the object of trying to arrive at an understanding concerning the economic relations between the two countries. The conference did not succeed in reaching an agreement, so that in December it was closed, without having yielded any definite result. Shipping more especially presented many difficulties which could not be overcome.

Despite the hard times, the temper of the natives remained favourable. Certain sporadic attempts at subversive action from either Nationalist or Communist sides were immediately suppressed. The mutiny which occurred in the Navy in 1933 was dealt with by the military courts, the culprits, both Europeans and natives, being sentenced to drastic penalties. Those of the officers of the *Zeven Provincien* who had not fully performed their duty and thereby rendered possible the mutiny or, at least, its assuming more serious dimensions, were severely punished.

In order to assure, without laying too heavy a burden on the colonial Exchequer, a sufficient development of naval power in the East, the mother country appropriated 10 million florins as its share in the naval expenditure of the Indies.

The economic depression and the accompanying decline of the public funds continued to cause the greatest concern. Fortunately 1934 brought some relief. Exports, which **dropped** from 562 million florins in 1931 to 361 million florins in 1933, rose in 1934 to 528*4 million florins against an import of nearly

300 million florins. The import of various articles was subjected to quota. The industrialisation of the Indies proceeded by slow degrees. Under arrangement with other producing countries, on June 1 restrictions were imposed on the plantation of rubber, whilst an export duty was levied on native rubber. The new Department for Economic Affairs was placed in charge of the measures to promote the economic interests.

The public finances were to a not inconsiderable extent relieved by the conversion, under guarantee of the State, of 6 per cent., 5½ per cent., and 4½ per cent, debts to 4 per cent. Over a total amount of 791 million florins, this conversion led to a saving of over 18 millions in interest and redemption. The simplification of the Government services was proceeded with, and wherever possible European employees were replaced by natives, who were satisfied with lower salaries. The Government thus succeeded in reducing public expenditure, which in 1930 amounted to 524 million florins and for 1934 had already been reduced to 342 million florins, still further to 300 million florins for 1935. As the revenues were estimated at no more than 250 million florins, fairly stringent retrenchment will still be necessary if for 1935 a balanced Budget is to be achieved without running further into debt.

CHAPTER VIII.

MOROCCO AND EGYPT.

MOROCCO.

AT the end of the French campaign of 1933 *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, Morocco) some Berber tribes, notably the Ait Hammu and the Ait Khabash, still remained at large in the region of the Wadi Draa, in the extreme south-west of Morocco. During the winter military preparations were made by the French for an advance on this region, while political agents carried on a pro-French agitation among the natives. The operations were in charge of General Hure, who had at his disposal some 17,000 men, the rank and file consisting entirely of Moroccan and Colonial troops and a part of the Foreign Legion. General Hure divided his forces into two parts. The one, consisting of 9,000 troops under General Catroux, was to advance in a southerly direction from Tiznit, on the coast south of Agadir ; the other, of 8,000 under General Giraud, was to start from Bu Denib in the Atlas mountains and proceed in a south-westerly direction, till it met General Catroux.

Operations commenced on February 21, and proceeded entirely according to plan. Within a few days General Catroux had

advanced 15 miles in the face of stiff opposition, while General Giraud had reached a point 35 miles west of Akka. By the end of the first week in March the two groups had made contact on the Wadi Nun, north of the Draa. On March 6 more than 6,000 dissident tribesmen in the Anti-Atlas formally made submission to General Hure at Souk-el-Tleta. Some tribesmen who escaped southwards were pursued by a mobile column of cavalry and mechanised formations and brought to surrender. By March 16 the pacification of the entire anti-Atlas region was completed with the submission of the last dissident tribesmen. One chief of the nomads, Belgacem, surrendered to the French, but the " Blue Sultan " Merebbi Rebbo, gave himself up to the Spaniards at Cape Juby. The French losses in the campaign, which had brought about 200,000 tribesmen under the French flag, had been negligible. On March 18 M. Henri Ponsot, the Resident-General of French Morocco, held a review of the French and native forces at Bou Izakarene, in the Akhass country, and invested General Catroux with the insignia of a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour.

In order to make the pacification of the region even more sure, a French outpost on March 31 occupied the oasis of Tendouf, south of the anti-Atlas, 160 miles from Akka. About the same time, the Spanish Government sent a force of some 800 men to Cape Juby, in order to organise a system of military supervision in Rio de Oro and Ifni, a Spanish enclave in the French region, a task in which they were assisted by Merebbi Rebbo. A squadron of aircraft was also sent by Spain to Cape Juby.

On April 10 M. Ponsot inaugurated the Fez-Taza section of the new Fez-Ujda railway. Although the most difficult to construct, having several tunnels and viaducts, this section was completed several months before the date assigned. On May 25 the Sultan, accompanied by leading French civil and military officials, opened the Fez-Ujda railway, travelling in a special train from Ujda to Rabat. The opening of this line placed Tunis in direct rail communication with Marrakesh, 1,700 miles away.

On May 8 the Sultan paid a visit to Fez. His presence gave rise to anti-French demonstrations, which so displeased him that he cut short his visit, leaving for Rabat on May 11.

EGYPT.

During 1934 the history of Egypt was on the whole undisturbed until suddenly in the last months a first-class political crisis arose. The Cabinet that held office until November was admittedly dependent on the King, who was in consequence to a large extent an autocrat. This state of affairs might have continued, although there was necessarily opposition to it in many quarters, if it had

not been for the somewhat serious illness of the King, which, concealed at first, came to the knowledge of the public early in October. It seems that for a considerable portion of the year the King was incapable of performing much of the business that fell to him. Nevertheless, decisions were given in his name by Zaki Pasha el Ibrashi, a Court official who enjoyed the royal confidence, and it was generally believed, with or without justification, that many of these decisions were those of Zaki and not of the King. The officer appointed in the Constitution for communication between the King and his Cabinet and the British Residency was the Chief of the Royal Cabinet, but this office had been vacant since 1931, when Tewfik Pasha Nessim, the then occupant, had resigned as a protest against the arbitrary alteration of the Constitution. At this point the Prime Minister asked the Acting British High Commissioner for his advice. The reply was the suggestion that the office of Chief of the Royal Cabinet be filled by a person outside of the influence of the Palace clique, and that two members of the Cabinet, close intimates of Ibrashi Pasha, of whose integrity as Ministers there were serious doubts, should be removed. It was the refusal of the King to consent to the removal of these two Ministers that led to the resignation of Sidky Pasha, the Prime Minister, a year previously. There was naturally great opposition to these proposals, and underthe pressure of that opposition the Prime Minister turned round and stigmatised the advice of the Acting High Commissioner for which he had asked as an unwarrantable and an intolerable interference with Egypt's internal affairs. However, the proposal to appoint a Chief of the Royal Cabinet was accepted, but it was intended that he should be merely a screen for the continued influence of Ibrashi. No one, however, could be got to accept the appointment on these terms. After a fortnight's hesitation and struggle, however, Ahmed Pasha Ziwar, a former Prime Minister, and a man of unquestioned experience, capacity, and loyalty of character, was appointed. The only objection to the appointment was his age; he was more than 70. This appointment was followed, nine days later, by the resignation of the Cabinet (Nov. 6). The premiership was thereupon offered to Tewfik Pasha Nessim, the Chief of the Royal Cabinet who had resigned in 1931, and who had on two previous occasions been Prime Minister. He declined to accept the office unless the Constitution of 1930 were suspended. The King hesitated, but at length gave way, and a new Cabinet was formed on November 15. The new Cabinet obtained a general welcome, but within a few days a certain disappointment that developed among extremists of the Wafd who had hoped that the new Cabinet would be merely a transition one, leading speedily to a Wafd Government, led to rioting, especially by students of the Al Azhar University. On November 30 the Constitution of 1930 was abrogated and Parliament dissolved. For the time

being the Government was **left** in **the hands of the King and his Ministers.**

In February, and again in August, there were the usual clashes between the police and supporters of the Wafd, when its leader, Nahas Pasha, set out on his customary political tours, but on these occasions the consequences were not serious. A more important development in Egyptian political life and thought was the attitude towards British influence which became very noticeable at the time of the crisis of October and November. In educated circles there had gradually grown up a hope that British interest would pass beyond the military occupation and would come to the assistance of Egypt in her internal affairs. At the same time the fellahin began to attribute their economic troubles to the withdrawal of British interest in their affairs. In the spring there was some political excitement over alleged irregular practices by high officials to their own financial advantage. There was a two days' debate in the Chamber of Deputies on the subject, at the end of which the matter was placed outside of politics and dealt with administratively. A few weeks later, in May, the Alexandria Municipality was dissolved and a number of its principal officers put on trial in connexion with certain suggested contract irregularities. Advantage was taken of the scandal by the enemies of Sidky Pasha, the late Prime Minister, to attempt to involve him, but after a time the whole agitation passed away. In June there was a riot in Cairo over a new labour union, formed by Abbas Halim effendi, a member of the Royal family, who had been degraded by the King, apparently on account of his public activities. The Government had attempted to suppress the union.

During the earlier half of the year, there was considerable agitation regarding the Mixed Courts, those which adjudicate in cases in which both Egyptians and foreigners are concerned. The trouble commenced in January when the President of the Court of Cassation at an official legal function, in the course of a speech, advocated the abolition of these courts, that is to say, the jurisdiction of foreigners in these matters. This speech led at once to protests by the representatives of France and Italy. A more serious trouble arose in March, when the legal right of one of the foreign judges always to preside in these courts was questioned. The Egyptian members of the courts even threatened to refuse to sit unless they were given the same rights as their foreign colleagues, and the foreign head of the Mixed Courts had to threaten them with disciplinary action. The **immediate difficulty** was overcome by the transfer of the case which brought matters to a head to another court in which the Egyptian judge was the junior member, but a few weeks later another dispute arose over the refusal of an Egyptian judge to allow his judgment to be translated into French, so that it might be read by the

foreign president of the court. In June the question of the abolition of the courts was raised in the Chamber of Deputies, and the Prime Minister then said that it was under discussion with the foreign Powers concerned.

The end of the year 1934 still left the subject of the payment of the Egyptian debt, in gold or in sterling, unsettled. The rigidity of the French Government was to some extent relaxed, and both that and the Italian Government expressed their willingness to accept a temporary reduction in interest provided that the liability to pay in gold was accepted. To this the Egyptian Government, with the support of the British, would not agree. The decision of the Mixed Courts had been given against the Egyptian Government, which had appealed. The hearing of the appeal was repeatedly postponed, on the last occasion at the instance of the French and Italian Governments, until April 11, 1935. It was understood at the end of the year that the Italians had come over to the British point of view.

On July 20 notes were exchanged between the British and Italian Governments, and the Egyptian and Italian Governments, defining the frontier between Libya and the Sudan. The agreement came into force on the same day.

CHAPTER IX.

AMERICA : THE UNITED STATES—ARGENTINA—BOLIVIA AND PARAGUAY — BRAZIL — CHILE — CUBA — MEXICO — PERU — URUGUAY.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT found 1934 a much more difficult period than the first ten months of his administration had been.

For one thing, he was forced to liquidate some of the " New Deal " enterprises valiantly begun the previous year. This retreat encouraged the Conservatives to attack him, and at the same time there grew up furious criticism from the Left, so that by the end of the year he was occupying a position much more to the Centre than he had before. Normally this position has its advantages for an American President, but under the thoroughly abnormal political conditions prevaihng, the result seemed to be that the administration's measures were whittled away and modified both from the Right and from the Left. Certainly only a portion of the voluminous legislation passed by Congress in 1934 can be clearly and unmistakably traced to the President and his immediate advisers.

Nevertheless, he continued the battle on the " two fronts " which he had visualised at the beginning of his administration.

One was a series of more or less improvised attacks on the depression ; the other, a fight to force through some sort of " radical," though not at all Socialist, reconstruction of American industrialism and finance.

His first act, on January 1, 1934, was to draw into his Cabinet, as Secretary of the Treasury, a young man known to have " heterodox " ideas on currency reform. This was Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Jr., of New York, a wealthy young man, publisher of an " advanced " agricultural paper, and an avowed disciple, in monetary theory, of his old teacher, Professor George F. Warren, of Cornell University. [See ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 291.]

This appointment certainly suggested that Mr. Roosevelt was more than willing to give a fair trial to the monetary remedy for the depression advocated by Professor Warren and by Professor James Harvey Rogers, of Yale University. Their contention was that the price level should be restored to its old higher range by reducing the gold content of the dollar, and that when it had been thus levered upwards, it should be kept stable by altering, from time to time, the gold content of the dollar (this to be accomplished not by laboriously minting gold dollars of a new weight but simply by altering the price per ounce at which the Treasury stood ready to buy or sell gold). This heterodox idea was detested in Conservative circles, who derided the proposed monetary unit as the " rubber dollar," and so the year opened with the currency question uppermost.

But by the Act of May 12, 1933, the devaluation of the dollar to not more than 50 per cent, of its former gold value had already been authorised and the issue, as an issue, was settled. Only details remained, and by the Act of January 30, 1934, the President was formally instructed to devalue it to at least 60 per cent, of its former value. Accordingly, on the next day, he fixed by proclamation the gold value of the new dollar at 59-06 per cent, of the old, with a theoretical content of 15 5/21 grains of gold, -900 fine, compared with the former content of 25-8 grains.

This was equal to a price of 35 (new) dollars for a fine ounce troy of gold, compared with the old price of 20-67183 dollars. Simultaneously the Treasury announced its willingness to buy all gold offered it at 35 dollars an ounce (less the usual charges) and to sell it at that price for export to central banks whenever the foreign exchange value of the new dollar fell to gold export point.

Thus the United States, so far from breaking into novel currency territory, was back again on the Gold Standard—technically the Gold Bullion Standard, since no gold coins were to be minted.

Here the situation remained, despite the fact that Mr. Morgenthau became, from all accounts, one of the President's closest advisers. It is true that the President still has the power

to vary, by proclamation, the gold content of the dollar between the 60 per cent, and 50 per cent, limits laid down by Congress, and it is possible that before the close of his administration he may set up machinery designed to control a " rubber dollar." But the issue was not raised again during the year.

Actually wholesale commodity prices failed to reflect adequately the formal devaluation of the currency. The index of wholesale prices rose from 103-4 in January, 1934 (1930 = 100) to 111-2 in September and declined thereafter ; that was an increase of only 7-5 per cent., though the dollar had been cheapened by 40 per cent.

Even the foreign exchange value of the dollar showed sluggishness in responding to the formal devaluation, On January 31 the foreign exchange value of the paper dollar in the gold centres, like Paris and Amsterdam, was about 63 per cent, of par ; it should have fallen immediately to 59-06 per cent, of par, but it took weeks to get there. At the new par established, 100 francs was equal to 6-63 dollars, but actually New York bankers could buy 100 francs for 5-50 dollars, convert the francs into gold, ship the gold to New York and sell it to the Treasury for 6-63 dollars. This was done on a very considerable scale, gold imports in February alone exceeding 400,000,000 dollars. It was May before the foreign exchange value of the dollar declined to par.

In the meantime the revaluation of the Government's gold stocks—it had assumed the previous year a complete monopoly of all gold owned and mined in the United States—showed a " profit " of 2,805,512,060 dollars of which 2,000,000,000 dollars was assigned to the Treasury as an Exchange Stabilisation Fund, similar in its functions to the British Exchange Equalisation Fund.

Outwardly, at least, in all this Mr. Roosevelt was moving towards the Centre, and the " inflationists " began to fret when they saw the promised land receding. From time to time there was agitation for more drastic monetary measures.

His biggest concession, which was on the part to be played by silver in the currency, was probably not a concession at all, for he seems to have definitely reached the conclusion that the " rubber dollar " of the distant future could just as easily include both gold and silver as it could gold alone.

At any rate he pushed through Congress an Act, which he signed on June 19, the object of which was to establish ultimately a metallic backing to the currency which should consist of three parts gold and one part silver. This means that the Treasury must accumulate an immense quantity of silver well in excess of 1,000 million ounces before its huge gold stock has been balanced by 25 per cent, in silver—the latter being taken into account at a fixed " monetary " value of 1-29 dollars a fine ounce.

A very limited amount of " inflation " is present in the scheme for the Act, while requiring the Treasury to issue silver dollars

or silver certificates up to the actual *cost* of purchasing the silver, also authorises the issue, if the Government so decides, of further certificates up to the full " monetary " value of the silver purchased. Thus, if the Treasury buys 1,000 ounces at, say, a cost of 475 dollars, it is bound to issue silver dollars or certificates to that amount but it *may* issue additional dollars to bring the total up to 1,290 dollars. The President completed the silver legislation by a proclamation on August 9 " nationalising" the country's stock of silver, to be purchased at 50 cents an ounce, and asserting full control over imports and exports.

Perhaps the President's biggest difficulty came in the effort to secure general co-operation in working the National Recovery Act as a short-term aid to general recovery. The theory behind it was that no general improvement could begin until there was throughout industry in general a raising of wages and shortening of hours, to be paid for partly by general agreements to abolish the more costly and insensate forms of competition. Very few employers dissented from this view—a view which Mr. Henry Ford had long popularised—but in practice there was immense friction, especially with labour.

The scheme provided that agreements as to wages, hours and working conditions must be reached with the employees organised in " associations." The American Federation of Labour interpreted this as an invitation to organise the workers of the entire country in unions of the ordinary type, but the employers, with their autocratic traditions, would not hear of it; they interpreted the clause as calling merely for the organisation of " company unions."

To the surprise of many people who looked upon the President as " radical," Mr. Roosevelt refused to be drawn into the controversy. He intervened in several strikes when they reached a violent stage, but on the whole he left " labour " and " capital " to fight it out. His theory appeared to be that " company unions " would, in practice, prove considerably less docile and " reasonable " than employers anticipated and that practice in " collective bargaining " was, after all, the main thing to hold on to.

If that was, as his friends say, the long view which he took of the struggle, developments seemed to bear him out. For while the American Federation of Labour at the end of the year had only 3,000,000 members employed (a total of 5,000,000 counting those still out of work) against 10,000,000 reported organised in " company unions," the latter were by no means disposed to sleep on their rights. More than 1,000 strikes on the part of " company unions " reached a stage where they had to be reported to Washington for adjudication.

But the failure of the " New Deal " to promote the country-wide organisation of labour on independent lines was a disap-

pointment to the Left and provoked considerable criticism. Some said bitterly that the President was, after all, only a successful Democratic politician with a thin veneer of social reform. And from the Right came a wealth of statistics showing that the general rise in wages was being—not surprisingly—overtaken by a rise in wholesale and retail prices and that the business improvement predicted was not actually forthcoming.

Business statistics certainly bore this out. Business activity rose sharply during the first quarter. Then it slowed down and, beginning in the middle of May, turned steadily downwards until October, when it moved moderately upward again.

So far as employment is concerned the year seemed to end very much as it began. A statistical agency in New York found evidence that the " New Deal " had reduced unemployment by about 1,000,000, but the American Federation of Labour, basing its figures on the records of the unions, reported a net increase of 400,000 in the unemployed. Still more striking was the fact that the Federal Emergency Relief Administration had on its rolls in December, 1934, about 19,000,000 people compared with a little more than 15,000,000 at the beginning of the year. Unquestionably some of this increase was due to a wider organisation of relief work, reaching out into communities which had not been touched before, but the figures certainly suggest that the National Recovery Act had worked no miracles.

In fact, the most substantial headway made against the depression came in two fields quite unrelated to this much-discussed legislation.

One was building construction. The over-supply of houses, which had been such a marked feature of the boom and the collapse, came slowly to an end ; at the close of 1934 only 4 per cent, of the cities reported an over-supply of one-family residences, while 49 per cent, reported an actual shortage—the remaining 47 per cent, showing demand balancing supply. During the previous year 16 per cent, of the cities had reported over-supply. This improvement brought about the slow resumption, at least in some areas, of residential building. Housing and slum clearance, by Government subsidy, became in June a definite part of the administration's programme, but innumerable difficulties emerged, and such actual improvement in the building industry as appeared was due to natural forces rather than to Government stimulation.

The other big improvement, similarly unrelated to the National Recovery Act, was in agriculture. Through a chain of credit banks especially set up for the purpose, the Government shouldered the immediate burden of farm mortgages, putting an end to the widespread foreclosures which in 1933 had created chronic disorders in the agricultural States. In addition, the scheme launched the previous year for reducing crop surpluses

was maintained, though the severe drought **in** the spring **and** summer did more than the Agricultural Adjustment Act to wipe out the dreaded surpluses. But the drought, whatever it may have done for commodity prices in the markets, was a disaster to the individual farmer, and the Federal Emergency Relief was forced to rescue thousands of them from virtual starvation. However, the Government's estimates of the farmer's "gross income " in 1934 showed an immense improvement over the previous several years.

But the most significant development of the year, and one which showed that the depression was still in a very severe stage, was the emerging of three striking figures who were vastly more to the Left than Mr. Roosevelt and who acquired very formidable followings.

One of these was a Roman Catholic priest named Father Coughlin, of Detroit, who has a broadcasting station of his own. Father Coughlin is a currency inflationist, imbued with the deepest suspicions of " Wall Street " and " high finance." His weekly talks " on the air " upon current economic and political events became extremely popular, and politicians in Washington began to wonder just how much of a following he had enrolled in his "National League for Social Justice." The answer came in December when Father Coughlin discovered that the President was pressing the Senate to approve of a resolution expressing the United States' adherence to the Protocols of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

This aroused him to passionate opposition, for it seemed to him a deep-laid plot on the part of " international money-changers " to involve the United States in European affairs. War debt payments were due on December 15, and the public was not favourably impressed with the spectacle of country after country refusing, more or less politely, to pay. Father Coughlin seized upon this skilfully and exploited it passionately. He implored his listeners to write or telegraph their Senators to vote against the International Court of Justice, and at once messages began to rain down upon the Senators in Washington from virtually every State in the Union. Mass attacks of this type are an old story in national affairs, but this one exceeded in volume and intensity of feeling any known before, and Senators began to quail at the thought of opposing it.

Mr. Roosevelt, without mentioning the Detroit priest, exerted himself skilfully to mobihse the administration's forces in favour of what was definitely an administration measure. By the end of the year the battle was not yet over.

The second figure in this remarkable trio was an elderly doctor named F. E. Townsend, of Long Beach, California, who seized and ran away with the President's proposal, made in June in a message to Congress, that Old Age Pensions should be in-

corporated in the American economy. Dr. Townsend, completely unknown even in his own State, had been brooding over this as well as over currency theories, and he leaped into local fame by proposing Old Age Pensions on a scale so liberal as to be tantamount to inflation of the currency.

He drafted a statement which reads as follows :

" Firstly, a Bill obligating the Government of the United States to pay every citizen of said Government whose record is free from habitual criminality and who has attained the age of sixty years a monthly pension of 200 dollars until the end of his life, upon the sole condition that he retires from all further business or profession for gain, and agrees, under oath, to spend the entire amount of the pension within the confines of the United States during the current month in which it is received.

" Secondly, a Bill creating a nationwide Federal retail sales tax calculated at a rate sufficiently high to produce the revenue necessary to meet the requirements of Bill No. 1."

Dr. Townsend quickly gathered followers, who organised, with American efficiency, a nationwide propaganda, using both the wireless and the mails. " Townsend Committees " sprang up everywhere and canvassed neighbourhoods for signatures. Some of the States had already established Old Age Pensions for those elderly people who could prove indigence, but these systems were administered awkwardly, in some cases in a severely economical manner, and all of them failed hopelessly to reassure the aged poor as to their outlook.

But the Townsend scheme had real magic in it, for it appealed not only to elderly and middle-aged people who could see the advantages of a secure income of 200 dollars a month, but also to those currency reformers who liked the idea of a vast volume of State-created money moving with a high velocity. Long before the social workers whom Mr. Roosevelt had appointed to draft a Federal scheme could make their report, the " Townsendites " claimed to have rolled up 25,000,000 signatures on behalf of their scheme.

The 1930 census showed 10,350,000 people who were 60 years or older, and pensions of 200 dollars a month would require—according to the literature of the " Townsend Old Age Revolving Pension Plan "—between 19,200,000,000 and 24,000,000,000 dollars. Retail sales in the United States reached in 1929 a peak of 49,000,000,000 dollars and a turnover tax on that of, say, 10 per cent., would yield the Government only about 5,000,000,000 dollars towards a pension scheme calling for from 19 to 24 milliards. Obviously the Government printing presses would have to make up the difference.

By the end of the year Congress was greatly disturbed at the volume of pressure from the Townsendites. But here again no definite decision was reached in 1934.

The third figure in the trio was much the most fantastic

and picturesque: Senator Huey Long, of Louisiana—an illiterate " slangy " politician who seized control of the State Government by gangster methods. His psychology seemed a blend of that of the Southern " poor white," with a chronic sense of inferiority to the " rich " and " successful," plus the dominating qualities of the successful political " boss."

Early in the year President Roosevelt, anxious to prevent the Federal relief appropriations from being dissipated by " grafters," had ruled that none of the Federal relief money should go to the State of Louisiana, for the record of the " Long machine " in that State made it highly probable that the Federal money would be distributed largely to supporters of the " boss." The " Kingfish," as he had been nicknamed, leaped to this issue, and in his nightly broadcasts—from the wireless station of the Louisiana State University—which were picked up in a number of other States, protested violently and picturesquely against this discrimination. When it became apparent to Mr. Roosevelt that public sympathy was moving rather towards the innocent victims of his ruling, the President was forced to reconsider his position and finally gave way on it—the State received its share of Federal relief funds.

This victory over the President of the United States was obviously gratifying to the " Kingfish," who thereupon began to take himself seriously as a national figure, with presidential aspirations in 1936 or 1940. He developed a programme based on the proposal that every family in the country was " entitled " to an income of 5,000 dollars a year, to be raised by a " capital levy." " What I say is, you can't afford to let people get too rich. If they have luck, I say let 'em get rich up to a certain point, but there's a limit. I put it at under 4,000,000 dollars." Thus, the " Kingfish " nightly on the air.

But even so he might not have been taken seriously had it not been for his astonishing success in the " Hattie Caraway campaign." In the adjoining State of Arkansas Mrs. Hattie Caraway, widow of the one-time Senator from that State, had been appointed to fill out her husband's unexpired term and, at the expiration of that term, had offered herself for re-election. As a candidate for the Democratic nomination she proved to be completely ineffective, and several rival candidates grew stronger and stronger. Almost on the eve of the election the despairing widow appealed to Long to help her, and he gallantly hurried into her State for a whirlwind last-minute campaign in a motor-car. He zigzagged rapidly through the farming districts, speaking with inexhaustible vitality at every cross-roads, and with such effectiveness that the widow carried the State by a handsome majority.

The veteran political reporters who had accompanied the " Kingfish " solely for the sake of the humourous " copy " which they anticipated, returned to Washington impressed. They

declared that he was easily the most effective " stump speaker " who had emerged in American politics for many years. If the depression continues, the " Kingfish's " influence, they predicted, will continue to grow. Like the Townsendites and Father Coughlin, he formed his own propaganda organisation with a huge mailing list covering the entire country, and his pamphlets, on taxation of the rich and the right of every family to 5,000 dollars a year, went out daily from New Orleans.

Apart from the not surprising fact that all three of these figures thrive on public ridicule, the interesting thing to notice is that American discontent has dug for itself three completely American channels of expression. In spite of the dissatisfaction felt by labour—both organised and unorganised—there was no impulse towards the formation of a Labour Party. The Socialist Party made no headway ; in fact, in the larger cities it was weakened by wholesale defections to the Communists, who, in turn, were weakened by schisms into three small and mutually critical groups.

But while there was plenty of thunder on the Left for the President to notice, he had no great amount of trouble from the Right. The Republicans were leaderless, for Mr. Hoover in retirement showed complete weariness of politics and politicians, and there was no one to take his place. Not only were they leaderless, they had no " record "—so far as the depression was concerned—to which they could "point with pride," and no programme to offer except a negative one. The bankers and big industrialists, who had been national demi-gods in 1929, were shorn of prestige and were no longer capable of impressing the electorate with either warnings or promises.

Throughout the year the Democrats in Congress kept up an abominable offensive. An investigation of the air-mail contracts revealed corrupt practices tarnishing respectable Republican names. Then came more revelations as to the operations of big speculators on the stock and commodity exchanges. When the hue and cry over this had died down, a Senate Committee investigating the private manufacture of war munitions seized the private correspondence of a number of American firms and brought to light one scandal after another. Every one of these investigations damaged the prestige of the Republican Party as the party most closely associated with industry and finance.

The munitions investigations proved to be the big sensation of the year, and one with international repercussions. Broadly speaking, the private correspondence read into the record tended to show that munition firms in different countries were directly and closely associated with one another, that they were not averse to " greasing palms " when that proved to be necessary in order to sell war materials to foreign Governments, and that they were constantly (and sometimes successfully) pressing for

assistance from their own Governments in selling war materials abroad.

The allegations made created an immense disturbance abroad, notably in South America, where the newspapers carried lengthy reports, especially where the evidence tended to involve South American officials. Several South American countries protested officially at the way the investigation was being conducted, and the United States Government acquired considerable unpopularity in South American Government circles. The domestic effect, as might be imagined, was to crystallise public opinion in favour, at the very least, of stringent international supervision of the manufacture and sale of war materials.

The net effect of this " Democratic offensive " as well as of the President's personal prestige was to crumple up the Republican Party at the Congressional elections in November. The Democrats stormed successfully one Republican State after another. Even Pennsylvania, which had enjoyed tariff favours at the hands of the Republicans ever since the Civil War and had repaid these favours by unswerving fidelity, was carried by the Democrats.

The 74th Congress was overwhelmingly Democratic ; in the Lower House the President's Party held 222 seats against 102 retained by the Republicans, and in the Senate it held 69 seats against only 25 by the Republicans.

But the significance of this need not be exaggerated. During the Hoover administration, the Democratic opposition had proved quite as jejune and witless as the Republicans, and the party as a whole, apart from the President, contained few men of notable ability. Moreover the Democrats in Congress were completely at one with the Republicans in their jealousy of the prerogatives of Congress, in their dislike at appearing merely to " rubber-stamp " measures drafted by the President, whose functions, in the American scheme, are supposed to be exclusively executive and not legislative. During the 73rd Congress the Democrats had several times revolted against the President and had modified measures against his wishes. In one case, at least, that of restoring the cuts in veterans' pensions, they actually passed the measure over his veto.

Thus it would be premature to assume that Mr. Roosevelt's hands had been strengthened by the overwhelming Democratic victory in November. The reverse is probably the case, especially if the depression persists and pressure from the Left increases.

Not a great deal of interest appears to have been taken during the year in foreign affairs, with the sole exception of the situation foreshadowed in the Pacific by Japan's formal denunciation on December 29 of the Washington Treaty on the limitation of Naval Armaments. During the abortive naval conversations in London during the summer and autumn, between delegations

from Great Britain, the United States and Japan, the Americans resisted to the last the Japanese pressure to establish at least a theoretical parity between the naval forces of the three countries in place of the old ratio of 5-5-3. " Japanese imperialism " was much discussed in and out of Congress, but nothing of the dimensions of a " war scare " developed.

Perhaps the most constructive development was the passage of an Act giving the President power to negotiate, within certain limits, trade agreements lowering tariffs with various countries. Several countries, notably Brazil and Belgium, sent trade delegations to Washington and some five or six trade agreements seem likely to emerge early in 1935. A new Treaty was signed with Cuba in May abolishing the Piatt Amendment and giving the island Republic complete sovereignty for the first time since it was formed in 1902 ; the United States continue to rent their present naval base at Guantanamo on the extreme south-east coast. Despite the continuance of political upheavals in Cuba during the year—resulting in considerable damage to American-owned property—the administration resolutely refused to intervene. In similar vein were the withdrawal of American marines from Haiti and the beginning of negotiations for a new treaty with Panama adjusting disputes which had arisen. These three measures reflected Mr. Roosevelt's realisation that the South and Central American countries heartily disliked the American proneness to intervene in the affairs of Caribbean countries.

The only noticeable change in the war debt situation, as it developed in June and again in December, was a definite deterioration in British prestige growing out of Mr. Chamberlain's failure to allocate any of his Budget surplus toward even a " token payment." Even on the eastern seaboard where there had always been widespread sympathy with Great Britain and a feeling that, whatever others might do, she at least would honour her bond, this omission was taken as evidence that Great Britain intended to default without waiting for any debt settlement. References appearing in the London newspapers to the effect that " war debts are as dead as the Dodo " were cabled to the American Press and widely published, prompting Mr. Hearst's New York *American* to declare : " How are the English fallen ! It is impossible to read the British Note without realising how profoundly true is Clemenceau's observation that something has gone out of the English character." The terms of the Note are dismissed as " rubbish and disgraceful " and it is added, " some day this will be regarded as the most tragic mistake in England's history."

Other critics pointed out that the defaulters were becoming increasingly vague in their excuses. Originally, for example, the debtors had contended that the high American tariff made it impossible to repay the debt in goods, but that was no longer

valid, for Congress had given the President power to lower the tariff by 50 per cent., through trade agreements, and to encourage the import of goods. The " transfer difficulty," which may have had some reality in the days when the foreign exchange markets were at the mercy of speculators, could scarcely be said to exist any longer when the three major groups concerned—the United States, Great Britain and the Gold Bloc countries—possessed immense resources devoted to stabilising the exchanges. The deduction from all this was that, at bottom, the debtors were determined not to pay.

In January Senator Johnson of California, a Republican and one of the conspicuous " isolationists " in the Senate, had introduced a Bill closing American security markets to any foreign Government which had defaulted on its debts to the United States Government or to American citizens. Mr. Roosevelt disliked the Bill. He felt that its effects might prove unexpected ; in any case, it seemed certain to inject gratuitous difficulties into a situation already difficult enough. But the Bill swept through both Houses and on April 13 he signed it.

Perusal of the debates on that Bill shows clearly the belief that its terms had no practical application to Great Britain, who is normally a creditor country, not a debtor country, one quite unlikely, even if she should prove eventually a defaulter, to approach New York for a loan. It was conceived as applying to certain other of the war-debtors and conspicuously to various South American countries.

It was therefore with considerable surprise that the public saw in the British Note of June 4 that Great Britain had hastily (and most gratuitously, as it seemed) applied the Johnson Act to herself and had decided to withhold a " token payment " on the war-debt on the grounds that such a payment would not suffice to exempt her, under the new law, from falling into the category of defaulter. The effect was lamentable. Those who were convinced that Britain intended to default pointed to this bit of diplomatic " smartness " as evidence of what the country must now expect. Mr. Roosevelt refrained from commenting on the war-debt situation beyond a rather vague suggestion in his message to Congress in June that the Americans would survey the " inability " of war-debtors to pay in the light of their " unproductive expenditures "—an allusion to their expenditures on armaments. But the British refusal to canvass possible avenues of payment was apparently a disappointment to the administration. On the whole, not a very happy year for Anglo-American relations.

One interesting development was the vigorous extension of the activities of the Federal Government in the campaign against crime, notably those of kidnapping and of bank robbery. An Act passed by Congress and signed on June 22, 1932, had made

kidnapping a Federal offence where the victim was taken from one State to another—coming under the head of inter-state commerce—or into a foreign country. This Act, prompted by nationwide indignation at the kidnapping of the Lindbergh baby, had remarkable results, for under its terms the Department of Justice, previously concerned chiefly with counterfeiters, bootleggers and similar offenders, braced itself for an attack upon the whole field of crime by violence. Some twelve Bills, presented by the Department of Justice, bringing a wide range of offences under the Federal law, were passed. The Department's records, assembled from every police headquarters in the country, included presently more than a million finger-prints, and Federal Agents, tracking kidnappers from State to State in a way impossible to the State and local police, became the central figures in what was quite literally a battle.

Their first victory came in July when they tracked down a spectacular bandit and murderer, named John L. Dillinger, who had been nicknamed for his exploits, " Public Enemy No. 1." He had achieved immense notoriety in March by breaking out of jail at Crown Point, Indiana, and rejoining his " gang." In a manner reminiscent of the " Jesse James boys " of the early train-robbing days in the West, Dillinger and his crowd zigzagged across the country in stolen motor-cars, robbing small country banks and disappearing with their plunder. They were tracked down in Wisconsin, and two of the " gang " were killed by Federal Agents and three injured. But Dillinger escaped, and remained hidden until July 22 when Federal Agents traced him to a cinema in Chicago where he was enjoying a " crime film." He was shot dead as he came out. There were several other successful pursuits. The Federal Authorities were very quick on the trigger, preferring the brevity of an inquest to the time-wasting American criminal trial, and while some people frowned at this, there was no real criticism, for it was recognised that crimes of violence had had, in the United States, a very long head start.

ARGENTINA.

The revolt raised by Radical insurgents in Santa Fe on December 28, 1933 *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 303), failed to secure any popular support, and the country remained calm. Trouble was threatened for a time from Argentine exiles in Brazil, but in response to a request from the Government, they were kept in check by the Brazilian President. The Government considered that the rising was directly inspired by the action of the National Radical Convention in Santa Fe in voting by a large majority for abstention at the next elections, and therefore held Dr. de Alvear, the President, and his leading colleagues responsible,

although they denied all foreknowledge of the insurgent movement. About a hundred of the delegates and insurgents were interned on the island of Martin Garcia in the River Plate estuary. On January 13 they were given the option of being deported either to Europe or to Patagonia. Twenty-two of them, including Dr. de Alvear, elected to proceed to Europe, while forty-six were deported to Patagonia. Among the latter were Sefior Alvarez Toledo, a former Ambassador to Paris; Sefior Cantilo, a former Governor of the Province of Buenos Aires ; and Sefior Pueyrredon, a former Foreign Minister and Ambassador to Washington.

On February 21 an armed rising, in which several persons were killed, took place against the Provincial Government of San Juan, one of the westernmost provinces of Argentina. The rising was provoked by the harsh conduct of the Governor, Sefior Canton, and was of purely local significance. Hostilities ceased when authority was assumed by General Jones on behalf of the National Executive.

Through the policy of severe economy pursued by the Government, the finances of the country were kept in a fairly healthy condition. Alone among South American States, Argentina continued to maintain in full the service on her foreign debts. Towards the end of the year the Minister of Finance, Dr. Federico Pineda, stated that the Budget expenditure amounted to 750,400,000 pesos, while cash receipts amounted to 731,000,000 pesos, leaving a deficit of only 19,400,000 pesos. Expenditure on public works had been 161,000,000 pesos, the whole of which was raised by sales of bonds. Two important financial operations during the year were the pegging of the peso to sterling at the beginning of the year and the conversion in September of nearly 10,000,000l. worth of Argentine bonds, by which a substantial saving in interest was effected, and the amount of foreign exchange available for current trading purposes was increased.

The wheat harvest was unexpectedly abundant, so much so that Argentina found herself seriously inconvenienced by the quota restrictions of the Wheat Agreement, to which she had become a party along with the other wheat-producing countries. The problem of markets affected other products also. On April 25 the Minister of Agriculture, addressing the British Chamber of Commerce, declared that any further limitation by Great Britain on imports of Argentine chilled beef would seriously prejudice Argentine purchases from British manufacturers. On the other hand, the British Ambassador, Sir Henry Chilton, addressing the Chamber on September 14, complained that for years only one Argentine Government contract of major importance had been placed in England. To this Don Ricardo Silveyra, the President of the State Petroleum Department, replied on October 14 that the fault lay with the British manufacturers themselves ; he himself had sought to place orders with

them, but he had found their business methods too rigid, and further, their representatives did not keep in such close contact with his Department as those of other countries.

In the summer, the railway workers demanded the restoration of the wage reductions which they had accepted three years before, on the ground that economic conditions in the country were now improving. The companies, however, would not accede to the demand. After negotiations had dragged on for some time, the Government towards the end of September threatened to dictate a settlement. Both sides thereupon asked the Government to arbitrate. The award of the Government, which was accepted by both sides, was that wage cuts should continue for the present and should be restored in proportion to the profits of the companies. The companies were authorised to include in their expenditure 60 per cent, of the renewal of reserves, debenture interest at par, operating expenses, and road fund contributions. The question whether the companies should be allowed to reduce their staffs was left over for further consideration. On December 1 the Central Argentine and Great Southern Railways did in fact restore wage cuts, in view of improved conditions.

Towards the end of the year the Government decided to investigate the affairs of the various meat trade companies. Mr. Richard Tootell, the local President and managing director of the Frigorifico Anglo Company, the Vestey concern, refused to produce his books, and was in consequence placed under arrest on November 21. On the next day the Blue Star liner *Norman Star* was searched and twenty-one cases containing papers alleged to belong to the Frigorifico Anglo were seized. Mr. Tootell's arrest was terminated on December 2, but immediately afterwards he was arrested again by the order of the Federal Court, and on December 10 was committed for trial, along with the company's accountant, on charges of resistance to authority and withholding of documents.

A Eucharistic Congress was opened in Buenos Aires on October 10 amid scenes of great popular enthusiasm. The Papal Legate to the Congress, Cardinal Pacelli, on his arrival the day before, was received with the honours accorded to a Chief of State, six naval units escorting his ship into port. He was met by the President of the Republic, General Justo, and national, municipal and ecclesiastical dignitaries. The Congress closed on October 14 with a procession in which hundreds of thousands of persons took part, and in which the Papal Legate bearing the Host was followed by four Cardinals, the President and the Vice-President of the Republic, Cabinet Ministers, and a military guard of honour.

In September the Government asked Congress to vote 855,530 Swiss francs for their current subscription to the League of Nations. At the end of October Argentina notified her adhesion to the

Briand-Kellog Pact. In October Congress voted 50,000 pesos for the erection of a statue to the English statesman, Canning, in Buenos Aires.

BOLIVIA AND PARAGUAY.

The war between Bolivia and Paraguay which had been declared in the middle of 1933 continued throughout 1934. The Commission which had been sent out to South America by the League of Nations towards the end of 1933 *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 303) was unable to bring the belligerents to terms. On January 12 it wrote to the Council of the League that it could see no prospect of success from its efforts to restore peace. On the urgent request of the League Council, however, it consented to make further efforts, and it drew up a draft treaty which on March 3 it submitted to the Governments of Bolivia and Paraguay. The principal articles of the treaty provided for the withdrawal of troops to certain positions following the cessation of hostilities, for the demobilisation of both armies, and for the limitation of the armies on both sides to 5,000 men, until the final award of the Court of International Justice fixing the frontiers between the two countries had been completely executed. These proposals did not completely satisfy either party, and Paraguay on her side demanded guarantees of security and the right to maintain safety police in the Chaco. On March 12 the Commission came to the conclusion that the differences of opinion between the two parties were too great to be reconciled and determined to return to Europe at once, leaving only their Secretary-General to watch the course of events.

At the request of the Commission, the armistice which had been concluded on December 19, 1933, was extended from December 30 to January 6. Immediately after that date hostilities were resumed. As before, the fighting went almost wholly in favour of the Paraguayans, who though inferior in numbers and equipment were much better inured to the climate of the Chaco. They gradually pushed their way north and north-west till they threatened Fort Ballivian on the Pilcomayo, where the Bolivians were strongly posted, making many captures of men and munitions. In the second week of April, severe fighting took place in the neighbourhood of Las Conchitas, 12 miles from the Bolivian base at Ballivian, 45 miles up the River Pilcomayo from Linares, the Paraguayan base. The Paraguayans claimed a victory, but their threat to Fort Ballivian was averted for the time being.

In May the Paraguayan Government protested to the League of Nations against the alleged bombing by Bolivian aircraft of industrial works at the ports of Guarani and Mihanovitch, and

Bolivia made counter-allegations **about the treatment** of Bolivian prisoners by Paraguay.

The Report of the Chaco Commission, which was made public on May 12, emphasised the " pitiless and horrible conditions " under which the war there was being carried on, and made the League more anxious than ever to put a stop to it. As one means of effecting this, Mr. Eden, on May 17, proposed that the Council of the League should take steps to organise an embargo on the export of arms to Bolivia and Paraguay, neither of whom could manufacture munitions themselves. On May 31 the Bolivian delegate, M. Costa du Rels, protested on the ground that this would be equivalent to imposing sanctions contrary to the Covenant, and requested the League Council to take steps to refer the dispute to the Assembly, in accordance with Article 15 of the Covenant. As a result, both parties in September lodged with the Secretary-General of the League a statement of their respective cases. On November 24 the League adopted with slight amendments a Report drawn up by a sub-Committee which it had appointed to deal with the subject. The main recommendations of the report were that a neutral supervisory Commission should be set up, which should immediately establish a security zone in which only police detachments should be kept, and the two parties should then commence the demobilisation and reduction of their armies. The Bolivian Government on December 11 accepted these recommendations, but the Paraguayan Government on December 19 rejected them on the ground that they were unworkable.

Meanwhile hostilities had continued with unabated vigour. An embargo on the export of arms to Bolivia and Chile was organised under the auspices of the League in the summer, but it was evaded in various quarters, and both combatants continued to be plentifully supplied with munitions. Fortune continued to favour the arms of the Paraguayans. On July 8 the Paraguayan forces broke the Bolivian fortified lines over a large part of the Ballivian sector, and they gained further successes in August. During the next two months they carried out a feint attack on the Bolivian oilfields in the far north, to protect which the Bolivians withdrew a part of their forces from Fort Ballivian. While the defences were thus weakened, the Paraguayans made a rapid move to the south, and after gaining a decisive victory at Canana el Carmen, closed in upon Fort Ballivian from the north and the south and forced it to surrender on November 17 along with a number of smaller forts. The Paraguayans claimed to have captured 10,000 prisoners, along with a large quantity of munitions. The victory was celebrated with great rejoicings at Asuncion.

These events had an important repercussion in the internal affairs of Bolivia. The blame for the disaster was laid by the army on the President, Dr. Salamanca, who at the instigation of

General Jose Lanza, had ordered the withdrawal of troops from Fort Ballivian over the head of the acting commander, General Penaranda. The army now rose against Dr. Salamanca, and deposed and arrested him, together with all his family and his principal supporters. A Coalition Government was set up by the Vice-President, Don Jose Luis Tejada Sorzana, with the object of reorganising the national defences and averting defeat.

BRAZIL.

A Ministerial crisis occurred at the beginning of the year through the resignation of Dr. Aranha, the Minister of Finance; General Cardoso, the Minister for War ; and Dr. de Mello Franco, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. At the request of Dr. Vargas, the Chief of the Provisional Government, the Interventor of Rio Grande do Sul invited to Rio de Janeiro the Interventors of Sao Paulo, Bahia and Pernambuco, and through their mediation the differences were composed on January 11, and Dr. Aranha and General Cardoso withdrew their resignations. Dr. de Mello Franco, however, refused to resume office on the ground of ill-health.

Political unrest was still widespread in the country, and in March the Government issued a statement that in view of frequent rumours of plots they were carefully watching events, and that they were ready to suppress any attempt to disturb public order, and would not hesitate to use armed force if necessary. At the same time more conciliatory means were also adopted to allay popular discontent; a return to constitutional government was promised at an early date, and on May 28 an amnesty was signed for all who took part in the revolutionary movement of July 9, 193l. The amnesty was very complete in character, permitting officers, soldiers and civil servants to occupy their former posts, and annulling penal sentences, except those for criminal offences.

On July 16 the Second Republican Constitution was actually promulgated, and Brazil returned to constitutional government. The new Constitution, which had been drafted twelve months before, restricted the powers of the President and enlarged those of the Chamber of Deputies, especially in matters relating to finance, taxation, and the Budget. It also enlarged the scope of Federal legislation, and forbade States and municipalities to contract foreign loans without the permission of the Senate. The date of the promulgation, July 16, was declared a public holiday.

On the next day (July 17) the Presidential election took place. The principal candidates were Dr. Getulio Vargas and Senhor Borges de Medeiros, a former Interventor of Rio Grande do Sul, who had the unanimous support of the Chapa Unica. Dr. Vargas

received 175 votes, Dr. Borges de Medeiros 59, and other candidates 14. Thus Dr. Vargas became the first President of Brazil under the new Constitution, after having been virtual dictator for four years.

The new President formed a Ministry of moderate and conservative elements from all parts of the country, which inspired general confidence. Two members were from Sao Paulo—Senhor Vincente Rao, the Minister of Justice and Home Affairs, and Senhor Jose de Macedo Soares, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Ministry for War was taken by General Goes Monteiro, whose clemency after he had suppressed the Sao Paulo revolt in 1932 had won universal commendation. The new Government enhanced its popularity by allowing the return to Brazil of the ex-President Dr. Arturo Bernardes and other important politicians who had been banished by the Provisional regime. This step was generally regarded as a sign of strength.

The elections for the Federal and State Assemblies took place on October 14. The number of Deputies had been fixed by the new Constitution at 300, of whom 50 were to be elected by professional associations representing agriculture, industry, commerce, and the liberal professions. There had been a political campaign of great activity not unattended with disturbances, and the poll was very heavy, but the elections passed off without disorder.

The financial situation of the country remained unsatisfactory. On March 23 Dr. Oswaldo Aranha, the Minister of Finance, announced that although the Budget showed a deficit it would no longer be possible to ask the nation to make greater sacrifices ; the Government, however, hoped to improve the revenue by a more efficient collection of taxes. The first estimate of expenditure for the coming year submitted to him had been 800,000 contos of reis more than that of 1933, but by the efforts of a Special Commission the total had been reduced to 2,264,000 contos (about 37,100,000l.) against a revenue of 2,010,000 contos, showing a deficit of 254,000 contos (about 4,140,000l.). Army Estimates had been reduced by 90,000 contos ; communications by 114,000 contos ; justice by 20,000 contos ; the Naval Estimates by 90,000 contos ; labour by 5,000, and agriculture by 39,000 contos.

On February 8 details were announced of a new scheme for the payment of Brazilian public debts. The net effect was to allow for the payment of 8,000,000l. out of the total of 24,000,000l. required for the full yearly service of the debts. External loans were classified in eight grades. For the first grade, comprising the Funding Loans of the Federal Government, foreign exchange for the full service was to be provided. For Grade I I , in which was the Sao Paulo Coffee Realisation Loan of 1930, sufficient exchange was to be allocated to maintain payment of interest in full, and for the redemption in each year of 1,000,000l. nominal of the bonds. For the loans included in the other grades no

Sinking Fund payments would be transferred, and interest payments would be only partial. The plan was to be in operation from April 1, 1934, to March 31, 1938.

Early in the year the Government, on a request from Argentina, took steps to curb the activities of Argentine political refugees on Brazilian territory. The friendly relations between the two countries were further cemented by an agreement made in June for the construction of an international bridge between the two over the River Uruguay.

At the beginning of the year the Government, in response to a request from the League of Nations, consented to allow the settlement in Brazil of the Assyrians expelled from Iraq, provided they showed an aptitude for land culture and provided the cost of their transport from Iraq to Brazil was defrayed. The proposal aroused strong opposition in the country, and as a result of representations from various quarters, the Minister of Labour in March appointed a commission to study the subject. The report of the commission was adverse, and in July the Government announced that the proposed immigration of the Assyrians was " undesirable."

On March 16 tenders from twenty-one firms of various nationalities were opened for the building of two 8,000 ton cruisers, nine 1,500 ton destroyers, and six 900 ton submarines, for which in the previous year 40,000 contos had been voted. On April 5 tenders submitted by three German firms were set aside as contrary to the Treaty of Versailles. Eventually it was decided to obtain the destroyers from England, submarines from Italy, and other units from Italy and Holland. At the end of the year it was stated by the Ministry of the Navy that in order not to increase the 1935 Naval Budget, an attempt would be made to secure the warships in exchange for Brazilian goods.

In May Brazil ratified four conventions adopted at Washington in 1919 for the protection of women and children in industry, this being the first time that Brazil had ratified an international labour convention.

CHILE.

The second year of Sefior Alessandri's Presidentship was marked by a number of political disturbances, none of which proved very serious. On January 2 an official communique was issued giving details of a plot against the Government, said to have been organised by Don Marmaduke Grove, Sefior Ibanez, and Colonel Berrios. A number of arrests were made, and the revolutionary movement was kept in check. An agitation was kept up by the Radical Party, and when its candidate, Don Marmaduke Grove, was defeated in a senatorial by-election in

April, the Radical members of the Ministry resigned. Senor Alessandri thereupon formed a new Cabinet containing Liberals, Conservatives, Social Republicans and Democrats, with Left and Right tendencies equally balanced.

In July there was a recrudescence of subversive propaganda, and on July 7 Carabineros raided the offices in Santiago of the *La Opinion,* arresting some 200 persons, while a crowd forced its way into the premises and destroyed the printing presses. At the same time a *jacquerie* broke out in the province of Cautin, where several landowners were killed and much damage was done to property. The trouble arose in some small newly founded agricultural colonies, the inhabitants of which had suffered greatly from the severe winter in the Andes region this year, and was certainly fomented by professional agitators. Order was restored by the police without military assistance.

The Chambers were in session from June 15 to September 15, during which time about sixty new measures were passed. The most important was one dealing with the redistribution of private property. Strong opposition was offered to one clause proposing the expropriation of private properties not under cultivation, but the President overcame it by giving an assurance that precautions would be taken to prevent abuses, and that expropriation would be applied only to such lands as might be necessary for communities or for purposes of colonisation.

A law was passed in February that all women over 21 who could read and write and all foreigners who had lived for five consecutive years in a municipal area should be entitled to vote at municipal elections.

Great annoyance was caused in Chile by the allegations made in the course of the United States investigation into the traffic in armaments that commissions had been paid by United States firms to Chilean functionaries. The local agent of the Curtiss-Wright Export Corporation wrote a letter to the Ministry of Defence denying the insinuations, but in spite of this the Ministry in September issued instructions ordering that American tenders for substantial new purchases were to be disregarded and returned to the bidders.

The improvement in economic conditions which had taken place in 1933 was well maintained in 1934, and the country successfully emerged from the chaotic condition in which it had been sunk a couple of years previously. At the beginning of the year a trade agreement for five months was concluded with Germany, by which in return for the thawing of German credits in Chile, Germany was to increase her imports of copper and saltpetre from that country.

CUBA.

After holding office for four months, Dr. Ramon Grau San Martin resigned the presidentship on January 15, chiefly because he could not obtain recognition from Washington. A political crisis ensued, accompanied by a general strike, which was put down by Colonel Batista, the head of the Army. After a first refusal, Colonel Carlos Mendieta, the leader of the Nationalist Party, accepted the Provisional Presidency. He formed a Government which received the support of the Army and of all the political parties except Labour, and which on January 24 was recognised by Great Britain, the United States, France and Italy.

Throughout the year Havana was kept in a state of unrest by the activities of terrorists and of Labour agitators. On June 15 a bomb exploded under the chair of the President as he was making a public speech, but he escaped with a wound in the hand. The United States Ambassador was shot at five times in four months. The worst outrage took place on June 17, when a motor-car travelling at full speed suddenly opened fire with a machine-gun on a peaceful parade of the A.B.C, political organisation, killing fourteen persons and wounding more than fifty, including women and children.

On August 24 a new trade Treaty was signed at Washington by which the United States made various concessions to Cuba, the most important being a reduction in the import tariff on raw sugar of 1½ c. to 9-10 c. per Ib., which benefited Cuban producers by $20,000,000 on 1934 exports. On May 29 great rejoicing was caused in Havana by the news of the abrogation of the Piatt amendment to the Cuban Constitution, which gave the United States the right to intervene in Cuba for the protection of the lives and property of its citizens.

MEXICO.

On October 20 the Chamber of Deputies unanimously passed a resolution calling for the immediate expulsion from the country of all Catholic Archbishops and Bishops as being enemies of the revolution ; the immediate suppression of a number of Catholic newspapers, to be soon followed by that of others ; the formation of armed " assault groups " of peasants and workmen to combat the aggression of student and Catholic elements ; and the exclusion from the Government service of Roman Catholics who were members of Church organisations. While the proposal was still awaiting the sanction of the President, the States of Sonora, Tabasco, Chiapas, Colima and Guerrero closed all the churches in their borders, and in the last-named all bishops and priests

were ordered to leave in seventy-two hours. On the other hand, the students in Mexico City struck against Article 3 of the Constitution which makes the teaching of Socialism compulsory in the schools.

On July 2 General Don Lazaro Cardenas was elected to succeed General Don Abelardo Rodriguez as President of Mexico, and he duly assumed office on November 30.

PERU.

On March 23 national celebrations were inaugurated in the historic city of Cuzco, to commemorate the fourth centenary of the establishment there of the Spanish Cabilda, or Town Council, by the conquistador Pizarro. A further and more important object of the celebrations was to draw the attention not only of the country but of the whole American continent and the world at large to the richness of the ancient capital of the Incas in archaeological interest and to stimulate research into its antiquities. The Peruvian Congress had already made a grant of 600,000 soles (about 30,000l.) to found an Institute of Archseology, to restore the Inca monuments, and to carry on scientific investigations in the Cuzco region.

During the early part of the year the conference of Peruvian and Colombian delegates at Rio de Janeiro which was discussing the question of Leticia did not make good progress, and it seemed likely at one time that hostilities would be renewed in the summer. Thanks, however, to the efforts of Dr. de Mello Franco, the former Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs, who presided over the conference, a settlement was reached before the time came for the League of Nations Mission to evacuate Leticia in June *(vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, Peru). On May 24 a " Protocol of Friendship and Co-operation " was signed, by which Peru expressed her regret for the strained relations between herself and Colombia, and the two countries undertook to continue negotiations through diplomatic channels and to accept an agreement regarding the Amazon and Putumayo areas which should be drawn up by a committee of three, consisting of a representative each of Peru, Colombia, and Brazil.

There was a good deal of unrest in the country in the latter half of the year, and it was found impossible to hold elections on November 11 on account of the chaotic state of the registers. On December 1 a revolution broke out in the Provinces, but it was suppressed by the Government in five days.

URUGUAY.

On April 19 the proposals of President Terra for the reform of the Constitution were submitted to a referendum, and were approved by an overwhelming popular vote.

At the end of November the Government re-established the wireless and Press censorship because of " the restlessness and alarm created by the Opposition's subversive propaganda." Rumours of impending disturbances were, however, officially denied.

On April 25 a new Anglo-Uruguayan Cultural Institute was opened at Montevideo by the Minister of Education, Dr. Santos.

PART II.

PART IT.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

IN 1934.

JANUARY.

1. In the New Year Honours a peerage was conferred on Sir Evelyn Cecil [Baron Rockley, of Lytchett Heath, in the County of Dorset] ; Mr. Godfrey Elton [Baron Elton, of Headington, in the County of Oxford]; Sir Bertram Falle [Baron Portsea, of Portsmouth, in the County of Southampton] ; Sir William Morris [Baron Nuffield, of Nuffield, in the County of Oxford]; and Sir Douglas Newton [Baron Eltisley, of Croxton, in the County of Cambridge].

— Thick fog settled over London; many accidents and some deaths were reported.

l. *The Times* reported that the Swiss Federal Council had accepted from Mr. William Cowley Mease, of Philadelphia, Oberhofen Castle, as a gift to the Swiss nation.

16. Mr. T. B. Huxley Jones, of Wolverhampton, was awarded the Prix de Home for Sculpture.

23. Mr. S. J. Lamorna Birch, A.R.A., painter, was elected a Royal Academician, and Mr. Charles M. Gere, painter, Mr. Stanley Anderson, engraver, and Mr. Charles Wheeler, sculptor, were elected Associates of the Royal Academy.

24. Lord Nuffield's gift of 45,000L for the erection of a new block of private wards at Guy's Hospital, London, was announced.

25. Mr. F. W. Hampshire promised a gift of 35,000l., spread over seven years, to the Centenary Fund of University College Hospital.

28. Lord Shaftesbury offered as a gift to the City of Belfast his residence, Belfast Castle, and the surrounding estate of about 200 acres.

29. Miss Nina Symington, of Belfast, bequeathed some 9,000l. to be known as the Johnson Symington Memorial Bequest, to the Anatomical Society of Great Britain and Ireland, for Anatomical Research.

30. A Soviet balloon, the *Osoaviakhim,* ascended over 13 miles into the stratosphere.

FEBRUARY.

4. Gatton Park, an historic mansion near Merstham, Surrey, owned by Sir Jeremiah Colman, was almost entirely destroyed by fire.

9. At the Cambridge by-election, the Conservatives retained the seat by a reduced majority.

14. Alderman J. G. Graves, of Sheffield, made a gift of 15,000l. to Sheffield University for the erection of a Students' Union building.

19. At the North Portsmouth by-election, the Conservatives retained the seat by a reduced majority.

28. An anonymous donor made a gift of 40,000l. to the fund for building extension at St. Mary's Hospital.

MARCH.

6. Mr. Richard Sickert, A.R.A., painter, was elected a Royal Academician.

8. At the triennial elections for the London County Council, the Labour Party obtained a majority of 14. This was the first time in the history of the L.C.C. that Labour obtained control of that body

10. *The Times* announced that the Bishop of Chelmsford had received a gift of 10,000J. for the erection of a church in a poor part of the diocese.

11. A fire destroyed the greater part of Castle Hill, Lord Fortescue's West Country home, between Barnstaple and South Moreton; two lives were lost.

14. Lord Snell was elected Chairman of the L.C.C.

15. The Bishop of Norwich received a gift of 12,000J. from an anonymous donor towards the Norwich Church Building Fund.

— Twickenham Ferry, the first of three train ferries ordered by the Southern Railway, was launched.

16. The Rt. Reverend Bernard Oliver Francis Heywood, Bishop Suffragan of Hull, was appointed Bishop of Ely.

17. The *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* celebrated its diamond jubilee in a special number.

— Cambridge beat Oxford in the University Boat Race by *i*\ lengths in 18 mins. 3 secs.

27. Mr. Paul Vellacott, Fellow and Tutor of Peterhouse, Cambridge, was appointed headmaster of Harrow School, in succession to Dr. Cyril Norwood.

28. Mr. E. W. Meyerstein, of Morants Court, Dunton Green, Kent, presented 30,000l. to the Middlesex Hospital for a new department of radiology.

APRIL.

4. Mr. **Ifor** Leslie Evans, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, was appointed Principal of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.

5. A fire destroyed Carclew, an eighteenth-century house, said to have been one of the finest country houses in Cornwall, the residence of Captain and Mrs. C. H. Tremayne.

7. Sir H. Walford Davies was appointed Master of Music to King George V.

16. The Bluebell Wood, part of the Nether Howe, a promontory at the head of Crummock Water, near Buttermere, was presented to the National Trust by Mr. Nicholas Size, of Buttermere.

19. Shining Cliff Woods, Alderwasley, Derbyshire, extending to some 200 acres, were presented to the National Trust by Alderman J. G. Graves, of Sheffield. [See under February 14.]

20. Under the will of Professor John Harrower, of Aberdeen, Emeritus Professor of Greek, the University of Aberdeen obtained funds for the establishment of a Professorship in Greek Art and Archeology, to be known as the " Geddes-Harrower Chair."

— At the by-election at the Basingstoke Division of Hampshire, the Conservatives retained the seat by an increased majority.

21. Summer time commenced at 2 a.m.

24. At the by-election at North Hammersmith, Labour recaptured the seat from the Conservatives.

27. Mr. Meredith Frampton, painter, and Mrs. Dod Proctor, painter, were elected associates of the Royal Academy.

30. Lord Nuffield's gift of 10,000/. to St. Peter's Hall was announced.

MAY.

1. Mr. Bernard Rubin and Mr. K. A. F. Waller arrived in England after having made the return journey between **England and Australia** in less than six weeks.

8. *The Times* **announced a gift** of 15,000l. **from** Mr. S. **A.** Courtauld to found a clinical research unit at the Middlesex Hospital Medical School.

10. The first term at the new Police College at Hendon began.

14. *The Times* announced a gift of 10,000l. from Mr. J. A. De war to the Rebuilding Fund of the Gordon Hospital, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London.

— At the by-election in the Upton Division of West Ham, Labour won the seat from the Conservatives.

23. Miss Jean Batten, a young New Zealand airwoman, landed in Australia, 15 days out from Lympne. This beat the last record, that of Mrs. Mollison, in 1930, who took 19J days on the journey.

24. Toronto celebrated the centenary of its incorporation as a city.

31. The Rev. George A. Chase was elected Master of Selwyn College, Cambridge.

— East Riddleston Hall, one of the finest examples of seventeenth-century domestic architecture in the West Riding of Yorkshire, was handed over to the National Trust.

JUNE.

4. In the King's Birthday Honours peerages were conferred on the Earl of Lucan, an Irish representative peer since 1914 [Baron Bingham, of Melcombe Bingham, in the County of Dorset]; Lord Alness, lately Lord Justice Clerk [Baron Alness, of Alness, in the County of Ross and Cromarty]; Sir Hugo Hirst [Baron Hirst, of Wilton, in the County of Warwick]; and Mr. Gerald Walter Loder [Baron Wakehurst, of Ardingly, in the County of Sussex].

5. At the by-election at Merthyr Tydfil, Labour retained the seat.

6. The Maharajah of Rajpipla won the Derby with his colt Windsor Lad.

7. In attempting to retrieve a hat from the lions' den at Whipsnade Zoo, a man overbalanced and fell in, and was mauled to death by the lions.

15. At the by-election at Monmouth, the Conservatives retained the seat.

17. Thirty-one canoes with 40 occupants, 4 of whom were women, all members of the French Canoeing Society, were paddled across the English Channel from Calais to Dover in 6¼ hours.

19. The Very Rev. Dr. W. R. Matthews, Dean of Exeter, was appointed to the Deanery of St. Paul's, in succession to Dean Inge, who is retiring on October l.

21. At the by-election at Twickenham, the Conservatives retained the seat.

26. Mr. F. Cadogan Cowper, A.R.A., painter, was elected a Royal Academician,

27. At the by-election at Weston-super-Mare, the Conservatives retained the seat.

28. King George V., accompanied by Queen Mary, opened the new Chartered Insurance Institute in Aldermanbury.

JULY.

4. *The Times* announced a gift of 70,000l. by Mr. Edward William Meyerstein to the Middlesex Hospital towards the completion of the rebuilding scheme. [See under March 28.]

7. *The Times* announced a gift of 10,000L by the Bernhard Baron Charitable Trust to the British Empire Cancer Campaign, to be called the Bernhard Baron Cancer Fund.

10. A fire destroyed about two-thirds of the buildings of the University of Freiburg.

11. The site of old Bethlehem Hospital, in St. George's Fields, Southwark, was opened as the Geraldine Mary Harmsworth Park. The Park, purchased for 155,000/., was the gift of Lord Kothermere.

17. A gift of 100,000/. to the University of Liverpool for the erection of a new library was made by Mr. Harold L. Cohen, a merchant of that city.

— King George V., accompanied by Queen Mary, opened the new Central Library at Manchester.

18. King George V., accompanied by Queen Mary, opened the Mersey Tunnel at Liverpool.

AUGUST.

16. Dr. William Beebe descended 3028 feet into the ocean depths off Bermuda.

17. A gift of 45,000L was made to the University of Birmingham for the extension of the chemistry department by Mr. Albert Edward Hills, a retired manufacturer.

19. Mr. E. H. Temme, a London insurance clerk, swam the channel for the fourth time, from South Foreland to Blanc Nez, swimming a distance of 38 miles in 15 hours 54 minutes.

21. The Rev. Alwyn Terrell Petre Williams, D.D., Headmaster of Winchester College, was appointed Dean of Christ Church, Oxford.

23. Canon William Thomas Havard, vicar of Swansea, was elected Bishop of St. Asaph.

27. London became a Zone of Silence at 11.30 P.M.

SEPTEMBER.

3. Commander Evangeline Booth, fourth daughter of the late General Booth, was elected by the High Council of the Salvation Army head of that organisation.

5. *The Times* announced that under the will of Mrs. Mary Jane Williams, widow of Dr. Charles Theodore Williams, Hon. Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford, a legacy of 30,000L was left to the University of Oxford for the promotion of medical education, and 5,000l. to the Royal College of Physicians.

11. Sutton and Cheam, two districts amalgamated in 1928, received the charter of incorporation as a borough.

21. A severe typhoon swept over Western Japan, resulting in the loss of 1,000 lives and extensive damage to property.

21. As a result of an explosion in the Gresford Colliery, near Wrexham, 260 miners lost their lives.

25. *Endeavour* was beaten by *Rainbow* by 54 seconds in the sixth race for the America's Cup, at Newport, Rhode Island.

26. Queen Mary launched the great new Cunard-White Star liner, hitherto known as No. 534, and named her *Queen Mary.*

28. Mr. James Melrose, a young Australian, landed at Croydon, after having flown from Darwin, Australia, in 8 days and 9 hours.

29. Sir Stephen Henry Molyneux Killik was elected Lord Mayor of London for the ensuing civic year.

OCTOBER.

1. Mr. H. E. Fass, C.B., O.B.E., was appointed Public Trustee in the room of Sir Oswald Simkin, C.B.E., resigned.

6. Summer time ended. [See April 21.]

9. King George V. conferred on Prince George, the titles of Baron Downpatrick, Earl of St. Andrews and Duke of Kent.

— Judge Holman Gregory, K.C., elected Recorder of the City of London in the room of the late Sir Ernest Wild.

11. An anonymous donor made a gift of 23,000l. to the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, at Cardiff.

17. Mr. E. W. Meyerstein made a gift of 85,675J. to the Middlesex Hospital. This was Mr. Meyerstein's third gift to the Hospital, bringing his total to 187,675l. [See under March 28 and July 4.]

18. At Melbourne the Victoria centenary celebrations were inaugurated by the Duke of Gloucester.

20. Twenty machines began the race by air to Melbourne. Mr. C. W. A. Scott and Mr. T. Campbell Black were easily first in the race, taking 2 days 16 hours and 48 minutes for the distance of 11,300 miles (Mildenhall to Melbourne).

21. King George V., accompanied by Queen Mary, opened the new University Library at Cambridge.

24. At the by-election at North Lambeth, Labour won the seat from the Liberals.

25. At the by-election at Swindon, Labour won the seat from the Conservatives.

29. The Rev. Geoffrey C. L. Lunt, Vicar of Portsea, was appointed Bishop of Ripon.

NOVEMBER.

1. The first monthly issue of *Bradshaw's International Air Guide* appeared.

— The centenary of the Constitution of the Central Criminal Court was celebrated at the Old Bailey.

1. Mr. Cathcart Jones and Mr. F. H. Waller reached Lympne after completing the flight from England to Melbourne and back in the record time of 13 days and 6½ hours.

8. The 1934 Nobel Prize for Literature was awarded to Signor Liugi Pirandello.

— King George V., accompanied by Queen Mary, opened the new headquarters of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

9. Dr. C. A. H. Green, Bishop of Bangor, was elected Archbishop of Wales.

15. The 1934 Nobel Prize for Chemistry was awarded to Professor Harold C. Urey, of Columbia University, New York.

DECEMBER.

8. The first of the regular air mails to Australia left Croydon by Imperial Airways.

10. The 1933 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Sir Norman Angell, and that for 1934 to Mr. Arthur Henderson.

12. The East London College, one of the constituent Colleges of the University of London, assumed the new name of Queen Mary College after receiving from Queen Mary a Charter of Incorporation.

11. The National Trust announced a gift from Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., of 30 acres of land on the east side of Upper Dovedale.

17. The French Government bought for 15,000l. a series of over 300 letters written by Napoleon to the Empress Marie Louise.

21. *The Times* announced that Mr. Joseph Rank had provided 300,000L to form a trust fund from which pensions or allowances are to be paid to poor persons in Hull.

28. Mr. Waller and M. Franchomme, in their aeroplane *Queen Astrid,* flew from Belgium to the Congo and back; the outward journey from Brussels to Leopold ville took 24 hours 32 minutes, and the return journey 23 hours 21 minutes, in each case flying time.

31. The weather in 1934 was marked in England by prolonged lack of water, the total rainfall for the year being 25-13 inches, as compared with an average of 28.56 inches; the monthly sunshine totals at Eothamsted conformed to the average throughout the year.

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE IN 1934.

LITERATURE.

(Books marked with an asterisk are specially noticed at the end of this section.)

A LARGER number of literary figures than usual has passed from the scene during 1934. The loss to art criticism of the finely sensitive and analytical mind of Roger Fry will be felt more and more as it is found difficult to replace him. The drama lost A. W. Pinero, who occupied a special niche in the theatrical history of the post-Ibsen world, and a very valuable servant in William Poel whose life-long endeavour on behalf of older English drama has borne remarkable fruit. The Elizabethan Stage Society and the production for the first time of *Everyman* and *Samson Agonistes* are but outstanding items in a very full list of achievement. Less widely known, but of the highest literary integrity, was Stephen McKenna, the scholarly and fine translator of Plotinus. Among entertainers Anthony Hope was one of the best loved, and there is nobody who can adequately follow him in the paths of romantic adventure or social comedy. A very great loss was that of A. R. Orage, whose conduct of the *New Age* before the war marked an epoch in the intellectual progress of the present generation. His sponsorship of Nietzsche and Stendhal, his consciousness of standards of writing, and his generosity towards beginners have all been absorbed into modern attitudes, but it is no more than just to record the debt.

The hopes raised for poetry by last year's achievements have been left unfulfilled. The new school has been almost silent, save for Mr. Spender's revised *Poems* (Faber) and his poetical report of the Austrian political situation in *Vienna* (Faber). In *A Hope for Poetry* (Blackwell) Mr. Cecil Day-Lewis put forward a reasoned plea for the poetry of himself and other members of the group. The best volume of the year was Mr. Edwin Muir's remarkably sincere and accomplished *Variations on a Time Theme* (Dent), and among the poets with assured reputations, Mr. Edmund Blunden's *Choice or Chance* (Cobden Sanderson) and Mr. Roy Campbell's *Mithraic Emblems* (Boriswood) were welcome contributions. Two new poets who deserve careful and respectful attention were Mr. Dylan Thomas with his first offer of *Eighteen Poems* (Parton Bookshop), and Miss Lilian Bowes-Lyon with *The White Hare* (Cape). Miss Bowes-Lyon's careful technique is

of special interest to an age which is endeavouring to assess the influence of Gerard Manley Hopkins. In applied as opposed to pure poetry the outstanding volume was Mr. Robert Nichols' **Fisbo* (Heinemann), a vigorous and passionate satire on literary and social pretension. Mr. Gerald Bullett's *The Bubble* (Dent), in a less ambitious manner, was a lively and enjoyable footnote to contemporary literary politics and sociology. Mr. H. Horsnell's *The Horoscope: A Biographical Poem* (H. Hamilton) was also of interest. The anthologist was more than usually busy. Mr. Thomas Moult continued his annual search for *The Best Poems, 1934* (Cape), Mr. M. Wollmann gave a genial and generous report on *Modern Poetry, 1922-1934* (Macmillan), and there were several good poems in a new venture, catering for all tastes, in *The Year's Poetry, 1934* (Lane), compiled by an editorial board consisting of Messrs. Gerald Gould, John Lehmann, and Denys Kilham Roberts. To future anthologists must be left the task of distinguishing between the merits of the American contingent in Mr. Ezra Pound's *Homage to Sextus Propertius* (Faber) and Mr. Conrad Aiken's *Landscape West of Eden* (Dent), of mature poets such as Mr. Frank Kendon in *Tristram* (Dent), Mr. W. J. Turner in *Jack and Jill* (Dent), Mr. Hugh MacDiarmid in *Stony Limits* (Gollancz) and *Selected Poems* (Macmillan), Mr. C. SchifE in *Poems* (E. G. Wise) and Mr. Alec Brown in *Cranes at Sunrise* (Boriswood), and of eager moderns in Mr. Ronald Bottrall's *Festivals of Fire* (Fabcr), Mr. John Pudney's *Open the Sky* (Boriswood), and Mr. John Lehmann's *Noise of History* (Hogarth Press).

Criticism of modern poetry has, as usual, taken sides with almost political fervour. On the modernist left, Mr. Michael Roberts's *Critique of Poetry* (Cape) approached the problem with enthusiasm and obvious sympathy, and Miss Edith Sitwell in *Aspects of Modern Poetry* (Duckworth) wrote with passionate and eclectic advocacy. In the centre, Professor Bullough in *The Trend of Modern Poetry* (Oliver & Boyd) endeavoured to be comprehensive and fair to all tendencies, Miss Dilys Powell in *Descent from Parnassus* (Cresset Press) surveyed recent poetry from D. H. Lawrence to Mr. Spender, and Mr. E. M. W. Tillyard discussed the problem of *Poetry Direct and Oblique* (Constable). On the extreme right Mr. John Sparrow in *Sense and Poetry* (Constable) deployed all his forensic ingenuity as prosecutor in what must have seemed to him a very unsavoury case. An important questionnaire on contemporary poetical moods and motives was answered by a variety of modern writers in *New Vetse* (Grigson).

In the field of drama and its history the crop has again been good. The most considerable contribution was Miss K. M. Lea's *Italian Popular Comedy* (Oxford University Press), a serious and fully documented study in two volumes of the *Commedia dell' Arte (1560-1620),* with special reference to its effect on the drama of the age of Shakespeare. The Rev. Montague Summers in *The Restoration Theatie* (Kegan Paul) gave a comprehensive account of the audience, costume, and staging of the reign of Charles I I . Mr. Lee Simonson in *Theatre Art* (Allen & Unwin) provided a permanent record of a remarkable exhibition in America of early stage designs, including rarities from the Stockholm collections. Mr. L. H. Meeks issued a detailed study of *Sheridan Knowles and the Theatre of his Time*

(Williams & Norgate). Theory and practice were represented by Mr. Granville-Barker's suggestive *Study of Drama* (Cambridge University Press) and Mr. Cecil Chisholm's provocative *Repertory* (P. Davies). On the margin of the drama Mr. A. E. Wilson's *Christmas Pantomime* (Allen & Unwin) and Mr. A. L. Haskell's *Balletomania* (Gollancz) were of more than usual attractiveness. Earlier English drama was represented by *Five Pre-Shakespearian Comedies* (Oxford University Press), *Five Elizabethan Comedies* (Oxford University Press), and the first volume of a new edition of *The Plays of John Marston* (Oliver & Boyd). In contemporary drama, among the older masters, Mr. Bernard Shaw's *Complete Prefaces* (Constable) appeared in one massive volume, and his *Three Plays* (Constable) " Too Good to be True," " Village Wooing," and " On the Rocks," were added to the Standard Edition. Mr. Somerset Maugham added Volumes V. and VI. to his *Collected Plays* (Heinemann), and Mr. W. B. Yeats balanced his important *Collected Poems* of last year by his equally significant *Collected Plays* (Macmillan), as well as a separate volume *Wheels and Butterflies* (Macmillan), and the beautifully printed *Words Upon the Window Pane* (Cuala Press). Mr. T. S. Eliot made a distinguished entry into drama with his pageant in verse *The Rock* (Faber). Mr. Noel Coward offered seven chosen works as a **Play Parade* (Heinemann), with a lively preface, as well as a new *Conversation Piece* (Heinemann). Of special interest was the publication of D. H. Lawrence's *A Collier's Saturday Night* (Seeker), a moving dramatisation of part of *Sons and Lovers. Famous Plays of 1933-34* (Gollancz) gave some of the year's successes in compact form. Mr. James Bridie collected some of his forceful pieces in *A Sleeping Clergyman and other Plays* (Constable). Mr. Sidney Kingsley's much-discussed *Men in White* (Gollancz) was made available for more leisured consideration, as was Mr. Brinsley Macnamara's *Margaret Gillan* (Allen & Unwin). From America came Mr. O'Neill's two new plays *Ah Wilderness* and *Days Without End* (Cape).

In foreign drama Mrs. Constance Garnett added yet another star to her galaxy of Russian translations in Turgenev's *Three Plays* (Cassell), while the contemporary Russian theatre was well represented by Mr. P. A. Markov's expert and most copiously illustrated survey of *The Soviet Theatre* (Gollancz) and by a version of V. Kateev's amusing satire *Squaring the Circle* (Wishart). Mr. Ernst Toller's *The Blind Goddess* was translated from the German and a new and subtle dramatist was revealed in Mr. Helge Krog's *Three Plays* (Boriswood), translated by Mr. Roy Campbell from the Norwegian.

The study of literature proceeds with unabated vigour, opening up new fields, revising traditional views, re-editing the classics with the aid of new materials and new techniques. Critical analysis has been helped by two outstanding publications : * *Determinations* (Chatto & Windus), a selection by Mr. F. R. Lea vis from critical essays appearing in his magazine, *Scrutiny,* was an important contribution towards clarity of thinking and discrimination in literary matters. The eagerness of the contributors' search for standards and their refusal to be duped into mass-thinking is as valuable and refreshing as it is rare in present-day published

criticism. Mr. I. A. Richards in *Coleridge on the Imagination* (Kegan Paul) gave the best that scientific detachment can contribute to the study of literature. The bases of criticism were explored by Professor J. W. H. Atkins in two massive volumes on *Literary Criticism in Antiquity* (Cambridge University Press), and by Mr. T. R. Henn on *Longinus and English Criticism* (Cambridge University Press). A theme more recently fashionable was touched on by Mr. T. Gilbey in *Poetic Experience, An Introduction to Thomist Aesthetic* (Sheed & Ward). Mr. T. S. Eliot in *After Strange Gods* (Faber) examined the problems of religion and tradition, and Professor E. de Selincourt collected his *Oxford Lectures on Poetry* (Oxford University Press). The study of language was productive of both general and particular contributions. Mr. B. Groom in *A Short History of English Words* (Macmillan) traced the cultural evolution of the English vocabulary in the light thrown by the great Oxford Dictionary. Mr. C. T. Carr, for the Society for Pure English, examined with fruitful results *The German Influence on the English Vocabulary* (Oxford University Press), while Mr. W. J. Lewis contributed to a much-needed kind of special study a survey of *The Language of Cricket* (Oxford University Press). Mr F. W. Bateson in *English Poetry and the English Language* (Oxford University Press), took an unusual cross-section of literary history. The novel came in for some attention. Dr. E. A. Baker extended his voluminous *History of the English Novel* (Witherby) by a section on *The Novel of Sentiment and the Gothic Romance,* while Mr. K. K. Mehotra gave a more detailed study of *Horace W al pole and the English Novel* (Blackwell). Professor Pelham Edgar dealt with more technical problems in *The Art of the Novel from 1700 to the Present Day* (Macmillan). More modern matters were dealt with by Mr. F. Budgen in an intimate account of *James Joyce and the Making of Ulysses* (Grayson), and by Mr. B. Singh in a somewhat chastening analysis of *Anglo-Indian Fiction* (Oxford University Press).

The most brilliant study of media3val English literature was Professor J. L. Lowes' masterly volume of lectures on *Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford University Press). The Elizabethans received important illumination in Mr. Mark Eccles' fruitful researches into the picturesque life of *Christopher Marlowe in London* (Oxford University Press). The conditions of literary life under Queen Elizabeth were displayed in two volumes. Miss C. Gebert's *Anthology of Elizabethan Dedications and Prefaces* (Oxford University Press) and Mr. C. B. Judges' *Elizabethan Book Pirates* (Oxford University Press). The giant Variorum Edition of Spenser moved slowly forward by Books I I . and I I I . of *The Faerie Queene* (Oxford University Press). Professor W. L. Renwick produced a careful edition of Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland* (Partridge). Mr. H. Stein's *Studies in Spenser's Complaints* (Oxford University Press) and Mr. F. R. Johnson's *Critical Bibliography of the Works of Edmund Spenser* (Oxford University Press) were valuable additions to scholarship. Shakespearean studies though few were all relevant and necessary. Mr. Granville-Barker and Dr. G. B. Harrison edited an indispensable *Companion to Shakespeare Studies* (Cambridge University Press). Professor Dover Wilson gave the fruits of long speculation in *The MS. of Shakespeare's Hamlet and the*

Problems of its Transmission, 2 vols. (Cambridge University Press), as well as an edition of *Hamlet* (Cambridge University Press) in the New Cambridge Shakespeare. Mr. E. E. Willoughby studied William Jaggard as *A Printer of Shakespeare* (P. Allan), and Miss Waddell piously edited two chapters on *Shakespeare* (Cambridge University Press) by the late Professor Saintsbury. Mr. J. Isaacs presented the first unified study of *Production and Stage Management at the Blackfriars Theatre* (Oxford University Press). Mr. John Palmer published a stimulating and unacademic study of *Ben Jonson* (Routledge), Miss F. A. Yates made a really important contribution to the study of Shakespearean England in a biography of *John Florio* (Cambridge University Press), and Mr. T. S. Eliot collected from various sources his subtle and suggestive *Elizabethan Essays* (Faber).

Seventeenth-century studies were fewer, but there was still interest in the poets of the metaphysical mood, and two studies, Mr. J. B. Irishman's *The Metaphysical Poets* (Oxford University Press) treated in an introductory manner of Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, and Traherne, while Mrs. Joan Bennett for her *Four Metaphysical Poets* (Cambridge University Press) chose Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, and Crashaw. The great Columbia Edition of *Milton* made considerable progress under the editorship of Professor F. A. Pattison with the publication of Volumes XIV., XV., XVI., and XVII. (Oxford University Press). A valuable special study was Mr. G. C. Taylor's *Milton's Use of Du Bartas* (Oxford University Press), and Professor W. Haller's three volumes of *Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution (1638-1647),* (Oxford University Press), richly illuminated the background of Milton's *Areopagitica.* Milton's one-time associate *Peter Sterry, Platonist and Puritan* (Cambridge University Press), was very agreeably resuscitated by Professor Pinto, and Professor J. Laird gave a valuable account of *Hobbes the Philosopher* (Benn). The Oxford Anthologies of poetry received a valuable and expert addition in *The Oxford Book of 17th Century Verse* (Oxford University Press), by Professors H. J. C. Grierson and G. Bullough, and in a special field, Mr. Willard Thorp's edition of *Songs from the Restoration Theatre* (Oxford University Press) was worth doing. Mr. Basil Willey's *The Seventeenth Century Background* (Chatto) was an invaluable guide to the thought of the age. The eighteenth century fared somewhat better. Mr. Willard Connely gave the first biography for some years of *Sir Richard Steele* (Cape). Mr. R. J. Allen poured new light into *The Clubs of Augustan London* (Oxford University Press). Bernard Mandeville's brilliant *Fable of the Bees* (Wishart) was re-edited by Mr. Douglas Garman. An important study in the now fashionable field of intellectual history was Miss Lois Whitney's *Primitivism and the Idea of Progress in English Popular Literature of the 18th Century* (Oxford University Press). A more adventurous background emerged from Mr. W. H. Bonner's *Captain William Dampier, Buccaneer and Author* (Oxford University Press). The chief event in this field was the revision of Birkbeck Hill's edition of *BoswelVs Life of Johnson* by Mr. L. F. Powell, 4 vols. (Oxford University Press). *A Minor Augustan* (George Lord Lyttelton) was studied by Mr. A. V. Rao (The Book

Company, Calcutta). An important new source for social history and pre-romantic literary feeling was opened up in *The Torrington Diaries* (Vol. I. 1781-88), edited by the Honourable John Byng (Eyre & Spottiswoode), and the background of literature and economic studies was admirably investigated in Mr. Eli Ginzberg's *The House of Adam Smith* (Oxford University Press), a study of the background and sources of " The Wealth of Nations." A special word must also be said for the unobtrusive but scrupulous editing by Mr. John Hayward of the Nonsuch Press *Swift.*

In the Romantic period some important additions were made, notably the completion, with Volumes I. and VIII., of the admirable Halliford Edition of the fascinating works of Thomas Love Peacock, under the expert editorship of Mr. H. F. B. Brett-Smith (Constable). Mr. M. R. Ridley produced a methodical study of *Keats[9] Craftsmanship* (Milford). The centenary of the deaths of those two fast friends Lamb and Coleridge produced Mr. Edmund Blunden's *Charles Lamb, His Life recorded by his Contemporaries* (Hogarth Press), and under Mr. Blunden and Mr. E. L. Griggs's editorship a composite tribute to *Coleridge* (Constable). Coleridge's *Treatise on Method* (Constable) was an important reprint. Mr. P. P. Howe's comprehensive new edition of Hazlitt (Dent) was also completed during the year. Two minor but representative figures were studied in Mr. Osbert Burclett's *The Rev. Sydney Smith* (Chapman & Hall) and Miss Elsie Swann's *Christoplter North* (John Wilson), (Oliver & Boyd). The sixth volume of *Scott's Letters* appeared (Constable), and an interesting batch of *Letters of Thos. Jefferson Hogg to Jane Williams* (Oxford University Press) illuminated the world of Shelley. A very important study of taste and ideas was Mr. Roderick Marshall's *Italy in English Literature, 1755-1815* (Oxford University Press), a study of the origin of the Romantic interest in Italy. In the nineteenth century the crop was thin. Mr. S. E. Baldwin wrote on Charles Kingsley (Oxford University Press). The great biography of Carlyle was completed in Mr. D. A. Wilson and Mr. D. W. MacArthur's *Carlyle in Old Age, 1865-1881* (Kegan Paul). Lord David Cecil published a pleasant volume of essays in revaluation of the *Early Victorian Novelists* (Constable). Bronte enthusiasts were grateful for *The Poems of Charlotte, Patrick, Emily and Anne Bronte,* 2 vols. (Blackwell). Browning studies received an addition from an unusual but appropriate quarter in Miss J. Berlin-Lieberman's study of *Robert Browning and Hebraism* (University of Jerusalem). The Centenary of the birth of William Morris evoked an important study of *William Morris,* by Mr. P. Bloomfield (Barker), and a richly illustrated study by Mr. G. H. Crow of *William Morris: Designer* (Studio). Mr. H. Blodgett studied the literary fortunes of *Walt Whitman in England* (Oxford University Press), and *Further Extracts from the Notebooks* threw light on the mind of Samuel Butler (Cape). A welcome publication to those whose mood is still of the nineties was Mr. Desmond Flower's beautifully produced edition of *The Poetical Works of Ernest Dowson* (Cassell & Lane) with its important additions to the body of *Dowson's Poetry.* Mr. Flower also issued a convenient list, *A Century of Best Sellers, 1830-1930* (National Book Council). In more recent literature the interest in D. H. Lawrence was maintained,

and Messrs. E. and A. Brewster contributed *Reminiscences and Correspondence of D. H. Lawrence* (Seeker). Mr. H. Gregory wrote *Pilgrim of the Apocalypse*, a critical *Study of D. H. Lawrence* (Seeker), and Lawrence's own *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine* (Seeker) was made available for the first time in England. Mr. Hermon Ould gave his personal view of John Galsworthy (Chapman & Hall), written from the privileged position of secretary to the P.E.N. Club. Miss Nancy Cunard issued her massive anthology of work by coloured authors, *Negro* (Wishart). A provocative study of *Modern Prose Style* came from Mr. Bonamy Dobree (Oxford University Press). Miss Priscilla Thouless wrote on that greatest of lost causes *Modern Poetic Drama* (Blackwell), and Professor J. W. Cunliffe gave us his account of *English Literature in the 20th Century* (Macmillan). One of the most startling books of the year was the sensational result of Mr. J. Carter and Mr. G. Pollard's *Enquiry into the Nature of certain 19th Century Pamphlets* (Constable), a remarkable piece of pure bibliographical research, very disconcerting to the hitherto proud possessors of the poetical rarities discussed. A useful volume was the record by Mr. F. A. Mumby of the hundred years' publishing activity of *The House of Routledge, 1824-1934* (Routledge).

Studies in ancient and foreign literatures produced some interesting works. Professor H. J. Rose wrote a *Handbook of Greek Literature from Homer to the Age of Lucian* (Methuen), Mr. A. L. Wheeler an account of *Catullus and the Tradition of Ancient Poetry* (Cambridge University Press), and Mr. F. J. E. Raby an important history in two volumes of *Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages* (Clarendon Press). In French studies a useful and welcome volume was *The Concise Oxford French Dictionary* by Abel and Marguerite Chevalley (Clarendon Press). Mr. C. W. Hendel gave an important study of *Jean Jacques Rousseau: Moralist*, 2 vols. (Oxford University Press). Mr. H. C. Hastings edited *H. de Balzac's Letters to his Family, 1809-1850* (Oxford University Press). Mr. A. R. Chisholm wrote an unusually interesting study in *Towards Herodiade* (Oxford University Press) of the intellectual growth of French poetry from Leconte de Lisle to Mallarme. Mrs. G. Turquet-Milnes provided English readers with yet another handbook to Paul Valery (Cape), and Professor Regis Michaud wrote an illuminating study of *Modern Thought and Literature in France* (Funk & Wagnall), to which problem Mr. P. L. Quint's *Andre Gide, His Life and Works* (Cape) was an important contribution. In German studies the outstanding work was the very scholarly survey of *The German language* (Faber), by Professors R. Priebsch and W. E. Collinson. Mr. E. K. Bennett's *A History of the German Novelle* (Oxford University Press) traced the course of the short novel from Goethe to Thomas Mann. The position of present-day Russian literature was reported in *Literature of the Peoples of the U.S.S.R.* (Martin Lawrence).

Historical studies were plentiful, but apart from a few distinguished exceptions the year was not outstanding in its achievement in this field. Mr. V. G. Childe threw *New Light on the Most Ancient East, The Oriental Prelude to European Pre-History* (Kegan Paul). Mr. Edward Eyre launched the first volume of a new composite work on *European Civilization* (Oxford

University Press), Mr. Stanley Casson gave a useful summary of *The Progress of Archceology* (Bell), and Professor J. Garstang made some interesting conjectures in *The Heritage of Solomon* (Williams & Norgate), an historical introduction to the sociology of Ancient Palestine. In ancient history Professor F. A. Wright published a very readable account of *Alexander the Great* (Routledge), and two important Roman studies were Mr. J. P. V. D. Balsdon's *The Emperor Gaius (Caligula),* (Oxford University Press), and Mr. A. Monigliano's *Claudius the Emperor and his Achievement,* translated by Mr. W. D. Hogarth (Clarendon Press). **The Augustan Empire* was the theme of the tenth volume of the **Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge University Press). Chinese history received two notable additions, Mr. R. Gousset's copiously illustrated *China* (H. Hamilton) and Professor K. S. Latourelle's *The Chinese, Their History and Culture,* 2 vols. (Macmillan). Mediaeval continental history was represented by Mr. L. Elliott-Binns's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Mediceval Papacy* (Methuen). Spain was well represented in Mr. Reginald Merton's *Cardinal Ximenes and the Making of Spain* (Kegan Paul), in Professor R. Pidal's *The Cid and his Spain* (Murray), and Mr. L. Bertrand and Sir F. Petrie's *History of Spain, 711-1931* (Eyre & Spottiswoode). Professor A. J. Grant's study of *The Huguenots* in the Home University Library (T. Butterworth) was a model of compression. Mr. David Larg's *Giuseppe Garibaldi* (Peter Davies) represented Italy, and Mr. S. K. Padover's *The Revolutionary Emperor Joseph the Second* (Cape) explored Teutonic history.

In English history two valuable aids to research were Dr. R. L. Poole's masterly *Studies in Chronology and History* (Oxford University Press) and Mr. V. H. Galbraith's useful *Introduction to the Use of the Public Records* (Oxford University Press). Of fundamental importance in the serious study of history as a philosophical conception was the first instalment in three volumes of Professor A. J. Toynbee's **A Study of History* (Oxford University Press), and stimulating in its sweep of vision was the second volume of Professor Preserved Smith's *History of Modern Culture* (Routledge). William the Conqueror was treated for the general reader by Miss M. Coryn in *The Acquirer, 1027-1087* (Barker), and more seriously by Mr. Phillips Russell in *William the Conqueror* (Scribner's). Professor E. G. R. Taylor followed up her *Early Tudor Geography* with an equally admirable and illuminating survey of *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography (1583-1650),* (Methuen). The Tudor period was also examined in Mr. Kenneth Pickthorn's *Early Tudor Government* under Henry VII. and Henry VIII. (Cambridge University Press). One of the most important studies of the year was Professor J. E. Neale's *Queen Elizabeth* (Cape), whose only fault lay in the absence of the notes and bibliography so necessary to scholarship. Oliver Cromwell was given full attention in the studies of Mr. John Buchan (Hodder & Stoughton), and Mr. Hilaire Belloc (Cassell), and in a valuable special study by Mr. M. P. Ashley of *Financial and Commercial Policy under the Cromwellian Protectorate* (Oxford University Press). Of special interest to students of Milton and his *Areopagitica* was an important study by Mr. W. R. Clyde of *The Struggle for the Freedom*

of the Press from Caxton to Cromwell (Oxford University Press). Mr. James Cleugh's *Life of Prince Rupert* (Bles) was carefully written, and Miss Louise F. Brown's account of *The First Earl of Shaftesbury* (Appleton) was a valuable contribution to the study of the period. Three works on the reign of Charles the Second stood out among the year's productions. Of the highest importance was Professor G. N. Clark's brilliant synthesis of the history of *The Later Stuarts* (Oxford University Press), offered as the first instalment of the new Oxford History of England. Mr. David Ogg, in two solid volumes, gave a magnificent account of *England in the Reign of Charles II.* (Oxford University Press), and Mr. Arthur Bryant in *The England of Charles II.* (Longmans) wrote a short but concise and readable survey of the same field. Mr. M. R. Hopkinson wrote on *Anne of England* (Constable). Professor G. M. Trevelyan completed his impressive history of England under Queen Anne with a third volume on **The Peace and the Protestant Succession* (Longmans). The second volume of Mr. Winston Churchill's *Marlborough* (Harrap) covered the four years from 1702 to 1705. Professor Sykes gave an account of *Church and State in England m the 18th Century* (Cambridge University Press), and Mr. R. B. Mowat in *The Age of Reason* (Harrap) discussed the continent of Europe in the eighteenth century.

Some less ambitious studies deserve special mention. Miss Elizabeth Gilboy investigated *Wages in 18th Century England* (Oxford University Press), Mr. D. J. Jones surveyed *The Economic History of South Wales prior to 1800* (Oxford University Press), and Mr. E. M. Hampson found much profit in discussing *The Treatment of Poverty in Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge University Press). Two biographies were of value, Mr. R. E. Turner's *James Silk Buckingham, 1786-1835* (Williams & Norgate), illuminated the social history, and Mr. Christopher Hobhouse's *Fox* (Constable), the political background of their ages. Of wider significance were Miss Helen T. Manning's *British Colonial Government after the American Revolution, 1782-1820* (Oxford University Press), and Messrs. E. Thompson and G. T. Garratt's **Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India* (Macmillan). American history produced two studies of special interest, Professor B. W. Bond's *The Civilization of the Old North-west: A Study of Political, Social, and Economic Development (1788-1812),* (Macmillan), and Mr. F. A. Shannon's *Economic History of the People of the United States* (Macmillan).

More recent history began with Mr. Crane Brinton's admirable summary of *A Decade of Revolution (1789-1799),* (Harper), with the little-known effects examined in an important study by Mr. F. 0. Darvall of *Popular Disturbances and Public Order in Regency England* (Oxford University Press). The conditions of the new century were attractively displayed in the two volumes of *Early Victorian England* (Oxford University Press), compiled on the same plan as the well-known *Shakespeare's England* and *Johnson's England.* Mr. Gamaliel Milner gave an interesting picture of *The Threshold of the Victorian Age* (Williams & Norgate). The centenary of the Tolpuddle Martyrs episode was marked by the publication of Marjorie M. Firth and A. W. Hopkinson's *The Tolpuddle Martyrs* (Hopkinson) and *The Book of the Martyrs of Tolpuddle, 18341934* (Trade Unions Council). The

liberal and democratic viewpoints of the nineteenth century were examined in Mr. 0. F. Christie's *The Transition to Democracy, 1867-1914* (Routledge), in Benedetto Croce's *History of Europe in the 19th Century* (Allen & Un win), and in Mr. Bertrand Russell's *Freedom and Organisation, 1814-1911* (Oxford University Press). The beginning of the twentieth century is now sufficiently remote for history to take it over, and Mr. Elie Halevy's masterly *History of the English People* (Benn) dealt in the Epilogue with the years from 1905 to 1915. Mr. J. A. Spender wrote an admirable *Short History of Our Times* (Cassell), and Mr. Gerald Heard m *These Hurrying Years* (Chatto & Windus) gave an historical outline of the years 1900-1933. Miss Dorothy Knowles' *The Censor, the Drama, and the Film, 1900-1934* (Allen & Un win), was an important contribution to the sociology of our time.

For contemporary history Professor A. J. Toynbee's *Survey of International Affairs, 1933* (Oxford University Press), was an indispensable guide, and with the changes in Germany, European matters continued to attract English attention. *The Berlin Diaries,* edited by Dr. Helmut Klotz (Jarrolds), made some startling revelations of intrigue, Mr. Douglas Reed gave a carefully selected report of the sensational trial lor *The Burning of the Reichstag* (Gollancz). *Heil* (Lane) was a picture-book throwing unfamiliar light from authentic sources on prominent Nazi personalities. Miss Dorothy Woodman edited under the title of *Hitler Rearms* (Lane) an account of the recent developments in German armaments. Russian affairs were made clearer by two important publications. Mr. A. Rosenberg's *History of Bolshevism from Marx to the First Five Year Plan* (Oxford University Press), and Messrs. J. Bunyanand F. H.Fisher's *The Bolshevist Revolution, 1917-1918, Documents and Materials* (Oxford University Press). A useful guide to the evolution of *Russian Sociology* was written by Professor Julius F. Hecker (Chapman & Hall), and Professor H. Levy edited a collection of essays designed to make clear *Certain Aspects of Dialectical Materialism* (Watts). Miss L. von Koerber in *Soviet Russia Fights Crime* (Routledge), and Mr. F. F. Williams in *Soviet Russia Fights Neurosis* (Routledge), showed some of the practical workings of the U.S.S.R.

A larger number than usual of interesting memoirs and biographies was available for the building up of recent history. Mr. J. L. Hammond's *Life of C. P. Scott of the Manchester Guardian* (Bell) was a fine tribute to a man whose influence on public affairs is still felt, and Mr. E. M. Forster wrote a work of piety in a memoir of *Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson* (Arnold) whose influence was of a more personal nature. Of public figures Mr. Hamilton Fyfe's *T. P. O'Connor* (Allen & Unwin) and Miss Daphne du Maurier's portrait of *Gerald* (Gollancz) were admirable memorials. Mr. E. H. Carr in *Karl Marx, a Study in Fanaticism* (Dent), and Mr. St. John Irvine in *God's Soldier (General Booth),* (Heinemann), portrayed the founders of two very different religions. An unusual but fascinating subject was depicted in Mr. H. Baerlein's *Belmonte the Matador* (T. Butter worth). The history of the past forty years received valuable material for its illumination. Mr. J. L. Garvin's important life of *Joseph Chamberlain* (Macmillan) reached its third volume, covering the years 1895-1900.

The Journals and Letters of Viscount Esher, Vol. II. (Watson & Nicholson), covered the years 1903-10, *India Minto and Morley* (Macmillan), the period from 1905-10, *The War Memoirs of Lloyd George,* Vols. III. and IV. (Watson & Nicholson), threw some lurid light on the sacrifices at Passchendaele, the Rt. Honourable Christopher Addison in *Four and a Half Years,* Vol. II. (Hutchinson), described the troubled period 1914-16. Mr. Ian Colvin completed *The Life of Lord Carson* (Gollancz). Mr. Harold Nicholson gave a searching analysis of *Curzon, the Last Phase, 1919-J925* (Constable), and in his *Autobiography* (Watson & Nicholson) Viscount Snowden wrote one of the most readable and revealing of recent political autobiographies. In foreign affairs Mr. A. Kerensky's *Crucifixion of Liberty* (Barker) offered posterity an alternative view to the vivid dramatic record in Trotsky's account of the Russian revolution. Two almost epic careers were excitingly treated in Mr. Liddell Hart's " *T. E. Lawrence* " *in Arabia and after* (Cape) and Mr. Karel Capek's *President Masaryk Tells His Story* (Allen & Unwin). Outside politics appeared a number of important and in many cases exciting memoirs. The chief event of the year in this field was Mr. H. G. Wells's **Experiment in Autobiography,* 2 vols. (Gollancz), a monumental history of a troubled era. The world of letters after the war was lightly sketched by Mr. Ford Madox Ford in *It was the Nightingale* (Heinemann), and more personally in Mr. Liam O'Flaherty's *Shame the Devil* (Grayson). Two extensive and widely contrasting autobiographies were Mr. J. Cowper Powys's *Autobiography* (Lane), and Mr. Norman Douglas's *Autobiographical Excursion* (Chatto & Windus). The late L. R. Farnell's *An Oxonian Looks Back* (Hopkmson) reminded many readers of the vicissitudes of a post-war Vice-Chancellor, and Mr. Humbert Wolfe's *Portraits by Inference* (Methuen) was another of the prose works for which he is rapidly earning a reputation Two works of rich sincerity and dignity were acutely topical, the late Jacob Wassermann's *My Life as German and Jew* (Allen & Unwin), and Mr. Ernst Toller's I *was a German* (Lane). Of older biography the most distinguished was Mr. L. T. More's masterly life of **Isaac Newton* (Scribner's), and of special interest were Miss E. R. G. Routh's *Sir Thomas More and his Friends* (Oxford University Press), Mr. Stefan Zweig's *Erasmus* (Cassell), and the late P. S. Allen's important collection *Erasmus Lectwes and Sketches* (Oxford University Press). *The Life of Cervantes* was translated from the work of Senor Mariano Tomas (Allen & Unwin). Lord Ponsonby as a specialist in diaries wrote a life of *John Evelyn* (Heinemann), Miss Margaret Goldsmith a study of that fascinating person *Franz Anton Mesmer* (Barker), and Mrs. Una Pope-Hennessey of *Edgar Allan Poe* (Macmillan). Two biographies, Ludwig Marcuse's *Heinrich Heine* (Sidgwick & Jackson), and Mrs. Antonina Vallentin's *Poet in Exile* (Gollancz) revived interest in a significant European figure.

A more than usually interesting section was that of art both pure and applied. The English Exhibition evoked a stimulating work in the late Roger Fry's *Reflections on British Painting* (Faber). His disciple Mr. Clive Bell moved away from some of his older positions in *Enjoying Pictures* (Chatto & Windus). Mr. Herbert Read opened an important discussion of the relation between *Art and Industry* (Faber) and also gave

an appreciation, fully illustrated, of the most distinguished of modem English sculptors, *Henry Moore* (Zwemmer). Mrs. Virginia Woolf wrote a pleasing causerie on *Walter Sickert* (Hogarth Press). Mr. R. H. Wilenski, with his customary thoroughness and gaiety, dealt with the problems of *The Study of Art* (Faber), and Miss Anna M. Berry gave a delightfully commented anthology of *Art for Children* (Studio). The technical side of art was represented in a sumptuous publication, *C. P. Piccolpasso (1524-79), Three Books of Potters' Art* (Kegan Paul, for the Victoria and Albert Museum), and in Mr. H. Hiler's *Notes on the Technique of Painting* (Faber). Mr. D. R. Buxton compiled the first monograph in English on Russian Mediaeval Architecture (Cambridge University Press). Professor A. R. McComb wrote an admirably concise introduction to *The Baroque Painters of Italy* (Oxford University Press), and Mr. E. R. McColvm compiled a much-needed bibliography of *Painting, a Guide to the Best Books* (Grafton). In Eastern art some important volumes appeared. Mr. Yone Noguchi issued a monograph on *Hiroshige* (Kegan Paul), Mr. B. M. Alexeev a *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Chinese Paintings in Leningrad, 1934* (Luzac), and Mr. Laurence Binyon's **Paintmg in the Far East* (Arnold) was completely renewed in the light of far-reaching advances in knowledge.

In music The Oxford History issued Volume VII., *Symphony and the Drama, 1850-1900,* by Mr. H. C. Colles (Oxford University Press). Mr. A. L. Bacharach edited a valuable and helpful compendium of musical knowledge in *The Musical Companion* (Gollancz), and Miss Hilda Andrews issued a helpful and simple analysis of *Modern Harmony (*Oxford University Press). In musical biography Mr. Sacheverell Sitwell wrote charmingly on *Liszt* (Faber), and Mr. Ernest Newman, with his usual penetration, on *The Man Liszt* (Cassell). Rossini was treated by Dr. F. Toye in *Rossini, A Study in Tragi-Comedy* (Heinemann) and by Lord Derwent in *Rossini and Some Forgotten Nightingales* (Duckworth). Mr. William Murdoch wrote on *Chopin, His Life* (Murray), Sir W. H. Hadow contributed a brilliant study of *Richard Wagner* to the Home University Library (T. Butterworth), and Mr. Ralph Bates gave an account of *Franz Schubert* (Peter Davies). A work of special interest to modern musicians was the fantastic tale by Mr. Cecil Gray of that dual person *Peter Warlock—Philip Heseltine* (Cape).

Several works of importance inevitably elude classification. Mr. J. W. Dunne's *The Serial Universe* (Faber) excited even more readers than the earlier *Experiment with Time.* Mr. T. S. Eliot in *After Strange Gods* (Faber) dealt with problems on the border line of literature and belief, and many were glad to have Dean Inge's *Vale* (Longmans). Mr. Lewis Mumford's *Technics and Civilization* (Routledge) was of such relevance to modern problems in a machine age as to receive praise as " the most important sociological work in English this century," a claim that could be investigated with the aid of Professor Morris Ginsberg's masterly survey of *Sociology* in the Home University Library (T. Butterworth). Mr. Lionel Curtis in **Civitas Dei* (Macmillan) earned respect for his powers of historical vision. In science the late Sir J. Arthur Thomson's *Science To-day* (Eyre & Spottiswoode) and Professors E. N. da C. Andrade and

Julian Huxley's *Simple Science* (Blackwell) helped to clear the ground for the simple man, while for more advanced minds, Professor A. N. Whitehead's *Nature and Life* (Cambridge "University Press) was full of power and subtlety. Mr. J. W. N. Sullivan's *Contemporary Mind* (H. Toulmin) was another valuable aid to understanding. Two admirable collections of prose were Mr. Sacheverell SitwelPs *Touching the Orient* (Duckworth) and Mr. Aldous Huxley's *Beyond the Mexique Bay* (Chatto & Windus). One of the grimmest books of the year was Mr. Fritz Seidler's *The Bloodless Pogrom* (Gollancz), for which the completion of the Soncino Press translation of *The Zohar* offered mystical consolation.

A welcome feature of the year was the increase in the number of new and interesting periodicals. Important changes took place in some existing journals. The *New Statesmen* and the *Week End Review* were amalgamated under the editorship of Mr. Kingsley Martin. Sir John Squire resigned the editorship of *The London Mercury* in favour of Mr. R. A. Scott-James, and at the end of the year the old-established *Bookman* ceased publication on being incorporated in *The London Mercury. Life and Letters* became a monthly under new editorship. Of new periodicals the most interesting was *The European Quarterly,* designed under the editorship of Edwin Muir and Janko Lavrin (Stanley Nott) to fill an urgent need for information, discussion, and translation of modern European literature. *New Stories,* on the model of the famous American magazine *Story,* set out under the editorship of Mr. Edward J. O'Brien to cater specially for amateurs of the modern short story. *Viewpoints* started asa" revolutionary review of the arts," but was soon incorporated in *The Left Review* with more definite missionary aims. *Monologue* was an unusual periodical written solely by its editor Miss Lyn Irvine and reviewing books significant for the times. *E.L.H.* (Johns Hopkins University) was a welcome new and important *Journal of English Literary History* devoted largely to Renaissance studies of a high standard of scholarship. *Philosophy of Science* (Bailliere, Tindall & Cox) was an important new quarterly devoted mainly to the relations of philosophy, biology, and mathematics. *Friends of Europe* was instituted in order to provide a monthly survey of German publications, and *World,* edited by Mr. Vernon Bartlett, was a new review of current affairs. *Wine and Food* was the organ of the Wine and Food Society, a body of gourmets and connoisseurs delighting in the practical and theoretical discussion of vintages, menus, and cheeses.

In normal years foreign fiction in translation stands out by its high standard of accomplishment, but during 1934 the quality was reinforced by quantity. Nearly fifty important volumes came to us from foreign literatures. From France further instalments of two great epics, R. Martin du Gard's *The Thibaults (High Summer and Consulting Bay),* (Lane), and four volumes, Parts 3, 4, 5, 6 of the slowly unfolding and majestic *Men of Good Will* (Lovat Dickson), by Jules Romains, whose *The Body's Rapture* (Boriswood) was also made available to the public. Andre Chamson's *The Fugitive* (Lane) and Andre" Malraux's *Storm in Shanghai* (Methuen) were brilliant works by younger writers. Julien Green's *The Dreamer* (Heinemann) and G. Duhamel's *News from Havre* (Dent) completed France's

contribution. Germany was generous in sending the first instalment of Thomas Mann's new epic *The Tales of Jacob* (Seeker). That regretted master, the late Jacob Wassermann, gave *The Gooseman* (Allen & Unwin) and *Joseph Kerkhoven's Third Existence* (Allen & Un win). Franz Werfel's massive *Forty Days* (Jarrolds) was important. Arnold Zweig's *De Vriendt Goes Home* (Heinemann) was a subtle study of modern Palestinian life, and Stefan Zweig's *Kaleidoscope* (Cassell) was a collection of admirable short stories. By newer writers there were Bruno Frank's *A Man Called Cervantes* (Cassell), Leo Perutz's *The Virgin's Brand* (Butterworth), B. Traven's *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (Chatto & Windus), and Johann Rabener's *Condemned to Live* (Boriswood). German best sellers were represented by Hans Fallada's *Who Once Eats Out of the Tin Bowl* (Putnam). Of special topical interest were Leo Lania'sZaraZ *of Promise* (Lo vat Dickson), Walter Schonstedt's *Shot whilst Escaping* (Wishart), and Heinz Liepmann's *Murder Made in Germany* (H. Hamilton).

Russian fiction produced some important volumes: V. Kateev's brilliant *Forward, Oh Timet* (Gollancz), P. Romanof's *On the Volga* (Benn), V. Ilyenkov's *Driving Axle* (Lawrence), M. Sholokhov's *And Quiet Flows tlie Don* (Putnam), V. Veresayev's *The Sisters* (Hutchinson), and S. Tretiakov's *Chinese Testament* (Gollancz). The first instalment of an important new work was M. Sholokhov's *The Soil Upturned* (Putnam). From Czechoslovakia came Karel Capek's *Hordubal* (Allen & Unwm). From Scandinavia came Sigrid Undset's *Master of Hestviken* (Cassell), and a brilliant collection of *Modern Swedish Short Stones* (Cape). Marcus Lauesen's *The Very Beautiful Days* (Cassell) was translated from the Danish, H. Ostlund's *We Poor Miserable Devils* (Cassell) from the Swedish, and Johan Bojer's *The House and the Sea* (Appleton) from the Norwegian. From the Spanish came Ramon J. Sender's *Earmarked for Hell* (Wishart) and M. Galvez's *Holy Wednesday* (Lane). From the Dutch C M . Scharten-Antmk's *Happiness* (Grayson). From the Italian L. Pirandello's superb volume of short stories *The Naked Truth* (Lane) and Ignazio Silone's *Fontamara* (Methuen). From the Yiddish were S. Asch's *Salvation* (Gollancz) and a brilliant experiment in form by L. Koenig in *Week after Life* (Methuen).

In English fiction there was an obvious marking time, and except for some individual achievements and a clear tendency towards what has been labelled " the proletarian novel," the year was uneventful. One of the most impressive individual achievements was Mr. Robert Graves's *I, *Claudius* and its sequel *Claudius the God* (Barker) a subtle and impressive historical reconstruction in a modern mood. The older established writers maintained their positions, often with more than respectable work. Mr. Francis Brett Young gave *The Little World* (Heinemann). Mr. Frank Swinnerton in *Elizabeth* (Hutchinson) wrote an impressive epic of English life. Mr. J. D. Beresford in *Peckover* (Heinemann) was as subtle as usual. Miss Rose Macaulay in *Going Abroad* (Collins) was genially funny at the expense of the groups movement. Miss V. Sackville-West gave *The Dark Island* (Hogarth Press). From Mr. James Joyce came another richly enigmatical fragment of his great new work, in *The Mime of Mick Nick*

and the Maggies (Faber). The number of attractive **and** competent writers from whom we can regularly expect satisfaction increases yearly. Mr. Louis Golding gave an exciting panorama of personality in *Five Silver Daughters* (Gollancz). Mr. Sinclair Lewis in *Work of Art* (Cape) extended his sociological reports. Mr. Thornton Wilder followed in Mr. Lewis's footsteps in his satire * *Heaven's My Destination* (Longmans). Miss Helen Ashton wrote *Family Cruise* (Gollancz) and Miss Theodora Benson *Concert Pitch* (Gollancz). Mr. Myron Brinig continued his fine and spacious work in *Out of Life* (Cobden Sanderson). Mr. Louis Bromfield in *Here To-day and Gone To-morrow* (Cassell) was as accomplished as ever. Miss Evelyn Scott added to her admirers in *Breathe Upon These Slain* (Lovat Dickson). Mr. Richard Aldington in * *Women Must Work* (Chatto) returned to the path of *The ColoneVs Daughter,* and Mr. L. A. G. Strong wrote *Corporal Tune* (Gollancz).

New writers of importance are springing up on all sides, and with three, two, or even one volume to their credit excite respect. Mr. Calder Marshall's virtuosity of form was seen again in *At Sea* (Cape). Mr. J. G. Cozzens in *Castaway* (Longmans), Miss M. Meagher in *The Green Scamander* (Constable), Mr. Geoffrey Dennis in *Bloody Mary's* (Heinemann), Miss Phyllis Bentley in *Modern Tragedy* (Gollancz), Miss Noel Streatfeild in *Shepherdess of Sheep* (Heinemann) all added to their laurels. The short story was brilliantly represented. *A " Story " Anthology,* edited by Whit Burnett and Martha Foley (Cape), was a selection from a brave and important venture, and Mr. E. J. O'Brien in *Best Short Stories* (Cape) compared the achievement of English and American writers. Of American writers, Mr. William Faulkner's *Doctor Martmo* (Chatto) contained some masterpieces, as did Mr. Ernest Hemingway's *Winner Take Nothing* (Cape). Miss Dorothy Parker's wit and penetration made *After Such Pleasures* (Longmans) memorable. Among English writers Mr. H. E. Bates's *The Woman Who Had Imagination* (Cape) was among the most distinguished, and Miss Winifred Holtby's *Truth is Not Sober* (Collins), Mr. Martin Armstrong's *General Buntop's Miracle* (Gollancz), Mr. W. Beachcroft's *A Young Man in a Hurry* (Boriswood), and Mr. E. H. W. Meyerstein's *The Pageant* (Simpkin) stood out. A collected volume of *The Tales of D. H. Lawrence* (Seeker) contained 11.38 pages, and *A Modern Lover* (Seeker) was announced as a final selection of unpublished stories.

A distinguished group of novels dealt with the lives of struggling men and women of the lower classes. Mr. Jack Conroy's **Thc Disinherited* (Wishart) traced the American worker through boom and slump. Mr. Albert Halper continued in **The Foundry* (Cassell) his epic of work begun in *Union Square.* Mr. Robert Cantwell in **The Land of Plenty* (Bell) wrote of industrial unrest in a Western American town. Mr. Walter Greenwood in **His Worship the Mayor* (Cape) investigated the world of municipal scandal, and Mr. J. L. Hodson wrote of *The Harvest of the North* (Gollancz). Mr. Jack Jones's *Rhondda Roundabout* (Faber) and Mr. Dot Allen's *Hunger March* were both distinguished works. Mr. J. Brophy in *Waterfront* (Cape) was grimly effective and his **The World Went Mad* (Cape) was a brilliant panorama of the war years. A distinguished

first novel was Mr. Ralph Bates's **Lean Men* (Peter Davies), a picture of the Spanish Revolution, and Mr. Russell Green gave a first instalment in *Prophet Without Honour* of what promises to be an important social saga. Mr. Patrick Kirwan's first novel *Black Exchange* (Grayson) was a vivid glimpse of inflation Germany, and Mr. J. M. Cain's *The Postman Always Rings Twice* (Cape) was of special interest. Miss Susan Miles's **Blind Men Crossing a Bridge* (Constable) attracted much attention as did Mr. H. Allen's *Anthony Adverse* (Gollancz). Mr. F. Scott Fitzgerald, after a long silence, in **Tender is the Night* (Chatto & Windus) gave a brilliant picture of decay in the Mediterranean. Detective stories were numerous, and among dozens of brilliant efforts may be mentioned Miss M. Allingham's *Death of a Ghost* (Heinemann) in an artistic milieu, and Miss Dorothy Sayers' *Murder Must Advertise* (Gollancz), with its vivid picture of the inside of an advertising agency.

Of the above books, the following have been deemed suitable for special notice ; they are given in the order in which they happen to appear in the General Survey :—

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Fisbo, by Robert Nichols (Heinemann).—The art of satire in verse has languished since the eighteenth century, but literary abuses are so much to the fore that the spirits of Dryden and Pope, with a nod of support from Byron, seem determined to have their influence. Mr. Nichols says :

> Reader, a satire is—or so I think—
> A sort of caricature in printer's ink,

and his caricature is of a would-be leader of literary society whose poems have fallen dead from the Press, and who invokes the aid of Max S. Fitz-gammon, the publicity agent. His career, under this guidance, his public appearances, his patronage of art, artists and the theatre, are all described with headlong gusto, and a command of verse with which Mr. Nichols' serious poetry had already made us familiar. With all the minor gifts of the satirist, the invention of humorous names, and the snip-snap of the couplet, Mr. Nichols is adequately furnished, and with the major qualities of indignation and a purpose of smashing a typical imposture of the day, he is more than adequately equipped. The poem has a plan, and a purpose, and in one respect is of unusual importance : "it is not addressed to the reading eye, but to the speaking tongue and listening ear." Satire was needed to clear the air, and the closeness of the thunderstorm does not seem quite so depressing now.

Play Parade, by Noel Coward (Heinemann).—Mr. Coward, in this volume, presents seven plays for the consideration of posterity, " the most successfully experimental among my output of the last ten years," and with them a preface, stimulating, provocative, and almost impudent. The critics are all put into their places " like old ladies peering under the bed

for burglars," but with the justification that however much the critic may penetrate into Mr. Coward's motives, Mr. Coward has been there before him in self-recognition, and can explain away everything with an ingenious twist. Mr. Coward's most notable achievement is the photography of contemporary conversation, with all that is implied in the difference between photography and painting. A superb craftsman, born in the theatre, he is a master of all " curtains," " blackouts " and other devices by which the epigrams of revue-effect are transferred to a world where emotion has a proper home. By some lucky gift of detachment, Mr. Coward is able to watch post-war civilisation delighting in itself, and meets it half-way with a mirror. Mr. Coward is afraid of nothing : vice and virtue, pageantry and patriotism, tears and laughter, the tragi-comedy of war and of peace, lilting sentiment and fashionable hysteria are all garments in an extensive wardrobe, and *Cavalcade, Design for Living, Private Lives,* and *Post Mortem* represent different fancy-dresses of the mind in a perpetual Armistice-Night dance. Posterity will be grateful for this super-cavalcade, in which each play is a revealing scene.

Determinations.—Edited by F. R. Leavis (Chatto & Windus).—Mr. Leavis is one of the few people in England frenziedly concerned with the future of literature and the present of criticism. His ruthlessncss of attack has earned him many enemies in the camp of the Laodiceans. In this volume Mr. Leavis captains an eleven of critical contributors to *Scrutiny,* the periodical which, with *The Criterion,* guards the advanced critical consciousness of this country. Criticism, as understood by these critics, is " a discipline of sensibility and a labour of intelligence." If there is one dogma in which they are all united, it is that " an argument betraying Book Society taste discredits itself." In their desire to establish standards they go beyond the mere field of literature into wider places, and one of the best studies is a crashing demolition, by Mr. J. L. Russell, of the pretensions of " The Scientific Best Seller." Inevitably paying tribute to Mr. T. S. Eliot, the patriarch of the movement, there are important seventeenth-century studies of " Webster," of " Metaphysical Poetry," and a subtle analysis of " Marvell's Garden," by Mr. William Empson. More general studies of " Nostalgia," " Comedy," and " Irony," a fresh revaluation of " Burns," and an estimate of their major prophet, Mr. I. A. Richards, completes the work of a group whose importance lies in honesty, desire to understand, and refusal to accept mass standards, however persuasively put by the advertisers.

The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. X.: The Augustan Age, 44 B.C.—AJ>. 70 (Cambridge University Press).—Among the books published during the year, the tenth volume of this great monument of British scholarship must occupy **a** place of honour. It covers the first century of the common era, **a** period of history which stands out for many important landmarks in the story of civilisation—the spread of Christianity, the destruction of the Jewish State, the consolidation of the ***Pax Romana,*** and its extension to what was then the civilised world. It **was a** period full of interesting personalities—Augustus himself, Antony **and Cleopatra,** Herod, Vespasian and Titus, Virgil and Ovid : readers will

find in this volume much to instruct them on these and other well-known characters. Not an aspect of Roman life in the first century but is illuminated in these pages, whether it be the changing attitude to marriage and the social conditions which were in turn their cause and effect; the religious conceptions of an age when emperor worship became a popular cult; the influence of new legislation ; the use and abuse of luxury; the methods of warfare ; the development of art and architecture ; the growth of literature and the political framework in which the whole structure was fitted : what in effect was a dictatorship was carried out under the cloak of a free constitution in which the Senate appeared to possess the sovereign authority. Helpful in itself in being a reliable and splendid survey of a great period in the history of mankind, the volume will doubtless direct many a reader's mind to the reflexion that not a few aspects of European life to-day may be paralleled in its pages. If the study of the past is not without a moral for the understanding of the present, the tenth volume of the Cambridge Ancient History may possess a special appeal to the present generation of English readers.

A Study of History, by Arnold J. Toynbee, Vols. I.-III. (Oxford University Press).—These three volumes are not merely among the outstanding books of the year, they are among the outstanding books of the last decade. They are full of learning ; they are fruitful of ideas and problems ; they are written in a smooth, attractive style. Professor Toynbee is concerned with the study of civilisations. What is a civilisation ? Why does one continue and another disappear ? Is race or environment responsible for the rise of a civilisation ? The questions may appear to be abstract. In Professor Toynbee's pages they become alive and exciting, touching as they do not only the past but the present also. One of his theses is that societies may receive a challenge to physical environment. He instances Venice and Holland ; before you have read far he quotes Goethe's *Faust* with effect. Not only is his point driven home, but the reader derives pleasure from the instruction. Professor Toynbee's erudition appears to be stupendous, but he has the rare gift of making his learning exceedingly attractive. Buckle's *History of Civilisation* was a standard work for many generations ; it is not too much to say that Professor Toynbee's masterpiece will replace Buckle for our own and succeeding ages. His is one of those great works that appear but rarely, works that will be read not merely by the discerning, works that help to mould the thought of their generation in an eminently high degree.

England Under Queen Anne: The Peace and the Protestant Succession, by George Macaulay Trevelyan (Longmans).—Professor Trevelyan's third volume concludes his masterly survey of the reign of Queen Anne in a work which is destined to become a classic not merely for that reign but generally in English historical literature. Malplaquet affords the artist-historian another opportunity of depicting a battle scene in his inimitable manner. For the rest he is concerned with politics, colonisation, the story of Ireland, and Scotland after the Union. Professor Trevelyan shows us Marlborough in a new light, and for the Queen, too, " the wisest and most triumphant of her race " he has a warm regard,

despite all her simplicity. Like the two previous volumes this contains some fine writing, which will give pleasure to generations of readers, as for instance, the death of Queen Anne, the trial of Sacheverell, the course of the pamphlet and newspaper war. Every page is packed with good things, and now and again a truism that is worth its weight in gold is brought home. " Kindly old England has always in the long run revolted against ' fascist' experiments at the permanent suppression of the other side ' " is interesting and topical.

The Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India, by Edward Thompson and G. T. Garratt (Macmillan).—At a time when so much controversy is raging over the future of the government of India, it is good to have a useful and readable retrospect of British rule in India, on a grand scale, by two writers who show that they can speak with authority. Theirs is an impartial narrative, adorned with an abundance of quotation from contemporary records and lit up by humorous comment. The achievements of the Viceroys are considered and evaluated ; incidentally the authors do justice to Warren Hastings ; and while the past receives its due share of attention, the authors have some sensible things to say about the future and its possible development. They show an understanding of Indian nationalism, surely the first requisite to an appreciation of the present problem in India. Their hope is that India may " form part of a noble comity of nations within the British Commonwealth." The reader will note with pleasure not only the abundant knowledge of the authors but also their sane common sense. Their work may fairly be described as a great handling of a great theme.

Experiment in Autobiography, by H. G. Wells (Victor Gollancz and the Cresset Press).—A large part of Mr. Wells's writing has always been autobiographical, but in this *Experiment* the author enters a public confessional. He calls the work " Discoveries and conclusions of a very ordinary brain since 1866," and it is his identity with the struggling individual of our transitional age that makes the work important. It is an epic of ambition in which the World, the Devil and the Flesh play their very significant parts. The value lies not in the objective statements, which are rich in detail, descriptions of the social hierarchy of the later Victorian era seen through the distorting mirror of the servants' hall, a panorama of popular education acutely experiencing its growing pains, the topography of the literary underworld, and the figures of such vividly seen heroes as George Gissing, nor in the passionate condescension of a scientific arrivisme towards an ancient aristocracy of culture, but in the self-revelation which is often greater than that envisaged by the author. The book is a parable of modern civilisation in its laying bare of that element of inferiority-feeling which will ultimately give our age its historical label, of that uneasiness of equilibrium which marks an epoch of discontent, and that obsession with sex which is the hall-mark of adolescent maladjustment in man or generation. The admirable headlong writing, the vivid recreation of scenes, the relevant comment on the makers of recent empires and republics, on the Great War and the Soviet Union, and the parenthetical glimpses of Mr. Wells's anti-literary theory of the novel, combine

to make this biography an important contribution towards the analysis of our time.

Isaac Newton : A Biography, by Louis Trenchard More (Scribner's).—In 1927 fell the second centenary of the death of Sir Isaac Newton, and Professor More, feeling that nothing had been done since 1855 to honour one of the greatest of English geniuses, determined to repair the omission. Seven years of ceaseless research have resulted in one of the best of modern biographies. Professor More had the singular advantage of using the valuable treasures of the Portsmouth collection and the documents at Trinity College, both indispensable sources for the full understanding of a many-sided man. The strange career of this versatile genius, Professor of Mathematics, Master of the Mint, President of the Royal Society, Member of Parliament, investigator into alchemy, chemistry, optics, geometry, astronomy, and theology is followed in all the circumstantial detail of Newton's own notes and private letters, reinforced by rich documentary evidence from contemporary sources. Not only the career of Newton but the pageant of contemporary life of the Restoration and of the Age of Anne is seen in its social, political, scientific, and religious complexity. There is, happily, very little use of scientific jargon, but free and easy narrative of the richly filled life of one of England's supermen.

Painting in the Far East, by Laurence Binyon (Edward Arnold).—Mr. Binyon's recent retirement from the Keepership of Oriental Art at the British Museum was a great loss, but is now mitigated somewhat by the valuable fruits of his leisure. He has travelled in China and Japan, and there, and in the great collections of the United States, has accumulated and revised impressions which have gone to enrich the present volume. Accurate knowledge in these matters has been slow in gathering, but of recent years the photography and copying of the great Ajanta frescoes, as important historically as Grotto's, the amazing discoveries by German scholars at Turfan, and of Sir Aurel Stein and M. Pelliot at Khotan and Tunhuang, the patient researches of Professor Osvald Siren, the theoretical writings of M. Petrucci and Mr. Arthur Waley, the rich stores of the Freer Collection at Washington and of the Eumorfopoulos collection recently acquired for the nation, have together demanded a rewriting—though the author is too modest to call it so—of the whole story as told in his earlier pioneer work. This is not merely an archaeological study, but is concerned mainly with aesthetics, reinforced by fine scholarship, fine feeling and fine style. It is a masterly survey of early Asian art, of China in the Han, T'ang, Sung and Ming periods, of Japanese art of the classical Kano period, and finally, at the very end of the story, the tale of the colour-print which, together with porcelain, first revealed the glories of eastern art. The work is more than ever indispensable to the connoisseur, the amateur, and the scholar.

Civitas Dei, by Lionel Curtis (Macmillan).—" This book is an attempt to discover a guiding principle in public affairs." So the author tells us, and he shows that, broadly, two methods of government are possible, one by force, and one by ideas. Mr. Curtis ranges himself on the side of the second alternative, on the side of the ancient Hebrew prophet who declared,

" not by power and not by might but by My spirit." This is the theme which Mr. Curtis elaborates, playing the part of a modern prophet who proclaims for these latter days the message of the prophet of old. Mr. Curtis gives his readers an original review of history from the standpoint of public affairs, and indicates passionately that the principle for which he is seeking is found in the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth. He is convinced that if men followed that teaching in public affairs, the world would be happier than it is to-day, or ever has been. For that teaching has, on the whole, been neglected, and Mr. Curtis, in language that must appeal with a persuasiveness that must convince because it comes from his heart, pleads for the adoption of those principles in politics. For him the Kingdom of God is a reality; he would like to see it established in a world commonwealth, its guiding principle in a system of government of men by themselves. To this ideal the book is devoted, and the author has made a great book of it. Without question it was one of the outstanding publications of the year.

FICTION.

I, Claudius and **Claudius the God,** by Robert Graves (Arthur Barker).—The chief novel of the year was the massive two-decker by Mr. Robert Graves on the life of the Emperor Claudius. Over a thousand pages of historical reconstruction are presented in the flowing easy style of autobiography, in a mood fitted closely to every fluctuation of the supposed author's mind. Mr. Graves is an English poet of the highest distinction, and his power over words shows through every line of the narrative. No recent novel has attempted so rich a field of history. The first volume covers the period from 10 B.C. to A.D. 41, the growth of his mind; the second from A.D. 41 to A.D. 54, the years of Claudius's reign as Emperor. It is a saga in autobiography, in which the heroes and villains are given a personal touch. The figures of Tiberius, of Germanicus, Caligula, Herod Agnppa, Livia, and Messalina loom large in dignity and minuteness of portrayal. The daily life of court and camp, the hesitations and ambitions, Claudius as amateur and administrator, his relations with women and with scholars, his invasion of Britain, the problem of Jews and Christians, the beginnings of Christianity, are presented with a virtuosity unparalleled in the modern novel. It is more serious, because more imaginative, than history, more intimate even than authentic chronicle. Mr. Graves has denied himself the luxury of inventing characters, and even pleads that he has historical authority of a kind for almost every incident. It may seem an expensive procedure, but it is to be hoped that this remarkable prose work may serve as a prelude to a renewed acquaintance with Mr. Graves' chief work, his poetry.

Elizabeth, by Frank Swinnerton (Hutchinson).—Mr. Swinnerton is the surest of our modern realists in fiction. Since *Nocturne,* that masterpiece of monochrome beauty, he has written more than a dozen novels rich in character and environment, but never so extended a study as *Elizabeth.* The setting is the town of Seahampton, dominated by the

Admiral's house which acts as a kind of architectural challenge, a town growing, under forcible persuasion, into a fashionable resort. The conflicts and entanglements of municipal development are well displayed through personality and speech. In this growing world develop two women, Eliza the unfortunate and Beth the joyous. The title *Elizabeth* is an abstraction of the two. Mr. Swinnerton's skill lies in placing his individuals, and there are many of them, in a world in which individual life goes on as a thread in a tapestry, until the threads cross or clash and there emerges the beginnings of a pattern. This pattern is England vividly seen, with its shops, houses, streets and alleys, its seafronts, its slums, its vicarages, mansions, and hotels, a pattern in which conflicts of beauty and ugliness, jealousy and love produce many tragedies. Mr. Swinnerton has a power of compelling attention to details of character, which gives immediacy even to so large a canvas as *Elizabeth*, details of temperament, of speech, and of artistic and emotional intention which stand out with old-masterlike qualities against the impressionism of more recent fiction.

Heaven's My Destination, by Thornton Wilder (Longmans).—American fiction these days is often very grim, but Mr. Wilder is out to give nobody a headache. His *Bridge of San Luis Rey* was a delightful entertainment which charmed by its ease of manner and simplicity of intent. His new work is a satire on novel lines. The hero is a traveller in school text-books, simple beyond all conception, anxious to do good to others, ignorant of the world, credulous, and a butt. The reader feels a curious sympathy with George Brush, who is a kind of village idiot turned Don Quixote, and who seems so real that his misfortunes evoke a sick and sinking feeling in the stomach rather than the laughter that binds us to the usual picaresque hero. Unlike most satirists Mr. Wilder does not say, or even hint which way his sympathies lie, but leaves the conclusion to the reader, who is forced to choose between the butt and the world which kicks him. The story is in the lineage of Mr. Sinclair Lewis's social comment, but with a whimsy Mr. Lewis has not chosen to exploit.

Women Must Work, by Richard Aldington (Chatto & Windus).—Mr. Aldington is a specialist in unrolling the moving picture of society and personality during the past forty or fifty years. In *Women Must Work* this is done through the life of a woman, Etta Morison, who leaves her home in the country for freedom in the city, works in an office, resists her employer's advances, and falls in love with a young man who goes to the war. Her romance is broken by his return, coarser, and more urgent than her grief for a wounded brother will permit. The war-wastage determines her to contribute a child that shall be hers alone. After the war she runs a farm unsuccessfully, and finally, for her child's sake, acquires a directorship in an advertising business, a husband, and a dream house in the country. The story is of a familiar pattern, but Mr. Aldington sets it in a world of women's freedom movements, of war-time dissipation, and post-war tempo, and clothes it in his own special intensity of character drawing, mainly of worthless people, and his acute sense of society, of human relationship, and of the relativity of ideals. It is smoother than most of his novels, and by a closer approximation to the standards he has

hitherto satirised, should gain a wider public for his next castigation of society's pretensions.

The Disinherited, by Jack Conroy (Wishart).—The picaresque is the oldest form of fiction, the wanderings of the sympathetic vagabond parasitically sampling the variety of social experience and perpetually falling on his feet. The new picaresque is far removed from this happy world of escape, in that it is a history of reverse after reverse, the hero is never a symbol of detachment from the cares of society, but is an outcast, one of thousands in the same plight, seeking stability in ever-elusive permanent employment. The hero of *Disinherited* is one of many children of a miner, survivor of many sacrifices, of which the last is the father himself. He is forced into an endless journey, the reverse of a quest magnificent, in search of employment. Work and the difficulty of obtaining it is the major theme of the book. When work is obtained, it is arduous, when it is lost the search is bitter. Endless hoboing, journeys of hundreds of men, the same men time and time again, converging from vast distances in violent competition for one single post. Worlds clash, the old farmer's world bitterly resentful of the new worker's world. The novel here takes on new subject-matter, not social relationships, but the discipline of hunger and hardship and toil. The young man whose father would have saved him from the mine preserves his ambition of moving into a safer and more privileged, white-collar class, but in the end is crushed, and his pitiful studies rendered null and void. There is no ending and no solution to the problem, merely a repetition of the process of looking for work. The vividness of rendering human beings on the lowest level of primitive striving, of physical hardship, of frenzied aspiration, makes the book not an entertainment but an experience.

The Foundry, by Albert Halper (Cassell).—One of the most important achievements of the contemporary American novel is the attempt to render the totality and complexity of the American scene, to force by subtle analysis and almost cubistic construction a persuasion of the solidity of modern life upon the reader who can only be acquainted with a limited section of it. In *Union Square* the world presented was a section of New York inhabited by bohemians and by humble struggling tradesfolk, and a group of sympathisers with Russia. The method was that of John Dos Passos, using the main devices of fugal treatment without the more advanced "newsreel" and "camera-eye" reinforcements. In *The Foundry* the main theme presented is the foundry itself, an electrotype foundry in Chicago. The chapter-headings are startling and revealing: "The Office: A Few Entrances and Exists," "The Shop: The Foundrymen and their Brides the Machines." The *dramatis personæ* introduced formally are "a few characters, streets, buildings, and pieces of machinery, not to mention the hum that the dynamos make when the current is turned on full force in the foundry." Man does not live by machinery alone, and the author does not make the mistake of merely dramatising machinery in the Kipling fashion, but by interlacing human destinies with the scene of labour builds an elaborate but beautiful novel of the new kind which is at last abreast of the conditions of modern life.

The Land of Plenty, by Robert Cantwell (G. Bell).—The title is ironical, and the theme is America during the slump, seen through the eyes of a single Western timber factory. The reader is made aware of the factory as an entity by the device of turning out the lights, and recreating the scene with all the other senses. The men are aware of each other purely as workers, with all the magnification of daily irritation. The foreman and the workmen build up into a unity, the foreman afraid of his responsibilities, the men of the foreman in a network of blame and excuse. The factory lives its life, recorded by changes of tune in the symphony of work. The hysteria of personal relationship grows intense. The terror of dismissal looms larger. By cross-section from individual to individual the factory emerges clearer and clearer as an organism. The mood of inferiority pervades everything, the inferiority of subordinate and dependent position. Private life seeps through as a taint, an apologetic betrayal of the communal factory life. The deadening repetition of complaint, in the same words, circling round the same limited supply of grouses, builds up a world of discontent by subtle devices of reiteration. A thread of shabby beauty intensifies the drabness, youth and love emphasise the sordidness of hopeless submission. The background of commercial depression and wage-cuts forces a tension in which men grow steadily on each others nerves, and owners and workers are drowned in the flood. The culmination is the hopeless expedient of a strike, hopeless because of the despair and crushing of the strikers and the bestial brutality of the police. No more objective study has come out of America of recent years, and the author captures the imagination by allowing the facts, rather than his own guiding of them, to take sides in an important comment on American civilisation. *Land of Plenty* is that rare achievement, an historical novel written within sound of the guns of contemporary battle.

His Worship the Mayor, by Walter Greenwood (Jonathan Cape).—In *Love on the Dole,* afterwards turned into a play, Mr. Greenwood made his first impressive bow to the public. The sincerity of his treatment and the topical relevance of his theme gained him general acclaim. In *His Worship the Mayor* he explores the same sphere of the underworld, the meanness of a petty tradesman flattered into a position of authority, the changes of standards, the mystery and monstrousness of municipal graft, and the miserable plight of the unfortunate poor in their conflict with Public Assistance Committees and the Means Test. Within the firm limits of his faithfully observed conditions he creates characters of such vitality and personal interest, that, although their lives most pitifully point the social moral of his story, they have artistic as well as sociological significance. The problem of unemployment from the acute angle of the unemployed is here presented with the strength that comes of intimate knowledge and restrained statement. Not the least valuable part of Mr. Greenwood's work is the humour, almost Dickensian in appeal and vividness, which creates a gallery of characters, and mitigates his Greek chorus of harpies with a Hogarthian robustness.

The World Went Mad, by John Brophy (Jonathan Cape).—Twenty years after the outbreak of war, Mr. Brophy looks back on the congested

years from 1914 to 1918. The problem of recreating those years in fiction has changed its face a dozen times, and Mr. Brophy's solution is the episodic method. Each incident is complete in itself, each chapter a short novel, but is linked with the others by a device said to be of the cinema, an overlapping of word, phrase, or allusion. The theme is not the war itself, but the effect on people at home or on the outskirts of war, profiteering prepared for the post-war days, love, marriage, child-bearing, intrigue, evil feeling of race, friendship between enemies, civilian with military, soldier with soldier, and all the while, even furthest from the line, distant rumblings of battle. In so short a space the ramifications of individuals are amazingly complicated, but nothing is over-emphasised in a discreet interweaving of motives. Mr. Brophy in *Waterfront* showed his power over details in a picture of Liverpool struggle, and m *The World Went Mad* his powers extend to vast panoramas of action held well in control.

Lean Men, by Ralph Bates (Peter Davies).—Although Mr. Bates has published short stories, this is his first novel, and a remarkable achievement on a large scale. Mr. Bates is a lover of Spain, but not merely of the romantic Spain of legend and of the tourist. It is a living Spain, with its urgent problems, the change from the old world to the new and seething melting-pot of men and ideas. An Englishman goes out to help the Revolution, and his efforts, his contacts, his friendships bring out very vividly the whole texture of modern Spain. The author has learnt from the old Spanish masters of humanity, and action, and his pictures of individuals, poets, travelling showmen, musicians, and artists are full of rich personal colour. The business of Revolution is seen from inside, with its hopes and fears, its technique of attack and the repeated routine of executive meetings, and though the struggle is always to the fore, it is not merely a sensational book about social and political upheaval, but a picture of comradeship and ideals. One special merit the author brings to his work is a love of music, and this goes throughout the book as a unifying and beautifying theme. There is much to be expected from Mr. Bates in anything to which he turns his gifts of clear writing and warm feeling.

Blind Men Crossing a Bridge, by Susan Miles (Constable).—This is an impressive book of 850 pages, yet dedicated to that mistress of the short story, Katherine Mansfield. The likeness to Katherine Mansfield is evident in the lyrical ecstasy which so closely fitted the texture of such a story as *Bliss* and is here spread over the vast panorama of human emotion and experience. Miss Miles is clearly filled with poetry and every page breathes a heightened atmosphere of description and allusion. Hardly a statement has the cold objectivity of everyday fiction, but is wrapped in moonlight and perfume and fragrant memory. Character moves on two planes, the intense and agonised march forward of the individual and the dancing grotesque of incidental humanity, peasant or handmaiden, child or half-wit. The opening is vivid in its primitive struggle in the winter snow, and steadily the generations march on, not to a tune, but to an image, of a Japanese print of *Blind Men Crossing a Bridge.* Symbol of each generation, the characters puzzled at " the strange tortured faces of the blind men on

the bridge, at the delicate beauty of the moon, at the peach-blossom above, and at the frail leafage of the willows below." To those who flinch at the starkness of modern fiction, this rich, lush, and extended novel will come as a solace.

Tender is the Night, by F. Scott Fitzgerald (Chatto & Windus).—Mr. Scott Fitzgerald has come back to the world of fiction with vastly increased powers. Just after the war his name was made by *This Side of Paradise.* His short stories in *Tales of a Jazz Age* were clever and decadent and wicked, with all the zest of an undergraduate let loose, but later *The Great Gatsby* proved his power as creator of scene, of wild and fantastic atmosphere, of vivid movement and colour, and the tempo of a new generation. Critics wondered in what direction his next achievement would lie. Eight years of silence, and presumably of meditation, have led to the ripeness of this new romance. A group of fashionable Americans live in a new-found Riviera resort, to them comes a young film actress, beautiful and innocent and hungry for life and love. She falls in love with a mental specialist who declines to take advantage of her, being in love with a young wife of his own. An idyllic picture which is soon shattered as we trace the history of the doctor back into the past, to the time and circumstance of his marriage, and from this calmness emerge, as monsters from the depths, uneasiness and ugliness. The facade of happiness and content is ruthlessly torn down, and the trifler and chronicler of idle society is now seen to be a penetrating and pessimistic critic. It is this revelation of the power of analysing pseudo-happiness into discontent that shows where the author has arrived in his charting of certain waters in contemporary society. The mask of flippancy is thrown away, and perhaps will not intrude in the later work of a now serious artist.

ART, DRAMA, CINEMA, AND MUSIC.

1. ART.

IN 1934 the principal event of the world of art in London was the exhibition of English pictures, sculpture, jewellery, etc., organised by the Royal Academy and held in its galleries at Burlington House. The Bang and Queen were its patrons, and its Honorary General and Executive Committees included the Prime Minister, the Directors of the British and the Victoria and Albert Museums, and a host of eminent men connected with or particularly interested in the fine arts. An exhibition of English art which covered the period between the years 1000 and 1860 could not fail to be interesting to the English public, and this one was so, without doubt. Yet, good as it was, it was not entirely satisfactory, partly because the owners of famous works of art would not always lend their treasures, and partly because of the imperfect or non-representation of certain artists who were prominent in their respective periods but who are now—perhaps only temporarily—out of fashion. Maclise and Landseer were popular idols between 1840 and 1870, and it would have been interesting to see at Burlington House some characteristic work of the men who were so distinguished in their own day. But there was nothing in the exhibition by Maclise, and only a portrait and two unimportant studies by Landseer; and by Mulready, a remarkable artist in some respects, but one picture, which was borrowed from the Victoria and Albert Museum. Copley and John Jackson were unrepresented, but by Cotman (admittedly an excellent artist) no fewer than thirty paintings in oil or water-colour were shown, more than those by any painter except Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Turner.

However, upon the whole the collection was excellent, and drew crowds to Burlington House, where, in the principal room, Gallery Three, the more notable works of the great eighteenth-century masters were displayed ; including such famous works as " The Ladies Waldegrave," the " Lady Catherine Pelham Clinton," and " The Duchess of Devonshire and her Daughter," by Reynolds; the beautiful full length by Gainsborough of his daughters, Mary and Margaret, and from the same hand the " Diana and Actaeon," the " Lady Bate Dudley," and the " Lady Sheffield."

The " Diana and Actaeon " which is now in the Royal Collection at Windsor, and worth many thousands of pounds, realised only 43$. when it was included in the sale of Gainsborough's remaining works after his death in 1788. The full length of Captain Wade by Gainsborough, which attracted great attention at Burlington House, was painted in 1771, and

afterwards hung in the Assembly Room at Bath, where the Captain was Master of the Ceremonies. It remained there until 1902, by which time its authorship was almost forgotten. It was then identified by Sir Walter Armstrong as the work of Gainsborough and sold for 2,100 guineas. Hogarth was finely represented by his " David Garrick and his Wife " from the Royal Collection at Windsor ; the " March to Finchley," and his portrait of Captain Coram, both lent by the Foundling Hospital; " Taste in High Life," and other interesting works; and Romney by many portraits, including the group of the Leveson-Gore children. Lawrence was well represented by sixteen portraits, and Raeburn by thirteen.

The earlier landscape painters were seen to less advantage than the masters of portraiture. There were interesting examples of Turner and Constable, but none to challenge the great works in our national collections. The seventeenth-century painters, whose canvases were principally hung in Gallery Two, included Sir Peter Lely, William Dobson, and Sir Godfrey Kneller. The galleries that contained the work of the more modern men were almost always crowded, chiefly on account of the Pre-Raphaelite pictures, and those painted by Ford Madox Brown, whose " Work " and " The Last of England " were as popular as the famous " Blind Girl," " Ferdinand and Ariel," and " Sir Isumbras at the Ford," by Millais ; and Holman Hunt's " Hireling Shepherd." In addition to pictures this remarkable exhibition included furniture, plate, armour, tapestry, watches, and miniatures of the period covered.

In spite of the bad times for artists many more works in painting and sculpture were submitted for exhibition to the Council of the Royal Academy in 1934 than in 1933. The total number was 11,896—569 more than in the previous year. The greater part were rejected outright, leaving only 2,444, selections from which, together with the works of the Academicians and Associates, made up the exhibition. The Selection Committee was composed of the President, Sir William Llewellyn; Mr. William McMillan, Mr. William Curtis Green, Mr. Macbeth Raeburn, Mr. Terrick Williams, Mr. W. Russell Flint, Sir H. Hughes-Stanton, and Mr. Sydney Lee. Thirteen hundred and twenty-eight works by non-members were hung, 107 fewer than in the preceding year. The pictures and other works of art bought by the Chantrey Trustees were ten in number Three were landscapes : " The Farmyard " (210l.), by Mr. W. W. Russell, R.A., " All Saint's Church, Hastings " (131l. 10s.), and " April, Epping " (157l. 10s.), both by Mr. Lucien Pissaro. The other paintings were " The Penitent's Bench " (15l.15s.), by Mr. A. S. Hartrick; " The Artist's Wife " (210l.), by Mr. Henry Lamb; " Horse Sale at the Barbican " (350l.), by the late Robert P. Be van; " Flower Piece-tempera " (25l.), by Miss Evelyn Ince ; and the large water-colour, " Her Son " (250l.), by the late R. Anning Bell, R.A. The remaining purchases were a bust of Einstein by Mr. Epstein (525l.), and one of Paderewski by Sir Alfred Gilbert (500l.).

Paintings and pieces of sculpture sold during the exhibition included " The Harbour, Polperro " (150l.), by Mr. Terrick Williams ; " The Round **Tower** " (262l. 10s.), by Mr. Arnesby Brown; a study of a girl, " **Jeunesse**

Doree " (1,000l.), by Mr. Gerald L. Brockhurst; " Sampic Dancer, Bali " (100l.), by Mr. Roland Strasser ; " The Wet Road " (105l.), and " Angarrack Valley " (125l.), both by Mr. Stanhope Forbes ; " The Last Fight of Old Benbow " (200l.), by Mr. Arthur D. MacGormick; " The Vale of Gloucester " (200l.), by Mr. Charles M. Gere; " The Port, Honfleur " (52l. 10s.), by Mr. Paul E. Gernez ; " May Morning " (150l.), by Sir George Clausen; " Suilven" (450l.), by Sir D. Y. Cameron; " Moonrise at Renvyle, Connemara " (200l.), by Mr. Adrian Stokes; " The Pilots of Port Jackson " (105l.), by Mr. Arthur J. W. Burgess; " Rotherham Campagna " (157l. 10s.), by Sir Charles Holmes ; " Moment's Rest " (60l.), by Miss Lucy Kemp-Welch ; " The Life of Our Lord " (125l.), by Mr. Charles Spencelayh ; " Wild December " (94l. 10s.), by Mr. Reginald G. Brundrit; " The Voice of Spring " (165l.), by Mr. H. Davis Richter; " Harvest " (400l.), by Mr. James Bateman ; " When the Day is Done " (200l.), by Mr. Gemmell Hutchison ; " The Salmon River " (500l.). by Sir David Murray ; a large picture of South African landscape by Mr. R. Gwelo Goodman, " Wemmers Hoek " (unpriced); " Carnation " (63l.), by Mr. Walter E. Webster; " The Mountain Monastery " (400l.), and " Swiss Chateau " (300l.), both by Mr. Sydney Lee ; " The Embankment, Westminster" (52l. 10s.), by Mr. Donald Towner; "The Cardinal's Kitchen, Christ's Church, Oxford " (120l.), by Mr. Fred Roe ; " The Judgment of Paris " (275l.), by Mr. Walter Hutton ; " Memories " (262l. 10s.), by Mr. Charles F. Goldie ; " The Meeting " (75l.), and " The Angel, Cookham Church " (100l.), both by Mr. Stanley Spencer ; " Opal Moon " (120l.), by Mr. Julius Olsson ; " The Road to Kettlewell, Wharfdale " (105l.), by Mr. Bertram Priestman ; " Flowers and Fruit " (300l.), by Mr. Leonard D. Philpot; " The Old Stump, Compton " (unpriced), by Dame Laura Knight; and " Autumn Colour, Cowdray Park" (73l. 10s.), by Mr. Oliver Hall

The many other interesting exhibitions held during the year included one at the Victoria and Albert Museum of works by Whistler, an accomplished artist whose paintings are in most cases insufficiently known to the modern student. The Whistler exhibition was excellent within its limitations, which, however, were serious, as it contained no paintings in oil, which are not allowed to be shown in loan collections at the Victoria and Albert Museum. However, a famous oil painting by Whistler, the " Symphony in White, No. III.," was shown at the winter exhibition, composed chiefly of the works of deceased masters, held by Messrs. Agnew at their gallery in Old Bond Street. The other pictures at this exhibition included two or three Gainsboroughs, one of which, " An Act of Mercy," was shown by the great artist at his first private exhibition held at his house in 1784, after his quarrel with the Academy; and paintings by Sir Joshua Reynolds, Turner, Constable, Crome, Romney, Zoffany, and others. At Messrs. Colnaghi's a notable collection of studies of Greek landscapes and architecture in water-colour by Sir Herbert Hughes-Stanton, R.A.; another of Old Master drawings ; and a third of the wood-engravings of Lionel Lindsay were on view at different times. Numbers of the slighter works of the Hon. John Collier were exhibited in the autumn

at the Arlington Gallery; water-colours by Mr. Wilson Steer and Mr. Frank Brangwyn at Baribizon House; paintings by Hungarian artists ; and by Toulouse-Lautrec, Sisley, and Pissaro, at Messrs. Knoedler's, where late in the year the portraits of the Duke of Kent and his bride by Mr. de Laszlo were on view ; and pictures by the late Sir David Murray were shown for some weeks in his former studio at Langham Chambers. At the Fine Art Society's in New Bond Street, memorial exhibitions of the work of Robert Anning Bell and Spencer Watson were shown in the summer, and a collection of sculpture and models by Lady Hilton Young in the autumn ; Rowlandson drawings at Mr. Sabin's ; and pictures by Morland, Vuillard, Harold Gilman, and Boudin at Messrs. Tooth's. Some fine paintings, chiefly of flowers, by Fantin-Latour, were shown by Messrs. Reid and Lefebvre ; and collections of works by Glyn Philpot, William Nicholson, Dame Laura Knight, and Herr Max Liebermann at the Leicester Galleries.

Although the sales in the auction rooms were not remarkable they were better than they had been for several years, and the feeling was more hopeful among the picture dealers at large. The Hirsch sale, which was the most important of the year, included some fine pictures, and one object which attracted general attention. This was the well-known " showbox," made for Gainsborough for the purpose of exhibiting by artificial light the little landscapes in colour he painted upon glass. These landscapes, about a dozen in number, had been for many years in the possession of Mr. Hirsch, who had them fixed in a staircase window of his house in Palace Gardens, Kensington. At his sale the pictures and the showbox were sold in one lot and realised 1,207l. 10s. The best seller of the season was Raeburn whose " Portraits of the Allen Brothers " fetched 11,025l., and his portrait of Colonel Morrison, 4,620l. George Morland was also in favour, and his " Juvenile Navigators" realised 2,853l., and his " Children Birdnesting," 2,940l. A notable acquisition to the National Gallery was a fine Hogarth, " The Children of R. R. Graham, Esq.," once in the Hogarth room at Erlestoke, and afterwards in the collection of Lord Norman ton. It was presented to the Gallery by Lord Duveen.

IT. THE DRAMA.

If one in every seven or eight plays presented on the London stage during 1934 had possessed exceptional qualities, the year's dramatic harvest would have to be regarded as memorable. This, however, was very far from being the case. Nevertheless, viewed purely from the commercial standpoint, the year proved more successful than any other within recent recollection, the proportion of failures to successes being appreciably smaller than usual. Also it was a period marked by an exceptional number of personal histrionic successes and the making, or enhancing, of several reputations among players—notably so in the case of John Gielgud, whose impersonation of Hamlet in a beautiful revival at the New (November 14) set him definitely on the plane of theatrical

stars. It seems appropriate here, incidentally, to recall Godfrey Tearle's distinguished Mark Antony in an elaborately-staged (though short-lived) revival of " Julius Caesar " at the Alhambra earlier in the year, and also Flora Robson's portrayal of Lady Macbeth—a performance of arresting vividness and power—in the Old Vic season. In this connection reference should be made to another (open-air) summer season of Shakespearean plays, beginning on May 21 with " As You Like It," in Regent's **Park,** under the control of Sydney Carroll.

The year witnessed, besides an unusual number of personal acting successes, not a few additions to the ranks of little-known and inexperienced authors, and if it cannot be said that the list yielded any remarkable discovery, there were several plays which gave promise of better things to come. Among the plays by dramatists of established repute that were among the more noteworthy events of 1934, pride of place belongs to J. B. Priestley's " Eden End " (Duchess, September 13), although, for reasons that must have been apparent to almost anyone who has seen the piece, its appeal to the general body of playgoers was likely to prove less potent than that of some other contemporary productions. Serious interest in Mr. Priestley's gifts as a dramatist were first aroused by his " Dangerous Corner," since it revealed among other essentials a real " theatre " sense. This quality was further developed in his highly successful " Laburnum Grove "—in some respects the best, as certainly it was the most original, play produced in 1933—so that the appearance of its successor was awaited with genuine interest. Critical estimates of the value of " Eden End " were curiously at variance. But there were some experts who reckoned it the author's highest achievement. Serious in its trend, the play, conceived as a quiet genre study of Yorkshire life in the setting of a middle-class family, brought fresh evidence of his unerring stage flair. Further, the truth and fidelity of the characterisation impressed one even more, perhaps, than in his previous plays, while his sureness of touch and feeling for construction were again constantly in evidence. The play was beautifully acted, in particular, by Beatrix Lehmann, Ralph Richardson and Edward Irwin.

Another outstanding feature of the dramatic season was " Touch Wood " (Haymarket, May 16). This play, by Miss Dodie Smith, added to the reputation of the young playwright who adopted the pseudonym of C. L. Anthony and won her first laurels with " Autumn Crocus," which in some respects her last work recalled. The scene of " Touch Wood " was laid in a remote hotel on the Scottish coast where there were brought together a well-contrasted and well-observed set of more or less entertaining visitors. The play was not without a certain element of freshness and charm, and a perfectly balanced cast made the most of its pleasant blend of sentiment and humour.

While on the subject of women dramatists, it is worth noting that, as in the previous year, they were well to the fore during 1934. Chief among them was the author who writes under the signature of Gordon Daviot. With " Queen of Scots " (New, June 8) she was very far indeed from repeating the brilliant success of her " Richard of Bordeaux." Nevertheless,

it showed distinguished qualities, not least a sure grasp of the dramatic possibilities of history. Her Mary Stuart may not have been all that we have imagined her to be, but she was represented, at any rate, as a real human figure in whom it was possible to believe, and not as a mere stage puppet. The author's clear and sympathetic drawing of the part was admirably reflected in Gwen Ffrangcon-Davies's portrayal. The piece was finely produced by John Gielgud. Another play by Gordon Daviot was " The Laughing Woman " (New, April 8). It unfolded a love-story avowedly based on events in the life of Henri Daudier, the French sculptor, and even those who might object on principle to the use, for a play's protagonist, of an artist but recently dead, would have had to admit that the author revealed both tact and sympathy in the handling of her theme But the play, while not deficient in dramatic attributes, suffered from a certain static quality that entailed *longueurs.* Its production^ however, would have been justified if only for the opportunity it afforded an unknown young actor, Stephen Haggard—who was most sensitively supported by Veronica Turleigh, another newcomer—of displaying gifts of a very high and rare order.

If neither of these plays proved to the taste of the public, a very emphatic hit was scored by another woman playwright, Miss Gertrude Jennings, with " Family Affairs " (Ambassadors, August 23). It is many years since this author first achieved success with her very diverting light comedy, " The Young Person in Pink." There was more than a slight vein of comedy in " Family Affairs," verging at moments, indeed, almost on the farcical, but it would be idle to pretend that the play, either in its sentiment or its lighter passages, had merits equal to those of Miss Jennings's earlier effort. Indeed, its appeal was mainly attributable to Lilian Braithwaite's serene and sensitive portrayal of an old lady who " mothers " a family of troublesome sons and grandsons, on whom she imposes her will with quiet dignity. Curiously enough, this experienced actress's daughter, Miss Joyce Carey, writing under the name of Jay Mallory, made a hit with her first play, " Sweet Aloes " (Wyndham's, October 31). But the uncommon promise shown in an interesting first act was not borne out in the succeeding stages of the play, of which the appeal was mainly to unsophisticated audiences. Nevertheless, it was welcome as giving excellent opportunities in the more emotional passages to Diana Wynyard, who, returning after a long absence in America, gave a performance remarkable alike for power and charm.

The first really striking piece of the year was " Keunion in Vienna " (Lyric, January 3), the work of that gifted American dramatist, Kobert E. Sherwood. Deftly made, written with both style and wit, and not a little daring, the play yet probably owed its longevity largely to the brilliant acting of Alfred Lunt and his wife, Lynn Fontanne. In passing one should note that after " Reunion in Vienna," one of the most satisfying plays, on the whole, that came from America was Elmer Rice's " Counsellor-at-Law " (Piccadilly, April 10), which was acted with extraordinary zest and energy by Sir Barry Jackson's Birmingham Repertory Company. In a totally different style a noteworthy importation was

" Theatre Royal " (Edna Ferber and George Kaufman), which, as an entertaining satire on the private lives of a theatrical family, had been very popular in America, and was warmly acclaimed here, with a brilliant cast headed by Marie Tempest (Lyric, October 23). Keith Winter, the talented young author of " Rats of Norway," came fairly into his own with " The Shining Hour " (St. James's, September 4), a tense and theatrically well-imagined play, though whether its reception at the hands of the public would have been as enthusiastic if it had been presented by less accomplished players than Gladys Cooper, Adrianne Allen, and Raymond Massey may be doubted. Another success—in quasi-melodramatic vein —was " Libel " (Playhouse, April 2), by Ward Dorane, the nom-de-guerre of a barrister " discovered " by Leon M. Lion, who produced the piece. The entire action of this play occurred in the Law Courts, and, as excellently acted by a strong cast, it certainly made an agreeably exciting entertainment. In a somewhat similar connection, since it contained a trial scene —though within the precincts of the British Medical Council—one should mention " Living Dangerously " (Strand, June 7). In its melodramatic way this play, of which Reginald Simpson and Frank Gregory were the authors, was quite effective, boasting as it did a good story and several dramatically powerful scenes. Not wholly dissimilar was " Men in White " (Lyric, June 28), anglicised by Merton Hodge from the American original of Sidney Kingsley. Here, also, was a play which had grip and dramatic vitality, with the additional merit of evoking with fidelity the right hospital atmosphere. Prominent also among the plays of serious interest which obtained a good run was Aim^e and Philip Stuart's " Sixteen," first seen at the Embassy (March 12), and thence transferred to the Criterion. This play showed the insight and sympathy, with touches of delicate humour, characteristic of the authors of " After Nine," even though, on the purely emotional side, it did not always ring so true.

Two plays of quite exceptional interest which failed most undeservedly to attract the public were Sean O'Casey's " Within the Gates " (Royalty, February 7), a kind of modern morality, in the writing of which the author of " The Silver Tassie " again displayed finely imaginative qualities ; and " The Big House " (Playhouse, February 21), the work of that other distinguished Irish dramatist, Lennox Robinson. This play, which had waited eight years for a London hearing, owed its production to the courage and enterprise of Leon M. Lion, and its many beauties should have won for it due recognition. A happier fate befell another Irish product, " The Moon in the Yellow River " (Haymarket, November 23), a play by Denis Johnston, a young dramatist who, in this brilliant -and never meretricious satire on his own countrymen's characteristics, contributed to the London stage one of the year's notable features. Worth recalling, too, if only as possessing a posthumous interest, was " The Maitlands " (Wyndham's, July 6), the work of Ronald Mackenzie, the lamented young author of " Musical Chairs," who was killed in a motor accident. The play was marred by inequalities for which its many good points hardly atoned.

Historical and kindred plays were rather a feature of the theatrical calendar. Miss Daviot's " Queen of Scots " has already been mentioned.

A considerably longer life was enjoyed by " Clive of India " (Wyndham's, January 25), a play by W. P. Lipscomb and R. J. Minney—both unfamiliar names—which succeeded in being effective, and often stirring, without distorting history. Leslie Banks's superb acting in the title-part was of great assistance to the piece. As a " period " play Emlyn Williams's " Spring—1600 " (Shaftesbury, January 31), in which Richard Burbage was the central figure, came into a similar category. But, probably because the clever young author had aimed at recreating the right Elizabethan atmosphere rather than setting forth a story of any dramatic substance, it missed the mark. A modern play in the historical class which deserved better luck than fell to it was one by C. E. Bechhofer Roberts and C. S. Forester, of which Nurse Cavell was the eponymous heroine. A sincere and dignified treatment of one of the war's most poignant incidents, the piece, produced at the Vaudeville (March 7), and finely acted by Nancy Price in the leading part, should have had a longer run A more popular venture was " Mary Read " (His Majesty's, November 21), wherein James Bridie, in collaboration with Claud Gurney, resuscitated in picturesque fashion the decidedly heroic woman dragoon and pirate of the stirring days of Marlborough. The play, however, while full of colour and incident, was chiefly of interest as offering a splendid chance to that fine actress, Flora Robson, which she seized with great effect. In the list of historical plays may also be included Elswyth Thane's " Young Mr. Disraeli " (Kingsway, November 12).

Our younger dramatists were somewhat disappointing, both in respect of output and in the quality of their work. " Conversation Piece " (His Majesty's, February 16), in spite of a certain atmosphere of delicate charm and not a few characteristic touches, was not Noel Coward at his best, and owed much to the beauty of the decor. Coming, too, from an author of such distinction as John van Druten, " Flowers of the Forest " (Whitehall, November 20), which held the stage for very few performances, was also a disappointment. On the other hand, thanks to the acting of an attractive cast, Ivor Novello's " Murder in Mayfair " (Globe, September 5) was a success. Of the veterans there is little to be said, the only name in the list being that of George Bernard Shaw, who was represented merely by a couple of diverting trifles—" Village Wooing " (Little, June 19), and " The Six of Calais," which was given at the Open-air Theatre, Regent's Park, in the same bill as " Androcles and the Lion."

Among the more noteworthy of the lighter plays were " The Private Road " (Comedy, May 31), a pleasant little piece by John Carlton—a pseudonym ; " Vintage Wme " (Daly's, May 29), an adaptation which really owed its success to the immensely spirited acting of Seymour Hicks; " Lover's Leap" (Vaudeville, October 25), a wittily written comedy by a young author of decided talent, Philip Johnson, which won acceptance with Owen Nares in the chief part. " The Dominant Sex " (Embassy, December 3), by Michael Egan, another welcome recruit to the ranks of our playwrights, had an undercurrent of more serious interest. In a purely frivolous fashion there was much fun in " Youth at the Helm " (Westminster, November 5), Hubert Griffith's deft adaptation of an in-

geniously amusing Viennese play. There remains to mention, in a category apart from all the rest, a production of very rare naivete and charm—" Lady Precious Stream " (Little, November 26)—adapted by a Chinese author, S. I. Hsiung, from traditional sources.

III. THE CINEMA.

While there is no technical advance to record of the cinema during 1934, there was a new movement in relation to the subject-matter of the pictures. An attempt was made to get away from the mere love story to themes of wider significance. The big pictures have dealt with big themes with a strong bias in favour of the historical subject.

The result was perhaps hardly history such as the student would recognise. A tremendous amount of time and trouble was spent on accuracy of detail, while a singular indifference was displayed to the accuracy of the events.

Alexander Korda opened the year with " Catherine the Great," starring Elizabeth Bergner and Douglas Fairbanks, Junior. He followed this with Douglas Fairbanks, Senior, in " Don Juan," and ended a busy year's directorship with Leslie Howard in " The Scarlet Pimpernel." This last, while proving a big box-office hit, had not the originality of the earlier productions.

Alexander Korda hails from Hungary, but with the assistance of his two brothers, he has made London Film Productions one of the most successful of the British units. Early in the year Douglas Fairbanks appeared to be going to take an active part in the company's affairs, but after the rather tepid reception of " Don Juan " he left London for Hollywood.

This preoccupation with historical biography gave us Conrad Veidt in " Jew Suss," Anna Neagle in " Nell Gwynn," and George Arliss in " The Iron Duke." These were all ambitious, spectacular, and expensive pictures, which showed at least new courage on the part of the British producing companies.

America's contribution was " Queen Christina," with Greta Garbo; " The House of Rothschild," with George Arliss; and a very successful venture into literary history with a screen version of that popular play, " The Barretts of Wimpole Street." Norma Shearer played Elizabeth Barrett and Charles Laughton her redoubtable father. At the close of the year we had a taste of still more recent history with Wallace Beery as " The Great Barnum."

Almost for the first time in the history of pictures peace propaganda appeared without disguise. In " No Greater Glory " it took an ingenious form. Two gangs of street children fight over a vacant lot in the same way as their father's had fought over Europe. The moral was pointed but not overdone. In " The World Moves On " (the picture in which Madeleine Carrol made her Hollywood debut) we had an elaborate history of a Southern family during the World War. It presented two novel

features. A woman's refusal to make munitions, and a number of news-reel shots in which England and America were shown to be as busy making war preparations as the rest of the world. This was a daring innovation. Finally, most moving of all, " Forgotten Men," a series of pictures actually taken at the Front. After some hesitation the censor allowed this to be shown with only one deletion.

Dickens came in for a great wave of popularity during the latter part of the year. The studios had in hand a version of " The Old Curiosity Shop " (British), " David Copperfield " (American), and two versions of " Great Expectations," one British and one American.

Alfred Hitchcock, formerly our best-known director, recently had a run of bad luck, but came back triumphantly in 1934 with " The Man Who Knew Too Much," a story based on the Siege of Sydney Street. It was probably the most successful thriller ever produced on this side of the Atlantic. Unlike most British pictures it was entirely " home made." The cast was headed by Leslie Banks and Edna Best. A young recruit to film acting, Nova Pilbeam, confirmed the good impression which she had made earlier in the year in " Little Friend."

The outstanding novelty of the American film year was the Purity Campaign, organised by the churches to clean up the screen. It had extraordinarily powerful backing—in some places the priests went so far as to picket cinemas showing pictures of which they did not approve. The studio chiefs bowed to the storm, and now every new picture is carefully considered so that anything which might give offence is eliminated. As a result of this movement " Nell Gwynn " was refused by the States, to the great disappointment of Director Herbert Wilcox.

No new reputations were made during the year. Katherine Hepburn consolidated her popularity by her performance as " Jo " in " Little Women." Leslie Howard did some magnificent work in "Of Human Bondage." Two of the most popular pictures of the year were unpretentious, but entertaining. One, a detective story called " The Thin Man," starred William Powell and Myrna Loy, the other was " It Happened One Night," with Clark Gable and Claudette Colbert.

Rene Clair only showed one picture in England. He himself called it a failure, and told the Press how it had been booed in Paris. " Le Dernier Milliardaire " added little to his reputation.

The influence of Continental pictures decreased to vanishing-point. Germany and Russia were both obstinately propagandist, though the latter promised a change in this respect in the 1935 schedule.

There was an exodus of promising young people from London to Hollywood, including Renee Gadd, Binnie Barnes, Francis Sullivan, Ian Hunter, Robert Donat, and Merle Oberon. In exchange we had Edward Everett Horton, George Arliss, Leslie Howard, Lupe Velez, and Adrienne Ames playing this side.

By death the studios lost W. Cronin Wilson, Sir Gerald du Maurier, Alec B. Francis, and Lowell Sherman.

In March a luxurious new cinema was opened in the heart of Mayfair. The Curzon Cinema was the first picture house catering frankly for the

rich. The cheapest seats were *Ss. 6d.*, the most expensive 8s. 6*d*. It specialised in unusual films.

The Sunday opening question was fought successfully in five more towns.

IV. MUSIC.

In a survey of the year's music pride of place belongs to the Royal Opera season at Covent Garden, which was distinguished by some unaccustomed features. It opened on April 29 with a revival of Beethoven's " Fidelio," conducted by Sir Thomas Beecham, who obtained a splendid orchestral reading of the score. Both in " Fidelio " and in the unfolding of the usual " Ring " cycles, a serious attempt was made to improve upon the more or less antiquated methods of mounting and lighting previously in use. Covent Garden, however, is still very far from having reached perfection in these matters. Most of the Wagner singers were familiar, and we had some memorable singing in particular from Bockelmann, the Wotan of the first cycle. There were some important additions to the standard repertory, chief among them the first performances in this country of Weinberger's " Schwanda " and Strauss's " Arabella." The first-named opera has enjoyed probably greater popularity on the Continent than any other since " Roscnkavalier " was first heard. It is a curious blend of opera, fairy tale, ballet and spectacle—by no means an unattractive combination—and to these varied elements the widespread success of the work may be partly attributed. But the composer must claim his due share of the credit. Based to some extent on Czech folk-tunes, the score is an extremely skilful and effective mixture of simple, unsophisticated melody and the idiom, orchestral and otherwise, of serious opera. Undoubtedly there is much of charm in the music, the brilliant, colourful scoring of which shows unlimited technical resource. Strauss's opera, first performed at Dresden in the previous year, showed him again in collaboration with Hugo von Hofmannstahl, the librettist of " Rosenkavalier," and some critics appear to have been disappointed because of " Arabella's " obvious inferiority, both musical and dramatic, to the earlier work. For those, nevertheless, who did not insist upon invidious comparisons, the opera contained a good deal that was attractive, and there is no denying that some of the more lyrical passages revealed Strauss in a very persuasive mood.

The only addition to the usual Italian repertory was a pleasant revival —no fewer than four decades having passed since the opera was previously heard in London—of Rossini's light-hearted " La Cenerentola." This departure from routine would have been justified if only for the exceptional qualifications displayed by the Spanish coloratura singer, Conchita Supervia, for the title-part, of which, indeed, she gave a brilliant account. The season ended on June 15. It was followed by a return to ballet, Covent Garden being given over for the next few weeks to a very successful series of performances by Colonel de Basil's company in an extremely varied repertory, embracing both new and familiar spectacles,

To opera in the vernacular, alternating with Shakespearean and other dramas, several weeks were successfully devoted at the Old Vic and Sadlers Wells. A more than commonly interesting event at the latter theatre was the production, on April 12, of Lawrence Collingwood's three-act opera, " Macbeth." The composer was his own librettist, and followed Shakespeare's text as closely as was compatible with the needs of compression. Unfortunately his score, while by no means deficient in power of invention, was found to lack distinction and clarity of melodic line, the composer relying overmuch on the orchestra to supply a commentary, as it were, on the drama. There was also a want of variety and contrast in the mood of the music. A pleasant revival later in the season was that of Tchaikovsky's " Eugene Onegin," given in a version made by E. J. Dent. Incidentally, there was a spectacular production at the Albert Hall of " Elijah " in form of music-drama—not the first experiment of the kind—with Albert Coates conducting.

An enterprise unique in the annals of music in this country was initiated with the opening of a Festival Opera House, somewhat on the lines of the Bayreuth Festspielshaus, which had been built and equipped by Mr. John Christie at Glyndebourne, in Sussex. Something in the nature of an ideal home of opera, embracing the latest developments in stage lighting and apparatus, was the promoter's aim. A Mozart festival was successfully held, the operas being interpreted by singers of international repute, with Fritz Busch as conductor.

In the list of new native orchestral works produced during the year chief interest may be claimed for Arnold Bax's Fifth Symphony, which Beecham conducted at the Courtauld-Sargent concert on January 15, and William Walton's (unfinished) Symphony, of which the first performance was given by the L.S.O. under Sir Hamilton Harty on December 3. The former work, dedicated to Sibelius, was found to be a worthy successor to Bax's earlier symphonies. Once he reached artistic maturity there was never any doubt as to his complete command of orchestral resources. But it was left to later years to reveal a control of his powers in this respect of which the new symphony afforded ample evidence. Indeed, some of the most eloquent passages were those for which few instruments sufficed. If the score as a whole laid bare no fresh aspect of Bax's high gifts, it yet fully maintained his place among the British composers who count. The exceptional interest felt in the production of Walton's symphony was due largely to the deep impression made by his previous work, " Belshazzar's Feast," which was recognised on all sides as a very remarkable achievement for a young man. Whether it might have been wiser to postpone the hearing of the symphony until its completion is a point that need not be discussed. At any rate, the composer gave us full measure in the three clearly contrasted movements that were played. It may be that in all of them he left us just a little too conscious of his concern with the symphonic form, though this is not to imply that at any point he seemed hampered by respect for purely classical traditions. On a single hearing it was the slow movement that exhibited the composer in the most favourable light. Without suggesting the feeling of serenity usually evoked by the corre-

sponding section of a symphony, it yet possessed a beauty of its own, more especially in the melodic arabesques adorning it. On further acquaintance, it is possible that other portions of the score will be more readily understood, and a hearing of the work, when finished, may serve to elucidate the underlying meaning of passages, more particularly in the opening movement, that sounded vague, and even somewhat repellent. Reverting to Bax, a word should be said concerning his Violoncello Concerto, of which the first performance was given by Oaspar Cassado and the L.S.O. Of its three movements, the most attractive was a particularly charming Nocturne, but its companions are full of clever ideas and workmanship. In another new orchestral work, entitled " The Tale the Pine Trees Knew," the composer was found to have reverted to what might be called his Celtic manner. A pleasant piece of music this, though of no real importance.

In the first fortnight of the year there was a British Music Festival at Queen's Hall, under the auspices of the B.B.C., the conductors being Beecham, Boult and Landon Ronald. Among novelties produced thereat was a short and exceedingly dry Symphony in D by R. 0. Morris ; an elaborately wrouglit Symphonic Ballad, " The Trees so High," by Patrick Hadley, which called for a soloist (Roy Henderson) and chorus, as well as orchestra ; Frank Bridge's de xtrously-written " Rhapsody Phantasm " for piano and orchestra—a work showing its composer's habitual technical accomplishment; and John Ireland's picturesque " Legend," a piece written for the same combination as Mr. Bridge's. The list of new British compositions produced during the year further included a suite for viola and orchestra by Vaughan Williams, in which the soloist was Lionel Tertis, to whom it is dedicated. Consisting of eight short movements, this suite, which was played at a Courtauld-Sargent concert under the direction of Malcolm Sargent, made for the most part an excellent impression. There was real beauty both in themes and their treatment in nearly all the sections, the composer, moreover, showing an uncommon understanding of the peculiar characteristics of the solo instrument.

As with native novelties, the list of new works that came to us from abroad was smaller than usual. But it brought probably the most curious musical experience of the year in the performance at Queen's Hall (March 14), in concert form, of Alban Berg's much-discussed opera, " Wozzeck." Those who had heard the work abroad asserted that it was practically impossible for anyone to form an accurate impression of the appropriateness of the music to the drama itself under the conditions imposed. No doubt this accounted in a measure for some of the difficulties with which ears unattuned to the composer's atonalities had to contend. An interesting experience in any case, and one that compelled admiration for the ability with which the English singers, among them May Blyth, Mary Jarred, Walter Widdop, and Percy Heming, who supported Richard Bitterauf (the Wozzeck), tackled an extremely difficult task. Adrian Boult conducted.

Prominent among other representative foreign works was Stravinsky's " Persephone," which was given under his direction. This version of the classic story, though cast in the form of a cantata, was first produced in

Pans as a ballet-pantomime. Not Stravinsky's first essay in what might be described as naive sophistication, it did nothing to dispel the ever-growing conviction that the composer of " Petrouehka " has written himself out. Infinitely more interesting was a suite from the incidental music Sibelius wrote for " The Tempest," which helped to make the opening concert of the Royal Philharmonic Society's season memorable. Sibelius's storm music is superb. A distinguished foreign visitor was Prokovieff, who was heard in his fifth Piano Concerto. However little appeal there may be in this Russian's music, judged from ordinary standards, there is no denying that it possesses the quality of robustious life, in addition to a good deal of individuality. In greater or lesser degree the same qualities were found in his new Symphony (No. 3). But in this sometimes unduly noisy work Prokovieff appeared to be taking himself with a deadly seriousness in strong contrast, not altogether welcome, to the seemingly flippant mood one has come to associate with him.

To the year's noteworthy events should be added the celebration of Dame Ethel Smyth's 75th birthday, the anniversary being marked by a revival of her Mass in D, an early composition, by the Royal Choral Society at the Albert Hall (March 3), which was attended by Queen Mary, and the In Memoriam concert there to Elgar, in which the Royal Choral and Royal Philharmonic Societies combined (March 24) in a performance of " The Dream of Gerontius."

SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

THE BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

Human Evolution.—Eoanthropus was accepted as the earliest form of man, Sinanthropus representing a generalised stock giving rise to divergent lines leading to Neanderthal and modern man. Le Gros Clark (" Early Forerunners of Man ") considered that the primates originated from the earliest placental mammals, and that by cretaceous times they had become separated into a distinct order with evolutionary radiations into Lemuroidea, Tarsioidea, and Anthropoidea, modern apes being fully differentiated by the beginning of the miocene. In " Man's Place Among the Anthropoids " Gregory supported the view of an intimate relationship between man and anthropoid ape. Controversy on human origins depended upon the validity of anatomical comparison as a criterion of genetic affinity and the value given to parallel evolution. Books included " Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman," Leakey's " Adam's Ancestors," Cameron's " Skeleton of Neolithic Man," and " The American Aborigines " by Jenners *el al.* The International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences was held in London.

Cytogenetics.—Study of four generations of Jones' dioecious maize supported the Correns-Goldschmidt theory of sex determination. In " Embryology and Genetics " Morgan also tended to the view that sex differentiation may depend upon the rates at which two competing enzymes develop.

Many successful crosses were made between species and genera of crop plants. In New Zealand 491 wild hybrids were recorded, many being very polymorphic and showing considerable fertility in the hybrid progeny. Various chromosome alterations in hybridisation eventuate in new forms having primary evolutionary value. Theories based on the evolutionary importance of fertile true-breeding hybrids were used to explain the origin of even major groups of animals and plants.

Wrinch interpreted chromosome behaviour in terms of protein pattern, but the nature of the gene remained obscure and, although its stable integrity is the foundation of much modern genetics, evidence tended to suggest that it may develop and undergo evolution. Treatment with short wave radiations and high speed electrons is still the only effective method of inducing mutations giving constant and measurable results, although age or heat may increase the mutation rate. Analysis of the cytogenetic effects of irradiation showed fragmentation and major structural alterations in chromosomes and increased frequency of chiasma

formation; in Drosophila the results seem irrespective of the developmental stage or sex treated. Sladden found that change of food habits induced in a stick insect were inherited in subsequent generations.

Polyploidy, excessively rare in animals, seems to be the basic mechanism of plant speciation and, in many genera and species, the polyploid series proved astonishingly complete. Numerous horticultural and agricultural plants seem to be polyploid forms of high chromosome number, and great practical importance attaches to chromosome doubling in sterile hybrids. Self sterility is now fairly clear, and all the effects of hybrid vigour and inbreeding seem explicable in terms of Mendelian summation and segregation. Attempts to formulate a sort of Mendeleef scheme of chromosome numbers were unconvincing. Promising work was done on correlated inheritance of various botanical characters with disease resistance in cereals. Books on the " Genetics of Garden Plants " were published by Crane and Lawrence and by Kappert.

The chromosomes of numerous animals and plants were described, but most of these researches simply filled in detail, and attention can only be drawn to Minouchi and Ohta's proof that man has 48 chromosomes, with X and Y elements, and Lorbeer's liverwort studies. In general, data supported the chromonema as against the chromomere theory; the chromosomes are double in all stages of cell division and the attachment constriction plays a fundamental part in the division mechanism. On the other hand, work on the finer structure of chromosomes in relation to the hypothetical genes, led Koltzoff to regard the gene as corresponding to the intervening thread between two chromomeres, and Bridges to hold that each gene locus corresponds with a particular size or shape of chromomere.

The Golgi apparatus and mitochondria seem to occur in every type of animal and plant cell, but their nature remained obscure. Carleton found that under normal lighting there is a 24-hourly rhythm in the mitotic division of animal cells with a maximum from 8 p.m. to 12 p.m. and a minimum at noon. Books included Tischler's " Die Kuhekern," Politzer's " Pathologie der Mitose," Guilliermond's " Le Chondriome," and a new Sharp's " Cytology."

Finally, attention may be drawn to Haldane's mathematical treatment of the theory of selection and Blacker's " The Chances of Morbid Inheritance," Penrose's " The Influence of Heredity on Disease," Gause's " The Struggle for Existence," and Pearl's " The Ancestry of the Long Lived."

Zoology.—The encyclopaedic works edited by Grimpe and Wagler, Kukenthal, Schulze, Bardeleben, and Oppenheimer and Pincussen were continued, and note may be made of " The Anatomy of the Rhesus Monkey " by Hartman and Straus, " The Anatomy of the Salamander " by Francis, Mollendorf's " Mikroskopischen Anatomie des Menschen," Ziehen's " Mikroskopische Anatomie des Kleinhirns," Brailsford's " Radiology of Bones and Joints," and Needham's " History of Embryology." Tiegs showed that the striae of vertebrate and arthropod muscle fibres are the optical expression of a helicoid and not of transverse discs.

Among taxonomic and descriptive works were Swinton's " Dinosaurs," Shortridge's " Mammals of S.W. Africa," Tate's " American Opossums," Priest's " Birds of Southern Rhodesia," La Touche's " Birds of E. China," Baker's " Nidification of Indian Birds," Lambrecht's " Handbuch der Palaeornithologie," Parker's " Microhylidae," Norman's " Flatfishes," Fowler's " Siamese Fishes," Holly's " Cyclostomata," Curran's " N, American Diptera," Seguy's " Dipteres de France," Malloch's " Patagonian Muscidae," Aldridge's " Patagonian Tachinidse," Beir's " Pseudoscorpionidea," Kemner's " Termites of Java and Celebes," Saito's " Hokkaidan Spiders," Verhoeff's " Diplopoden Deutschlands," Dahl's " Diplopoda," Garstang's " Tunicates of the Terra Nova Expedition," Yamaguti's "Helminth Fauna of Japan," Dejdar's "Craspedacusta," and Cushman's " Foraminifera."

Perfect mammoth remains were found in the U.S.S.R., and a marsupial sabre-toothed tiger in the pliocene of S. America. De Beer and Barrington found the bird's head to consist of nine and a half segments as against nine for the mammal, and the cartilaginous skull of the bird to present much resemblance with that of the crocodile. From a morphological study of penguins Lowe concluded that they are a primitive aquatic branch of the avian stock derived from flightless forms.

Fishery studies defined objectives and the management of fish supply, particularly with reference to regularisation of size limits and prevention of over fishing. Herring investigations gave ability to predict the probable constituents of the main portion of the herring fishery some years ahead. Successful ice storage of fish was obtained for 12 days, and brine freezing at — 20° C. for three months. Attention may be drawn to Hodgson's " Natural History of the Herring of the S. North Sea," Graham's " Report on Cod in the North Sea," Bonde's " Survey of S. African Fisheries," Californian studies on " The Sardine," and the " James Johnstone Memorial Volume."

In entomology many morphological researches, such as Stickney's " Red Date Scale " appeared, but there was a strong tendency towards more biological and economic work. Studies of biological balance were numerous. Successful thrips control of the weed *Cleidemia hirta* was obtained in Fiji. Important volumes were Kofoid's " Termites and Termite Control," BefiTs " I parasiti animali delle piante coltivate," and Schaflner and Griswold's " Macrolepidoptera and their Parasites." An International Locust Conference was held in London. Wigglesworth published " Insect Physiology," and found a hormone initiation of moulting and pupation in certain insects, whilst Mellanby showed that all water evaporation is tracheal. Work on symbiosis opposed Buchner's hypothesis, many wood-eating insects secreting enzymes and not being dependent on symbiotic fungi—see Cleveland's " The Wood Feeding Roach, Cryptocercus." The association of invertebrates with unicellular algae seems to be confined to animals which digest intracellularly and, in the vast majority of these symbiotic associations, one party is exploited by the other. An important book was Kostitzin's " Symbiose, Parasitisme et Evolution."

Boycott studied the habits of the land mollusca in Britain ; Orr and

Nicholls reared six nauplii and first coprepodite stages of *Eicchaeta norvegica,* and Manton described the embryology of Nebalia. Attention was paid to the distribution of the foraminifera, and many Australian tertiary species still live around Australian coasts. Interesting Russian work was done on hyperparasitism in protozoa and protozoal physiology, the homologies of the cell inclusions and especially the parabasal apparatus were studied, and Bohn published " La Cellule et les Protozoaires." Researches on the distribution of antarctic macroplankton appeared in " Discovery Reports," while " Great Barrier Reef Reports " showed that, in this region, microplankton have no seasonal periodicity.

Save-Soderbergh formulated a new vertebrate classification ; Beebe found large fish living in the sea below 3,000 feet, and Versluy's work on the distribution of marine animals supported Wegener's theory of the splitting up of Gondwana-land to form the S. equatorial land masses, a theory supported also by Seward and Conway's study of Kerguelen fossil plants. Berland *et al.* published " L'Etude du Peuplement Zoologique et Botanique des lies du Pacifique " ; Shattuck *et al.* a biological " Survey of Yucatan " ; Hartmann, " Allgemeine Biologic " ; and Russell, " Behaviour of Animals." Finally mention may be made of the alleged " Loch Ness Monster " which was generally regarded as a grey seal.

General Physiology.—It now seems clear that the emotional aspect of life is associated with the activity of the thalamus distinct and separate from the cerebral cortex which is the thinking and discriminating apparatus —see Campion and Elliot Smith's " Neural Basis of Thought." Hill confirmed the view that nerve heat production is due to a transmitted and not to a direct effect and, like the electric charge, is a normal property of the transmitted nervous impulse. Dale explained the transfer of excitation at all cytoneural junctions in connection with the peripheral nervous system by the liberation of chemical transmitters. Note should be made of Monnier's " L'excitation electrique des tissus." Research was done on the intrinsic nervous mechanism of the lung, and the mechanism responsible for the rhythmic production of beats by the pacemaker of the heart. In spite of considerable experimental analysis of hearing, colour appreciation, taste and smell it was impossible to build up quantitative scales.

Many studies were made of the kinetics of haemoglobin and, it seems probable, that the transportation of carbon dioxide from the tissues to the lungs for elimination is enzymic. Work was done on the regular variations in the specificity of serological reactions and on the capricious irregularity of leucocyte counts. The useful discovery was made of snake venom as a styptic in haemophilia. The problem of glycogen formation in the liver remained unsolved, but all evidence emphasized the importance of this substance in the nutritional supply of blood sugar. The use of the facts of blood grouping as a criterion in racial classification is doubtful, but evidence showed that they furnish data for racial relationships, migrations and mixtures. Books included Ponder's " The Mammalian Red Cell and Properties of Hsemolytic Systems," Fleming and Petrie's " Recent Advances in Vaccine and Serum Therapy," and Rousseu and Roussel's " Le Seum Normal."

Respiration studies concentrated largely on the respiratory pigments, and Ellinger and Koschara described the lyochromes, a new group of animal pigments which act as respiratory ferments and, in some way, as vitamin B1. Attention may be drawn to Florkin's "Transporters d'Oxygene," Binet *et aVs* "Respiration," and Meldrum's "Cellular Respiration." A notable feature was the greatly extended use of manometric methods in respiration investigations.

Vitamins and the relation of nutrition to disease received great attention and were surveyed in Mellanby's "Nutrition and Disease." The state of the nervous system can be influenced by diet, and liability to disease reduced by proper diet. Vitamin A is anti-infective to microbial diseases and B is important in this connection. Kuhn synthesised a compound with B2 activity behaving like lactoflavin. Great advance was made in knowledge of C (ascorbic acid), but, although the compound has been synthesised and its formula is known, the mechanism of its action remained obscure. Evidence suggested that man suffers more from lack of C than has been realised. Lack of D, calcium and phosphorus leads to dental caries, whilst E deficiency produces changes similar to A. In man vitamin deficiencies are more important than mineral deficiencies, whilst in cattle the reverse is true; methods were devised of treating pasture grasses and soil to cure these cattle ailments. Important volumes were Terroine's "Le Metabolisme de 1'Azote," and Nord and Weidenhagen's "Ergebnisse der Enzymforschung, Bd. 3."

Hormone investigations were primarily directed towards sex and were surveyed by Robson in "Recent Advances in Sex and Reproductive Physiology." Other important books were Trendelenburg's "Die Hormone," Bd. 2, Fiessinger's "Physiopathologie des Syndromes Endocriniens," Laquer's "Hormone und innere Sekretion," Harrow and Sherwin's "Chemistry of the Hormones," Lucien *et al.'& "*L'Hypophyse" and Calvet's "L'Epiphyse." Considerable advance was made in knowledge and quantitative accuracy of biological tests for pregnancy diagnosis. The conversion by Ruzicka of cholesterol into the male sex hormone with its attendant elucidation of the complete chemical structure of this hormone gave promise that the three sex hormones (androsterone, progestin, and oestrin) will be available for clinical use in chemically pure crystalline form. Probably, in many animals, light radiations of particular wave-length and sufficient intensity are an efficient cause of reproductive activity, although other factors are also involved. The parathyroid glands seem to play a dominant role in calcium metabolism, and the adrenal glands exercise an anti-infective function against microbial diseases. There was increased recognition of the cholinergic mechanism as having the more general application in the functions of the nervous system and of the adrenergic mechanism as being a more specialised and a more recent development. The pituitary seems to be the master gland and initiates all polyglandular syndromes, exercising a controlling influence on the whole endocrine system in regard to the secretory activity of already existing gland tissues and in stimulating increased growth of such tissues. The blood is the most complex fluid known, containing a great number of

active hormones each of which reaches its place and exercises its function apparently unaffected by the presence of the others. How this comes about is obscure. It would appear that the whole of the control of the activity, not only of the blood vessels, but of all the involuntary muscle and gland cells in the body, is effected by a series of chemical pharmacodynamic agents which may be liberated in nerve fibres, or formed in endocrine organs, or widely distributed in tissues having no special endocrine function.

Much attention was paid to the morphogenetic processes of organiser-action and to the self-differentiating powers of the various regions of, especially, the amphibian embryo—see Huxley and De Beer's " Experimental Embryology." There seems to be no species specificity of the inducing agents involved in embryonic organisers and of the two factors involved, evocation and individuation, the former probably belongs to some group of sterol-like compounds.

The devising and use of new techniques was a marked feature of physiological research. Dark ground illumination more than doubled the visibility of small objects, and the photographic use of ultra-violet light of short wave-length more than doubled the resolving power of the microscope. Valuable results accrued from the application of cinema-photography in tissue culture study, the use of X-rays, and of fluorescence microscopy. An interesting volume was " The Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Radiologists."

Of more general matters, note may be made of work on the relations of heavy water in biology which led to no clear issues, and of Barnes and Jahn's study of the important and neglected subject of the properties of ordinary water in its biological aspects. Gurwitsch considered the obscure problem of mitogenetic rays in his " L'Analyse mitogtmetique spectrale," and Heinemann devised physico-chemical tests. Willstatter emphasised the importance and widespread occurrence in living organisms of " symplex compounds." Needham's application of the concept of heterogony to the chemical changes in metazoa suggests a fundamental chemical ground plan of animal growth capable of varying in space time. Allee's work on mass physiology and Greenwood's epidemiological researches gave results which promise to open a new avenue of approach to the " physiology " of social life. Prenant's physiological analysis of the organism's environment and the very important work carried out by Vernadsky *et al.* at the Biogeochemical Institute in Russia threw open new fields of study and promise to establish surprising interrelations between the organic and the inorganic worlds.

Important books were Heffter and Heubner's " Handbuch der Experimentellen Pharmakologie," Bd. 3, Kuno's "Physiology of Human Perspiration," Barcroft's " Features in the Architecture of Physiological Function," Nierenstein's "Natural Organic Tannins," Fischer and Hooker's " Lycophilic Colloids," and Abramson's " Electrokinetic Phenomena."

Botany.—1934 was notable for the publication of major taxonomic works, including Small's "Manual of the S.E. Flora of the U.S.A.,"

Post's " Flora of Syria, Palestine and Sinai," Vol. 2, Komarov's " Flora of the U.S.S.R.," Vol. 1, Korovin's "Flora of Central Asia and S. Kazakstan," Ostenfeld and Grontved's " Flora of Iceland and the Faeroes," Jahandiez and Maire's " Plantes du Maroc," Vol. 3, and Craib's " Flora? Siamensis Enumeratio." Among other valuable works were Hutchinson's " Monocotyledons," Handel-Mazetti's " Chinese Anthophyta," the " Centrospermse" volume in Engler and Prantl's " Die Naturlichen Pflanzenfamilien," Silveus' " Texas Grasses," Angelini's " II Grano," Percival's " Wheat in Great Britain," Stout's " Hemerocallis," Hildebrandt's " Sesame," White and Sloane's " Stapeliea3," Vesselovskaya's " Papaver," Taylor's " Meconopsis," Zodda *et Ol.'B* " Hepaticae," Zschacke's " Verrucariacese und Dermatocarpaceas," Colla's " Laboulbeniales," Blumer's " Erysiphecn," Wehmeyer's " Diaporthe," Arthur's " Busts of the U.S.A. and Canada," and MacBride and Martin's " Myxomycetes." There also appeared the " Kew Handlist of Trees and Shrubs," Lemee's " Dictionnaire descriptiv et synonymique des genres de plantcs plianerogames," Zhukovsky's " La Turquie Agricole," Harm's " Nutzpflanzen," Moll's " Phytography," and Gunther's " Greek Herbal of Dioseorides." Interesting experimental systematy derived from the continued use of Mez and Ziegenspeck's serological methods, Moyer's electrophoretic study of Euphorbia and McNair's chemical researches. Kecent work in these fields was collated by Molisch in " Pflanzenchemie und Pflanzenverwandtschaft."

In morphology an outstanding feature was the controversy over the validity of fundamental tenets. McLean Thompson formulated a theory of apocarpus angiospermy. Two new fossil plant groups were described, the Corystospermacese of Ptendosperm affinity and the Whittlescyina) of Medullosean affinity. Much attention was given to wood anatomy especially in correlating structure with physical, chemical, and mechanical properties of timber. Books included Schnarf's " Embryologie der Gymnospermen," Hofmann's " Palaeo-histologie Pflanzc," Arber's " Gramineae," a magnificent volume by Reid and Chandler, " The Flora of the London Clay," Howard's " Timbers of the World," and Brown and Panshin's " Identification of the Commercial Timbers of the TLS A."

Numerous cryptogamic researches included Horikawa's " Hepatics of Australasia and Japan," Verdoorn's " Asiatische Jubuleee," and Fremy's " Cyanophycees des cotes d'Europe." Borgesen described the marine algse of the N. Arabian sea, Hart the Phytoplankton of the S.W. Atlantic, Jaag monographed " Coccomyxa," Jorstad the " Uredinales of Kamtchatka," and Lind the " Arctic Micromycetes." Fungal sexuality received much attention and it looks as if some ascomycetes may have one and others two nuclear fusions. In certain fungi microconidia may function as male spermatia. Riviere published " Le poison des *Amanites mortelles"* Buller, Vol. V I. of his " Researches on Fungi," Gilbert " Mycologie descriptive," and Tobler " Die Flechten." Asai showed that over 80 per cent, of a very large number of families of land plants contain endotrophic mycorrhiza. Metzner described two new species of the very rare hymenolichens. Abe found that in many myxomycetes the male and female gametes bear different electric charges.

Ecologists **published many recording and** descriptive investigations, **and much of** this work had a dynamic aspect. In German research especially there was a tendency towards experimentalism; in agricultural ecology a tendency towards " social " physiology and the study of concomitant factors and, in extensive survey work, an increased use of aeroplane photography. Among important ecological memoirs were Scholander's " Vascular Plants and Vegetation of Greenland," Polunin's " Vegetation of Akpatok Island," Watt's " Vegetation of the Chiltern Hills," Marshall's " Physiography and Vegetation of Trinidad and Tobago," MacGregor's " Silviculture of the Mixed Deciduous Forests of Nigeria," and Weaver and Fitzpatrick's classical study of " The Prairie." In a study of the volcano Katmai, Griggs and Ready found the pioneer plants on pure ash deposits to be leafy liverworts which can use combined nitrogen in smaller amounts than can any other plants. Seed longevity received attention, and Long published " Weed Suppression by Fertilisers and Chemicals." Noteworthy volumes were Raunkiaer's " Life Forms of Plants and Statistical Plant Geography," Rubner's " Pflanzen geographischokologischen grundlagen des Waldbaus," and Praeger's " The Botanist in Ireland."

Plant physiological relations became clearer owing to a marked tendency towards correlative study. Russian work on " vernalisation " was a primary interest because of its practical importance and Lysenko's fundamental conceptions. Generally, evidence tended toward the view of the plant as a physiological balance in which any one function can only be accelerated at the expense of a complementary function, the physiological processes being carried out by physical and chemical means initiated and controlled by the constituent living cells, the local conditioning being due to hormones and the life duration being conditioned by the rate of living.

Carbon relationships were studied especially by workers on fruit storage physiology and on the cotton plant. Interesting results were the conception of photosynthesis as a heterogonous photochemical reaction, the discovery that in cotton sieve tubes transport may be about 20,000 times as rapid as movement due to physical diffusion, the realisation of the intimacy of the relation between photosynthesis and respiration, and the recognition that all flower colours are variations within one fundamental chemical scheme which depends upon a peculiar association of carbohydrates with functional pigments.

There was increased recognition of the fact that plants may use ammonium as well as nitrate nitrogen depending on conditions. Work on the transport of assimilates and other dissolved substances supported the idea of a steep negative static gradient and a less steep positive gradient of translocatory nitrogen, the former being made up of storage substances. Storage of nitrogen in the bark appears to be unrelated to the supply of nitrogen to the plant. Much work was done on the seasonal nitrogen cycle in plants, especially in relation to environmental conditions, and the acidity and nitrogen content of fruits in relation to fungus infection. Russell and Bishop published a synthesis of ten years' research on the nitrogen content of barley in relation to brewing.

Frost and drought injury, and physiological disorders due to excesses and deficiencies received much attention. The root exudations of plants, a greatly neglected problem, were shown to influence not only physical conditions but also micro-organisms in adjacent soil. Little is known of plant tissue culture, but White found that tomato root tips are capable of maintaining an independent, active, apparently normal existence *in vitro* for potentially unlimited periods of time. Important books included Demolon's " Croissance des vegetaux," Eagaller's " Der Abbau," and Harris's " Physico-chemical Properties of Plant Saps in Relation to Phytogeography."

A feature of 1934 was the Russian work in applied botany and especially the origin and distribution of crop plants—see Vavilov's " Plant Industry in the U.S.S.R.," Vol. I. Important works on applied botany were Steyn's " Toxicology of Plants in S. Africa," Stanford's " Economic Plants," Baker's " Theory and Practice of Sylviculture," Bernegg's " KafEee und Guarana," and Pagliani's " Le piante aromatische e da profumo." Note should be made of the " Report of the Second Conference on Cotton Growing Problems." Finally, the world-loss of the scent of the musk plant and the dying out of eel-grass on the N. Atlantic shores remained inexplicable.

Microbiology and Disease.—Of the vast amount of work done in animal pathology attention can only be drawn to Dias's study of Chaga's disease in S. Africa caused by *Trypanosoma cruzi* transmitted through the bug *Triatoma cruzi,* Tyzzer's researches on Histomonas infection in poultry and his successful use of an attenuated strain as a vaccine, and Clapham's discovery that *Eisenia foetida* is the intermediate host of the common gapeworm of birds. Girge published " Schistosomiasis." Increased attention was given to the chemical conditions governing the life and multiplication of pathogenic micro-organisms and note may be made of Hill's " Inheritance of Resistance to Bacterial Infection in Animal Species," Kolle and Hetsch's " Experimental Bacteriology," and Marrack's " Chemistry of Antigens and Antibodies." Work on tar tumours in birds, which seem to be due to a filterable virus, led to the establishment of a chemical carcinogenic constitution so that the probable action of any substance may, to some extent, be predicted from its structural formula. The causal organism of cancer isolated by von Brehmer awaits confirmation. Important books on cancer were Willis' " Spread of Tumours in the Human Body," Soutar's " Radium and Cancer," Kopaczewski's " Permeabilite cellulaire et probleme du cancer," Lockhart-Mummery's " Origin of Cancer," and the " 11th Scientific Report of the Imperial Cancer Research Fund."

The view is now generally accepted that viruses are living things. Important advances in technique were the discoveries that many animal viruses can be cultivated in the chorio-allantoic membrane of the chick embryo and certain plant viruses in isolated tomato root tips grown *in vitro.* In general, evidence supported the view that the elementary bodies of animal virus diseases are the actual causal agents, whereas the intracellular inclusions in plant virus diseases are essentially products of

the host cells. That bacteria and viruses are developmental stages was not confirmed, although Sartory and Meyer described a filterable stage in the complicated life-cycle of *Actinomyces bovis.* An important advance in influenza research was the discovery that mice can be infected from ferrets infected with influenza virus. Many new plant virus diseases were described, but interest focussed on insect transference, serological, physical and chemical study, isolation and purification, the analysis of the effect of the virus on host metabolism, latency, and modifiability of viruses, and questions of natural and acquired immunity. Hauduroy published " Les ultravirus Pathogenes et Saprophytes," and Atanasoff, and Otero and Cook extensive bibliographies of virus diseases of plants.

In general plant pathology there were numerous descriptions of new diseases, fungal and bacterial parasites and control measures, but the more interesting advances derived from epidemiological studies and regional surveys, breeding for disease resistance, hybridisation and hyphal fusion in relation to the origin of new forms, immunity studies, the quantitative standardisation of fungicides, and research on physiological disorders. Important books were Naumov's " Treatise on Plant Pathology," Peglion's " Le malattie delle piante coltivate," part 2 of " Die nichtparasitaren und Virus-Krankheiten" in Sorauer's " Handbuch," and a report by Pethybridge *et al.* on plant diseases in Great Britain.

Much attention was given to associative and antagonistic growth of micro-organisms especially in relation to parasitism and natural decomposition. There was increased recognition of the importance in soil and industrial processes of groups of organisms other than bacteria, and fungi were generally accepted as primary agents in the decomposition of cellulosic matter. Soil nitrification and denitrification seem in part to be micro-organismal and in part photochemical and catalytic. Nodule formation and nitrogen fixation were described in several non-legume plants ; micro-organisms were isolated from the upper air ; numerous fungi and bacteria were found to grow and function normally at temperatures below freezing-point; and new counting techniques showed that bacteria may exist in soil up to 4,000,000,000 per gram. Dorf published " Die Eisenorganismen," Fowler " The Biochemistry of Nitrogen Conservation," Sigmund " Altalanos talajtan," and Gundel " Die Typenlehre in der Mikrobiologie."

Coiielusion.—Perhaps the most striking characteristics of the intellectual climate of 1934 were a tendency to question the adequacy of accepted biological philosophy, and a recognition of the fact that science has social roots and social consequences and cannot develop independently of social values.

THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES.

The outstanding event of the year was the discovery of induced radioactivity by F. Joliot and his wife, I. Curie-Joliot, at the Radium Institute in Paris. Towards the end of 1933 these workers had observed that certain light elements emit positrons when they are bombarded by alpha rays

from polonium, and on February 10 they announced in *Nature* that the emission does not cease immediately when the alpha ray source is removed. The effect was observed with aluminium, magnesium, and boron with which the " half-life " period was as long as 14 minutes. The phenomenon was explained as being due to the formation of unstable isotopes when the alpha particle is captured by the impacted atomic nucleus. It was found that the active matter could be removed by chemical means and thus chemical evidence of its nature was obtained, *e.g.*, it seemed probable that aluminium is transformed into an isotope of phosphorus. On March 3 Cockcroft, Gilbert, and Walton announced in the same journal that they had obtained a similar effect by bombarding graphite with 600 kilovolt protons and that in this case also positrons form at least part of the radiation emitted by the unstable body which is formed—presumably an isotope of nitrogen (N^{13}). The results with alpha particles were confirmed by Ellis and Henderson *(Nature,* April 7), while Lauritsen, Crane, and Harper *(Phys. Rev.)* produced the effect by bombarding boron with the nuclei of " heavy " hydrogen.

The work was taken a stage further when, in May, Fermi announced that he had obtained the effect with a very large number of elements by bombarding them with neutrons emitted from a sealed glass tube containing radium emanation and beryllium powder. In these cases beta rays were emitted in the decay of the active isotope, and the half-life periods varied from a few seconds with fluorine, to two days with arsenic, and even longer with chlorine. The emission of the negatively charged beta particles was explained on the supposition that the neutron enters the nucleus of the bombarded atom and is there converted into a proton with the emission of the negative charge. The most surprising result of all, however, came with Fermi's announcement in June that, in conjunction with Rasetti and D'Agostino, he had bombarded uranium with neutrons and had obtained a complex induced radioactivity with at least five decay periods, one of which seemed to be due to the formation of an element of atomic number greater than that of uranium itself—the highest hitherto known. Grosse and Agruss *(Nature,* November 17), however, attributed it to element 91. At the eighth Annual Congress of the British Institute of Radiology in December, Hopwood stated that induced radioactivity had been produced in all the elements found in the human body with the exception of hydrogen and calcium.

It should be stated that the discovery of the phenomenon was made possible only by the use of the Geiger-Miiller counter which detects single " particles " (positrons, electrons) if they are capable of producing ionisation in gases which can be magnified by collision processes. The emission is much too small to affect an electroscope.

The structure of the nucleus formed the subject of much theoretical investigation. The old hypothesis that atomic nuclei are built up of electrons and protons involved grave theoretical difficulties which disappear if the electrons are replaced by neutrons. It was not obvious, however, that protons and neutrons (one positively charged, the other uncharged) could hold together, but Heisenberg worked out a theory based

on the supposition that the proton and the neutron are different quantum states of the same fundamental particle and that the attraction arises from the exchange of charge between them. Accepting the proton-neutron structure Fermi *(Zeit. Phys.)* supposed that an electron (beta ray) is emitted from the nucleus when a neutron transforms into a proton and that a positron is emitted when a proton transforms into a neutron. If this were all the beta rays should be emitted with a definite velocity (or series of velocities) while it was well known that they emerge with a continuous distribution of velocities. The obvious explanation would be that energy is not conserved in the process but that supposition was found to lead to other difficulties, and to avoid them Fermi suggested that another particle—the neutrino—was created and emitted along with the beta ray or positron. To account for the experimental results this particle must be supposed to possess a rest mass small compared with that of an electron (and possibly zero) spin h/4 and no charge. The possible existence of a particle of this kind was first suggested by Pauli in 1931; it is very difficult, but not, perhaps, impossible, to detect, because it possesses such a small ionising power. Indeed, Chadwick showed that it would not form more than one pair of ions in a track of 150 kilometres in air.

Lande* *(Phys. Rev.)* extended the new theory to show that the total spin and the magnetic properties of the nucleus may be due to one, or at most two, protons or neutrons, the others forming closed shells.

Evidence that the heavy hydrogen (H^2) nucleus is not a fundamental particle was obtained by G. N. Lewis who split it by proton bombardment, and by Chadwick and Goldhaber who disintegrated it, presumably into a proton and a neutron, by high energy gamma rays from thorium C". Indications of the existence of a third isotope of hydrogen (H^3) were obtained in several laboratories. In March Oliphant, Harteck, and Rutherford *(Nature)* stated that it is formed when salts of " heavy " hydrogen *(e.g.* ND_4C1) are bombarded with H^2 nuclei. In May Bleakney, Smith, and Lozier *(Phys. Rev.)* reported that they had detected its presence in " heavy " hydrogen, and that natural hydrogen contains not more than one H^3 atom in a thousand million. At the same time Harnwell, Smyth, Van Voorhis, and Kuper described how they had produced it by subjecting heavy hydrogen to a discharge in a 50-80 kilo volt canal tube. Several workers in the Cavendish laboratory obtained results which suggested that the isobaric isotope of helium (He^8) is formed both when heavy hydrogen salts are bombarded with H^2 nuclei, and also when lithium is bombarded with protons. Oliphant and Rutherford adapted the principle of the mass-spectrograph to separate the lithium isotopes for bombardment purposes *(Proc. Roy. Soc).*

Aston stated, in November, that all but four elements (Pd, H, Pt, Au) had yielded to isotopic analysis in the mass spectrograph and that 247 isotopes had been identified. Gamow pointed out that isomeric isotopes *(i.e.,* isotopes having the same atomic number and atomic weight but different internal structure) may exist, and instanced the 210 isotope of lead and radium D as possible examples. Such a difference of internal structure might result if a pair of neutrons in one nucleus was replaced

by a positive and a negative proton in the other, but the existence of negative protons (negatrons) remained extremely hypothetical even though E. J. Williams reported to the meeting of the International Congress of Theoretical Physics, held at Kharkov in May, that certain tracks observed by Kunze in photographs of the ionisation produced by cosmic rays in a Wilson cloud chamber would seem to have been produced by them.

The problem of cosmic radiation still excited a great deal of interest. It was one of the principal subjects of discussion at the meeting of the International Congress on Physics held in London during the period October 1-6, but no definite conclusions regarding the nature of the primary radiations were reached. It appeared that three components of the rays differing in penetrating power had been recognised, and Compton and Bethe considered that they might be identified as photons (or alpha particles), electrons (mainly positive), and protons. Bennett, Brown, and Rahmel observed " bursts " due to cosmic rays in an argon-filled ionisation chamber placed at a high altitude on Mount Evans which indicated the sudden formation of over 600 million pairs of ions corresponding to an energy of 10^{11} or 10^{12} electron volts. This is far too great to arise from any known nuclear process, but it is of the same order as the energy of a proton (or electron) able to penetrate 600 metres of water—the extreme depth at which the effects of the rays have been detected.

G. N. Lewis *(Phys. Rev.)* suggested that a great part of the matter in the universe is composed chiefly of iron and nickel which is superficially attacked by cosmic radiation to produce the material represented by the earth's crust and by the stony meteors.

A new plant for the liquefaction of helium was erected in the Koyal Society Mond Laboratory at Cambridge. Aided by liquid nitrogen the gas cools itself to 10° K. by doing work in an expansion cylinder, and is then liquefied by the further cooling caused by free expansion (Joule-Thomson effect). A gap between the piston and the cylinder walls removes the difficulty of finding a lubricant which can be used at such low temperatures, and a very rapid expansion stroke prevents serious loss of gas. The apparatus, designed by Kapitza, gives 2 litres of liquid helium per hour by the use of only 3 litres of liquid nitrogen,.

Pease and Pearson published a preliminary value for the velocity of light calculated from data obtained with Michelson's vacuum apparatus at Mount Wilson, and considered that their result, 299,774 km. per sec, is not likely to be altered by more than 1 or 2 units when the final corrections have been applied.

At a Friday evening lecture at the Royal Institution on February 16 Ferguson showed kinematograph pictures of falling drops taken with a camera devised by the Western Electric Co. in conjunction with the Eastman Kodak Co., which allowed 2,000 exposures to be made in one second. Later in the year the number of exposures given per second by the camera was increased to 2,500.

In astronomy there were no discoveries of outstanding importance. Counts of nebulae visible in the 100-inch telescope at Mount Wilson indicated that if the shift of the red lines in their spectra is due to recession

the **number of** nebulae per unit volume must increase with increasing distance from the earth; if not they must be distributed uniformly in the space (a sphere of 350 million light years radius) within the range of the telescope. It was hoped that observations with the 200-inch reflector now being constructed will make it possible to decide between these alternatives. After many tests a site on Mount Palomar in southern California was selected for this telescope. Pyrex glass for the mirror was poured into its mould at the Corning Glass works on March 25. Unfortunately part of the mould broke, but a second pouring, on December 2, was reported as having been successful.

Adams and Dunham *(Astrophys. J.)* failed to find any evidence for the existence of free oxygen in the atmosphere of Mars although there seems adequate proof of the presence of water vapour. In 1933 Dunham, working at Mount Wilson, identified a number of bands in the spectra of Saturn and Jupiter as bands of ammonia and methane, and, in 1934, Adel and Slipher *(Monthly Notices, R.A.S.,* and *Nature)* showed that these two substances are present also in Uranus and Neptune. They considered it possible that the giant planets are constituted very largely of hydrocarbons. Leitich *{Astro. Nach.)* discussed the problem of the origin of the lunar craters and concluded that they have been produced by internal causes and not by the impact of meteors. He showed that an appearance similar to that presented by the lunar surface might be produced by volcanic gases forcing up a surface layer, several kilometres thick, formed of salts such as the chlorides of sodium and potassium.

The advantages of coating the mirrors of reflecting telescopes with aluminium instead of silver received general recognition. When deposited on the glass surface by evaporation *in vacuo* the aluminium forms a strongly adherent film, which does not tarnish and has a high coefficient of reflection in the ultra-violet.

Robertson, Fox, and Martin *(Phil. Trans.)* showed that diamond crystals are of two types, structurally similar, but differing in their infrared absorption spectra, in isotropy and in their photoelectric properties.

Koblic reported in July that he had found a new element in Joachimsthal pitchblende. His experiments indicated that its atomic weight was 240, and he considered its atomic number to be 93. An X-ray examination failed to confirm his discovery, and showed that his results were due to the presence of tungsten in his material.

The Committee on Atomic Weights of the International Union .of Chemistry adopted new values for the atomic weights of several elements. The value for arsenic becomes 74-91 (instead of 74-93), selenium 78-96 (79-2), tellurium 127-61 (127-5), caesium 132-91, erbium 165-20, ytterbium 173-04, osmium 191.5, thallium 204-40. The precise value of the atomic weight of carbon was regarded as still uncertain.

The British Association met at Aberdeen during the period September 5-11. The president, Sir James Jeans, discussed the philosophical implications of the particle and wave aspects of matter. Professor H. M. Macdonald, president of Section A, dealt with some of the mathematical aspects of the classical electromagnetic theory of light, and Professor

T. M. Lowry gave an account of some applications of physical methods in chemical science in his address to section B. Professor H. E. Roaf dealt with the problem of colour vision in Section I and expressed his acceptance of the Young three-colour theory. He showed that it is reasonable to suppose that the rods in the human eye are stimulated by all parts of the visible spectrum, and that they give rise to the sensation of violet when the other receptors are not also stimulated. The cones he regarded as of two kinds, one concerned with the not-blue colours, and the other distinguishing red from not-red. Normal colour-blindness would arise when these last receptors become more or less ineffective, while night blindness would be produced by diseases affecting the rods, and would be associated with inability to distinguish between blue and green.

On January 14 the wave-lengths of the chief European broadcasting stations were altered in accordance with the scheme drawn up at Lucerne in 1933 for the purpose of minimising interference. The first " micro-ray " radio service was opened officially on January 26 between the air-ports at Lympne and St. Inglevert, France. Two wave-lengths were employed, 17 cm. in one direction and 17-5 cm. in the other, so that duplex working of telephone and teleprinter could be used. The power required was less than 1 watt. In May a committee was set up " To consider the development of television, and to advise the Postmaster-General on the relative merits of the several systems, and on the conditions under which any public service of television should be provided." On September 6 the new Droitwich broadcasting station took over the long-wave National service from Daventry. It had an aerial input of 150 kilowatts generated by heavy oil engines, and the modulation was introduced at the penultimate stage of a five-stage amplifier by varying the high tension voltage.

The new acoustical laboratory at the National Physical Laboratory was open for inspection for the first time at the annual visitation on June 26. It is designed to enable full-scale reverberation and transmission tests to be made on floors and wall partitions.

A paper issued by the Laboratory during the year dealt with the construction of double windows designed to minimise traffic noise : another showed that yellow or orange screens on motor-car headlights give increased visibility in fog only because they reduce the intensity of the light.

FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN 1934.

RECOVERY from the greet economic depression—the inevitable result of the Great War and its financial, economic, political, and social distortions—continued to make slow progress throughout 1931. By the end of the year recovery had been in progress for about 2J years. As in 1933 recovery made the greatest progress in the British Empire and in other countries which stood firm by orthodoxy—and eschewed the temptation of exotic and erratic experimentation. The success of the British countries which pursued the proved paths of sound finance, balanced Budgets, etc., is to be attributed, of course, to the fact that the rules of arithmetic cannot be altered by the most imaginative of politicians nor by the most skilful dialectician. Those countries, like Russia, Italy, Germany, and the United States, which embarked upon economic experiments, were m each case driven to do so by political trouble and pressure, and at the close of 1934, the Bennett Government of Canada, whose economic fortunes are largely linked with those of the United States, found its situation so precarious with a General Election not far off that it abandoned its previous emphatically asserted policy of financial orthodoxy and decided upon a glittering programme of reform which the Bennett Government hoped would shine in the political firmament quite as brightly as President Roosevelt's. But though 1934 was a year of domestic recovery in the countries which followed orthodox policies in the main, the situation for the best of them at the close of the year was certainly anything but good. Great Britain's improvement left her oversea trade at only 57 per cent, of its 1929 value, her unemployment at over 2,120,000, her currency still depreciating and her basic industries operating well below their capacity. The unemployment figures, however, were 835,000 below the peak figures of 2,955,000 touched in January, 1933. Steel production at the end of 1934 was 15 per cent, above 1933, building activity 10 per cent, higher, motor-car registrations 16 per cent, more, electricity consumption 15 per cent, more, and retail sales about 3 per cent. more. Nothing stands out more clearly in the financial and economic history of 1934 than the failure of the experiments in the countries which had embraced the doctrine of the " New Deal," a phrase invented by President Roosevelt. Russia, which had the greatest problem of all to face when the revolution took place in 1917, naturally made the greatest relative progress, but recovery still lags lamentably bihind, while reform—the origin of the movement—seems to have stopped. Italy, the second country to **adopt** the New **Deal,** has made greater visible progress than any other, but the cost of it began to shake her balance sheet ominously towards the close

of 1934. The strain of financing the New Deal proved too great, and towards the end of the year Mussolini was compelled, in order to protect his currency from collapse, to take control over all the foreign exchange resources of the country. In Germany, where Hitler's new economics had been in operation for a relatively short period, the results of the New Deal were very disappointing. By artifices of one kind or another, such as compelling employers to engage more men than they needed, and by shortening the working week, unemployment was made to appear as if it were declining, but towards the end of the year unemployment figures began to increase again. Cost of living increased, a general moratorium on foreign debts was announced, a heavy fall took place in exports, the Reiehsbank's gold reserves shrank to almost vanishing point, imports were so rigorously controlled for a time that wool, one of Germany's most important raw material imports, fell to the slump price level again, and the country was forced to resort to curious devices to prevent an entire collapse of the exchange value of the currency. Budget deficits, rising debt and a severe regimentation of all economic activity became the order of the day. The New Deal in the United States was no more successful as a recovery agent. But despite the signal failure of his recovery measures, the President retained—and indeed strengthened—his hold on the country by his undaunted efforts at social reform which kept the unthinking satisfied with his programme. At the end of 1934, although about 20,000,000 people were in receipt of relief, and unemployment was as bad as ever, and there was a complete lack of confidence in business circles, the President was still busy with plans for social reform. These, however, were more practical, inasmuch as they followed British social legislation of a generation ago, namely unemployment insurance and old age pensions. Disappointed with its results the President abandoned his experiment with the currency at the end of January, 1934, and put the dollar back on gold at a shade under 60 per cent, of its old parity. He did this because the policy of depreciating the dollar had not produced the stimulating effect upon prices which his advisers had foreshadowed. It had not caused prices in America to rise sufficiently to offset the fall in the dollar, and in consequence the depreciation of the dollar compelled other countries to deflate their prices in order to keep in step with the fall—measured in gold—in American prices. By going back to gold the President helped American prices to rise—a thing he failed to do so long as the dollar was off gold—as will be seen from the following table showing the course of international price levels in 1934 :—

	Gt. Britain.	U.SA.	France.	Italy.	Germany.
December, 1933	105-9	104-4	88.1	84.9	111
June, 1934	108-1	1131	82.7	83.9	
December, 1934	109-4	1141	77.7	85.3	

September 1931 = 100.

As the pound sterling depreciated in terms of gold by 10 per cent, there was an actual reduction in the British price level, which helped to produce a deflation of prices in France. The dollar having been undervalued by its devaluation, American prices escaped the deflationary effects of the fall in the pound. Domestic inflation and the introduction of cheap marks caused the German price level to rise, and slight inflation was also responsible for the firmness of Italian prices. The American Government has virtually abandoned N.R.A. owing to its failure to achieve recovery. The A.A.A. and P.W.A. schemes also failed to realise their aims. The President promised to balance the Budget in 1935-6, but he now admits that he will not be able to do so. The Budget for 1934-35 is expected to close with a deficit of 4,869,000,000 dollars (974,000,000l.) and that for 1935-36 with a deficit of 4,528,000,000 dollars (905,600,000l.). The deficits are largely the outcome of relief expenditure in its various forms, doles for farmers, for public works, and for unemployed and the destitute. When the failure of his more important recovery measures became apparent the President made some gestures to the " Right " ; his return to gold was one of them ; another was his decision to buy silver at a fixed price (50 cents an ounce) up to a maximum amount to equal one-fourth of the country's metallic reserves against the currency, and his throwing over of General Johnson, the N.R.A. administrator, whose place was taken by Mr. Richberg. He made overtures to " big business " to co-operate with him, but failed to secure their co-operation because he laid it down that business must accept his terms (of reform), which was impossible. If his terms had provided a sound basis for recovery business men would have been only too glad to co-operate with him—without an invitation. The outlook in the United States at the close of 1934 was anything but promising. America had brought about the world collapse of currencies by hoarding huge amounts of gold, and by failing to fulfil the duties of a creditor country she was mainly responsible for the collapse of international finance and trade.

Banking.—Although money rates remained very low throughout the year, the leading banks in most cases were able to show larger profits. This was mainly due to the fact that turnovers were larger and that expenses, charges, and provisions for bad debts were lower. In other words, a reduction in gross earnings was offset by economies of various kinds, including a full year's saving on country deposits, the rate for which was reduced from 2½ to 1½ per cent. The turnover of the London Bankers' Clearing House for 1934 showed a further recovery. The total was 35,484,157,000l., an increase of 3,346,531,000l., or 10-4 per cent. Stock Exchange activity contributed to the increase ; the amount paid on the 24 Stock Exchange Settling Days was 3,464,795,000l., an increase of 279,995,000l., or 8-7 per cent. The first quarter of the year was the most active. The country cheque clearing was larger in every month than in 1933, a clear reflection of better trade. The eleven provincial clearings each showed expansion ranging from 1-8 per cent, to 10-2 per cent.; the aggregate of these was 1,294,793,000l., an increase of 51,717,000l., or 4-1 per cent, over 1933. The New York Clearing House returned a total

monetary turnover for the 12 months ended November of 31,550,849,000l., an increase of 227,452,000l., or 7 per cent. This was mainly due to Government issues, and refinancing operations for business was generally quieter than in 1933. No change was made in banking dividends which remained at the lower levels established in recent years. The banks, by agreement among themselves, were able to lift the discount rate for a fair period, but owing to the reduction in the volume of bills outstanding the agreement eventually broke down. Nevertheless, the average rate for Treasury bills worked out to 14s. 6-19d. per cent, per annum against 11.l. 9-37d. per cent, in 1933. On the year the deposits of the London clearing banks rose from 1,941,265,000l. to 1,970,820,000l.; bills discounted dropped from 311,250,000l. to 254,937,000l. (chiefly owing to the fact that the Government considerably reduced the amount of Treasury bills by issuing a loan), but advances rose from 735,627,000l. to 753,524,000l. Because the normal outlets for banking funds, *i.e.*, bills and loans to traders, were restricted the banks were compelled to increase their holdings of investments in order to prevent their earnings dropping too severely. The total of these rose on the year from 564,643,000l. to 594,338,000l., the highest figure on record. Thanks to the revival in trade, the increase in employment, and the more confident feeling in business circles the note circulation rose considerably. It touched its highest total on record in the last week of the year, 405,163,800l. The Christmas period usually witnesses the most active circulation of money because of the widespread habit of gift presentation. The Bank of England bought only a small amount of gold, but the amount of gold dealt in in the London bullion market was larger than in 1933. Most of it was bought for hoarding purposes by private persons, British and foreign. Altogether 124,000,000l. was dealt in in the London market, an increase of 34,000,000l. on 1933, and the price rose on the year from 126s. 6cl. to 141s. Imports exceeded exports so that 133,770,000l. was added to the private hoards. The hoarding of gold is due to the distrust of paper currencies and of dangerous Government financial tendencies in various countries.

BANK OF ENGLAND RETURNS.

	End Dec, 1934.	End Dec, 1933.	End Dec, 1931.
Coin and bullion -	192,788,779	191,686,728	120,593,672
Note circulation -	405,163,800	391,981,846	371,193,057
Public deposits -	9,878,364	22,155,674	8,865,481
Other deposits:—			
Bankers' -	89,139,675	101,215,838	102,409,590
Other accounts	36,404,582	36,544,635	33,760,123
Reserve (notes and coin)	47,624,979	59,704,882	24,400,615
Ratio -	$35\frac{3}{16}$ per cent.	$37\frac{5}{16}$ per cent.	$16\frac{13}{16}$ Per cent.
Government securities	87,541,413	88,036,692	102,371,824
Other securities:—			
Discounts and advances	7,578,577	16,755,681	18,509,400
Securities	10,667,289	13,394,847	17,738,428

MONEY AND DISCOUNT RATES.

1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
BANK RATE AVERAGE.				
£ 8. d. 3 8 4	£ s. d. 3 19 0	£ s. d. 3 0 4	£ 8. d. 2 0 0	£ s. d. 2 0 0
DISCOUNT RATE (THREE MONTHS BANK BILLS) AVERAGE.				
2 12 6	3 11 9	1 17 3	0 13 8	0 16 4
BANKS' DEPOSIT RATE AVERAGE.				
1 8 4	2 0 10	1 5 4	0 10 0	0 10 0
SHORT LOAN RATE AVERAGE.				
2 9 0	3 1 9	1 17 3	0 16 9	0 17 1
TREASURY BILL (TENDER) RATE AVERAGE.				
2 10 10 31	3 10 208	1 13 2.9	0 11 937	0 14 6-19

LONDON BANKERS' CLEARING HOUSE RETURNS.

	1934.	1933.	Inc. or Dec.
	£	£	£
Grand total	35,484,157,000	32,137,626,000	+ 3,346,531,000 (10 4 per cent)
Town clearing -	30,740,117,000	27,714,480,000	+ 3,025,637,000 (10.9 per cent)
Metropolitan clearing	1,759,528,000	1,656,675,000	+ 102,853,000) (6.2 per cent.)
Country cheque clearing -	2,984,512,000	2,766,471,000	+ 218,041,000 (7.8 percent.)

PROVINCIAL CLEARING FIGURES.

Town.	Amount.	
	£	£ percent.
Birmingham «	117,448,000	† 2,185,000 or 1.8
Bradford	44,820,000	+ 1,073,000 or 24
Bristol	60,533,000	† 3,837,000 or 6.7
Hull	37,277,000	+ 1,198,000 or 3-3
Leeds	46,950,000	† 3,107,000 or 7
Leicester	32,576,000	+ 492,000 or 1-5
Liverpool	314,169,000	4-11,168,000 or 3-6
Manchester	498,330,000	+20,240,000 or 4-2
Newcastie-on-Tyne	76,902,000	+ 3.984,000 or 5-4
Nottingham	22,610,000	+ 420,000 or 1.8
Sheffield.	43,178,000	+ 4,013,000 or 10-2

LONDON CLEARING BANKS' MONTHLY RETURNS.

	(000's omitted.)			
	Deposits.	Bills discounted.	Advances.	Investments.
1934	£	£	£	£
January -	1,920,478	284,294	734,642	557,600
February -	1,867,354	249,844	741,872	560,111
March	1,830,610	202,143	762,988	547,086
April	1,852,477	211,585	758,718	533,722
May -	1,858,190	222,463	754,834	641,535
June-	1,870,245	227,608	757,410	548,974
July-	1,870,813	224,422	758,745	550,053
August	1,855,832	221,696	756,100	657,249
September	1,858,090	212,684	753,740	562,534
October -	1,890,796	216,005	755,645	575,481
November	1,911,110	232,483	755,375	589,293
December	1,970,820	254,937	753,524	594,338

Floating Debt.	Dec. 81,1934	Dec 31,1933.
	£	£
Ways and Means Advances :—		
From the Bank of England -	5,500,000	
From Public Depts -	27,350,000	35,150,000
Treasury Bills	899,710,000	938,745,000
Total -	932,560,000	973,895,000

Neio Capital Issues.—A very large number of municipal loans were converted to a lower interest basis in 1931. The Australian Government carried out a number of similar operations, while industrial companies and a few foreign borrowers also succeeded in reducing their interest burdens by conversion operations. While these operations were much the most numerous and did not add to the supply of securities, there was at the same time a revival of activity in the new issue market. The total of new issues was appreciably larger than in 1933, as will be seen from the subjoined tables :—

	1934.	1933.	193l.
	£	£	£
United Kingdom	106,741,000	95,059,000	83,817,000
India and Ceylon	1,133,000	5,018,000	6,390,000
Other British Countries	39,258,000	24,796,000	22,483,000
Foreign Countries	3,058,000	7,996,000	348,000
	150,189,757	132,868,896	113,038,329

Commercial Failures.—The number of commercial failures in the United Kingdom was 6,477, a decrease of 829 on 1933, and of 1,334 on 193l. In spite of the activity in housing, failures in the building trade

were more numerous, the total being 680, an increase of 109. This was probably due to the fierceness of competition.

Foreign Commerce.—There was a notable improvement in overseas trade in 1934. Imports increased by 57,315,000/., or 8-4 per cent., to a total of 732,331,000/. More than half the increase was in raw materials. Exports of British products amounted to 396,108,000/., an increase of 28,198,000/., or 7-6 per cent., and re-exports to 51,263,472/., an increase of 2,182,745/., or 4.4 per cent. Of the increase in British exports as much as 82 per cent, was in manufactures. The visible adverse balance of trade was 284,960,000/., or 26,934,000/. more than for 1933. In 1929 the value of the total overseas trade was 1,179,702,000/. Thus in value the trade for 1934 was equal to only 57 per cent, of the 1929 figure, which at the time was considered a year of depression for British trade.

Balance of Payments.—The Board of Trade estimates of the United Kingdom's balance of payments on current account for 1934 indicate that there was very little difference on balance between last year and 1933. A small debit of 1,000,000/. is shown, against a revised estimated credit balance of 2,000,000/. for 1933. The *Board of Trade Journal* summarises the estimates for the three years as follows :—

BALANCES OF CREDITS AND DEBITS IN THE TRANSACTIONS (OTHER THAN THE LENDING AND REPAYMENT OF CAPITAL) BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND ALL OTHER COUNTRIES.

Particulars.	In Million £'s.		
	1931.	1933.	1934.
Excess of imports of merchandise and silver bullion and specie.	**287**	**263**	**295**
Estimated excess of Government payments made overseas*.	**24**	**†**	
Total.	**311**	**263**	**295**
Estimated excess of Government receipts from overseas *.		**†**	**9**
Estimated net national shipping income %	**70**	**65**	**70**
Estimated net income from overseas investments	**150**	**160**	**175**
Estimated net receipts from commissions, etc	**25**	**30**	**30**
Estimated net receipts from other sources	**15**	**10**	**10**
Total.	**260**	**265**	**294**
Estimated total credit or debit balance on "items specified above.	**- 51**	**+ 2**	**- 1**

*** Including some items *on* loan accounts.**
† No appreciable excess of payments or receipts.
‡ Including disbursements by foreign ships in British porta.

It will be seen that the increase in the merchandise (including silver) balance of imports is 32,000,000L This has nearly all been offset by increases shown under three headings of invisible exports. The largest of these increases is in respect of income from oversea investments, which

is estimated to have been 15,000,000l. larger than the revised total for 1933. **The** *Board of Trade Journal* states **that** the improvement in the receipts from foreign investments continued in 1934. The decline in the sterling income derived from investments in dollar bonds was more than counterbalanced by a partial resumption of interest payments on other loan capital. Large profits were made by rubber companies, where as in 1933 it is doubtful whether any profit was made. There were also larger returns from tea companies, real estate, and mines (particularly gold mines). Net shipping income is estimated to have been 5,000,000l. larger at 70,000,000l. A net income of 9,000,000l. is estimated on Governmental transactions. This represents a net repayment in respect of the principal of inter-Government loans and is largely accounted for by the repayment of 7,500,000l. of War debt by South Africa.

Commodity Prices.—The Times index numbers of wholesale commodity prices showed a rise during the year from 98-2 to 100-6 (1913 = 100). Food rose from 98-9 to 104-5 ; and raw materials from 97-8 to 98-3. The rise in 1934 of 24 per cent, compared with a rise in 1933 of 4.1 per cent., which was the first increase since 1924. The Ministry of Labour's index figure of the cost of living was 144 against 143 at the close of 1933.

Labour.—The year was remarkably free from serious labour disputes. Increases of pay were granted to many workpeople, and the Minister of Labour announced that the income of the working-class had increased by something like 50,000,000l. in the year.

Gold and Silver.—The principal events in the bullion markets were initiated by the United States. On January 31 the Treasury fixed the buying price of gold at 35 dollars an ounce. This reduced the dollar to 59-06 per cent, of its former value, but the President retained power to raise the price to 41-34 dollars, which would, if exercised, have halved the old gold value of the dollar. The United States began the year with a gold holding of just over 4,000,000,000 dollars ; this was revalued on February 3 at 7,018,263,925 dollars. This grew to 8,000,000,000 dollars by the end of 1934, the undervaluation of the dollar causing large shipments of the metal to America. There was a net import of gold into this country of 20,053,500 oz. compared with a net import of 32,769,545 oz. in 1933. The highest price touched was 113s. *3d.* on October 11, and the lowest price 126s. *Sd.* on January 8. The year opened in the silver market with the price at $19^{5}/_{16}$ per oz. It rose to 25¼d., the highest price since 1929, after having been down to $18^{3}/_{16}d.$ The average price was $21^{7}/_{32}d.$ against $18^{5}/_{32}$. in 1933. The rise was due to President Roosevelt's policy of buying domestic silver at 50 cents an ounce, buying it in foreign markets and nationalising domestic stocks. The nationalisation of silver drove business in silver to London, where a large business was done. The Chinese Government, alarmed by America's action, raised the export duty from 2¼ to 10 per cent. America's purchase of silver amounts in all to 902,000,000 oz. but this can be increased under the latest legislation to 2,060,000,000 oz., if the American Government so desires. Imports of silver into Great Britain in 1934 were 235,081,000oz. against 125,617,762 oz., while exports were 129,950,200 oz. against 59,253,924 oz.

The following table is taken from *The Times Annual Financial Review:—*

Commodities.		Dec. 29,† 1934.	Dec. 30,† 1933.	Average, 1913.
FOOD.				
Wheat, Eng., Gaz. Av. .	- 1121b.	4*. *lOd.*	4*. *5d.*	7*. *5d.*
„ No. 2, N. Man.	. 496 Ib.	30*.	25*. *9d.*	37*. *3d.*
Flour, Ldn. Straights	- 280 Ib.	23s. 6d.††	21*. *6d.*	27*. *6d.*
Barley, Eng., Gaz. A v. -	. 112 Ib.	*8s.5d.*	9s. 3d.	*7s. 8d.*
Oats, Eng., Gaz. Av.	- 112 Ib.	*6s. 8d.*	5s. *3d.*	6s. *\0d.*
Maize, La Plata, ex-ship	- 480 Ib.	20a. 9i.	18*. 9d.	24*. *3d.*
Rice, No. 2, Burma	- cwt.	8s. 3d.	7*. *3d.*	9*. *9d.*
Beef, English sides	. 81b.	4s. Id.	*4s. Id.*	4*. *3d.*
„ S.A., chilled hqr. -	. 81b.	4*. *2d.*	*3s. 11d.*	3*. *5d.*
Mutton, N.Z., frozen	- 81b.	3s. *8d.*	3*. *6d.*	*3s. 3d.*
Baoon, Irish lean . . .	- owt.	89*.	83*.	77s.
„ Danish . . .	- cwt.	86.l.	78*.	77s.
Fish*.	- stone	*5s. 1d.*	4s. 10d.	3*. 3d.
j Eggs, English	- 120	*13s. 6d.*	16*.	12*.
Sugar, Eng , ref., cubes -	- cwt.	21*. *Ud.*	*22s. 3d.*	18*. *3d.*
„ W. Ind. cryst.	- cwt.	18*. *6d.*	18*. *6d.*	16*.
Tea, N. Ind , Auctn. Avg.	- Ib.	*11^3/$_4$d.*	*Is. Id.*	9½d.
Cocoa, f.f., Accra, f.o.b. -	- cwt.	20*.	15*.	55*.
j Cheese, Eng., Cheddar, fine -	- cwt.	69*.	78*.	73*. *9d.*
j Butter, Danish . . .	cwt.	i 121*.	100*.	125*.
Lard, Amer., ref., boxes	- cwt.	66*. *6d.*	29*. *6d.*	56*. *3d.*
Potatoes, English, good -	- ton	\ *51.* 10*.	*5l*	79*. *3d.*
j MATERIALS				
Pig iron, Hemt, M'bro*	- ton	69*.	62*. *6d.*	72s. *8d.*
Cleve'd, No. 3	- ton	67*. *6d.*	62*. 6d.	58*. *2d.*
Iron, marked bars, Staff.	- ton	*121.*	12/.	*91.* 12s. *6d.*
„ Com. bars	ton	*9l.* 12s. *6d.*	9/. 5*.	*11.* 15s.
j Steel rails, heavy . . .	ton	*8l. 5s.*	8/. 5*.	6/. 12*.
„ boiler plates	ton	*8l.* 10*.	8/. 10*.	8l 16s. *3d.*
„ galvzd., sheets	ton	11l. 5s.	11l. 5*.	*111. 7s.*
„ **tinplates**	box	18*. *2d.*	16*. *6d.*	13*. *6d.*
Copper, electrolytio	ton	31/. 10*.	36/.	*7ll* 15s.
„ strong sheets	ton	*58l.*	62/.	85/.
Tin, stand., cash -	ton	*228L.* 2S. *6d.*	227/. 15s.	200/. 2*. *6d.*
j Lead, English	ton	*12l.* 10s.	12/. 10*.	*191.* 2s. *6d.*
J Spelter, foreign -	ton	11/. 15*.	14/. 17*. *6d.*	*221.* 10s.
Coal, Lge. steam, Cardiff	ton	19s. *6d.*	19s. *6d.*	20*. *6d.*
„ **best gas, Durham** -	ton	14*. *8d.*	14*. *6d.*	15s. *3d.*
„ **best hse., Yorks**	ton	21*.	22*.	*17s. 6d.*
Petl'm., Amer., rfd., brl.	gal.	9½d.	*9d.*	8½d.
Cotton, Am., mid.	lb.	7.21d.	5.33d.	7.12d.
Egypt, f.g.f., Sak.	lb.	8.93d.	7.74d.	9.84d.
„ yarn, 32's twist -	lb.	10¼d.	8fd.	10½d
.. 60's „ Egp. -	lb.	16d.	14¾d.	*17½d.*
I „ shirtings, 8¼ lb. -	piece	9s. *5½d.*	8*. *8d.*	*8s.*
prat., 17 X 17-32 in. 126				
j yards - . . .	**piece**	21s. 7½d.	19*. *9d.*	19*.
Wool, gsy., merino, 60's	**lb.**	9¾d.	*15d.*	**10½d.**
„ gsy., crossbd., 46's	lb.	*5½d.*	*8½d.*	
j „ tops, 64's warp -	lb.	*24½d.*	*39d.*	29d.
„ **tops, 40's prepd.**	lb.	*9¼d.*	*\2d.*	15|d.
Flax, Livoman, l.K.	ton	*72l.*	42/.	38/.
J Hemp, Grade K	ton	13/. *5s.*	14/.	29/.
Jute, first marks, shipmt.	ton	17/. 10*.	15/. 2*. *6d.*	30/. 15s.
I Hides, Eng., Ox, first -	lb.	*5d.*	*5¼d.*	7½d.
Cape, dry -	lb.	6¼d.	*6¼d.*	*11½d.*
Timber, gd. deal, 3 x 9 -	stand	19/. 10*.	19/. 10*.	151.
„ **W'oot, oak, 1 in.**	foot	1*. *3d.*	1*. *3d.*	*10d.*
J Cement, best Portland •	ton	*2l.*	*2l.* 4s. *9d.*	36*.
Rubber, Plant, sheet	lb.	*6¼d.*	*4½¼d.*	3s. *1d.*
Linseed oil.	ton	*21l.* 10s.	22/.	24/. 15s.
Soda crystals, bags . . .	ton	5/. 5s.	51. 5s.	*2l.* 2s. 6d.
Index number, Food . . .		104.5	98.9	100
Index number, Materials		98.3	97.8	100
Total index number		100.6	98.2	100

Average price of plaice, cod, and haddock. † Sterling prices, †† Exolnaire of quota charge,

Stock Exchange.—It was a very active year on the Stock Exchange, and remarkable rises in prices took place. This was in the main due to cheap money which necessitated an upward adjustment of all investment values. Three Per Cent. Local Loans rose $10^{1}/_{8}$ to 97¼, Argentine Four Per Cents. 1900 rose 23¾ to 94½, Chinese Five Per Cents. 1912 Loan advanced 25½ to 86½. Among industrials notable movements were in Bass Ratcliff (116/9 + 26/9), Distillers (95/- + 13/6), Ford Motor (36/6 + H/9), Guinness (134/- + 34/-), Imperial Tobacco (141/- + 27/3), Tate and Lyle (103/- + 22/3), and Thomas Tilling (108/6 + 25/6).

With few exceptions, the course of Stock Exchange values was a rising one during 1934, as the following table, based on the calculations of the *Bankers' Magazine*, shows :—

	Market Values		Else.
	December 17,1934.	December 16,1933.	
	£	£	%
87 fixed interest stocks	4,979,008,000	4,576,327,000	8.8
278 variable dividend securities -	2,048,788,000	1,956,305,000	4.7
365 total	7,027,856,000	6,532,632,000	7 5

Foreign Exchanges.—Continued prudent use of the Exchange Equalisation Fund succeeded in preventing extreme rate fluctuations. All the Continental gold currencies experienced some weak periods during the year owing to lack of confidence in their abilities to remain on gold. The Paris exchange, however, in spite of the three changes of Government which each temporarily weakened the franc, was on the whole strong, falling from $83^{5}/_{8}$f. m January to $73^{1}/_{16}$. in October. Belgium, Italy, Spam, and Germany were able to preserve equilibrium but only with the help of official control. The table of foreign exchanges (p. 74) is taken from *The Times Annual Financial Review.*

Industrial Profits.—The distinct signs of recovery in industrial profits manifest in the last quarter of 1933 further increased throughout the whole of 1934. The *Economist's* examination of 1,945 companies shows an increase in profits of 23,998,467L, or 16-6 per cent. As in 1933 the biggest percentage increase took place during the last quarter when the profits of 468 companies increased by 7,090,923l., or 32*9 per cent.

Iron and Steel.—Great Britain's steel production of 8,859,000 tons against 7,002,800 tons, or 26 per cent., compared favourably with the world increase of 18 per cent. The output of pig iron increased considerably until March, after which it maintained a regular average.

Coal.—The best results since 1924 were recorded in the coal industry. Total production amounted to 220,900,000 tons against 206,600,000 tons in the previous year, an increase of 6*6 per cent. Exports rose slightly from 56,500,000 tons to 57,100,000 tons ; the increase in home consumption absorbed the greater part of the total increase. The industry as a whole had a credit balance for the year of 5,250,000l. against 2,100,000l. in 1933, and was the best result for several years.

Place.	Par of Exchange previous to Sept. 20,1931	Dec. 81, 1034.	Dec. 30, 1933.	Highest, 1934.	Lowest, 1934.
New York	4.86 3/8	4 94¼	512½	5-9¾	4-87½
Montreal	4-86 2/3	4-91 1/3	5.11½	5-19½	4-79½
Paris	124.21	74 2/3 1/2	83 7/32	83 7/8	73 11/16
Brussels	3500	2103	23-48	23-55	20-80
Milan	92.46	57$	62	62f	56}
Switzerland	25.22	15.22½	16-86	16-90	1490
Athens	37500	517	582½	600	510
Helsingfors	193.23	226}	226}	227}	225}
Madrid	2522	36 1/32	39 21/32	39 13/16	35}
Lisbon	11000	110 1/8	109¾	110}	109}
Amsterdam	12.11	7.29¼	8.12½	8-14	7-17
Berlin	20.43	12.26	13-67	13-77	12-06
Vienna	34.59	26}	29}	30}	25}
Budapest	27.82	16 7/8	18}	18½	16}
Prague	164-25	118	109}	125	101 ½
Danzig	2500	15		15}	14}
Warsaw	43-38	26 1/16	29	29 3/8	25½
Riga	25-22	15¼	17	18	14}
Bucharest	813-60	490	550	560	477
Constantinople	11000	608	675	675	605
Belgrade	276-32	218	240	245	208
Kovno	48-66	29½	32}	34	28}
Sofia	673-66	415	455	470	390
Tallinn	1816	18¼	18}	18¾	17
Oslo	18-16	19.90	19-90	19-95	19-85
Stockholm	18-16	19.39½	19-39	19-45	1935
Copenhagen	18-16	22.40	2240	22-45	2235
Alexandria	97-60	97½	97}	97 5/8	97 3/8
Bombay	1/6	1/6 3/32	1/6 1/16	1/6}	1/5 16/16
Calcutta	1/6	1/6 3/32	1/6 1/16	1/6 1/8	1/5 15/16
Madras	1/6	1/6 3/32	1/6 1/16	1/6 1/8	1/5 15/16
Hong-Kong		1/8 13/16	1/5¾	1/9}	1/4
Kobe	24-58d.	1/2	1/215	1/2}	1/1}
Shanghai		14 13/16	1/4	1/7}	1/2}
Singapore	2/4	2/4 7/16	2/4 1/32	2/4}	2/3 15/16
Batavia	12-11	7.27½	812}	812	714
Rio de Janeiro	5-90d.	3¼d.*	4 1/8d.†	3½ 1/16d.	2 3/8d.
Buenos Aires	47-62d.	27 11/16 d.*	35¾d.†	30¼d.	24d.
Valparaiso	4000	119}	Nom.	127}	115}
Montevideo	4s. 3d.	20¼d.*	35 3/8d.†	22d.	18d.
Lima	17-38	20.60	22-60	23-30	20-00
Mexico	9-76	18	18}	19	17}
Manila	24-66d.	2/0¼	1/11}	2/0¾	1/10}

* Free market rate. † Official rate.

Shipping and Shipbuilding.—While the position in the shipping industry cannot be regarded as satisfactory, nevertheless tonnage output has increased over the last three years as follows : 1932, 187,800 tons ; 1933, 133,200 tons; and 1934, 460,000 tons (approximately).

Textiles.—The rayon industry was the only one in this class to show a marked degree of improvement. Both wool and cotton remained uninteresting, the latter experiencing even keener competition from Japan. The price of 64 wool tops dropped from 40|d. to *24d.* during the year.

Motor, Aircraft and Film Industries.—The motor industry continued to record satisfactory returns. Export of private cars was 34,905 against 33,763 in 1933, and of commercial vehicles 2,367 against 2,287 in 1933. The motor cycle trade also increased in response to home demand.

The aircraft industry made some advance and showed promise of further activity.

Progress was also reported in the film industry, total British footage rising from 1,202,197 in 1933 to 1,283,841 in 1934.

Oil and Rubber.—Oil production in 1934 was 208,130,000 tons against 197,080,000. An international restriction scheme for rubber was adopted as from June 1 and the price improved from an unremunerative to a payable level. In the first five months production was 496,361 tons and consumption 417,168 tons, making an increase in stocks of 79,193 tons. During the restricting period from June-December, production was 515,457 tons and consumption 501,332, the addition to stocks being only 14,125 tons.

LAW.

" THERE is and can be no such thing as finality about the administration of the law. It changes, it must change, it ought to change, with the broadening wants and requirements of a growing country and with the gradual illumination of the public conscience." These words, written more than a hundred years ago by Lord Bowen, and chosen recently by Lord Macmillan as a peroration to an address on the subject of Law and History, form a not inappropriate starting-point for a survey of the activities of the Law in 1934 ; for in that year this process of development and adjustment was more than usually evident.

In the department of statute law the preoccupation with social ideals was intensified, and the regulation of individual activities in the interest of the community carried still further, with the result that yet more varied and responsible duties were laid by the Legislature on the shoulders of the State and the Local Authorities. Most striking of all, however, was the stirring of the dust on legal doctrine. Thanks to the energy and sympathetic attitude of the Lord Chancellor, a permanent committee of lawyers of experience and repute was, in the early days of January, 1934, set to work to review a first group of doctrines which had proved increasingly embarrassing to twentieth century judges, and, if possible, to refashion them to consort with changed conditions. It is by reason of the work of this committee that 1934 must be regarded as of unusual significance in the evolution of modern law. As a result of their recommendations there were, or promise shortly to be, relegated to oblivion half-a-dozen principles, many of them already eaten into by exceptions, and all of doubtful applicability to the society of to-day.

The first doctrine to be subjected to scrutiny was that under which death absolutely extinguished causes of action, whether vested in or subsisting against individuals, a conception belonging, as the committee submitted, to an era when the law concentrated rather on punishing the offence than on compensating the injury. The calamitous repercussions of this rule of law on the victims of road accidents in particular had shown that its absolute character called for modification, and within a few weeks of their being made, the recommendations of the Law Revision Committee were translated into law. As a consequence of the Law Reform (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act causes of action which have arisen within six months of death survive against, or for the benefit of the estate of the deceased person, as the case may be, and proceedings may be taken within a period limited, in the case of torts or wrongs only, to six months after

the taking out of representation. For purely personal actions, where the presence of plaintiff or defendant may be of importance, such as those for defamation or seduction, an exception is made. A second doctrine, obscure of origin and opposed to modern conceptions of fair play, namely, that of non-contribution between wrong-doers, was similarly examined and condemned, as was also the rigid rule which put it out of the power of the court to award interest in proceedings claiming payment of a debt or damages, where not otherwise provided for.

More important by far, however, in its social and individual consequences that either the almost total discrediting of the maxim *Actio Personalis Moritur cum Persona* or the introduction of contribution between tortfeasors was the further step in the regularising of the status of women foreshadowed in the fourth and last report of the year. If the recommendations of the Law Revision Committee are duly carried into effect by legislation, a husband will be freed from all liability for his wife's torts ; the law will know a wife's " separate property " no more ; the form of judgment against a married woman will be the ordinary one, and her liability, not proprietary merely but personal: she will be able to be made a bankrupt in the same way as a man, or committed to prison under the Debtors Act, and her position will in fine be assimilated to that of the man or the unmarried woman. For the greater relief of creditors it will, from the date of the passing of the new legislation, be illegal to create in a settlement a " restraint on anticipation."

The Law Revision Committee having, in the course of a few months, presented considered views on all the subjects referred to it, it was by the close of the year engaged on a fresh collection of problems. Among the subjects set them for consideration on this second occasion were the amendment or repeal of the Statute of Frauds and a review of the statutes and rules of law relating to the limitation of actions, in particular the refinements which in the course of three centuries had come to be grafted on to the Act of 1623, under which an ordinary debt is, after the lapse of six years, irrecoverable.

In the domain of practice and procedure, the developments were not commensurate with those of legal doctrine, although throughout the year the simplification of procedure and the promotion of economy and dispatch were the topics of constant and heated discussion. There were, however, certain reforms effected as regards multiplicity of appeals, legislative effect being given to the recommendations of the previous year's Business of Courts Committee report that no appeal should lie from the Court of Appeal to the House of Lords except by leave of one or the other, and that appeals from County Courts should go straight to the Court of Appeal without the intervention of the Divisional Court of King's Bench. The disappearance of the jury from civil actions, too, was accelerated by a provision of the County Courts (Amendment) Act, which, unlike the bulk of the statute, was brought into operation in 1934. By this section it was enacted that, except in a few cases, notably these involving fraud, trial shall be without jury unless the Court on application by the parties, sees fit to order otherwise. Amongst other provisions making important changes should be

mentioned the power given to the county court judge to refer certain complicated matters to a registrar or referee for report without requiring, as formerly, the consent of the parties, and the extension of the jurisdiction of the registrar from 5l. to *10l.* Two further clauses of this same County Courts (Amendment) Act, which makes a thorough overhaul of county court law, though strictly irrevelant in this paragraph, are specially interesting from the social view-point. The first regulates the matter of payment by instalment by providing that, whatever the amount, the judge shall, without consent of the plaintiff, have power to order such payment. The second, which is aimed at a piece of cruelty not infrequently practised by a certain type of creditor on poor and uneducated debtors, strengthens the law laid down in 1888 as to service of forged summonses and the like, and visits with a maximum penalty of as much as seven years' penal servitude the offence of sending or delivering to any person a " document" purporting to issue or having the appearance of having issued from a county court and not having so issued.

Mention may here also be made of a minor reform in procedure directed towards dispatch and economy in litigation. The bringing of a number of expert witnesses on both sides in High Court cases involving technicalities having become a common practice, rules were brought into operation making it possible in non-jury actions of that description to have one " court expert " appointed to inquire and report.

In the Arbitration Act also an effort was made to adapt this manner of settling disputes more closely to the requirements of modern business, and to promote greater dispatch by amending in several very important respects the law as laid down in the 1889 Act. Thus, the death of any party to the reference no longer revokes either the arbitration agreement or the authority of an arbitrator, and various specific remedies are given for failure on the part of an arbitrator to enter promptly upon the reference or to use due expedition in its conclusion, and in making known his award.

On the other hand, the recommendations of the Business of Courts Committee touching the abolition of certain Assizes, partial as they were, were not adopted, and the inconvenience to the public arising out of the aggravated delay in the hearing of common law actions and the impossibility, except in the limited type of actions to which the New Procedure applied, of fixing a date of trial a reasonable time ahead became a much bruited grievance, for which many remedies were mooted. Despite the fact that the work of the Division had formed part of the terms of reference of the Business of Courts Committee, who had made certain recommendations with regard to it, a Royal Commission was appointed in November, with terms of reference overlapping those of the former body, to inquire into the state of business in the King's Bench Division, and to report whether any reforms should be adopted. Amongst the matters to be considered " with a view to greater dispatch " were the continuance or discontinuance of Assizes, the judicial strength required in King's Bench, and whether a retiring age should be imposed on new appointees. It had, of course, been recognised that the matter of judicial strength was vital to the expedition of business in King's Bench, and the Lord Chancellor,

without waiting for the Commission's report, introduced in the House of Lords at the close of the year a Bill providing *inter alia* for the permanent strength to be increased to seventeen, plus the Lord Chief Justice, instead of fifteen, as formerly, and for a further two appointments, requiring however, in their case the special machinery of an address by both Houses to His Majesty which at present applies to the sixteenth and seventeenth ordinary judgeships.

A second clause in the same Bill, providing for a vice-president of the Court of Appeal, was the occasion of a remarkably heated protest in the House of Lords by the Lord Chief Justice, who construed it as a slight to one of the members of the Court of Appeal, and it was later so m©dified as not to operate during the tenure of any of the existing Lords Justices, The Lord Chief Justice, in his speech opposing the second reading of the Bill, made it clear that he read into the proposal for an officially appointed vice-president a predisposition on the part of the Lord Chancellor's Department towards what he regarded as a threat to the independence of the Judiciary, namely, the establishment of a Ministry of Justice. To this suggestion and others the Lord Chancellor, on the adjourned debate, gave a categorical denial, and on the insertion in the Bill of the proviso already referred to, the Lord Chief Justice withdrew his opposition.

A cause of public concern for some years previous to 1934 had been the number of imprisonments by courts of summary jurisdiction in default of payment of fines and other sums of money, which amounted to something like twenty thousand yearly, and in July of that year there was published the report of the departmental committee appointed to consider the matter. The main thesis laid down in the report was that in no case should a defaulter go to prison unless and until the mind of the court had been specifically directed to the matter of imprisonment. As defaulters were, in general, people of little education and unable, they thought, in a large percentage of cases to present their case fully to the court, the committee were strongly in favour of measures which would enable it to make some sort of investigation on its own account. This recommendation was followed very speedily by the appointment of another committee to consider this and other extra-judicial services for which it might be well that courts of summary jurisdiction should provide, to which the further term of reference was added, that they should consider what arrangements should be made to hear matrimonial causes separately from ordinary charges in the police court. In the domain of maintenance and affiliation orders, the Committee on Imprisonment recommended legislation whereby the court might in a case of wilful refusal or culpable neglect, order deduction from wages or pension. They recommended, also, that in affiliation cases the time for appeal be extended, making at the same time a suggestion for the removal of an anomaly disclosed by a recent case that had excited some attention, namely, the inability of the justices, once the period for appeal had expired, to annul an adjudication of paternity.

A matter in connexion with courts of summary jurisdiction which in 1934 received even more attention than that of imprisonment, was the procedure in the hearing of matrimonial disputes. The fact that, substantial

as might be the increase in divorce, the magisterial orders for separation granted each year were nearly four times as numerous, pointed to the existence of a social problem of gravity of which a notable feature was that a large number of such orders were never taken up. One London magistrate, feeling that there was a duty to consider the social and medical, as well as the legal aspect, enlisted the services of a panel of volunteers, including medical men, to assist in the investigation of such cases outside the court. Apart, however, from this special treatment of the difficulty, there was widespread support for less formal methods, and a court here and there set up special private sessions where conciliatory methods were attempted. So far as legislation was concerned, Lord Merrivale introduced in the House of Lords a Bill " to amend the law in respect of domestic differences " which reached a second reading. By it special sittings were provided for, of which no report might be published except by leave of the court, and a discretion given to the court to exclude all persons other than the parties and their representatives.

Changes in the social organisation of a fundamental character were involved by the Unemployment legislation of 1934. Addressing itself to aggravated social difficulties arising out of changed industrial conditions, it segregated for special uniform treatment at the hands of the State the able-bodied worker between 16 and 65 whose unemployment is of a persistent character. The treatment by the Local Authority in its Public Assistance capacity of those men and women fallen out of the insurance scheme having resulted in such widely differing standards of treatment as to exercise the public conscience, the statute, running counter to old Poor Law theory and to recent tendencies in legislation, substituted in their case central for local responsibility, at the same time extending the scope of State responsibility beyond the mere limits within which insurance operates. In Part I. the statute concerns itself with the improvement of insurance arrangements, *inter alia* extending the scope of the scheme downwards to the school-leaving age, and at the same time tightening the control over the young worker through compelling attendance at instructional or training centres ; it provides also for a permanent statutory committee to keep under constant review the matter of Unemployment Insurance in general. The subject of Part I I . is not insurance, but assistance. As stated above, the assistance is not local, but national in character, the administration being in the hands of a small body altogether dissociated from politics, and termed the " Unemployment Assistance Board." To this body is entrusted the assistance, by means of allowances, of able-bodied wage-earners not in receipt of benefit under the scheme, the promotion of their welfare, " and in particular, the making of provision for the improvement and re-establishment of the condition of such persons with a view to their being in all respects fit for entry into or return to regular employment." In these duties the Board must seek the advice and assistance of persons having local knowledge and experience in matters affecting their functions. Here, perhaps, should also be mentioned two other items of social legislation, the Workmen's Compensation (Coal Mines) Act, which compelled owners to insure against Workmen's Compensation

risks in order better to safeguard the position of the miner in times when owners were pressed for money, and the Shops Act, which improved conditions generally and particularly with regard to hours of employment of persons under 18.

Closely bound up with changed conditions and modes of life was the virtual demand of the public for better control of road users, and the protection of road accident victims against the avoidance, on more or less technical grounds, of policies of third party insurance, both of which objects were achieved by the new Road Traffic Act of 1934. By this Act also a general speed limit was reimposed on drivers of motor cars of thirty miles an hour, confined, however, to built up areas, and a test of competence was required of all applicants for new driving licences.

The new and immediately pressing social problem introduced by the increasing popularity of greyhound betting and the association of young persons therewith was dealt with in a highly controversial Betting and Lotteries Act which scarcely touched upon the main anomalies of the law as to betting. To County Councils and County Borough Councils as licensing authorities for their respective areas there was given considerable discretion in the granting or refusal of the necessary licences, Parliament, however, itself laying down a maximum for each week's racing facilities.

The matter of the illegality of lotteries in Great Britain and the consistent evasion of the law continued to be brought to public notice by odd prosecutions of promoters, and particularly by the publication in the Press of long lists of English winners in Irish sweepstakes. In spite of pressure in some quarters, the Legislature in the new statute reiterated the illegality of lotteries in general, exempting only " private," that is, office and workshop lotteries and the bazaar raffle, and imposed penalties on the publication by newspapers of lists of successful holders of sweepstake tickets. As regards prize competitions, the statute gave legality only to those depending to a " substantial " degree on the exercise of skill.

Amongst the Acts of 1934, the Milk Act claims special mention, as affording an interesting extension of the principle of the Marketing Acts of preceding years and as an attempt by State subsidy at once to improve the quality and increase the demand for essential foodstuffs.

Possibly no less symptomatic of the times but *prima facte* at least in opposition to the trend of recent legislation was a statute directed against the broadcasting of propaganda of a revolutionary character, and termed the Incitement to Disaffection Act. This Act dealt with the offence of " maliciously and advisedly " endeavouring to seduce members of His Majesty's forces from their allegiance, and its original terms, more particularly those dealing with the detection of offences, aroused a storm of controversy, not only in lay, but also in legal, circles. As finally placed on the Statute Book, the Act provides for the punishment of any person " who, with intent to commit or procure the commission of such an offence, has in his possession or under his control any document of such a nature that its dissemination among members of His Majesty's forces would constitute such an offence," and enacts that, where a judge of the High Court is satisfied that there is reasonable ground for suspecting an offence to

have been recently committed and that there is at any specified premises evidence of its commission, he may grant a warrant for the search by a police officer of higher rank of the premises and the persons found therein.

With the increasing complexity of society and the regulation in detail by authority of the action of the individual, it has in recent years become more and more the practice for the Legislature to lay down major principles only, leaving it to the Executive, often in their turn consulting the convenience of the Local Authorities, to set the machine in motion, so to speak, in their own good time or not at all. Into this practice there has recently crept the further complication that, on occasion, the Act puts it in their power to fix different dates of operation, not only for different provisions of the statute, but also " for different purposes," thus rendering it a practical impossibility for the uninitiated layman to ascertain without assistance what at any given moment is the precise state of the law a knowledge of which is imputed to him. As regards the vexed matter of legislation by reference, on the other hand, the question of codification was not lost sight of in 1934, and, as in the case of Company Law in 1928-29, the County Courts (Amendment) Act was speedily followed by an Act codifying the whole body of the law on the subject, whose operation was again suspended until such time as all the provisions of the Amendment Act should have been brought into operation. Hopes were held out, also, at the end of the year, of the codification at a not too distant date of the whole law of Road Traffic and Unemployment.

Turning to examine the case law of the year, significance attaches to *Elias and Others* v. *Passmore and Others*, where the issue was in effect constitutional. The case, which went to the Court of Appeal, dealt with the seizure of goods by the police on arrest, and, although some of them were strictly obiter, the judgments contained dicta of weight. Both courts held that the interests of the State would excuse a seizure, otherwise unlawful, of documents if they should ultimately prove to be evidence of a crime committed by any person.

Two cases are of peculiar interest as showing the treatment given by the courts to technical lines of reasoning likely to defeat the express object of benevolent legislation. In *Monk* v. *Warbey*, the first of these, the contention of the defendant was that, the provisions of the Road Traffic Act imposing a penalty for a breach of duty to insure against third party risks, the existence of such a penalty prevented a breach of that duty from being used as foundation for a civil action. Charles, J., who was confirmed by the Court of Appeal, held that this was not so. The object of the Act was to make provision for the protection of third parties, and if the liability of a car owner were limited to the payment of the penalty, the effect would be to defeat the express object of the Act. This decision met with some criticism in legal circles, on the ground that its real basis was public policy. The second case deserves more ample mention as a forcible example also of the truth of the quotation with which this article opened. A main point at issue in *Davy* v. *Attorney-General* was the admissibility of hearsay evidence in petitions for declarations of legitimacy under the Act of 1926, Mr. Justice Langton holding that the same exception should be made in

legitimacy as in pedigree cases, where declarations of deceased relatives are admissible in evidence, if made before any controversy arose. His Lordship refused to accept the contention of the Attorney-General that the petitioner, being *filius nullius,* had no " relatives " or to follow two century-old cases in which declarations of illegitimate persons were rejected. He could not believe, he said, " that a technical line of reasoning, resting on a somewhat slender basis of authority, ought to be allowed to limit and possibly defeat the efforts of claimants " under the Legitimacy Act, suggesting in regard to one of them that doctrines which gave rise to such " tortuous sinuousities of dialectic " did not rest on any very broad or solid basis, and emphasising in passing the difference between the then attitude of the public with regard to illegitimacy and the present more charitable attitude of mind.

In the department of Divorce two decisions which are important professionally are not without their public aspect. In *Sandler* v. *Sandler, Davies and Johnstone* it was held that a decree of divorce cannot be given on a supplemental petition when the original petition is dismissed on the ground of collusion, and in *Bevis* v. *Bevis* that admissions of adultery in obligatory statements made for the court's guidance in the exercise of its discretion are inadmissible in subsequent proceedings as the main or only evidence against the party making them.

A good illustration of the bulwark which the courts afford to the rights of individual citizens when in conflict with Local Authority was to be seen in the chief of the several Local Authority cases, that of *Marshall* v. *Blackpool Corporation,* where the House of Lords administered a severe check to bureaucracy, however benevolent. In that case, the access of a frontager to the highway was safeguarded by a local Act, but the House of Lords pronounced also on the rights which ought, even in the absence of such an Act, to be enjoyed by owners of land adjoining the highway. They held that in the case under consideration it was out of the power of the Corporation to consider in connexion with the question of access questions of public safety and convenience (except, that is, so far as affected by the actual works), still less the requirements of a town planning scheme. Another Local Authority case, that of *Markland* v. *Manchester Corporation,* turned largely on facts, but the decision is worth noting. The plaintiff was injured as a result of the forming of ice on the roadway, a relatively small leakage of water having remained undetected by the Corporation in their capacity as water authority. It was held that in having allowed water to lie on the road they had been guilty of not taking reasonable steps to guard against an obvious danger.

In the case of *Shaw* v. *London County Council* conflict arose between the general extended period granted to infants by statute since the time of James I. for the bringing of actions and the special protection afforded to those exercising public functions. The Court of Appeal decided that the immunity from the bringing of actions after a six months* period which public bodies enjoy by the Public Authorities' Protection Act of 1893 was intended to be absolute and to apply to infant plaintiffs. In *Haynes* v. *Harwood* a curious point arose as to the special relations between police

and public. A policeman on duty within, seeing through a window horses bolting along a crowded street, ran out, and in stopping them sustained injuries. The Courts held he had such a duty to intervene that he could not be said to have forfeited a claim to damages by voluntarily putting himself in the way of danger.

For the first time since 1921 a criminal case *(Rex* v. *Maxwell)* was taken to the House of Lords on the certificate of the Attorney-General that in it was involved a point of law of " exceptional public importance," the point being in popular language whether it is permissible to attack a prisoner's character in cross-examination by referring to a charge which has resulted in an acquittal, assuming that he has " put his character in issue " by giving evidence of his good character. The Court of Criminal Appeal had held that the Criminal Evidence Act in these circumstances permitted such cross-examination, however the charge had resulted, but they were overruled by the House of Lords. That the prisoner had previously been charged was not, their Lordships said, relevant to the later proceedings —the mere fact of a charge could not, in general, be evidence of anything but a misfortune—nor did it as a rule affect credibility. Even where it did affect credibility, they went on to say, it should not be admitted if the jury were likely to be misled into thinking that it was relevant to the question of whether he had committed the offence for which they were trying him. In *Rex* v. *Donovan,* a case of assault on a girl of 17, the prisoner tried to rely on the girl's consent as a defence. The Court of Criminal Appeal laid down the principle that consent can never be a defence to a charge of assault where the alleged assault consists, as it did in that case, in an unlawful act.

In the first days of the year Sir Frederick Maugham, after a brief and distinguished term of service on the Chancery Bench, was made a Lord Justice of Appeal, and through the death of Lord Justice Scrutton Mr. Justice Roche, a puisne judge of the King's Bench Division, was similarly promoted. In the High Court Mr. Justice Acton retired from the King's Bench Division, and three new appointments were made, Mr. Stafford Crossman going to the Chancery Bench and Mr. Singleton, K.C., and Mr. Porter, K.C., to King's Bench.

In the County Courts there were numerous changes, and six new recruits were appointed, while the death of Sir Ernest Wild led to a little chain of appointments beginning with those of Judge Holman Gregory, K.C., to be Recorder of London, and Mr. Cecil Whiteley, K.C., to be Common Serjeant.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

I.

THE BALTIC PACT.

TREATY OF AGREEMENT AND COLLABORATION BETWEEN LITHUANIA, ESTONIA, AND LATVIA.

(SEPTEMBER 12, 1934.)

The President of the Republic of Lithuania, the President of the Republic of Estonia, and the President of the Republic of Latvia, having determined to promote collaboration between the three countries and to develop a closer understanding between the Baltic States ; being firmly resolved to contribute to the maintenance and guaranteeing of peace and to harmonise their foreign policies with the spirit of the principles of the Covenant of the League of Nations : have decided to conclude a Treaty, and for this purpose have designated their Plenipotentiaries, to wit:

The President of the Republic of Lithuania : His Excellency Monsieur Stasys Lozoraitis, Minister of Foreign Affairs ; the President of the Republic of Estonia : His Excellency Monsieur Julius Seljamaa, Minister of Foreign Affairs ; the President of the Republic of Latvia : Monsieur Vilhelms Munters, Secretary General at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; who, after having exchanged their credentials and found the same to be in good order, have agreed on what follows.

Article 1.—In order to combine their pacific endeavours, the three Governments undertake to act in concert in questions of foreign policy affecting them all and to afford one another mutual political and diplomatic assistance in their international relations.

Article l.—In pursuance of the object set forth in the first Article, the High Contracting Parties determine to institute periodical conferences of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the three countries, which shall take place regularly at least twice a year, on the territory of each of the three States in turn. On the request of one of the High Contracting Parties and with common consent, additional conferences can be held in one of the three States or outside of their territories.

The conference will be presided over by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the State in whose territory it is held. If it meets outside of the territory of the three States, its President will be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country in whose territory the last conference was held.

The President for the time being will see to the carrying out of the decisions taken by the conference over which he has presided, and in case of need will be required to attend to the fulfilment of these decisions in the domain of international relations.

The periodical conferences of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Estonia and Latvia provided for in Articles 1 and 2 of the Treaty between Latvia and Estonia for the organisation of the alliance, signed at Riga of February 17, 1934, will for the duration of the present treaty be replaced by the conferences referred to above.

Article 3.—The High Contracting Parties recognise the existence of specific problems in regard to which the adoption of a common attitude might be a matter of difficulty. They agree to allow these problems to constitute an exception to the engagements laid down in the first Article of the present treaty.

Article 4.—The High Contracting Parties will make every effort to settle amicably and in a spirit of justice and equity every question which might cause a conflict of interests between them, and with as little delay as possible. They undertake to negotiate with one another agreements which may serve this purpose.

Article 5.—The three Governments will give instructions to their diplomatic and consular representatives abroad, as also to their delegates in international conferences, for the purpose of establishing suitable contact.

Article 6.—The High Contracting Parties undertake to communicate to one another henceforth the text of treaties concluded between any one of them and another State or States.

Article 7.—The present treaty is open to the adhesion of other States, such adhesion, however, being permissible only with the common consent of the High Contracting Parties.

Article 8.—The present treaty is to be ratified ; it will come into force on the depositing of the ratifications, which will take place at Riga. The Government of Latvia will remit to each of the two other High Contracting Parties a certified exact copy of the deposited official report of the ratifications.

Article 9.—The present treaty shall remain in force during a term of ten years. If the treaty is not denounced by one of the High Contracting Parties one year before the expiration of this term, it will be prolonged by way of tacit renewal, to terminate one year after its denunciation by one of the High Contracting Parties.

In testimony of which the Plenipotentiaries named above have signed the present treaty and affixed to it their seals.

Done at Geneva, in triplicate, September 12, 1934.

ST. LOZORAITIS,
J. SELJAMAA,
V. MUNTERS.

DECLARATION.

Concurrently with the signature of the treaty of to-day's date, the Plenipotentiaries of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia declare that their

respective Governments are anxious that the spirt of close friendship and understanding between the three nations may spread and become general in their respective countries, and they pledge themselves to take or to encourage every measure and initiative which may contribute to this end.

Done at Geneva, in triplicate, September 12, 1934.

ST. LOZORAITIS,
J. SELJAMAA,
V. MUNTERS.

II.

THE BALKAN PACT.

(FEBRUARY 9, 1934.)

His Majesty the King of Rumania, the President of the Hellenic Republic, the President of the Turkish Republic, His Majesty the King of Yugoslavia, wishing to contribute to consolidation and peace in the Balkans, animated with the spirit of understanding and conciliation which prevailed at the preparation of the Briand-Kellogg Pact and the decisions relating to it taken by the League of Nations, and firmly decided to guarantee respect for the contractual engagements already existing and the maintenance of the territorial order at present established in the Balkans, have resolved to conclude a Pact of Balkan Understanding, and to this end have appointed their respective Plenipotentiaries, who have arrived at the following dispositions :—

Article 1.—Greece, Rumania, Turkey, and Yugoslavia guarantee mutually the security of their Balkan frontiers.

Article l.—The High Contracting Parties undertake to consult with each other on the measures to be taken in the face of eventualities capable of affecting their interest as they are defined by the present Agreement. They undertake not to embark on any political action towards any other Balkan country non-signatory of the present Agreement, without previous mutual discussion, nor to assume any political obligation towards any other Balkan State without the consent of the other High Contracting Parties.

Article 3.—The present Agreement will come into force immediately after its signature by all the contracting Powers and will be ratified as soon as possible. It will be open to any Balkan countries, whose adhesion will be the object of a favourable examination by the contracting parties, and will take effect as soon as the other signatory countries shall have ratified their agreement.

PROTOCOL ATTACHED TO THE BALKAN PACT.

The following is a summary of the Protocol attached to the Balkan Pact :—

Article 1 defines the term " aggressor " as including any State which shall have committed one of the aggressive acts enumerated in Article 2

of the conventions signed in London on July 3 and 4, 1933 (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 92).

Article 2 asserts that the Pact is not directed against any Power, but is to guarantee Balkan frontiers against aggression by a Balkan State, and according to Article 3 the Pact will come into force in so far as it may affect a Balkan State which may join an outside Power which has committed an act of aggression upon any one of the signatories. Under Article 4 the signatories agree to begin to negotiate conventions in conformity with the objects of the Pact within six months.

Articles 5 and 6 stipulate that existing treaties and conventions depending upon them remain binding upon the signatories of the Pact, which is "not in contradiction with previous obligations." By Article 7 the Pact will cease to bind the signatories in their relations with any signatory who may commit an act of aggression against any other country.

Article 8 declares that the maintenance of existing territorial arrangements in the Balkans is incumbent on the signatories, and that the Pact cannot be denouncerl for two years, at the end of which, failing agreement to the contrary, it will continue in force for a further five years. Thereafter, failing denunciation, it will automatically continue in force for a period equal to the whole period during which it shall already have been in force.

Article 9 refers to details of ratification.

III.

THE GERMAN-POLISH PACT.

(SIGNED JANUARY 26, 1934; EATIFIED FEBRUARY 24, 1934.)

The Governments of Poland and Germany consider that the time has arrived to begin a new era in the political relations of Poland and Germany by means of reaching direct understanding between the two States. They have, therefore, decided by the present Declaration to lay the foundation for the future shaping of these relations.

Both Governments proceed from the assumption that the maintenance and stabilisation of a permanent peace between their respective countries constitutes an essential condition of a general peace in Europe. They are therefore determined to base their mutual relations on the principles contained in the Pact of Paris of August 27, 1928, and desire to define more precisely the application of these principles in so far as the relations between Poland and Germany are concerned.

At the same time each of the two Governments declares that the international obligations which, up till now, they have undertaken towards third parties do not hinder the peaceful development of their mutual relations, are not in contradiction to the present Declaration, and are not infringed by this Declaration. In addition, both Governments declare that the present Declaration does not concern problems which, in accordance with international law, should be regarded exclusively as internal affairs of either State.

Both Governments declare that it is their intention to reach direct understanding on problems concerning their mutual relations. In the event of disputes arising between them on questions which could not be settled by direct negotiations, both Governments will seek such solutions in each particular case by way of other peaceful means mutually agreed upon, without, however, excluding the possibility of applying, if necessary, such modes of procedure as are provided for such cases by other agreements by which they are mutually bound. In no case, however, shall they have recourse to force in order to settle such questions under dispute.

The guarantee of peace established upon the above principles will facilitate for both Governments the important task of rinding, for political, economic, and cultural problems, solutions based upon just and equitable consideration of the interests of both parties.

Both Governments are convinced that the relations between their respective countries will thus fruitfully develop and will lead to the firm establishment of good neighbourly relations, which should have salutary consequences not only for their own countries but also for the other nations of Europe.

The present Declaration shall be ratified and the deposit of ratifications shall be made in Warsaw as soon as possible. The Declaration shall remain in force during a period of ten years to begin on the day of the deposit of ratifications. If neither of the two Governments should give notice of its termination six months before the lapse of this period of time it shall continue to remain in force ; after that period, however, each Government will be free to terminate it at any time by giving six months' notice.

Made in two copies, one in the Polish and one in the German language.

Berlin, January 26, 1934.

For the Polish Government: J. LIPSKI.

For the German Government: VON NEURATH.

IV.

UNITED KINGDOM MEMORANDUM ON DISARMAMENT.[1]

(LAID BEFORE PARLIAMENT ON JANUARY 31, 1934.)

1.

1. On November 22 the Bureau of the Disarmament Conference unanimously decided that the work of the conference should be suspended for a period in order to permit of parallel and supplementary efforts being carried on between different States, mainly through the diplomatic channel. In the interval this method has been actively pursued, and bilateral communications have taken place between various capitals. As a result, the points of view of certain Governments have been further defined,

[1] Printed by kind permission of the Controller of H M Stationery Office, from **Cd. 4511.**

and some general propositions which they had previously advanced have taken a more concrete shape. Yet it must be admitted that, on comparing the attitudes thus disclosed, no firm basis of agreement at present emerges; and, while these diplomatic exchanges have undoubtedly cleared the ground and revealed the immensity and difficulty of the problem in their true proportions, the method recently followed cannot in itself produce a unanimous result and is in danger of exhausting its usefulness. On the other hand, a resumption of the discussions at Geneva without any new directive suggestions is only too likely to lead to further disappointment.

1. In these circumstances His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom consider that the time has arrived when they should make plain their own attitude in the present situation, the gravity of which must be apparent to every thoughtful mind, and should thus make a further positive contribution, so far as lies in their power, to promote a reconciliation of views in a matter upon which the future of the world may depend. If agreement is to be reached and a Convention is to be signed, it is useless for any Power merely to insist on its own ideals and its own requirements or to refuse to depart in any degree from the solution which it deems best. His Majesty's Government are making the present communication, not for the purpose of formulating unattainable ideals, but in order to indicate the lines of a compromise which they believe, after reviewing the history of the discussions and closely studying the recent interchange of views, should be generally acceptable.

3. Before dealing with any specific proposition as to the measure or the regulation of armaments, His Majesty's Government must reassert the main objective to which all proposals on this subject are directed. That objective is, as Article 8 of the Covenant declares, the maintenance of peace. Even though increase of armed strength may be actuated by reasons of defence, it is an index of fear of attack from another quarter, and a measure of the alarm and disquiet existing between peoples. Conversely, a general agreement securing the limitation of armaments at the lowest practicable level would be the most effective and significant proof of international appeasement and an encouragement of the mutual confidence which springs from good and neighbourly relations. Consequently, His Majesty's Government regard agreement about armaments not as an end in itself, but rather as a concomitant of world peace and as an outcome of political amelioration. For this reason, they have always acknowledged the relation between the conception of equality of rights on the one hand, and of security on the other. For this same reason, they welcome the indications that Herr Hitler's recent proposals, whatever may be said of their precise content, are concerned not only with technical questions of armament, but with political guarantees against aggression.

4. It follows from the above considerations that agreement is most likely to be reached on a broad basis which combines regulation of armaments with assurances in the political field. Protracted debates on disarmament in its limited and purely technical aspect can lead to no conclusion, unless wider considerations touching the equality and the security

of nations are borne in mind and provided for. Hence the United Kingdom Draft Convention, which was approved at Geneva as a basis of the ultimate agreement by a unanimous vote which included both France and Germany, began with a " Part I " on the subject of Security, proposing methods of consultation for the purpose of determining on appropriate action in the event of a threatened breach of the Briand-Kellogg Pact. The amplification of this proposal is dealt with below (paragraph 9). His Majesty's Government must emphasise that they have never departed from the principles and purposes of the Draft Convention or have sought to substitute a second and contradictory draft for it. If there were any misapprehension in any quarter on this score, the declaration they are now making will finally remove it. The Prime Minister, when presenting the Draft Convention to the conference in March of last year, plainly intimated that it was not necessarily to be regarded as a final and unalterable text, and subsequent discussion has shown that it requires adjustment in certain respects if general agreement is to be reached. Any suggestions which have since been put forward for consideration have been tentatively advanced with a view to seeing whether they would promote such agreement, and for no other purpose. But the underlying conceptions of the Draft Convention remain the standpoint of His Majesty's Government, and could only be abandoned if and when a more acceptable alternative were generally agreed.

5. But while His Majesty's Government are not prepared to depart from the lines of the Draft Convention without being assured that there is an alternative which would more readily lead to universal agreement, they have been perfectly prepared to give unprejudiced consideration to new suggestions and to do their utmost to promote their general acceptance. The failure to reach agreement would inflict a fearful blow upon the hopes of all friends of peace throughout the world, whereas the attainment of agreement would create and build up that confidence which is the only secure basis for the limitation of armaments. The importance, therefore, of attaining international agreement by any possible means is so great that no suggestions, from whatever quarter they come, should be rejected merely because of a preference for a better solution which is, in fact, unattainable. An illustration lies ready to hand. It is sometimes urged that the solution of the disarmament problem lies in the immediate abandonment by all the world of all the weapons which the Peace Treaties withheld from certain Powers. But it is manifest that such a solution is in practice unattainable at the present time. That is no reason for abandoning the effort to secure, in this first Convention, all that can be attained. The devotion of the whole British people to the cause of disarmament is deep and sincere, as is sufficiently proved by the present position of its armaments in comparison with those of other leading Powers. They realise that further progress can only be achieved by agreement, and therefore His Majesty's Government would still work for agreement, even though, having regard to the principle of equality of rights, agreement is found to involve alongside of disarmament in some quarters some measure of rearmament in others.

6. It should not be overlooked that the scheme of the Draft Convention itself involves some degree of rearmament for those States whose armaments are at present restricted by treaty. Germany, for example, in view of the numerical increase proposed in her effectives, would need larger quantities of such weapons as she is already entitled to possess. And this is not all. His Majesty's Government have more than once publicly stated that an international agreement based on the admitted principle of equality of rights in a regime of security necessarily involves that, within the stages provided for by such an agreement, the situation must be reached in which arms of a kind permitted to one State cannot continue to be denied to another. His Majesty's Government see no escape from this conclusion, and they do not seek to escape from it, for they are convinced that the best prospect for the future peace of the world would be afforded by an agreement which recognises and provides for this parity of treatment, while it abolishes or reduces to the lowest possible level all arms of a specially offensive character, and provides by the most appropriate means available for a greater sense of security. So far as Europe is concerned, a reconciliation of the points of view of France and Germany is the essential condition of general agreement. If a way is not found to accommodate their respective points of view, this greater sense of security will not be promoted. And without it, substantial disarmament is impossible. On the other hand, if an agreement is reached, even if the agreement at present attainable falls short of the highest hopes, the gain of reaching and observing such an agreement would be immeasurable, and the fact that it had been reached and observed would form the firm foundation on which a further agreement of more comprehensive character might be based in the future.

7. We must therefore seek a solution where a solution can be found. No agreement is no solution at all, and the world will be thrown back upon unrestricted competition in the supply and manufacture of weapons of destruction, the end of which no man can see. Putting aside, therefore, as not immediately attainable the ideal of universal disarmament to Germany's permitted level, and refusing to acquiesce in the conclusion that agreement cannot be reached, the choice appears to His Majesty's Government to lie between two conceivable courses so far as the future armaments of the heavily armed Powers are concerned. These two choices are :—

(1) To reach agreement in a Convention which will involve the abandonment of certain classes of weapons by the most heavily armed Powers.

(2) To reach agreement on the basis that the most heavily armed Powers are unable or unwilling to disarm, but that they will undertake not to increase their present armaments.

The second course is the one which is indicated in certain quarters as the most that can be hoped for. But His Majesty's Government cannot contemplate as acceptable a conclusion which, though it would provide for a limitation of armaments, would do nothing whatever to secure their reduction. His Majesty's Government, therefore, would earnestly press

upon other Governments that the first course, which they most strongly prefer and regard as more in accord with the main object to be attained, should not be abandoned, but should be actively pursued. The second part of this Memorandum sets out the way in which His Majesty's Government believe this could be accomplished.

II.

8. His Majesty's Government conceive that international agreement in the matter of armaments can only be reached by making adequate provision under the three heads of *(a)* security, *(b)* equality of rights, (c) disarmament. These three topics were all dealt with in the Draft Convention and the object of the present document is to explain how, in the light of actual circumstances and of the claims and proposals put forward from various quarters, the contents of that Draft Convention might be modified or expanded in certain particulars with a view to securing general agreement. His Majesty's Government have studied with close attention the points of view advanced by the French, Italian, German, and other Governments in the course of recent interchanges. Nearly a year ago His Majesty's Government undertook the responsibility of placing before the General Commission a full Draft Convention. The adjustments now proposed in the text of that Draft are such as subsequent communication and consideration show to be best calculated to bring about concrete results.

9. *Security.*—Part I of the Draft Convention dealt with the subject of security. As the result of a redraft which was unanimously approved on May 24, 1933, it now consists of four articles, three of which provide in effect that, in the event of a breach or threat of breach of the Pact of Paris, immediate consultation may be called for and shall take place between signatories to the Convention for the purpose of preserving the peace, of using good offices for the restoration of peace, and, in the event that it proves impossible thus to restore the peace, to determine which party or parties to the dispute should be held responsible. It will be observed therefore that, as at present drafted, the event which brings these provisions into play is the breach or threatened breach of the Pact of Paris. His Majesty's Government regard such provisions as of very great importance. But so vital is the connexion of a feeling of security with the peace of the world that they would add to them yet further articles. It is in their view important to extend the principle of consultation in the event of a breach or threat of breach of the Pact of Paris to the event of a breach or threat of breach of the Disarmament Convention itself. They would therefore suggest that three new articles—2 (a), 2 (6), and 2 (c)—should be inserted between the revised Articles 2 and 3. The first of these—2 *(a)*—would be Article 89 of the present Draft Convention, which declares that the loyal execution of the Convention is a matter of common interest to the High Contracting Parties. Article 2 (6) would declare : " The provisions for immediate consultation contained in Article I will also be applicable in the event of the Permanent Disarmament Commission, to be

set **up** in accordance with Part V, Section 1, of the present Convention, reporting the existence of facts which show that any High Contracting Party has failed to execute loyally the present Convention." Article 2 *(c)* would state : " I t shall be the object of such consultation to exchange views as to the steps to be taken for the purpose of restoring the situation and of maintaining in operation the provisions of the present Convention." The insertion of these articles would, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, emphasise the inescapable duty of all signatories of the Convention to keep in the closest touch with one another, and to do whatever is right and possible to prevent or remedy any violation of so important an international treaty.

A further contribution to the cause of peace and security, by lessening any tension or anxiety which exists between Germany and surrounding States, is provided by the willingness of the German Chancellor to conclude pacts of non-aggression with all Germany's neighbours. Such pacts should in no way weaken, but, on the contrary, should expressly reaffirm existing obligations to maintain peace under such instruments as the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Pact of Paris, and the Treaties of Locarno, and His Majesty's Government cannot doubt that if such pacts were expressly entered into in connexion with the Convention (which, like the pacts themselves, His Majesty's Government, for reasons stated below, consider might be made in the first instance for a period of ten years) their practical value for the purpose of creating a sense of security will not be disputed.

His Majesty's Government consider that the suggestions here collected under the head of security constitute a sum total worthy of general acceptance. They have a right to expect that, if these provisions and pledges were solemnly entered into, they would not be lightly violated, and that any violation of them would be met in the most practical and effective way by immediately assembling Governments and States in support of international peace and agreement against the disturber and the violator.

10. *Equality of Rights.*—The Five-Power Declaration of December 11, 1932, put on record, in connexion with the problem of disarmament, the principle " of equality of rights in a system which would provide security for all nations " and declared that this principle should find itself embodied in a Disarmament Convention effecting a substantial reduction and limitation of armaments. From this Declaration His Majesty's Government have never withdrawn and they now reaffirm their unqualified adherence to it. The previous paragraph of this Memorandum attempts to define the essential elements of security without which the necessary conditions for an adequate Disarmament Convention would not be fulfilled. But His Majesty's Government do not hesitate to declare that the principle of equality of rights is no less essential in the matter of armaments than the principle of security—both must have their practical application if international agreement about armaments is to be reached. The proposals which follow, no less than the Draft Convention itself, are conceived in that spirit, and constitute a practical fulfilment of that principle.

11. *Disarmament.*—His Majesty's Government are glad to understand that Chancellor Hitler has declared that Germany voluntarily renounces any claim to possess " offensive " weapons and limits herself to normal " defensive " armaments required for the Army with which she would be provided in the Convention. The German Chancellor, moreover, advances this proposition on the assumption that the heavily armed States are not prepared to abandon under the Convention any portion of their existing weapons. As already indicated in paragraph 7 of this Memorandum, His Majesty's Government are entirely unwilling to accept this last assumption, and must insist that the only agreement worthy of the name of a Disarmament Convention will be one which contains reduction as well as limitation of armaments. There is, moreover, a further reason why His Majesty's Government emphasise the fact that the German Chancellor's declaration renouncing offensive armaments and claiming only what is necessary for normal defence, is based upon the assumption that the heavily armed Powers are not prepared to reduce their own armaments in any degree. The measure of Germany's need will necessarily be reduced if this assumption proves incorrect. A positive contribution to disarmament by the heavily armed Powers will therefore help to bring the scale down all round, and should, as His Majesty's Government conceive, reduce the demands which Germany might otherwise be disposed to put forward.

11. The following proposals, in modification of the Draft Convention, are put forward on the assumption that the agreement would last for ten years. They have been framed after giving the fullest and most anxious consideration to suggestions and criticisms from all other quarters, and represent, in the judgment of His Majesty's Government, what might well be agreed in existing circumstances.

13. *(a) Effectives.*—While His Majesty's Government are still in favour, so far as they are concerned, of the figures given in the table they submitted at the end of Article 13 of the Draft Convention, they are aware of the recent discussion with the German Government in regard to the proper number of average daily effectives which should be allotted to Germany. To the figure of 200,000 on a basis of 8 months' service proposed in the Draft Convention, the German Government have suggested the alternative of 300,000 on a basis of 12 months' service. This is one of the outstanding points of difference emerging from the recent exchange of views through the diplomatic channel. Though the point is difficult and serious, His Majesty's Government do not think this divergence ought to raise any insuperable obstacle to an agreed compromise. In the Draft Convention they themselves proposed 200,000 as the figure for the average daily effectives stationed in the home country for France, Germany, Italy, and Poland. It is not the figure of 200,000 which in their mind is the essential and unalterable element, but the principle of parity, fairly calculated and applied, in these effectives between the four countries. They are aware that difficult calculations are necessary to establish the right figures for the ten years which, as above suggested, would be the life of the Disarmament Convention, but His Majesty's Government are convinced

that the fixing of the proper figure cannot be beyond the power of adjustment between the States principally concerned if the problem was made the subject of frank and conciliatory discussion between them. If the figure of 200,000 was found to be too low, an accommodation could surely be found between this figure (which His Majesty's Government believe to be preferred by the majority of the Powers concerned) and 300,000.

Agreement as to this figure will enable all European continental Armies to be reduced to a standard type composed of short-term effectives as proposed in the Draft Convention. His Majesty's Government suggest that this process should be completed in, at most, four years. In Article 16 of the Draft Convention, eight months was suggested as the maximum total period of service for these effectives, though, at the same time, it was recognised that in special cases the period might have to be twelve months. His Majesty's Government appreciate that this must necessarily be a matter for the continental Governments to determine, and they are ready to concur in the longer period if such is the general desire.

In regard to land armed forces stationed overseas, His Majesty's Government have no further reductions to propose in addition to those already inserted in the Draft Convention. These, it will be remembered, would entail a considerable reduction of French overseas forces.

A difficult problem has been raised in regard to the so-called " paramilitary training," *i.e.*, the military training outside the Army of men of military age. His Majesty's Government suggest that such training outside the Army should be prohibited, this prohibition being checked by a system of permanent and automatic supervision, in which the supervising organisation should be guided less by a strict definition of the term " military training " than by the military knowledge and experience of its experts. They are particularly glad to be informed that the German Government have freely promised to provide proof, through the medium of control, that the S.A. and the S.S. are not of a military character, and have added that similar proof will be furnished in respect of the Labour Corps. It is essential to a settlement that any doubts and suspicions in regard to these matters should be set and kept at rest.

14. *(b) Land War Material.*—Certain countries will require, for the increased numbers of their standardised Armies, an increased number of such weapons as are at present possessed by their smaller long-service Armies. His Majesty's Government accept this view. They would emphasise that, under the Convention, prohibition as to the possession of anti-aircraft guns would disappear. They would suggest that the maximum calibre of guns in permanent frontier and fortress defensive systems should be fixed by international agreement.

Of the types of land war material at present denied by treaty to certain Powers, His Majesty's Government consider two weapons in particular must be dealt with. His Majesty's Government proposed in their Draft Convention that the maximum limit for the weight of tanks should be 16 tons. They recognised, however, that this problem " evidently requires further international examination." They are most anxious, in the interests alike of disarmament and of the realisation of the equality

of all countries, that progress should at once be made with the elimination of tanks above the 16-ton limit. They suggest, therefore, that tanks over 30 tons should be destroyed by the end of the first year, over 20 tons by the end of the third year, and over 16 tons by the end of the fifth year. These practical steps should help towards the solution of the problem, but "further international examination," as contemplated by Article 21 of the Draft Convention, is obviously necessary. His Majesty's Government propose that this examination should be held by the Permanent Disarmament Commission, and should be completed not later than by the end of the third year. His Majesty's Government understand that the German Government maintain that tanks up to 6 tons are, in their view, necessary for the defence of their country. This view of the German Government was based on the supposition that other countries would make no reduction in respect of tanks at all, whereas His Majesty's Government now propose the reductions set forth above. None the less, His Majesty's Government are, for their part, willing to agree that the new German short-term service Army, contemplated by the Draft Convention, should be equipped with tanks up to 6 tons. His Majesty's Government would be willing to agree to a similar arrangement in respect of Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria.

As regards mobile land guns, it will be recalled that in the Draft Convention His Majesty's Government made the proposal to secure that the maximum limit of these guns for the future should be 115 mm. They would greatly regret any proposals which tend to increase the size of future construction beyond this calibre, but they are bound to face the fact that the German Government maintain the view that mobile land guns up to 155 mm. are necessary as part of the armament of the proposed new short-term service Army. His Majesty's Government, though still preferring the more drastic proposals of their Draft Convention, are willing to acquiesce m this proposal as part of the Convention, if by so doing they can secure prompt and general agreement on all points. His Majesty's Government would be willing to agree to similar proposals in respect of Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria.

But there remains the question whether it is not possible, by means of the proposed Convention, to secure the reduction in the maximum calibre of mobile land guns possessed by any Power. His Majesty's Government propose that such guns over 350 mm. should be destroyed by the end of the first year, those over 220 mm. by the end of the fourth year, and those over 155 mm. by the end of the seventh year.

15. (c) *Air Armaments.*—His Majesty's Government have repeatedly emphasised the great importance of agreement in regard to the limitation and reduction of air armaments which may, in the future, prove the most potent military weapons in the possession of mankind. Full reflection has convinced them of the justice of the proposals contained in Articles 34-41 of their Draft Convention. Article 35 requires that the Permanent Disarmament Commission shall, immediately, devote itself to the working out of the best possible schemes providing for the complete abolition of military and naval aircraft, which must be dependent on the effective

supervision of civil aviation to prevent its misuse for military purposes. His Majesty's Government are aware that the German Delegation at Geneva moved an amendment to this article, proposing the total abolition of military and naval aircraft without, however, making any specific provision for solving the problem of civil aviation. The appropriate occasion to discuss this proposal would be the immediate inquiry provided for in Article 35. In their view it would be prejudicial to the prospects of the inquiry that any party not hitherto entitled to possess military aircraft should claim such possession pending the results of the inquiry. At the same time they frankly recognise that Germany and other States not at present entitled to military aircraft could not be asked to postpone for long their claim. They suggest, therefore, that the maintenance of the *status quo* laid down in Article 36 of their Draft Convention should be modified as follows : If the Permanent Disarmament Commission has not decided on abolition at the end of two years, all countries shall be entitled to possess military aircraft. Countries would reduce or increase by stages, as the case might be, in the following eight years so as to attain, by the end of the Convention, the figures in the table annexed to Article 41, or some other figures to be agreed on. Germany would acquire parity with the principal air Powers by these stages, and corresponding provisions would be made for other Powers not at present entitled to possess military or naval aircraft.

16. It is, of course, understood that all construction or fresh acquisition of weapons of the kinds which are to be destroyed during the life of the Convention would be prohibited

17. *(d) Naval Armaments.*—His Majesty's Government, for their part, still stand by the Naval Chapter of the Draft Convention. They appreciate, however, that the time which has passed since they put forward that Draft Convention last March has brought much closer the assembling of the Naval Conference of 1935 Should it be thought, in view of this consideration, that the situation prior to the 1935 Conference could appropriately be dealt with by some simpler arrangement than that contained in the Naval Chapter, His Majesty's Government would be prepared to make proposals to that end in due course. They suggest, however, that prompt agreement on other matters, and embodiment of that agreement in a world-wide Convention, would be of great assistance to the naval discussions proposed in Article 33 of the Draft Convention.

18. *Supervision.*—His Majesty's Government are well aware of the great importance attached by various Governments to the institution of a system of permanent and automatic supervision to control the observance of the Disarmament Convention. There is obviously a close connexion between mutual agreement about levels of armament and a system of adequate international supervision. There are, however, many technical difficulties which arise in this connexion and which must be practically met. His Majesty's Government affirm their willingness, if general agreement is reached on all other issues, to agree to the application of a system of permanent and automatic supervision, to come into force with the obligations of the Convention.

19. It will be seen that the adjustments which His Majesty's Government propose are based on a duration of ten years for the Convention. The Draft Convention suggested five years. Continued reflection, however, on the subject and constant discussion with other Governments have convinced His Majesty's Government that any stable system should be founded on a longer period. Only if a longer view is taken can substantial reductions of armaments, and the full realisation of all countries' equality of rights and durable security, be realised. The proposal of the German Chancellor, that undertakings not to resort to force between Germany and other European Powers should be of at least ten years' duration, fits in very closely with the proposal now made by His Majesty's Government that the Disarmament Convention itself should be of ten years' duration. They confidently hope that, if a Convention on the lines now proposed can be accepted, humanity will within the coming ten years acquire such a deep-rooted conviction of the contribution to peace which such a Convention can make that, when the Convention is due to expire, further progress can be achieved in the reduction of armaments. By the successful conclusion of a Convention on such lines, and in the atmosphere of firmer peace and increased mutual confidence which would accompany it, the way will be prepared for a closer and more hopeful approach to the political and economic problems which at present perplex and divide the nations of the world.

20. The object of His Majesty's Government in formulating these proposals and presenting them for consideration is not to describe the terms of an agreement which they themselves would most desire, without regard to the claims or needs of others, but to propound a basis of compromise on which it would appear, in present circumstances, that general agreement could and should now be reached. The proposals, therefore, must be considered as a whole and they are framed in the endeavour fairly to meet essential claims on all sides. The grave consequences which would follow the failure of the Disarmament Conference are realised by all and need no further emphasis. The policy of His Majesty's Government in the international sphere is directed, first and foremost, to contributing to the utmost of their power to the avoidance of these consequences by promoting general agreement. If agreement is secured and the return of Germany to Geneva and to the League of Nations brought about (and this ought to be an essential condition of agreement), the signature of the Convention would open a new prospect of international co-operation and lay a new foundation for international order.

January 29, 1934.

OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1934.

JANUARY.

1. Jakob Wassermann, Gorman novelist, was born of Jewish parents in 1873 at Furth, Bavaria. After an unhappy childhood he worked as apprentice in an export warehouse until 1894, when he found in Munich a patron who encouraged him to take up a literary career. Eventually, after a period of poverty, he joined the staff of *Simplizissimus,* the comic journal, which brought him into contact with a group of brilliant young writers. In 1897 a novel, " The Jews of Zirndorf," brought his name before the public, and a year later he was established in Vienna as a writer and a member of the circle round Schnitzler and Hoffmanns thai. His chief later works are " Die Geschichte der Jungen Renate Fuchs" (1900), "Caspar Hauser" (1908), "Christian Wahnsehaffe" (1919), " Faber, or the Lost Years" (1924), and "Der Fall Maurizius " (1927). His biographies of Christopher Columbus (1929) and the explorer Stanley are well known in their English translations. Wassermann was one of the most productive writers in the German language that the Jewish race has produced, winning his reputation by the power of his invention, his ability to create character and his idealistic longing for a more intellectual and reasonable human race. After the Great War his interest in sociological problems and his critical approach to the spiritual turmoil around him brought him into the front rank of German writers. But the Nazi rulers of Germany deprived him of his membership of the Prussian Academy of Art, and at the time of his death his work had become unfashionable and neglected. His first wife was Julie Speyer, and in 1920 he married Marta Karlwis, the authoress, both of whom as well as four children by his first marriage, survived him.

3. **General Sir Edmund George Barrow,** distinguished soldier, was born on January 28, 1852, and educated at Marlborough and Sandhurst, being commissioned to the 102nd Regiment at 19. After joining the Bengal Staff Corps in 1877 he saw a good deal of service in India, and in 1890 he was selected to command the first Indian regiment for service in Hong-Kong. On his own initiative he introduced the double-company and clothing systems which were subsequently applied to the whole of the Indian Army. From 1901 to 1904 he was secretary of the Military Department when Lord Kitchener selected him for the Peshawar command, where he remained for four years. In 1909 he was promoted General and made a G.C.B., and in 1911 he became A.D.C. to the King. In September, **1914,** Barrow submitted to the Secretary of State a minute entitled " The R61e of India in a Turkish War," recommending the despatch of an expedition from India to occupy Basra. After Cabinet consideration it was decided that part of the Indian Expeditionary Force should be diverted to the Persian Gulf. In **1917** he became a member of the India Council, his seven years' tenure closing **in** 1924, when he had completed 52 years' continuous service of the Crown. In **1882 he** married Miss Marion Story, by whom he had two sons and a **daughter.**

6. **Lieutenant-General Sir Edmond Roche Elles** was born on June 9,1848. From Woolwich he was commissioned to the Royal Artillery in 1867, and first saw active service in India with the Lushai Expedition of 1871. This was the beginning of his association with the Indian Army, which culminated in his being appointed Adjutant-General in India in 1900, and Military Member of Lord Curzon's Government in 1901. This led, two years later, to friction with Lord Kitchener, who, as Commander-in-Chief, desired centralisation, and disliked the system under which responsibility was divided between the Commander-in-Chief as executive head of the Army, and the Military Member who was concerned with administration and provided the Viceroy and the Council with independent advice. Lord Kitchener secured Cabinet support. Lord Curzon resigned, and was soon afterwards followed by Sir Edmond Elles. In 1906 Elles was made G.C.I.E., and in 1907 he attended the Hague Conference as military delegate. From 1907 to 1927 he was Chairman of the Surrey Territorial Force Association, and for fifteen years he was alderman on the Surrey County Council. In 1873 ho married Miss Clara Gertrude Rothney, and had one son and one daughter, a novelist, who writes under the pen-name of Patricia Wentworth.

7. Andrey Bely (Boris Nikolaevich Bugaev), Russian writer, was born in Moscow in 1880. In his youth he came under the influence of Vladimir Solovyev's mystical philosophy. By 1909 Bely had published three books of poems and four of prose which placed him in the front rank of the Symbolist movement. They were all based on the principle of musically organised prose, on a complex system of recurring themes and variations. In some ways he may be said to have anticipated, in his verbal and stylistic innovations, the experiments of James Joyce, especially in the autobiographical work, " Kotik Letaev " (1917-22). His two chief novels were " The Silver Dove " (1910) and " Petersburg " (1916), the latter having as background the Russian revolution of 1906. Bely's later work reflected his infatuation for Rudolph Steiner's philosophy. Just before his death appeared " The Beginning of the Century," a vivid picture of the Moscow intellectual *elite* in the first years of the century. In 1922 he left Russia and settled in Berlin but returned a year later. As a literary influence he counted for much in post-revolutionary Russian literature ; nearly all of the Russian prose after 1920 bears traces of his or Remizov's influence. Bely's principal works had been translated into German, but he was practically unknown in France and England.

14. General Jean-Baptiste Marchand, French soldier, the " Hero of Fashoda," was born on November 22, 1863. He began life as an attorney's clerk, but routine work proved uncongenial and in 1883 he enlisted in the Colonial Infantry. He was sent to Africa where he stayed until 1886, when he returned to France, passed through the Infantry School of Saint Maixant and received his commission. In 1888 he was once more in West Africa, where he earned a reputation for bravery and enterprise. In 1896 he started on the most conspicuous adventure of his career. At the head of the French forces in Upper Ubanghi, he set out to cross Africa to Lake Chad and the eastern seaboard. The English being in possession of the mouth of the Nile and of the Egyptian banks of the river, the idea of the French Government was that he should plant the French flag on the upper reaches, after crossing the full breadth of Africa, and thus establish uninterrupted French domination from Senegal to Jibutil. In May, 1897, Marchand reached Limeo on the Ubanghi, and proceeded on his march in the Bahr-el-Ghazal basin, a region infested by cannibal tribes. For many weeks nothing was heard of the expedition, until suddenly it was learned that Marchand had reached Fashoda on July 10, 1898. The news reached Lord Kitchener just after the battle of Omdurman, and on September 10 he started upstream. After exchanging courtesies, Lord Kitchener hoisted the Egyptian flag about 500 yards from the French, which Marchand declined to haul down without orders from his Government. A Press campaign raged while M. Delcasse and Lord Salisbury discussed the problem for six weeks. Eventually the French

gave way, and Marchand returned to France by way of Ethiopia and Jibutil, thus completing his journey across the whole breadth of Africa. In 1900, now a Commander in the Legion of Honour and a Lieutenant-Colonel, he took part in the international expedition for the relief of the European Legations at Peking. He emerged from retirement during the Great War in which he was wounded several times. In 1917 he became a General of Division and received the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour.

15. **Sir Donald MacALIster,** Chancellor of Glasgow University, was born at Perth on May 17, 1854, and after a schooling at Aberdeen and Liverpool, joined St. John's College, Cambridge, as a mathematical scholar, eventually becoming a Fellow, an office he retained till his death. For a short time he taught mathematics at Harrow, but his leaning towards a medical career took him, in 1879, to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, from which he graduated M.D. Cambridge. In 1883 he translated Zeigler's text-book on pathological anatomy. He also wrote on the nature of fever and on antipyretics, and for thirteen years edited the *Practitioner* and, in 1898, " The British Pharmacopoeia." In 1886 he was Vice-President of the Mathematical and Physical Section of the British Association, and at the Royal College of Physicians he was Goulstonian lecturer in 1887, and first Croonian professor in 1888. From 1904 to 1931 he was Chairman of the General Medical Council. He also served on the Treasury Committee of the University of Wales, was first a Commissioner and then Chairman of the Commission on the Bolfast University, 1908-10, and a member of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1912-15. In 1907 he followed Dr. Story as Principal and Vice-Chancellor of Glasgow University. After reorganising the studies in almost every Faculty and instituting one new Faculty, that of Engineering, he resigned in 1929, and was elected Chancellor in succession to Lord Rosebery. In Glasgow his work was frequently—for some years almost continuously—done in the intervals of attacks of pam. He gave an immense amount of service on committees and congresses, and held office in many institutions in Glasgow, of which he was an honorary freeman. MacAlister was a great Principal, and a man of many-sided interests. He was fond of travel; President of the Gipsy Lore Society; author of a volume of verse containing translations from many foreign languages. In politics he was a Liberal; in Church affairs a strong Presbyterian. He was created K.C.B. in 1908, and a baronet in 1924, and had received honorary doctorates from eleven Universities in the British Empire. Ho married in 1895, but had no issue.

18. Otakar Sevclk, violin teacher, was born on March 22, 1852, the son of a schoolmaster and organist, at Horazdovice in the Bohemian forest. After a brilliant career at the Prague Conservatory he was appointed, at 18, concert director of the Mozarteum at Salzburg. Three years later he was promoted to the same post at the Comic Opera in Vienna. From 1874 to 1892 he was in Russia occupying several posts, including that of violin professor at the Conservatory of Kiev, which he completely reorganised. In 1906 illness forced him to retire to Pisek, a small town in Bohemia, which subsequently became his home. On recovering his health three years later he was appointed professor of the violin school at the State Academy in Vienna, but in 1910 he was back at the Praguo Conservatory. After the Great War he returned to Pisek where he was busy on his instructional works, the most important being " A School of Violin Technique," " Studies in Trills," " A Bow School," and " An Introductory Course of Violin Technique." As a composer, Sevcik confined himself entirely to violin arrangements of existing compositions. His violin school represented an epoch-making departure in the technique of the instrument and is likely to keep his name remembered after his genius for teaching has been forgotten.

— **Joseph Devlin,** Irish Nationalist, was born in 1872, of working-class parentage. After a few years at a school of the Christian Brothers he became

a pot-boy in a public house. His gift for public speaking already in those early years brought him the description, " the boy orator," and at 20 he founded the Thomas Sexton Debating Society, called after a prominent Nationalist. Next Devlin became a reporter on the *Irish News*, at Belfast, where he stayed for some years until, on the invitation of the Nationalist Party, he moved to Dublin to a position at headquarters. In 1902, when in America on a mission for the United Irish League, of which he was secretary, he was returned unopposed for North Kilkenny. At the General Election of 1906 he recaptured West Belfast (which Sexton had lost) by 16 votes, after a memorable electoral fight. He sat for the Falls Division of Belfast from 1918 to 1922 when, on the establishment of the Free State, the Nationalist Party disappeared. Besides controlling the Nationalist organisation he established a society, partly friendly, and wholly political, called the Ancient Order of Hibernians, which bound the urban working-classes through its membership in allegiance to the Nationalist Party. At the death of John Redmond in 1918, Devlin was elected Chairman of the party, but he gave way in favour of his older colleague, John Dillon. He sat in the Northern Ireland Parliament for Co. Antrim and West Belfast. In the Imperial Parliament he was senior member for Fermanagh and Tyrone, for which he was first returned in 1929 after being out of Parliament for seven years. Small in stature, thick set with a large head and coal-black hair, he was known as " Wee Joe," and T. M. Healy once referred to him in the House of Commons as " the duodecimo Demosthenes." He was unmarried.

19. Charles Lindley Wood, second Viscount Halifax, an intensely keen Church leader, was born on June 7, 1839, and educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. While at Eton he often visited Windsor as companion of the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII.) to whom, in 1862, he was appointed Groom of the Bedchamber. At Christ Church Lord Halifax came under the influence of Dr. Pusey, and there began his lifelong association with the High Church party. One of the questions to which he devoted much thought and effort was to secure the Pope's recognition of Anglican Orders, a matter which engaged his attention as far back as 1894. But despite his unfailing efforts to achieve this end, the attempt was a failure. In Novembor, 1933, Lord Halifax took exception to something in the *Church Union Gazette*, the organ of the English Church Union, and resigned from the presidency. Within ten days he issued an appeal for a wider and larger union. Tho Council of the E.C.U. endorsing his appeal resolved in favour of an amalgamation with the Anglo-Catholic Congress and Lord Halifax withdrew his resignation. Subsequently a joint committee of the two bodies was given plenipotentiary powers to form a united society. On January 1, 1934, the Church Union came into being. In 1869 Lord Halifax married Lady Agnes Elizabeth Courtenay, only daughter of the eleventh Earl of Devon, and had six children, three of whom survived him. He was succeeded by his only son, Lord Irwin, Viceroy of India, 1925-31.

23. Sir William Bate Hardy, F.R.S., distinguished biologist, who died at the age of 69, was born at Erdington and educated at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, of which he was Shuttleworth Scholar and Thurston Prizeman, and eventually a Fellow. He practically created the field of colloid chemistry, and in histology may be said to have commenced an era. In the late eighties of the last century Hardy became a force in the scientific life of Cambridge, both as a teacher and an investigator. His earliest work was purely zoological, but eventually he drifted into physiology, becoming an authority on white blood corpuscles, the morphology and physiology of which were then among the most advanced points of biological discovery. Later on, as in the case of Helmholtz, Hardy's biology became increasingly physical and mathematical, so that some of his work dealt with such subjects as the theory of lubrication. In 1925 he gave the Bakerian lecture of the Royal Society, which is reserved for investigators in physical science. He became head of the Low Temperature Station under the Department of Food Control, and in 1930 was President of the British

Association of Refrigeration. Hardy was secretary of the Royal Society, first as deputy for Sir John Rose Bradford, and later serving the usual term. He was an honorary D.Sc. of Oxford, and LL.D. of Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Birmingham. He had many interests, was a trustee of the National Portrait Gallery, and a keen yachtsman. He married, in 1898, Miss Alice Finch, and had a son and two daughters.

23. **Lord A hereon** way **(Charles Benjamin Bright McLaren),** shipowner and industrialist, was born at Edinburgh on May 12, 1850, his mother being a sister of John Bright. He was educated at Edinburgh University, where he gained the Fergusson and Hamilton scholarships, and at Bonn and Heidelberg. Called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1874, he took silk in 1897, and then left his Chancery practice to devote his time to industry. He was elected Liberal member for Stafford in 1880 and 1885, and, after a defeat there, represented the Bosworth Division of Leicestershire from 1892 to 1910. He was a founder of the Eighty Club, and of the National Liberal Club. Made a baronet in 1902, and a Privy Councillor in 1908, he was raised to the peerage in 1911 as Lord Aberconway of Bodnant in the county of Denbighshire. His industrial activities included the Chairmanship of Palmer's Shipbuilding and Iron Company, the Tredegar Iron and Coal Company, the Metropolitan Railway Company, John Brown & Company, of Glasgow, and the Sheepbridge Coal and Iron Company. He was also Chairman of the British Iron Trade Association in 1909, and an associate of the Institute of Naval Architects. In 1877 he married Laura Pochin. She was an ardent woman suffragist, and in one session Lord Aberconway introduced at her instance nine Bills which, together, were described as "The Women's Charter." They had two sons and two daughters.

29. Dr. **Duklnfleld Henry** Scott, F.R.S., distinguished paleobotanist, was born on November 28, 1854, a son of Sir George Gilbert Scott, R.A., the ecclesiastical architect. Educated privately and at Christ Church, Oxford, ho took his degree in 1876. From 1880 to 1882 ho studied botany at Wurzburg where he graduated, and was then appointed assistant Professor of Botany at University College, London. From 1885 to 1892 he was professor at the Royal College of Science; honorary keeper of the Jodrell Laboratory at Kew Gardens, 1892-1906; a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1894, serving on the council, and being Foreign Secretary from 1912 to 1916. He received a Royal medal in 1906, and a Darwin medal in 1926. In collaboration with Professor W. C. Williamson he completed an elaborate series of memoirs on the organisation of the fossil plants of the coal measures. He was joint discoverer with Professor Oliver of the existence in carboniferous times of seed-bearing ferns which formed a connecting-link between the two great groups of the flowerless and the flowering plants. He was author of "An Introduction to Structural Botany," "Studies in Fossil Botany," "The Evolution of Plants," and "Extinct Plants and Problems of Evolution." He was past President of the Linnean Society, which awarded him its gold medal in 1921, and of the Royal Microscopical Society, from which he received the Wollaston medal in 1928. He was President of the Botanical Section of the British Association in 1896 and 1921, of the South-Eastem Union of Scientific Societies in 1909, and of the Paleobotanical Section of the International Botanical Congress in 1930. He was D.Sc. of Manchester, LL.D. of Aberdeen, and correspondent of scientific academies in Paris, Berlin, Amsterdam, Sweden, Munich, and Oslo. He had four daughters.

30. **Edward Stuart** Talbot, Bishop of Southwark and Winchester, was born on February 19, 1844. Educated at Charterhouse and Christ Church, Oxford, he engaged in university teaching as Senior Student of his College. Both at home and at Oxford he was brought up in the influence of the Tractarian Movement. The year 1870 was the turning-point of Dr. Talbot's career. It brought his ordination to the priesthood, his marriage (to Miss Lavinia Lyttleton, niece of Mrs. Gladstone), and the opening of Keble College, of which, at 26, he was

first Warden. To his Keble period belongs his share in the planning and writing of "Lux Mundi," first issued in 1888 under the editorship of Dr. Gore. Its significance in a record of Talbot's life lies, in one sense, in the fact that his essay "The Preparation in History for Christ" was almost his sole contribution to theology of the more academic kind. At the end of 1888 Lord Salisbury recommended him for appointment to the vicarage of Leeds, which was his first and only direct parochial experience. In 1895, again on Lord Salisbury's recommendation, he was appointed Bishop of Rochester which then included the diocese of Southwark. He decided to live in Southwark instead of the comparative peace of Rochester, and remained there until 1911 when, on the recommendation of Mr. Asquith, he was translated to Winchester. He played an active part in such undertakings as the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendships through the Churches, and in the negotiations for reunion with other Christian bodies. He resigned the See of Winchester in 1923 at the age of 86, but in spite of increasing lameness and deafness he continued working with untiring vigour. He left two sons and two daughters.

30. Frank Nelson Doubleday, American publisher, was born at Brooklyn in 1862, and educated at the Polytechnic Institute there. He began his career with the House of Scribner. At 40 "with a growing family and a diminishing income" he entered into partnership with S. S. McClure, a successful publisher of periodical literature. Together they soon attracted attention, and Pierpont Morgan the first offered them an amalgamation with Harper Brothers. Doubleday insisted on a few months' trial, during which he turned to Walter Hines Page, then editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*. When the trial with Harpers proved unsatisfactory, Page became a partner, and the firm of Doubleday, Page & Company quickly attained a position of influence and prosperity. The first magazine they published was the *World's Work*, which was followed by *Country Life in America*. Business grew so rapidly that Mr. Doubleday, at the head of the largest combined printing and publishing house in America, took the novel step of moving the whole establishment to Garden City, Long Island, where he set up a brick building recalling the architecture of Hampton Court and surrounded by fountains, gardens, and parks. The company had a controlling interest in the English firm of William Heinemann, but relinquished it in 1933. The Country Press at Kingswood, near Reigate, was built somewhat on the lines of that at Long Island. In 1917 and 1918 Doubleday was active in work for the Red Cross, visiting the Far East to secure Chinese and Japanese support.

FEBRUARY.

1. Professor Fritz Haber, German chemist, was born of Jewish parents at Breslau on December 9, 1868, and was later baptised. He studied at Berlin, Heidelberg, and Charlottenburg, and became Professor of Chemistry at Berlin in 1911. He published works on electro-chemistry and the thermodynamics of gas reactions, but his name will be remembered chiefly for his researches with Dr. Bosch, which led to a process of synthesising ammonia from hydrogen and the nitrogen of the air. In consequence of his researches Germany was assured during the Great War of nitrates for explosives and agriculture when Chile nitrates were cut off. For this achievement, which won the admiration of scientists the world over, Haber in 1919 received the Nobel Prize. In 1933, as a protest against the anti-Jewish legislation of the Nazi Government, he resigned the directorship of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physical Chemistry, and his Chair at Berlin University. Subsequently he lived at Cambridge, enjoying laboratory hospitality at the hands of Professor Sir William Pope.

3. **Dr. William Page, D.Litt., F.S.A.,** editor of "The Victoria County History," was born on September 4, 1861, and educated at Westminster School. Serving his articles as a civil engineer, he eventually became assistant executive

engineer to **the** Government of Queensland (1880-84). His real interests, however, were in history and archaeology, and in 1885 he became a partner with his brother-in-law, W. J. Hardy, F.S.A., in a firm of record agents and legal antiquaries. The partnership was dissolved in 1902, when Page became joint general editor with H. A. Doubleday of "The Victoria County History." He settled at St. Albans in 1896, and during his residence there excavated the Forum of Verulamium, and did valuable work at St. Albans Abbey in preserving the early mural paintings. He was assistant secretary to the St. Albans Architectural Society, a founder of the County Museum, and the author of several books and many papers on local archaeology. After leaving St. Albans he lived at Hampstoad till 1922 when he removed to Middleton, near Bognor. He became F.S.A. in 1887, was Vice-President of the Society, 1916-20, after several years on the council, and was a member of the editorial staff from 1910 onwards. He became Commissioner to the Royal Society on Historical Monuments in 1921 ; Lecturer in Archa)ology to the University of London, 1923-24 ; Chairman of the Local History Section of the Anglo-American International Congress, 1926 ; and a member of the Committee on House of Commons Records, 1929. In 1932 he received thE degree of Hon. D.Litt. Oxon. It is, however, as General Editor of "The Victoria County History" that Page will be principally remembered. On the retirement of Mr. Doubleday in 1904, he became sole General Editor, and personally supervised practically all the topographical articles. In 1931 he made the work over to thE University of London, his great desire being that it should be continued after his death. The Pilgrims Trust made a grant to the University of 500l. a year for three years, and Page joined the University Committee in connexion with it. Apart from "The Victoria County History" his chief publications were: "Commerce and Industry, 1815-1914" (1919); "London, Its Origin and Early Development" (1923); papers in *Archceologia* and contiibutions to the Reports of tho Historical MSS. Commission. Ho man led, in 1886, Kate Marion Rose, and was survived by his widow and one son and one daughter.

9. **Douglas William Freshfield,** mountain explorer and classical scholar, was born on April 27, 1845, and was educated at Eton and University College, Oxford. From his mother, who was a writer on Alpine travel, he may have inherited that taste for mountain exploration rather than mere climbing which was the dominating interest of his life. When, about 1875, books on the Swiss Alps were becoming too common, he countered with "The Italian Alps," and sang tho praises of Bignasco and Promontogno. Nearly fifty years later he published "Below the Snow Line" (1923), a collection of papers on mountain walking. His best-read work was "The Exploration of the Caucasus" (1896), while "Round Kangchenjunga" (1903) remains a masterpiece of mountain literature. He was no Alpine gymnast, but he had a total of 27 first ascents, beginning when he was 19. His last serious mountaineering was in 1905 when, with A. L. Mumm, he attempted the then unconquered Ruwenzon. The Caucasus at 22, the Mountains of the Moon at 60 ; these were the first and last of his more considerable exploits. For more than fifty years he held office in the Royal Geographical Society (as Honorary Secretary, 1881-94; Vice-President, 1906-13, and 1917-24 ; President, 1914-17), and in 1924 was elected a trustee with a seat in the council for life. He served two years as President of the Alpine Club, and became editor of its *Journal* in 187l. As an additional member of the Mount Everest Committee, nominally without a vote, he contributed greatly to the counsels of successive expeditions. His biography of De Saussure (1920) was acknowledged by a doctorate of the University of Geneva. He was also an honorary D.C.L. of Oxford and an honorary Fellow of his College. He married, in 1869, Augusta Charlotte Ritchie, and had four daughters and one son.

15. **The Rev. George Ernest Newsom,** Master of Selwyn College, Cambridge, was born in Liverpool on May 24, 1871. He was educated at Merchant Taylors' School, Crosby, and Merton College, Oxford. In 1895 he was ordained to the

curacy of Cannock, Staffordshire, where he stayed until 1897, when he began his long association with King's College, London, as vice-principal, chaplain, and lecturer on the Greek Testament. In 1902 he started a hostel for students on self-government lines, and here he remained as Warden until 1916. From 1902 to 1912 he was Reader at the Temple Church; in 1916 he returned to parish work as vicar of Newcastle-on-Tyne, being also a canon of the Cathedral and rural dean of Newcastle ; and in 1928 he was elected to the Mastership of Selwyn College. He contributed the article on Ritschl to the " Encyclopaedia Britannica," but the only book he wrote was " The New Morality " (1932), an attack on the propaganda of modern writers on sex, his contention being that the family is the basis of civilisation, and that sex life must be disciplined into family life. He married, in 1908, Mary Awdry, and had three sons and two daughters.

17. Albert, King of the Belgians (Albert Leopold Clement Marie Meinrad, Duke of Saxony, and Prince of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha), was born in Brussels on April 8, 1875, the second son of Prince Philip, Count of Flanders, brother of King Leopold II. , and Princess Marie of Hohenzollern, and became heir-apparent in 1891 on the sudden death of his elder brother, Prince Badouin. At 15 he entered the Military School, and in due course he received a commission in the Grenadiers. Prince Albert met his future wife, the Duchess Elizabeth, daughter of Duke Charles Theodoro of Bavaria, at the funeral of her aunt and godmother, the Empress Elizabeth of Austria. The betrothal took place in Paris in 1900, and the wedding at Munich on October 2, 1900. On the outbreak of the Groat War, King Albert placed himself at the head of his troops whom he led throughout the war. On November 22, 1918, after the retreat of the Germans, the King and Queen rode into Brussels with their two sons, Prince Albert (afterwards Duke of York), and Admiral Sir Roger Keyes. The war had given King Albert the full confidence of his people, and before the Armistice was signed he had arranged for a new Government composed of representatives of the three chief parties. He presided at the Colonial Congresses of 1920 and 1926 ; was actively interested in the Belgian Mercantile Marine, and in aviation, science, art, and the general intellectual development of the country, and he exercised a moderating influence in the linguistic dispute between Flemings and Walloons. He did much to improve the condition of the natives in the Congo, and in 1910 he gave 60,00Ol. for combating sleeping sickness ; in 1920 he gave another 20,000J., and he was a generous subscriber to the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine. King Albert was particularly fond of mountaineering, and for some years spent a few weeks in the locality of the Dolomites, travelling incognito. In 1932 he crowned a series of fine climbs by reaching the summit of the Crozzon di Brenta (10,286 ft.). King Albert and Queen Elizabeth had three children—Leopold, Duke of Brabant, born in 1901, who succeeded to the throne; Charles, Count of Flanders, born in 1903 ; and Marie Jose, born in 1906.

21. Harold Wright, economist and journalist, was born in 1883. He was educated privately and at Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he matriculated in 1908, and wheie he was editor of the *Granta* in 1909, and President of the Union in 1911. Like his friend Stephen Reynolds (author of " A Poor Man's House ") he was an ardent champion of the cause of inshore fishermen and was a governor of the Fisheries Organisation Society, a director of the Fishing Vessels Co-operative Insurance Society, and an original member of the Advisory Committee on Fishing Research. In 1923 he became assistant editor of the *Nation and Athenceum*, and held that post until 1930 when he succeeded to the editorship. In 1931 when an amalgamation with the *New Statesman* took effect he joined the board of the combined papers. Besides his books " Population " (1923), and "University Studies: Cambridge" (1933), he collaborated with Sir Norman Angell in a treatise entitled "Can Governments Cure Unemployment ? " (1931), and he republished in book form the lighter articles which he had written for the *Nation* under the pseudonym of " Peter Ibbetson." He married, in 1913, Florence Ada Easton, and had two daughters.

21. **Professor Thomas Eric Peet,** Professor of Egyptology at Oxford University, was born in 1883. From the Merchant Taylors' School, Crosby, he passed as a mathematical scholar to Queen's College, Oxford. After a brief term of schoolmastering he was awarded the Craven Fellowship (1906), with which he went to Rome to study archaeology. The outcome of his researches was a book on the " Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily " (1909), which was recognised, not least in Italy itself, as the outstanding authority on the subject, and which secured him the Pelham Studentship at the British School of Rome. Next he joined Professor Garstang, then excavating at Abydos in Egypt, and thenceforth his investigations, except tor a small volume on " Rough Stone Monuments and their Builders," were concentrated on Egyptology. In 1909 began his association with the Egypt Exploration Fund (later Society) which lasted for the remainder of his life. As successor to Professor Naville he excavated in the cemeteries at Abydos and published memoirs of his finds. In 1913 he became Lecturer in Egyptology at Manchester University. After the Great War he returned to excavation and conducted successful campaigns at El Amarna. Meanwhile he had been appointed Brunner Professor ot Egyptology at Liverpool. Possessing an exceptional facility for languages he became a leading expert in the language of ancient Egypt, m which capacity he published a series of hieratic papyri, and a book on " Egypt and the Old Testament." He also contributed to the Cambridge Ancient History and was editor of *Liverpool Amials of Art and Archaeology,* and of the *Journal of Egyptian Archwology.* On Professor Griffith's retirement from the Oxford professorship in 1933 Peet was elected to the post. At the same time he received a Fellowship at his old college. He married, in 1910, Miss Mary Law ton, and had one daughter.

23. **Sir Edward William Eigar, O.M.,** was born at Broadheath, near Worcester, on June 2,1857. He had no systematic musical education, but entered into the musical activitics^of his father who kept a music shop and played the organ at the Roman Catholic Church oi St. George. He was constantly in and out of Worcester Cathedral listening to the music of the daily services, and he took an active part in the concerts oi the Worcester Glee Club. He soon began to compose, some of the music in the orchestral suites, *The Wand of Youth,* dating from his boyhood. In 1889 he married, and went to live in London, where he found that no interest was taken in his music. But in 1890 his overture *Froissart* was produced at the Worcester Festival, and was recognised as something tresh and original. In 1891 he returned to the West Country and settled at Malvern. *The Black Knight,* a symphony for chorus and orchestra, came out in 1893 ; *Scenes from the Saga of King Obxf, Scenes from the Bavarian Highlands,* and an oratorio, *The Light of Life,* all appeared in 1896, the first at the North Staffordshire Musical Festival, the other two at Worcester. A patriotic cantata, *The Banner of St. George,* lor the Diamond Jubilee year, and *Caractacus,* written for the Leeds Festival, 1898, emphasised Elgar's love oi pageantry and the discovery of poetry underlying external splendour. An invitation to write for the Leeds Festival (conducted tor the last time by Sullivan) was a sign that he had " arrived." A still more decisive landmark was Richter's production of the " Enigma " variations for orchestra in London in the following year. But in 1900 *The Dream of Geronhus* failed at Birmingham, perhaps on account of its originality. Mr. A. J. Jaeger, a reader to Novello & Co., got it performed at the Lower Rhine Festival at Dusseldorf, where it was enthusiastically received. This led to its being revived at Worcester in 1902, and Birmingham made amends by producing the companion oratorios, *The Apostles* and *The Kingdom,* at the Festivals in 1903 and 1906. The London Choral Society was formed to give the first public performance of *The Dream of Geronhus* in London (1903), and a special festival of Elgar's music was arranged at Covent Garden, 1904. This period completed his success as a composer of choral and orchestral works on the largest scale. A second instrumental period began with the production of the first symphony in A flat by the Halle Orchestra, under Richter, in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on December 3, 1908. It was instantly acclaimed by

the public. The second symphony in E flat, with its quiet, reflective ending, did not have the same vogue with the public, but it ranked higher in the estimation of musicians. Next came *The Music Makers,* a short choral work of sentimental cast, and the symphonic poem, " Falstaff." During the Great War he produced various *pieces d'occasion,* such as the music to Cammaert's poem, " Carillon," and three commemorative odes (by Laurence Binyon), of which " For the Fallen " was the most impressive. When his wife died in 1920 Elgar lived in retirement except for public appearances at the Three Choirs Festivals. In 1924 he was appointed to the traditional office, without specific duties, of Master of the King's Musick. Outside music he loved travel, experimental chemistry, heraldry, literature, and horse racing. Elgar was knighted in 1904, and on the coronation of King George V. he received the Order of Merit. In 1928 he was made K.C.V.O. ; in 1931 a baronet; and in 1933 G.C.V.O. At the instance of Stanford, Elgar became a Doctor of Music at Cambridge on November 22, 1900. He also received tributes from many academic institutions abroad. Everywhere he was appreciated as one of the most individual composers of modern times, distinguished from many of his contemporaries in the fact that music for him was first and foremost beautiful sound. He was never associated with the theatre, nor did he hold any dominating official position in the musical life of the country. He married, in 1889, Caroline Alice Roberts, and left one daughter.

26. Lord **Sands** (Christopher Nicholson Johnston), distinguished Scottish judge and churchman, was born on October 18, 1857, and educated at St. Andrews, Edinburgh, and Heidelberg Universities. Admitted to the Scottish Bar in 1880, he took silk in 1901. On his way to judicial preferment ho was a sub-commissioner under the Educational Endowment (Scotland) Commission ; a junior counsel in Scotland to the Board of Trade, to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, the Admiralty and the War Office. He was appointed Advocate-Depute in 1892, and again in 1895, serving in that capacity until 1899. He contested Paisley as a Conservative in 1891. In 1899 he became Sheriff of Caithness, Orkney, and Shetland, being transferred in 1900 to Inverness, Elgin, and Nairn, and to Perth in 1905. Johnston resigned in 1916 to become M.P. for Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities. In 1917 he was knighted, and appointed a Lord of Session, taking the Bench title of Lord Sands. It is as a layman of the Church of Scotland that he will be best remembered. He was Procurator of the Church from 1907 to 1918, and he took a notable part in the negotiations which led to the union of the Scottish Churches Act of 1926 and the signing of the covenant of union in 1929. In 1928 he received from Edinburgh University the honorary degree of D.D. ; he was also L L . D . of Glasgow and St. Andrews. In addition to his complete and authoritative " Ecclesiastical Law in Scotland " he published manuals on agriculture and crofter legislation, and he wrote several novels. He was Chairman of the Edinburgh Employment Committee since 1922, a prison commissioner, and Chairman of the Carnegie Trust for the Scottish Universities since 1921. He was keenly interested in the Boys' Brigade, being president of the Edinburgh Battalion. Lord Sands maintained the reputation of the Scottish Bench for " characters," and as a writer was equally at home in legal exposition, New Testament exegesis and imaginative literature. Ho married, in 1898, Agnes Warren Dunn, and had two sons and two daughters.

MARCH.

3. **Norman Houston O'Neill,** composer and conductor, was born on March 14, 1875. He first studied music with Dr. A. Somervell, and then went to the Conservatorium at Frankfurt. His most distinguished work was done in connexion with the Haymarket Theatre, the music of which he directed for many years. He composed the incidental music for the production of Maeterlinck's *The Blue*

Bird and for Barrie's *Mary Rose*, as well as that for the revival of *A Kiss for Cinderella* (1925); in work of this kind he was singularly successful in catching the atmosphere of the play. His incidental music was being used for the revival of *Henry the Fifth*, and he was on his way to the theatre (February 12) when he was knocked down by a tradesman's cycle. He insisted on conducting the orchestra as though nothing had happened, but later on he collapsed and became critically ill. Mr. O'Neill edited " A Golden Treasury of Song," " A Song Garden for Children " and collections of national songs and of Irish folk songs. In 1918 he became Honorary Treasurer of the Royal Philharmonic Society, at whose concorts some of his orchestral works were produced. He married, in 1899, Adine Ruckert, a descendant of a family of makers of harpsichords and clavichords and a pupil of Mme. Schumann.

7. Lord Aberdeen **and** Tern air (John Campbell Gordon, first Marquess of Aberdeen and Temair), Governor-General of Canada, and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, was born on August 3, 1847, the son of the fifth Earl of Aberdeen, and educated at Cheam School, St. Andrews University, and University College, Oxford. In consequence of the deaths of his two elder brothers he succeeded to the title and estates at the age of 23. In 1881 he was appointed Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, a post which he held until 1885, and again in 1915. He was invested with various other Scottish distinctions. Through his marriage, in 1877, to the Hon. Ishbel Marjonbanks, daughter of the first Lord Tweedmouth, Lord Aberdeen came into close contact with the Liberal leaders, and after the 1885 election, when Mr. Gladstone announced his conversion to Home Rule, he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, but his tenure of office lasted only six months. From 1893 to 1898 he was Governor-General of Canada. In 1905 Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman made him Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland for the second time, and he held the office for nine years, to the satisfaction of the Irish Nationalists, among whom both Lord Aberdeen and his consort were popular for their devotion to the Irish people. On his retirement he was promoted to the rank of Marquess. In 1927 Lord and Lady Aberdeen celebrated their golden wedding. Lord Aberdeen was sworn of the Privy Council in 1886; was created G.C.M.G. in 1895; K.T. in 1906; and G.C.V.O. in 1911. In 1925 ho published (with Lady Aberdeen) a volume of reminiscences, " We Twa," followed in 1929 by " More Cracks with We Twa." He excelled in telling anecdotes, and published a collection of them under the title of " Tell Me Another." He had three sons and one daughter, and was succeeded by the Earl of Haddo, born in 1879.

10. Thomas Anstey Guthrie ("F. Anstey "), English humorist, was born on August 8, 1856, and educated at King's College School and Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where he took honours in law, and was called to the Bar in 1880. He soon gave up the law for authorship ; his first and greatest success being " Vice Versa " (1882), which some critics acclaimed as a classic. In the middle eighties he began to write for *Punch*, joined the staff in 1887, and remained a regular contributor for more than twenty years. Of his earlier work the series of burlesques under the title of " Mr. Punch's Model Music Hall " and " Mr. Punch's Young Reciter " exhibited his gifts of satire and parody in prose and verse at their best. The music hall he burlesqued has long ceased to exist, but the series of " Voces Populi " remain as an imperishable record of the conversations of the Victorian middle-class as well as of the man and woman in the street. His genius for parody was conspicuously shown in " The Pocket Ibsen " and " Baboo Jabberjee, B.A.," a remarkable achievement for one who had never visited India. Guthrie wrote several fantastic romances such as " The Tinted Venus " and " The Brass Bottle," and two stories of a more serious aim, " The Giant's Robe " and " The Pariah." His own dramatisation of " Vice Versa " was produced at the Comedy in 1910, but his greatest stage success was *The Man from Blankley's*, first produced at the Prince of Wales's Theatre in 1900. Next may be placed *The Brass Bottle* (Vaudeville Theatre, 1909). "Love Among the

Lions " was dramatised and produced in America in 1910. He adapted several comedies of Moliere, *The Would-be Gentleman (Le Bourgeois Oentilhomme)* being produced at the Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith. At Christmas, 1917, he collaborated with Frank Dix and Arthur Collins in the pantomime, *Aladdin,* at Drury Lane. In later life he occupied himself with his pencil and developed **a** talent for elaborate fantastic designs, but he never published any of them. He was a great favourite with children and was very fond of dogs. He was unmarried.

14. **Professor Francis Llewellyn Griffith,** Professor of Egyptology at Oxford, was born on May 27, 186l. Educated at Queen's College, Oxford, he was already in Egypt, in 1884, excavating under the leadership of Naville and Petrie. From 1888 to 1896 he was assistant in the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities in the British Museum, during which time he studied the ancient Egyptian language. In 1892 University College, London, made him assistant Professor of Egyptology, a post which he held until 1901, when he accepted the Readership in Egyptology at Oxford. During these yoars his production was remarkable, but in 1898 appeared the work which gave full scope to his genius. Ten years before Petrie had handed over to him a number of papyri found at Kahun and Gurob, written mostly in the cursive business hand of the Middle Kingdom ; Griffiths mastered the contents and produced an admirable translation. The next decade he devoted mainly to the study of Demotic. Between 1904 and 1909 he edited, with Sir Herbert Thompson, the "Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leyden." A greater work still was his catalogue of the Demotic texts in the John Rylands Library at Manchester (1909). After this he tackled a new script, the Meroitic, produced during oxcavations in the Sudan, and within a few years he had made progress towards a complete understanding of the language. From 1910 to 1913 he and his wife undertook on behalf of tho University of Oxford excavations in Nubia, accounts of which he published in the " Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology." In 1924 the University recognised his merit by converting the Readership into a Chair. Subsequently he resigned the Professorship, but continued as Deputy-Professor until he retired m 1933, when he was made Professor Emeritus. On his seventieth birthday he was presented with a volume of ossays prepared by seventy of the chief Egyptologists of the world. Griffith was a D.Litt. of Oxford, an honorary Fellow of Queen's College, a Fellow of the British Academy and F.S.A., an honorary LL.D. of Aberdeen and an honorary D.Phil, of Leipzig. His " Bibliography of Ancient Egypt," published in the *Journal* of the Egypt Exploration Fund over a period of thirty years, was not completed.

15. **Dr. Davidson Black, M.D., D.Sc, F.R.S.,** Professor of Anatomy at the Peking Union Medical College, Honorary Director, Cenozoic Research Laboratory, National Geological Survey of China, was born in Canada on July 25, 1884, and educated at the University of Toronto. He was Instructor in Anatomy, Western Reserve University School of Medicine, Ohio (1909-11), associate Professor (1911-13), and assistant Professor (1913-16). Two years later he was appointed Professor in Neurology and Embryology at Peking Union Medical College, an appointment he held until 1921. He was awarded the Graham Gold Medal, Geological Survey of China in 1929, and the King Gold Medal, Peking Society of Natural History in 193l. In 1914 he went to Manchester to study comparative anatomy of the brain in the laboratory of Professor G. Elliot-Smith, but he developed a keener interest in the researches which were being carried on there on the Piltdown skull. Attending the Manchester Art School he acquired skill in the technique of making casts, and when the Swedish investigators working in China with Dr. Gunnar Andersson brought to light a fossil tooth, Davidson realised immediately that it was part of a human fossil of exceptional antiquity and importance. In 1928 he was able to report to the Pacific Science Congress at Java the discovery of the jaw of this fossil being, and at the beginning of 1929 the excavations brought to light the skull of the Peking man—Sinanthropus

Pekinensis—the most important treasure known to human paleontology. He married, in 1913, and had one son and one daughter.

17. **Lord Faringdon** (Sir Alexander Henderson, first baronet and first Baron Faringdon, C.H.), financier, politician, and country squire, was born on September 28, 1850. After leaving school he entered the office of Deloitte & Company, accountants, and while there he attracted the attention of Thomas Greenwood, senior partner in a noted Stock Exchange firm, who took him into his business. Mr. Greenwood's knowledge of railway finance (he had been connected with the Great Western Railway) and Henderson's capacity for figures made a powerful combination. Henderson early perceived the possibilities of the old Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway, later the Great Central, of which he became Chairman, and the financial position of which he greatly improved. In 1922, when the line was merged in the London and North-Eastern, he was elected Deputy-Chairman of the amalgamated company. He was also interested in the railways of Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil, and assisted the development of a large number of industrial undertakings, notably the Manchester Ship Canal. During the war Lord Faringdon launched the British Trade Corporation, of which he became Chairman ; he was also vice-Chairman of the Shipping Control Committee. He represented West Staffordshire as a Unionist from 1898 to 1906, and St. George's, Hanover Square, from 1913 to 1916, when he was raised to the peerage. He was made a Companion of Honour in 1917. Ho developed a taste for art, and formed a collection of old masters and of pictures of the pre-Raphaelite school. In 1889, after purchasing Buscot Park, Berkshire, he became a breeder of pedigree .stock, and was president of several agricultural societies. He also took a practical interest in the Central Fund for the promotion of the dispensary system for the prevention of consumption in London, of which he was treasurer from 1910 to 1919. Lord Faringdon married, in 1874, Jane Ellen Davis, and had six sons and one daughter.

— Father Bede Jarrett, distinguished English Dominican, was born on August 22, 1881. From Stonyhurst ho entered the Dominican Order at Woodchester Priory, Gloucestershire, making his profession there in 1900. After three years' philosophical and two years' theological studies at Hawkesyard Priory, Stafford, he was ordained priest in 1905. When his theological studies were completed with the degree of Lectorate in Theology of the University of Louvain he went to Hunter-Blair's Hall (later St. Benet's Hall), Oxford, where he took a first class in Classical Moderations and in the final school of Modern History. At the early age of 33 he was made Prior of the Dominican Friary at Haverstock Hill, London, and two years later was promoted to be Provincial of the English Province. As Provincial he may almost be said to have rebuilt the Dominican Order in England, and he had the rare distinction of being kept in office for four consecutive terms. His greatest achievement was the restoration at Oxford of the Priory of Blackfnars, originally founded in 1221, five years after the institution of the Order. He built the Priory in St. Giles, the original part of which was the house of Walter Pater, and he founded the Friary in Edinburgh which serves as the Roman Catholic chaplaincy to the University. In 1932 he was made Prior of Blackfnars. While Father Bede Jarrett's work for his own Order will remain his real monument, he was best known as a preacher and writer on social history. He founded, and for a time edited, the Dominican review, *Blackfriars*.

— Dr. Walter Rosen ha in, F.R.S., a distinguished metallurgist, was born in 1876, and educated at the University of Melbourne, Australia, and at Cambridge, where he worked as one of the Research Scholars of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851. Here he came under the influence of Professor (later Sir Alfred) Ewing, at whose suggestion he took up the microscopic examination of metals. He had previously studied the technique of the new work with Sir William Roberts-Austen at the Royal Mint, and presently he

discovered "slip bands," and, a little later, the phenomenon of spontaneous annealing or recrystallisation in lead and other soft metals at room temperature. From 1900 to 1906 Dr. Rosenhain was scientific adviser to Chance Brothers, of Birmingham, glass manufacturers and lighthouse engineers; in 1906 he was appointed first Superintendent of the Department of Metallurgy and Metallurgical Chemistry at the National Physical Laboratory, a post which he held for twenty-five years until he resigned in 1931 to become a consulting metallurgist in London. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1913, was President of the Institute of Metals, which he helped to found, from 1928 to 1930; was a Fellow of the Institute of Physics, and a member of the Iron and Steel Institute. Of the latter he was Carnegie medallist in 1906, and Bessemer modallist in 1930. Since 1927 he was British delegate on the Permanent Committee of the International Association for Testing Materials, and was appointed President of the Association at the Zurich Congress in 1931. He published a large number of papers, chiefly in the *Journal* of the Institute of Metals, and in the volumes of the Royal Society. He also contributed valuable reports to the Light Alloys Sub-Committee of the Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, established in 1909.

20. **George Albemarle Bertie Dewar,** editor and author, was bom on November 3, 1862, and educated at Pembroke College, Oxford. After trying his hand at several callings he became a journalist; in August, 1914, he was appointed editor of the *Saturday Review,* a position he held until 1917. Two years later he became editor of the *Nineteenth Century,* from which he resigned in 1925 over a difference of opinion on the Irish question. He will be remembered chiefly for his nature books and articles, such as " This Realm, This England," " The Glamour of the Earth," " The Birds in Our Woods," " Wild Life in the Hampshire Highlands," " The Book of the Dry Fly," and " Wild Birds Through the Year." He edited the letters of Dean Hole, and collaborated with the Duke of Rutland in " The Haddon Hall Library." He also published an anthology, " The Book of the Seasons," and a book of reminiscences, " A Younger Son." He married Ida Beatrice, daughter of Dr. Thomas Robinson, who predeceased him in 1921.

25. Colonel **Arthur Lynch,** soldier, politician, and writer, was born at Ballarat, Victoria, in 1861, the son of an Irish lather and a Scottish mother. He was remarkable for his versatility, qualifying in turn as a civil engineer, an electrical engineer, a physician and surgeon, and journalist. When the South African War broke out in 1899, Lynch, who was the Paris correspondent of a London newspaper, went to fight for the Boers, not, he said, from hatred of England, but on account of his Republican sympathies, and the fact that he regarded the monarchical principle as indefensible. He was made Colonel oi the 2nd (Irish) Brigade in Natal, and served under General Botha. In 1901 he stood as a Nationalist in a by-election for Galway City and was elected in his absence. On coming to London to take his seat, he was arrested on a charge of high treason, and on January 23, 1903, a special commission of three judges sentenced him to be hanged. The sentence was immediately commuted to penal servitude for life, but a year later he was released on licence by the Balfour Administration, after a petition had been signed by thousands of English people. In July, 1907, on the recommendation of Mr. Herbert Gladstone (Liberal Home Secretary) he was granted a free pardon. In 1909 he was elected unopposed as Nationalist member for West Clare. During the Great War ho joined the Army as a colonel, and went to Ireland to help recruiting, but he soon returned disappointed, and when the Nationalist Party was swept aside by Sinn Fein he ceased to be a member of Parliament. Among his publications were " Modern Authors " (1891), " Approaches " (1892), " Our Poets ! " (1895), and " Human Documents " (1896). In later years he wrote " Psychology : A New System," " Sonnets of the Banner and the Star," " O'Rourke the Great " (an Irish novel), " Science, Leading and Misleading," and " My Life Story " (1924). He regarded as his *magnum opus* " The Case Against Einstein," an abstruse mathematical

work. He lived for years at Haverstock Hill, London, where he had a general medical practice. He married, in 1895, Annie, daughter of the Rev. John D. Powell. There were no children of the marriage.

28. Dr. Lewis Richard Farnell, an authority on ancient Greek religion, and Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, was born at Salisbury on January 19, 1856, and was educated at the City of London School, and Exeter College, Oxford, of which in 1880 he was elected a Fellow. He then went abroad, studying classical archaeology at Berlin and Munich, and travelling extensively in Greece and Asia Minor. In 1883 he returned to his college and was appointed Classical Lecturer, becoming a year later sub-Rector and Tutor, in 1893 Senior Tutor and Dean, and Rector in 1914, an office he held until his retirement in 1928. He served the University as Proctor in 1867-68, and was Vice-Chancellor from 1920 to 1923. From 1896 to 1909 he published five volumes on " The Cults of the Greek States," with a supplementary volume in 1921 on " Hero Cult." In addition to these which brought him into the front rank of scholars, he published a number of small books showing the depth of his learning and his gift of popular abbreviation —" The Evolution of Religion " (1905), " Greece and Babylon " (1911), and " The Higher Aspects of Greek Religion " (1914). He was one of the first to take the newly created degree of D.Litt. at Oxford in 1901, and he held the post of University Lecturer in Classical Archaeology from 1903 to 1914. In 1908 he was appointed first Wilde Lecturer in Natural and Comparative Religion ; was Hibbert Lecturer in 1911 and Gifford Lecturer in 1919. For many years he took great interest in national service and recruiting, and during the South African War he was a private in the Oxford University Volunteers. He was a keen oarsman ; his earliest publication was " An Englishman's Adventure on German Rivers " (1891). He exemplified in himself the description he gives of a college tutor in his " Bibliography of the Fellows and Tutors of Exeter College in Recent Times " as one who should " combine the conscientious discharge of tutorial functions with original research and literary production." A month after his death a volume of reminiscences, " An Oxonian Looks Back," was published. He married, in 1893, Sylvia Cardew, and had three sons and one daughter.

29. Otto Hermann Kahn, American financier, was born of Jewish parents, in Mannheim, Germany, on February 21,1867. His father had emigrated to the U.S.A., but after becoming naturalised had returned to his native land. Otto Kahn was educated in Germany and trained in the profession of banking in his father's house. Then he entered the London branch of the Deutsche Bank where he remained for five years, until in 1893 he went to New York. For two years he was with Speyer & Company, and after his marriage to a daughter of Abraham Wolff, of New York, he joined the firm of Kuhn Loeb & Company. He took an active part in railway development, in association with Edward H. Harriman. Throughout his life he was interested in art and music, making a notable collection of paintings at great cost and being a generous supporter of the Metropolitan Opera House. He was for long a naturalised British subject, and at one time had ambitions to become a member of Parliament. But finally he realised that he was at heart an American, and in 1917 he became a citizen of the United States. When the war broke out he offered St. Dunstan's, his house in Regent's Park, to the Government free of all expense ; it remained the headquarters of the blind ox-soldiers until 1928. In 1918 he was made a Commander of the Legion of Honour ; in 1919 a Commander of the Crown of Belgium; in 1921 a Grand Officer of the Crown of Italy; in 1923 an officer, SS. Maurizio and Lazaro. He was also a Knight of the Order of Charles II. of Spain, and had the third class of the Order of the Rising Sun of Japan. The degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by several American Universities. He married in 1896, and had two sons and two daughters.

30. The Rev. Robert Forman Horton, D.D., a distinguished Free Churchman, was bom on September 18, 1855, and educated at New College, Oxford.

In 1877 he was a member of his College boat, and in due time he became President of the Union. After a brilliant academic record, he was elected a Fellow of his College (1879), and was Lecturer on History there until 1883. He had thoughts of the Bar or politics as a career, but his future was determined when, in 1880, ho was asked to preach to a new congregation which was being formed in Hampstead. He did not immediately leave Oxford, and while lecturing on Roman History, in 1881, he used to return to Hampstead once a month for preaching. He was ordained in 1883, and in 1884 Lyndhurst Road Church was formally opened. Horton was minister there until 1930. His conspicuous combination of University culture and evangelical fervour brought him within a few years into prominence in religious circles. In 1893 he went to America to deliver the Lyman Beecher Lectures on Preaching at the Divinity School in Yale University. Sixteen years later he spoke at Hartford College, Connecticut, and in 1916 he visited America again when he addressed the Quadrennial Convention of Students at Kansas City. He was elected Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales in 1903, and in 1905 President of the National Free Church Council. In 1918 he married Isabel Violet Basden, daughter of one of the oldest members of Lyndhurst Road. She and a daughter survived him.

30 Lord Novar (Ronald Craufurd Munro-Ferguson), Governor-General of Australia, was born on March 6, 1860. He was educated privately, mainly at home, and eventually he went to Sandhurst, joining the Grenadier Guards in 1880. In 1884 he was elected as Liberal member for Ross and Cromarty. That was the beginning of his Parliamentary career as a Liberal Imperialist. In 1886 he became private secretary to Lord Rosebery at the Foreign Office, and went to India with him. Upon Mr. Asquith's recommendation he was appointed, in 1914, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in the Commonwealth of Australia, and he was made G.C.M.G. By his knowledge and enthusiasm he encouraged the afforestation of the country, and the more general use of Australian timber. His term of office was due to end in 1919, but it was extended for a year in order that he might receive the Prince of Wales. On his return to England m 1920 he was created a Viscount. In 1922 he was appointed Secretary for Scotland. He received the honorary degree of LL.D. of Edinburgh University in 1922, and the Freedom of Edinburgh in 1923. After 1924 he did not hold any political office, but in 1925 he accepted the Chairmanship of the Political Honours Review Committee. In 1926 he was created K.T. In 1923 he registered a company for the administration of his estates. He married, in 1888, Lady Helen Blackwood, but there was no issue, and the title became extinct.

APRIL.

1. The Right Rev. Edward Ctithbert Butler, D.D., D.Lltt., M.A., titular Abbot of St. Albans and formerly Abbot of Downside, was born at Dublin in 1858, educated at Downside School, professed as a monk of that monastery in 1877, and ordained priest in 1884. Butler graduated at the University of London, while actively engaged in teaching at Downside, of which school he became headmaster in 1888. Later he was appointed superior of Benet House at Cambridge, and there was awarded a research degree for his edition of the " Lausiac History of Palladium" From 1906 to 1922 he was Abbot of Downside. He enjoyed a world-wide reputation as an authority on Benedictine origins, and on the Rule. In 1914 he became Abbot-President of the English Black Monks of Saint Benedict, a post he retained until 1921. His published works include a critical edition of the " Holy Rule of Saint Benedict" (1912), " Benedictine Monachism " (1919), " Western Mysticism " (1922), " The Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne" (1926), "The Vatican Council" (1930), "Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit" (1930), and "Ways of Christian Life " (1932). In 1908 he received the honorary degree of D.Litt. from Trinity College, Dublin, and in 1933, that of D.D. from the General Chapter of the

English Benedictine Congregation. From 1922 he formed one of the community of Ealing Priory, during which time he became well known as a preacher in the churches of London, and in the open air at Hyde Park.

3. **Admiral Sir** Arthur **William Moore** was born on July 30, 1847, entered the Navy as a cadet in 1860, became a lieutenant in 1870, and in 1871 was appointed to the frigate *Glasgow,* flagship of the Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies. While there he was awarded the bronze medal of the Royal Humane Society for rescuing an ordinary seaman of the ship who fell overboard. In 1877 he became first lieutenant of the corvette *Charybdis* in China. After seeing active service in the Egyptian War, he was Flag-Captain in the *Bacchante* in the East Indies (1885-88). In 1889 he was sent as one of the British representatives to the Anti-Slavery Congress at Brussels. In 1890-91 he served as a member of the Australian Defence Commission, and was made a C.M.G. From 1898 to 1901 he was Fourth Sea Lord, being promoted meanwhile to Rear-Admiral on January 13, 1899. Dating from February 11, 1901, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief at the Cape. In his flagship, the cruiser *Gibraltar,* he was actively concerned in the concluding phases of the South African War. In 1902 he was promoted K.C.B., having been made C.B. at the Diamond Jubilee of 1897. Ho became a Vice-Admiral, and was appointed in 1905 as Second-in-Command of the Channel Fleet with his flag in the battleship *Cæsar.* In 1905 he was created K.C.V.O., and in the following year he became Commander-in-Chief in China, being relieved on October 10, 1907, after his promotion to Admiral. His last appointment was as Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth from March, 1911, to July, 1912, when he was retired for age. In the Coronation Honours List he was promoted G.C.B., and after the inspection of the Fleet on June 24, 1911, King George made him G.C.V.O.

4. Professor Sydney Howard Vines, F.R.S., Emeritus Professor of Botany at Oxford, was born on December 31, 1849, and educated at Guy's Hospital (1869-72), and Christ's College, Cambridge, of which he was elected Fellow and Lecturer in 1876, a position he retained till 1888. During these years he was in the forefront of the new generation of Cambridge scientists. From 1883 until his appointment to the Sherardian Professorship at Oxford in 1888 he held the Cambridge University Readership m Botany. The method of studying Botany had undergone a radical change, due largely to Professor Sachs, of Wurzburg, in whose laboratory Vines had worked, and much of the pioneer work in England was done by Vines. In 1882 ho published the second English edition of Sachs' text-book on botany. In 1888 he came to Oxford as Professor of Botany, retiring from the Chair in 1919. Vines published " Lectures on the Physiology of Plants " (1886), and " A Student's Text-Book of Botany " (1895). He also served as co-editor of the " Annals of Botany " from 1887 to 1899. He was not only a theoretic botanist but knew and grew plants and flowers himself with skill and enjoyment. He was a D.Sc. of London as well as of Cambridge, was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society at the age of 36, and was President of the Linnean Society in 1904. Vines was a fair Classical scholar, and an excellent musician. He married, in 1884, Agnes Bertha Perry, and had two SODS and one daughter.

11. **The Hon. John Collier,** distinguished painter, was born on January 27, 1850, the second son of the first Lord Monkswell. After four years at Eton he went abroad to study French and German with the intention of entering the Diplomatic Service, but instead went into the office of Sir John Pender, of the cable firm, whose trade-mark of the flying horse Collier designed. He studied art at the Slade School, and in Paris and Munich. To the general public Collier was famous chiefly for his " problem pictures," such as " The Cheat," " The Death Sentence," " The Return of the Prodigal," and " The Fallen Idol" ; story-telling compositions which still left something to the ingenuity rather than the imagination of the spectator. He himself disliked the term *' problem

picture," and in 1920 when he gave " The Fallen Idol " to be sold for the benefit of St. Dunstan's, he said : " They are nothing of the kind. The ones that have been so termed merely depict little tragedies of modern life, and I have always endeavoured to make their meaning perfectly plain. If I ever again paint a picture of modern life, which is doubtful, I shall give it a title a yard long, setting forth the life history of the characters and, if necessary, their names and addresses." He was also famous for his portraiture. Among his best portraits were W. K. Clifford, Darwin, Huggins, Huxley, and Dr. John Clifford, in the National Portrait Gallery. He was Vice-President of the Royal Society of Portrait Painters, and author of " A Primer of Art" and "A Manual of Oil Painting." He gave much time and support to such causes as Rationalism and Divorce Law Reform. His first marriage was to Marian, daughter of Professor Huxley ; she died soon after the birth of a daughter. In 1889 ho married his first wife's sister, Ethel, in Norway, by whom he had one son and one daughter. This marriage was regularised in England by the passing of the Deceased Wife's Sister Act of 1907.

11. Sir Gerald du Maurier, actor, manager, and producer, was born on Maich 26, 1873, the second son of George du Maurier, the artist and novelist. Educated at Harrow, he wont on the stage, his first engagement being with John Hare, the manager of the newly-built Garrick Theatre, where he played Fritz in Sydney Grundy's play, *An Old Jew.* His apprenticeship included a tour with Johnston Forbes-Robertson in *The Profligate* and in *Diplomacy,* and some three years with Beerbohm Tree at Her Majesty's Theatre, and in America. In 1900 he played Sir Sandford Cleeve with Mrs. Patrick Campbell in *The Notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith,* and Hugh Ardale in *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray.* At the Duke of York's Theatre under Charles Frohman in 1902 du Maurier played Ernest Woolley in Barrie's *The Admirable Crichton,* scoring a great success. Thereafter Barrie's plays afforded him opportunities lor establishing his reputation. In 1904 he created both Captain Hook and Mr. Darling in *Peter Pan.* In 1908 came one of his best parts, John Shand, in *What Every Woman Knows.* In 1916 during his management of Wyndham's Theatre he produced *A Kiss for Cinderella,* and played the Policeman and the Prince. In 1917 he gave a memorable performance of Mi. Dearth in *Dear Brutus.* Next to his Barrie successes were his dashing hero (or sympathetic villain) parts—*Raffles* (1906), *Brewster's Millions* (1907), *Arsene Lupin* (1909), *Bull-Dog Drummond* (1921). Another part in which he excelled showed him as the man of the world. Such parts were Henry Beauclerc in *Diplomacy,* Sir Hubert Ware in *The Ware Case, The Dancers* (which he wrote in collaboration with Miss Viola Tree), and in *The Last of Mrs. Cheyney* (1925) and *Interference* (1927), he was able to continue the vein best suited to his middle age. Particularly beautiful was his performance of the middle-aged lover in *Behold We Live* (1932). For fifteen years, 1910-25, he was manager, with Frank Curzon, of Wyndham's Theatre, and produced every play that was staged there. In his later years he turned his attention to the cinema, playing the German doctor in *1 Was A Spy,* and the valet of the Emperor in *Catherine the Great.* His last part was in *Jew Suss,* which was completed just before he was taken ill. For the theatrical charities he worked hard, being at various times President of the Actors' Orphanage and of the Actors' Benevolent Fund. He was knighted in 1921. Du Maurier was a keen lawn tennis player and the first President of the Stage Golfing Society. In 1903 he married the actress, Muriel Beaumont, who, with three daughters, survived him.

— George Spencer Watson, R.A., portrait painter, was born on March 8, 1869, and educated at Merchant Taylors' School, receiving his artistic training at the Royal Academy Schools, where he was Landseer scholar and silver medallist. He began to exhibit at the Academy at an early age, but his first great success was in 1919 with " The Donkey Ride," a large composition in a holiday mood, containing portraits of his wife (Hilda Gardiner) and daughter, accompanied by a dog. The scene was Dorset where he had his second home. In 1923 he was

elected as Associate of the Royal Academy, and in the same year he exhibited one of his most satisfying portraits, " Miss Mullock." From time to time he contributed subject pictures to the Academy—" The Three Wise Kings " and " The Story of Creation " (1920), " The Judgment of Paris " (1932) and " The Birth of Venus" (1933). But he was chiefly known as a portrait painter, some of his best portraits being those of '* The late Paul Waterhouse " (1926), "Sir Francis Lacey " (1931), and "Ernest Sanger, Esq., Chairman of L.C.C., 1931-3l." A few days before he died he attended the presentation at the Westminster Guildhall of his portrait of Sir Montagu Sharpe, K.C., Chairman of the Middlesex Sessions. In 1932 he became full R.A., his diploma work being a portrait of his daughter " Mary," exhibited in the Academy of that year, together with a portrait of his wife. His chief interests in life were aptly summed up in the title of a picture he exhibited at the Academy in 1922 : " Four Loves —I found a Woman, a Child, a Horse, and a Hound." He was honorary treasurer of the Royal Society of Portrait Painters.

17. **Charles James Longman,** publisher, was the second son of William Longman, who, with Thomas Longman IV., controlled the house of Longmans, Green & Company during the Macaulay epoch. He was born on April 14, 1852, and was educated at Harrow and University College, Oxford. Entering the publishing firm at 22 he succeeded his father in 1877, when William Longman died. Although his cousin, Thomas Norton Longman, became head of the house in 1879, Charles Longman for many years took the most active part in all the leading enterprises of tho firm, being personally responsible for such undertakings as the Badminton Library, the Andrew Lang Fairy Book series, the " Political History of England," and " The English Historical Review." He was editor of *Longmans' Magazine* from its first number in 1882 to the final volume in 1905. The causerie by Andrew Lang, " At the Sign of the Ship," which gave the magazine its distinctive note, was one of the editor's own ideas. Andrew Lang was among the foremost of his literary friends, and appointed him his executor. Another author who became a personal friend was Rider Haggard, who paid a touching tribute to him at the bicentenary celebrations of the House of Longman in 1924. Fond of all sports, he developed the keenest interest in archery and won the championship of England in 1883. He was joint author of " Archery " in the Badminton Library, 1894. He took an active interest in the general welfare of publishing and bookselling, acting as the first President of the Publishers' Association of Great Britain and Ireland, founded in 1896. He was again President in 1897, 1902, and 1903. He was also President for many years of the Booksellers' Provident Institution. He married, in 1880, Harriet, second daughter of the late Sir John Evans, F.R.S., and had two sons and two daughters.

18. **John Dove,** editor of the *Round Tahle* review (1920-34), was bom in 1873, and educated at Rugby and New College, Oxford. Thence he went to the Bar, but in 1903, when his friend Lionel Curtis was relinquishing his position as Town Clerk of Johannesburg, Dove applied for the post of assistant to his successor, and served for several years, first as Assistant Town Clerk, and then as Town Clerk of Johannesburg. He was next appointed Chairman of the Land Settlement Board of the Transvaal. The work was highly congenial, but it proved exhausting to one who suffered from the effects of a hunting accident in his youth, and in 1911 he finally returned to England, incapacitated for a time from continuous activity. On his recovery he became editor of the *Round Table,* and it was generally acknowledged that he maintained the standard of the review at a level which won universal admiration.

27. **Sir George Herbert Duckworth,** Secretary to the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, was born on March 5, 1868, and educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. For ten years (1892-1902) he was a private secretary (unpaid) to Charles Booth, and later to Sir Austen Chamberlain when

Postmaster-General and Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1908 Duckworth was appointed to the post with which his name is principally associated, that of Secretary to the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), from which he retired in 1933. During the war he was associated with the Ministry of Munitions as deputy director of finance, controller of Labour finance, and controller of munitions housing schemes. In 1924 he was appointed by the Home Secretary the English member of the Irish Land Trust to provide cottages and land for ex-service men in Ireland under the Act of Settlement, and was elected the first Chairman by his fellow-trustees. He was a member of the Royal Commission on London Squares and Open Spaces in 1927, and a member of the advisory committee on the New Survey of London Life and Labour appointed in 1929 to continue the work of Charles Booth. He was also honorary treasurer of the Royal Archaeological Institute. For twenty-one years he was Chairman of the Wine Committee of the Travellers' Club, and to Sir Almeric FitzRoy's history of the club he contributed an interesting chapter on the art and science of tho wine cellar. He was also a member of the Dilettante Club. He was made a C.B. in 1919 and knighted in 1927. He married, in 1904, Lady Margaret Herbert, daughter of the fourth Earl of Carnarvon, and had three sons.

27 Richard Colllngham Wallhead, Labour M.P. for Merthyr Tydfil, was born in London on December 28, 1869, educated at an elementary school and became a clerk m the service of the Great Eastern Railway. Later he trained as a decorative craftsman and designer. From 1906 to 1921 he was manager of tho *Labour Leader* in Manchester, where for a time he was a member of the City Council. In 1909 he had become a member of the I.L.P. National Council, and in 1920 was elected Chairman, retaining that office for three successive years. After unsuccessfully contesting Coventry in 1918, he was elected for Merthyr Tydfil (Koir Hardie's old scat) in 1921. In 1933 he resigned his membership of the I.L.P. on the ground that the party's acceptance of the policy of " physical force revolution " was more than he could endure. Always a pacifist, he was sentenced in 1917 to four months' imprisonment under the Defence of the Realm Act for a speech delivered in South Wales, but was released after serving two months. He represented the I.L.P. on the British Labour delegation which in 1920 investigated conditions in Russia, when he met Lenin, and again in 1926 ho headed a party of M.P.'s who went to report on opportunities for reciprocal trade. For some years he was a member of the executive of the Labour and Socialist International. Apart from politics he was well known in Welwyn Garden City (his home) as a successful rose-grower. He married Ellen Staines, and had a son and two daughters.

30. Charles Robert Leslie Fletcher, a distinguished teacher of history, was born in 1857, and educated at Eton and Magdalen College, Oxford, where he obtained a first class in Modern History in 1880, and won the Chancellor's prize for an English essay on " The Development of English Prose Style " in 1881. In the autumn of that year he was elected a Fellow of All Souls College. In 1889 he roturned to Magdalen as Fellow and Tutor in Modern History, retiring in 1906. As lecturer his methods were unconventional; ho would frequently deliver his discourse with the college cat in his arms. He had a passion for cats and his mantelpiece was adorned with them in wood and china. His attitude to most questions was extremely conservative ; it was said, for example, that no woman was ever admitted to his lectures. During his tutorship at Magdalen College he produced " Gustavus Adolphus " (1890), and an annotated edition of Carlyle's " French Revolution " (1902). In 1912-14 he published two volumes on "The Making of Western Europe," in which he sketched the fortunes of " The Children of the Roman Empire " to the year 1190. His popular fame as a writer will rest on his " Introductory History of England," the first volume of which appeared in 1905, and the last in 1923, and on the almost better known " School History of England," written in collaboration with Rudyard Kipling in 1911. He took an active part in the work of the Clarendon Press, of which

he was a Perpetual Delegate. He married, in 1885, Katherine Merry, daughter of the Rector of Lincoln College, and had three sons. The two younger ones were killed in action during the war.

30. **Professor William Henry Welch,** pioneer American pathologist and bacteriologist, was born on April 8, 1850. After graduating at Yale he obtained his medical training at the Columbia Medical School, and spent the years 1876 to 1887 at various Universities in Germany, learning experimental pathology, and the newly developing science of bacteriology, which he introduced into the United States with such success that he was appointed Pathologist, and the first Dean of the medical school at the Johns Hopkins Hospital when it opened in 1889. As a pathologist his name was given to the *Bacterium Welchii*, the cause of the deadly gas gangrene so greatly feared in military hospitals during the war. In 1916 he turned his attention to public health, was the first Director of the School of Hygiene and Public Health at Baltimore, and a member of the International Health Board. In 1929 " The William H. Welch Memorial Medical Library " was formed for the use of students attending the Johns Hopkins Hospital. In 1926 he was elected Professor of the History of Medicine in the Johns Hopkins University, holding the Chair until 1932, when he retired, and was appointed Professor Emeritus. He received honorary degrees from some thirteen American and Canadian universities, including the D.Sc. of Cambridge, and he was honorary Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh. When his eightieth birthday was being celebrated internationally, President Hoover said of him that he had contributed more than any other American to the relief of suffering, and one of Welch's pupils, Dr. Simon Flexner, Director of the Rockefeller Institute, wrote : " I n the short span of a lifetime he has raised medicine in the United States from a beneficent art to an expanding science." He was unmarried.

MAY.

16. **Sir Heath Harrison,** Bt., university benefactor, was born on October 1, 1857, and educated at Malvern College and Brasenose College, Oxford, of which he was elected an honorary Fellow in 1926. In 1907 he founded the first two Heath Harrison Exhibitions at Brasenose College for commoners from sixteen of the chief public schools. In the same year he founded one exhibition for a member of Malvern College, and in 1925 he added a second. In 1919 he established at Oxford his travelling scholarships in modern languages, twelve or thirteen scholarships being awarded annually in French, German, Italian, and Spanish. With his brother, Frederic Harrison and J. W. Hughes, he gave to Liverpool University the Harrison-Hughes engineering laboratories. In 1915 he presented 10,000/. to Liverpool University to endow the Chair of Organic Chemistry. Among other gifts of his were 5,000/. for playing fields for Portsmouth Grammar School and a motor lifeboat at Ramsey, Isle of Man. Sir Heath Harrison, who was created a baronet in 1917, was a county magistrate, a county councillor from 1901 to 1912, an alderman from 1913 to 1927 and High Sheriff in 1916. He married in 1882, but there was no issue and the baronetcy became extinct.

17. **Cass Gilbert,** American architect, was born on November 24, 1859, and educated at Macalester College, Minneapolis, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. After travelling in Europe and Egypt he began practice in a small way, employing a free personal style and using local materials in houses, schools, and churches for which he was commissioned in the state of Minnesota. He was both architect and executive, able to direct staffs and carry out his own designs. His range and versatility were extraordinary. Like his old master Stanford White he was attached to no traditional style. The Woolworth Building in New York *is* an example of free Gothic, while many of his other works incorporated classical and Renaissance elements, such as his Art Museum at

St. Louis, the Waterbury National Bank at Connecticut, and the Federal Reserve Bank at Minneapolis. His ability in the handling of material was shown in the United States Army supply base at Brooklyn, a simple concrete building, beautiful in form and composition. In the Endicott Building and the State Capitol at St. Louis he used sixteenth century Italian Renaissance, and Italian decorative details in the Brazer Building and Broadway Chambers. In the latter he introduced colour in the decorative design of the exterior. In the Custom House and the Post Office, New York, he employed conventional classical architecture, while in his competitive designs for the McKinley Memorial at Canton, Ohio, he combined the Greek-Doric Order with Roman forms. In the Boston Stock Exchange there was evidence of French training, yet the effect is essentiaUy native and American. He was an honorary corresponding member of the Royal Institute of British Architects and of the Royal Academy. He was President of the National Academy of Design, of the American Institute of Architects, and of the Architectural League of New York. He also held many honorary degrees and was a knight of the Legion of Honour. He married, in 1887, Miss Julia Finch, and had a son and two daughters.

24. The Right Hon. Viscount Sumner, Q.C.B. (John Andrew Hamilton), a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, 1913-30, was born on February 3, 1859, the second son of a Manchester iron merchant and Frances Sumner (hence his title). He was educated at Manchester Grammar School and Balhol College, Oxford, and was elected in 1882 to a Fellowship at Magdalen College, whicli he retained until 1889. Called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1883, he had to wait several years before he began to make an income. In the interval he kept himself by teaching and journalism, and from the first he was a contributor to the " Dictionary of National Biography," his articles continuing regularly until 1896. By the time he took silk in 1901 he was one of the busiest juniors. In 1909 ho was selected to fill the vacancy in the King's Bench Division caused by the promotion of Bigham (afterwards Lord Mersey), and in 1912 he was appointed to the Court of Appeal. After a year he was selected (in October, 1913) one of the two additional Lords of Appeal in Ordinary, appointed under the Appellate Jurisdiction Act, 1913, and as Lord Sumner of Ibstone, took his seat as a lite peer in the House of Lords and in the Privy Council. Many famous judgments are associated with his name, and all of them were marked by their exhaustiveness and lucidity, combined with an attractive literary style. In 1918 he was appointed Chairman of the Working Classes Cost of Living Committee. He was also Chairman of the British and Foreign Legal Procedure Committee, but the most important work with which he was entrusted was as a member of the British Delegation to the Reparations Commission of the Peace Conference. For these services he was made a G.C.B. In 1921 he presided over the Royal Commission on Compensation for Suffering and Damage by Enemy Action. After retiring from the Bench he became President of the India Defence League in opposition to the White Paper; he had been President of its predecessor, the Indian Empire Society. He had a wide interest in literature and was something of a connoisseur in art. Oxford, of which he was Standing Counsel from 1906 to his elevation to the Bench, made him honorary D.C.L. in 1920. He was also honorary LL.D. of Cambridge, Edinburgh, and Manchester. He was created a viscount in 1927. He married, in 1892, Maude Margaret Todd, but there was no issue of the marriage.

24. Brand Whitlock, American Minister to Belgium during the Great War, was born on March 4, 1869. After being a reporter and political correspondent on the *Chicago Herald* he practised law at Toledo, of which for several years he was mayor. In 1913 he became Minister to Belgium, and during the Great War he rendered splendid service to the Belgian people as their protector against the German invaders. In gratitude the Belgians conferred on him honours which are seldom paid by one nation to an individual of another. The Belgian Parliament met in special Session to pay him public thanks. A boulevard in the capital was named after him, and the large cities of the country created him an honorary

burgess. The story of his activities was told by **Mr.** Whitlock in his book " Memories of Belgium Under the German Occupation." When the war ended he was raised to the rank of Ambassador and remained at Brussels until 1921. In politics he was a radical, favouring a system of single tax as befitted an ardent follower of the teaching of Henry George. He was also a graceful writer in several fields of literature. His books include " The Thirteenth District" (1892), " The Turn of the Balance " (1907), " Her Infinite Variety " (1904), " J. Harlin and Son " (1923), and " Forty Years of It," an account of his life and political creed. He wrote biographies of La Fayette and Abraham Lincoln, and in " Narcissus " he gave a vivid study of Van Dyke and Rubens. He received many honours in America, including the gold medal of the National Institute of Social Service. He married, in 1895, Ella Brainerd, niece of Senator Palmer, who had started him *on* his legal studies in Springfield, Illinois.

25. **Gustave Theodore Hoist,** composer and teacher of music, was born on September 21, 1874, at Cheltenham, where his father was an organist. Though of Swedish ancestry, both his mother and his grandmother were Englishwomen. Young Hoist entered the Royal College of Music in 1893, but neuritis, a life-long source of trouble, caused his abandonment of a career as pianist and organist. His marriage in 1901 was responsible for his taking up teaching. In 1903 he became music master at Edward Alleyn School, Dulwich, and at St. Paul's Girls' School from 1905 until his death. His female voice part-songs, written for St. Paul's, were among the first things to bring his name into concert programmes. More striking was his educational work at the Morley College for Working Men and the Passmorc Edwards Settlement, where he built up large classes and organised perfoimances of unfamiliar works. In 1919 he joined the staff of the Royal College of Music as a teacher of composition, and from 1919 to 1923 was director of music at University College, Reading. His interest in folk-song bore fruit in " Two Songs Without Words " (1906), the Somerset Rhapsody, and many choral arrangements. Meanwhile he found inspiration of a different character in the study of Sanskrit literature. *Savitri,* a chamber opera on an Oriental subject to a text by Hoist himself, shows his style in its perfection, but the best known of these " Sanskrit" works are the seven sets of " Hymns from the Rig Veda." " Tho Hymn of Jesus " (1917), a bigger work, shows his understanding of Eastern mysticism, though in this case the text is from the apocryphal " Acts of St. John." This work, first performed by the Philharmonic Choir under Charles Kennedy Scott in 1920, immediately placed its composer in the front rank. The foreign influence of a holiday in Algiers in 1908 was productive of his first outstanding success, the " Bcni Mora" suite (1909). Between 1914 and 1916 he was composing his greatest work, " The Planets." *The Perfect Fool,* which had been in his mind for fifteen years, was completed in 1921 and produced by the British National Opera Company in 1923. *At the Boar's Head* (1924) was founded on old English melodies. In both operas Hoist was his own librettist. The choral " Ode to Death " was written for the Leeds festival of 1922, and the First Choral Symphony for the same festival in 1925. In 1927 Cheltenham organised two concerts of Hoist's works, and a year later " Egdon Heath," an orchestral tribute to Thomas Hardy, was performed for the first time there. His last orchestral piece was " Hammersmith," an eerie picture of dim backgrounds. He married, in 1901, Miss Isobel Harrison and had one daughter.

30. **Sir Henry** Robert Conway Dobbs, O.B.E., K.C.S.I., K.C.M.Q., K.C.I.E., formerly High Commissioner for Iraq, was born on August 26, 1871, and educated at Winchester and Brasenose College, Oxford. He entered the Indian Civil Service in 1892, and for twenty-two years obtained a good deal of experience in many capacities—as a magistrate, consul, and political agent. Soon after the Great War broke out he was put on special duty as Commissioner of Revenue, Basra. He was, in fact, the Political Officer with the Expeditionary Force, supervising the civil administration and creating the Tribal, Civil, and Criminal Disputes Regulations, which were of great assistance in shaping the new ad-

ministration. He returned to India in 1916, spent a few months as Revenue and Judicial Commissioner, and then was given charge in 1917 of the Baluchistan Administration. In 1919 he was appointed Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, and after the Third Afghan War was the chief British representative at the Indo-Afghan Conference at Mussorie in 1920. In 1922 he went to Bagdad to take over temporarily the duties of High Commissioner in Iraq. A year later he became High Commissioner. During his term of office, which lasted until 1929, one Constituent Assembly and two Parliaments were elected, six different Cabinets were called to power, and three treaties were concluded with Britain, one with Turkey and one with Nejd, in all of which he helped the Iraq Government. He married, in 1907, Esme Agnes Rivaz, eldest daughter of Mr. George Rivaz. I.C.S., and had two sons and two daughters.

30. Admiral Helhachiro Togo, O.M. (created a Marquis on his death-bed), was born in December, 1847, the son of a humble *samurai,* and began his sea service at the age of 16 on board a warship belonging to his feudal chief, transferring to the Imperial Navy in 1868. In 1871, with fourteen other young officers, he was sent to England to study the art and science of warfare, joining the nautical school ship *Worcester* in the Thames. Little was heard of him until 1894, when he was in command of the *Naniwa,* one of Japan's crack cruisers, which sank the *Kowshing,* a British vessel chartered to the Chinese Government as a troop transport. Nobody had expected such a display of resolution by an officer seemingly so insignificant, and when the war with China closed he was promoted to rear-admiral, and received the coveted Order of the Golden Kite. The next nine years were for him uneventful, so that when war broke out with Russia in 1904 the public felt some surprise to find Vice-Admiral Togo in command of the combined squadrons of the Japanese Navy. After the war he became the idol of his country. In 1907 he was made Chief of the Naval Staff, and received the First Class of the Golden Kite, with the title of Count, ultimately becoming Admiral of the Fleet. His modesty and simplicity of life were noteworthy. In 1906 King Edward conferred upon him the Order of Merit.

JUNE.

3. Frederick Scott Oliver, historian and business man, was born in 1864, and was educated at George Watson's College and Trinity College, Cambridge. He was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1889, but soon afterwards, through the agency of his friend Ernest Debcnham, he entered the firm of Debenham & Freebody, and was largely responsible for its development. He was also a director of the Hudson Bay Company. Throughout his commercial career he maintained an interest in literature and public affairs, and as a student of Burke and Alexander Hamilton his mind was occupied with the question of the development of the British Empire. During Chamberlain's tariff reform campaign in 1903 he wrote the " Letters of John Draper," addressed to the Bishop of Hereford, which were among the best controversial literature of the period. In 1906 appeared his " Life of Alexander Hamilton," which had a direct influence on the group who carried through the Union of South Africa. From his friendship with Sir Horace Plunkett he developed a keen interest in the Irish question. For long he believed that a federal scheme would solve the problem, and he expounded his views in a pamphlet under the pseudonym of " Pacificus." He was a close student of military matters, and supported Lord Roberts in his scheme for national service. In 1915 he published " Ordeal by Battle," his text being that in modern warfare not only armies needed to be disciplined but whole nations. After the Armistice, owing to ill-health, he spent much time on his estate at Edgerston in the Cheviots, engaged in the pursuits of a Border laird, and working at a history of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which was intended to show the origin of contemporary movements and institutions in Britain.

Ultimately he narrowed his purpose to a study of Sir Robert Walpole, whom he regarded as the typical English politician, and in 1930 the first part appeared entitled "The Endless Adventure," and the second part in 1931 (see ANNUAL REGISTER for each of these years for notices of the volumes). They furnish perhaps the best account of the age of Walpole, and are written in a distinctly attractive style by a man who combined learning, business, and a broad outlook in life. He married, in 1893, his cousin, Katharine Augusta, daughter of the late Lord McLaren, a Senator of the College of Justice, in Scotland, and had two sons and one daughter.

5. Sir Walter Robert Buchanan-Rlddell, Bt., Principal of Hertford College, Oxford, 1922-29, was born on April 21, 1879, and educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. His first academic work was the teaching of history at Hertford College. From 1908 to 1912 he held the office of Dean, his name becoming generally known in Oxford as private secretary to Lord Curzon, the Chancellor, engaged in collecting information bearing on University Reform. In 1912, partly because of rheumatism which he could not shake *oft* in the damp climate of Oxford, he entered the Board of Education as an examiner. At the outbreak of the war he obtained a commission in a cyclist Territorial battalion of the Hampshire Regiment, which went to India and remained there throughout the war. After the Armistice he went with his battalion to Siberia wheie, he said, the Arctic winter cured him of his rheumatism. On being demobilised he became secretary to the University Grants Committee, where he gained his unique knowledge of the working oi British Universities. In 1922 he was appointed Principal of Hertford College, and played an important part in the administration of the University, as well as in making his college one of the most efficient in Oxford. In 1930 he became Chairman oi the University Grants Committee. In 1933 he was elected by the Trustees of the Mineis' Weliare National Scholarship Scheme as Chairman of the Selection Committee. He was also Chairman of the British Committee of Award of the Commonwealth Fund Fellowships. He married, in 1919, the Hon. Rachel Lyttelton, who survived him with four daughters and a son.

6. Sir Edward Maurice Hill, Judge in Admiralty, was born on January 8, 1862, and educated at Haileybury and Balliol College, Oxford. Called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1888, he built up a solid commercial practice which he developed after taking silk in 1910, and by the time he was raised to the Bench he was regarded as the greatest expert in marine insurance law. Before the war, Hill, with his brother, Sir Norman, an outstanding figure in the shipping industry, drafted the legal forms necessary to operate at short notice a national scheme of war risk insurance, and at the outbreak of the war he rendered great assistance to the shipping industry in launching the scheme which contributed to save the country from food shortage. Although in great demand in the Prize Court he gave a large part of his time to service as Chairman of the Ship Licensing Committee, whose work in the first years oi the war facilitated the organisation of the Ministry of Shipping. In 1917 he was appointed a Judge of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division. One of the greatest public services which Sir Maurice rendered to international commerce was on the question of State immunity. In a series of cases, of which the best known was the Porto Alexandre, he drew attention to the evil economic effects involved in the denial of justice to private citizens by Governments claiming sovereign immunity from legal liabilities of various kinds in respect of maritime property. It was Sir Maurice who first invited international discussion of the question which was taken up by the Comite Maritime International, and afterwards by the International Shipping Conference and the International Chamber of Commerce, and finally regulated in an international convention. The most famous trial in divorce over which he presided was the first hearing of Russell v. Russell. He retired from the Bench in 1930. He married, in 1891, Berta Hadwen (who died in 1924), and left two sons.

6. **Dr. Theophilus Goldridge Pinches, LL.D., M.R.A.S.,** an authority on Assyriology, was born in 1856. He began the study of Assyrian in 1875, and entered the service of the British Museum in 1878, remaining there until he retired in 1900. He also held the posts of Lecturer in Assyrian at University College, London, and the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology. He was associated with the Society of Biblical Archaeology, the Royal Asiatic Society, the Societe Asiatique of Paris, and the Victoria Institute. Pinches was a student not only of the Assyrio-Babylonian and Sumerian languages but also of Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, and Ethiopic. His "Texts in the Babylonian Wedge Writing" (1882) and "Selected Texts from Kouyunjik" (1894), were among the pioneer works in providing original matter for students in cheap and easily accessible form. His "Outline of Assyrian Grammar" (1910) is compact, clear, and illuminating. Of works of more popular appeal may be mentioned "Religion of Babylonia and Assyria" (1906) and "Old Testament in the Light of Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia" (1908). His monographs and papers were numerous; some of them were printed on his own press.

10. **Frederick Dell** us, composer, was born in Bradford on January 29, 1863, of German and Dutch parents, who wished him to follow a mercantile career. He entered his father's business in the wool trade in 1879, but showed no aptitude for the work, and in 1883 he resolved to devote himself entirely to music, for which as a child he had displayed a remarkable faculty. His father would not allow this, and as an alternative sent him to an orange plantation in Florida. In 1886 he returned to Europe, first to study music at Leipzig, and then to live in Paris. His first composition to be performed in public was played at Monte Carlo in 1893. In 1899 a concert of Delius's music was given in London, but it was not until about 1907 that Sir Thomas Beecham, as conductor of the New Symphony Orchestra, placed the orchestral works of Delius in the forefront of his programmes, playing such pieces as "Bngg Fair," "Paris," "Over the Hills," and "Appalachia." Sir Henry Wood gave the first performance of the piano concerto in C minor at a Promenade Concert in 1907, and introduced "Sea Drift" in the Sheffield Festival programme in 1908. Delius was invited to conduct his "Dance Rhapsody" at a Hereford Festival (1909), and from that time onward his works were found with increasing frequency in London concert rooms, occasionally at Covent Garden, where Beecham produced the opera, *A Village Borneo and Juliet,* and at the larger provincial festivals. In 1909 Beecham gave one performance of Delius's most important choral work, *A Mass of Life,* but it was not until 1925, when Paul Klenau revived it at a concert of the Royal Philharmonic Society, that English people realised its strength and originality. In 1922 the Philharmonic Society produced *Requiem.* In 1932 he received the freedom of Bradford. In his last years, in spite of total blindness and partial paralysis, which began in 1923 while engaged on the composition of incidental music for "Hassan," Delius was able to take up composition again through the assiduity of Mr. Eric Fenby, a young musician from Yorkshire, who went to his home at Grez-sur-Loing in order to act as his amanuensis. The choral *Songs of Farewell,* produced in London at one of the Courtauld-Sargent Concerts, were the product of this co-operation. Delius was created a Companion of Honour in 1929, and received the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters from the University of Leeds. He married Jelka Rosen, the painter.

18. **Dr. Arthur Surrldge Hunt,** Professor of Papyrology at Oxford, was born on March 1, 1871, and educated at Queen's College, Oxford, where a first class in Classical Moderations was followed by the Aubrey Moore studentship, the Craven Fellowship, and a senior demyship of Magdalen College. His friend, Dr. B. P. Grenfell, directed Hunt's attention to the possibilities offered by the discovery of papyrus fragments among the debris and rubbish heaps of towns of the Graeco-Roman period in the Fayum and other districts in or near the Nile valley. A number of joint expeditions between 1895 and 1907 yielded a rich harvest, and popular interest was aroused by the publication in 1897 of the

" Logia Jesu," or Sayings of Jesus, which was among the first-fruits of a series extending over many years, and bringing Hunt and Grenfell a reputation for scholarship and research which rapidly became world-wide. In 1901 Hunt was elected to a Fellowship at Lincoln College, and in 1906 he rejoined Grenfell as Research Fellow of Queen's. His work was recognised by the award of honorary degrees by many British and foreign universities ; he was elected a member of the Bavarian, Danish, and Roman Academies of Sciences, a Fellow of the British Academy, an honorary Fellow of Lincoln College, and Drexel medallist of the University of Pennsylvania in 1914. The University of Oxford established an Extraordinary Professorship of Papyrology, which was jointly held by Grenfell and Hunt until GrenfelTs death in 1926 and subsequently by Hunt alone. He marned, in 1918, Lucy Ellen Bradshaw, who survived him with one son.

30. The Right Hon. Sir William Conyngham Greene, a British Ambassador, was born on October 29, 1854, and educated at Harrow and Pembroke College, Oxford. On taking his degree in 1877, he was appointed to a clerkship in the Foreign Office. After serving in various British Legations, he was transferred to the Colonial Office and appointed Agent at Pretoria with the personal rank of Charg6 de Affaires in the Diplomatic Service. The situation in South Africa between the British and Transvaal Governments was one of growing acerbity. Throughout the spring and summer of 1899 both the Boer administration and their relations with England grew steadily worse, and on October 11 Kruger presented Greene with the Boer ultimatum and he had to leave Pretoria, the last British representative to the South African Republic. In 1901 he was sent as Minister to Berne, and four years later was transferred to Bucharest, where he remained six years. In 1911 he went to Copenhagen, and in 1912 to Tokio, filling the important post there with dignity and ability (1912-19). He married, in 1884, Lady Lily Stopford, the youngest daughter of the fifth Earl of Courtown, and had two sons and one daughter.

— General Kurt von Schleicher, former Chancellor of Germany, was born in 188l. Belonging to the Prussian nobility he entered the Army in 1900, and was appointed to the general staff in 1913, holding staff posts throughout the war. After the war he entered the Reichswehr Ministry, and there he gathered in his hands so many political threads that he became an indispensable link between the Army and political life. In 1929 he was promoted Major-General, and a new post was created for him at the Ministry—that of Chief of the Ministerial Staff, the equivalent of a Permanent Under-Secretaryship in a British Government Department. His greatest activity began when the Rhine was evacuated in 1931. In 1932 when Herr von Papen became Chancellor, von Schleicher became Defence Minister, simultaneously retiring from the active list. In December, 1933, he became Chancellor, but his Government only lasted eight weeks, the hostility of the Nationalist Party bringing about his fall. President von Hindenburg refused to give him authority to dissolve the Reichstag and appointed Hitler in his stead. He then retired into private life, and in the wholesale shootings which Hitler carried out on June 30, Schleicher and his wife were among the numerous victims.

JULY.

3. Prince Henry Vladimir Albert Ernest of the Netherlands, born on April 19, 1876, was the youngest son of Frederick Francis I I . , Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and his consort, Princess Marie, daughter of Prince Adolphus of Swarzburg-Rudolstadt. Before his marriage he was known as Duke Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. In 1897, after having spent a year at the military school at Metz, he became a lieutenant in the Prussian Guards, and on October 16, 1900, he was betrothed to Queen Wilhelmina, whom he married on February 7, 1901, On the previous January 23, he was naturalised and created

a Prince of the Netherlands. He received a commission in the Dutch Navy, the Dutch Army, and the Dutch East Indies Army, and was appointed a Member of the Council of State with an advisory vote. His chief public work was that done on behalf of the Red Cross, with which he became associated in February, 1907, when the *Berlin* went down near the Hook of Holland. He was elected President of the Red Cross on December 16, 1908. When the war broke out he mobilised the Dutch Red Cross, and 515 buildings in 222 towns were prepared to receive wounded men. He also organised an Information Bureau for prisoners of war of all nations. His daughter, Princess Juliana, was born on April 30,1909.

4. Madame Curie ***(ne'e*** Marie Sklodowska), the discoverer of radium, was born on November 7, 1867, at Warsaw, and received her education there. She early showed an interest in science, and went to Paris to attend lectures at the Sorbonne, teaching in schools to pay her expenses. In 1895 she married Pierre Curie, a young scientist, who had made several notable discoveries in magnetism and in the physics of crystals. Madame Curie collaborated with her husband, but the direction of their work changed after Henri Becquerel's discovery, in 1896, that the element uranium showed the surprising property of emitting penetrating types of radiation, which blackened a photographic plate and discharged an electrified body. Madame Curie made further investigations of this property, and discovered a new strongly active substance which she named polonium, after the country of her birth. Later she discovered another new element allied in chemical properties to barium which she named radium. The importance of this discovery was at once recognised by the scientific world. In 1903 the Davy medal of the Royal Society was awarded jointly to Professor and Madame Curie, while in 1904 they shared a Nobel Prize with Henri Becquerel. Pierre Curie died in a street accident in 1906. In 1911 Madame Curie was awarded the Nobel Prize in Chemistry for the discovery of radium; in 1906 she was appointed to a special Chair in the Sorbonne, being the first woman to obtain this distinction. Later a Radium Institute, called the Pierre Curie Institute, was founded for investigations in radio-activity, and Madame Curie became its first Director. She visited the United States twice, and the women of that country presented her with a gram of radium to allow her to extend her researches. In 1929 she came to London to open the Marie Curie Hospital for the treatment of cancer. In 1932 she was appointed a member of the International Committee for Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations. She left two children.

15. Valerian Savellevitch Dovgalevsky, Soviet Ambassador in Paris, was born in 1885. In 1904 he entered the South Russian section of the Social Democratic Party and became a professional revolutionary worker. In 1908 he was deported to Siberia, from which he escaped to Belgium, where he studied electrical engineering. Later he worked in an electrical company in Paris, and took his degree in Toulouse University in 1913. In 1917 he returned to Russia during the Kerensky regime, was arrested and enrolled in the army. He joined the Red Guards and fought in the Red Army in 1918 and 1919. In 1920 he was entrusted with the task of restoring roads and communications in Siberia and the Urals, and then was appointed successively Deputy Commissar of Posts and Telegraphs and Rector of the Moscow Institute of Civil Engineers. In 1924 he was sent to Sweden as Minister and Trade Delegate. In 1927 he was promoted Ambassador in Tokio, but later in the year he was transferred to Paris. The most difficult problem he had to face there was the murder of General Koutiepoff, President of the Russian Military Union and leader of the White Russians in Paris, who disappeared on January 26, 1930, leaving no trace. M. Dovgalevsky came to London in 1929 to enter into negotiations for the resumption of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Russia.

16. **The Very Rev. Henry Julian White, D.D.,** Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, was born on August 27, 1859, and educated at Christ Church, where he road classics and theology. Ordained deacon and priest in 1885 and 1886, he

served a first curacy at Oxted, Surrey. About 1883, at the suggestion of Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Wordsworth, and after some preliminary instruction in paleography from Mr. F. Madan, he began the work of collating manuscripts of the Vulgate New Testament in the British Museum, which proved the chief intellectual interest of his life. The great Oxford critical edition of the Vulgate New Testament, successive *fascisculi* of which began to appear from 1889 onwards under the joint editorship of Wordsworth and White, had already been planned by Dr. Wordsworth who, in 1884, definitely invited Mr. White to become his assistant. Two years later, as Bishop of Salisbury, he appointed his collaborator to be his domestic chaplain. In spite of many distractions, the work was continued after Mr. White's removal to Oxford, in 1895, when he was appointed Chaplain and Theological Lecturer of Merton College, of which he was elected a Fellow in 1897. When Bishop Wordsworth died in 1911, Dr. White continued the editorship of the Vulgate alone. In 1905 he was appointed Professor of New Testament Exegesis at King's College, London, a position he held until 1920, when he succeeded Dr. Strong as Dean of Christ Church. A thorough-going Conservative by temperament and conviction, Dr. White by his geniality of manner was able to make his influence felt both in College and University administration. In 1926, in conjunction with the Rev. W. E. Plater, he published a short " Grammar of the Vulgate "—a pioneer work in the English language upon this subject. He was made an honorary D.D. of St. Andrews in 1910, and in 1918 he became a D.D. of Oxford. In 1909 he married the widow of Lieut.-Col. C. J. H. Warden of the Indian Medical Service.

20. Dr. **Marion Newblgin, D.Sc,** Editor of the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* since 1902, was educated at Edinburgh University and at the Edinburgh School of Medicine. In 1893 she graduated B.Sc. of London University, becoming D.Sc. (London) in 1898. In 1899 she published " Colour in Nature," followed two years later by " Life by the Sea Shore." From 1911, when she published " Modern Geography " until 1929, when her " Regional Geography oi the World " was printed, many books appeared dealing with her special subjects. " Nations in the Making" (1915) was a painstaking study, based largely on Continental authorities, and it greatly helped those who were interested in Balkan affairs to obtain a coherent understanding of the points at issue. " Frequented Ways " (1922) was a general survey of the land forms, climates, and vegetation of Western Europe considered in their relations to the life of man. Other publications were "The Mediterranean Lands" (1924), "Early Days in Canada" (1927), and " Southern Europe " (1932). She was a member of the Board of Geographical Studies at the University of London, an examiner for the higher degree in several universities, and a member of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, which awarded her the Livingstone Gold Medal in 1924 in recognition of her services to geography.

25. Engelbert **Dollfuss,** Chancellor of Austria since 1932, who was murdered by Nazi conspirators, was born of peasant stock at Texing, Lower Austria, on October 4, 189l. He studied law at the University of Vienna and political economy in Berlin. During the war he served as a volunteer lieutenant in the Tirolese Kaiserschutzen, and was twice wounded. On being demobilised he resumed his studies in Berlin, where he also gained experience of the work of the German Peasants' Union and the co-operative Preussenkasse. After returning home he became secretary of the Lower Austrian Peasants' Union, and helped in founding a provincial chamber of agriculture, of which he became the first secretary and, in 1927, the director. He also founded the Agricultural Labourers' Insurance Institute for Vienna, Lower Austria, and Burgenland. He soon became recognised as a loading authority on agricultural problems, being chosen, in 1930, to represent agriculture in the *governing* board of the Austrian railways. Six months later, though not a Parliamentarian, he was taken into Herr Ender's Cabinet as Minister of Agriculture. Dollfuss was called upon by the Clerical Christian Social Party to form Ins first Cabinet in the crisis of May, 193l. He

struggled on till March, 1933, when the Socialists, by their policy of obstruction, gave him a plausible pretext for dispensing with Parliament altogether. In the meantime he had negotiated and procured ratification of the Lausanne Loan. He now ruled by decree, deriving his powers from war emergency legislation. The discovery of a conspiracy on the Tirolese frontier afforded grounds, early in May, for the prohibition of political uniforms. An unwelcome visit of Nazi ministers intensified the conflict with the Berlin Government. Economic pressure was reinforced by acts of terrorism, to which Dollfuss retorted by dissolving the Nazi organisations and forbidding all Nazi activities. At the end of August Dollfuss paid a visit, the third in four months, to Signor Mussolini at Riccione, whence he brought back a reaffirmation of Italian support for his policy and a promise of economic first aid. On September 11, at a great patriotic demonstration in Vienna, he announced his programme for refashioning the State. Ten days later, however, dissensions in the Cabinet impelled him to drop the leading exponents of the old party system, he himself taking over the portfolios of Defence and Public Security, besides the three offices he already held—the Chancellorship, Foreign Affairs, and Agriculture. On October 4, 1933, he had a narrow escape from assassination by a youthful Nazi in a corridor of Parliament. In February, 1934, the Socialists, apprehensive of extinction, suddenly revolted, and the ruthlessness with which the outbreak was suppressed lost Dollfuss much of the sympathy which his stand against the bullying by Germany had aroused in foreign countries. His fight with the Nazis resulted in the attempted rising and his murder. A loyal member of the Roman Church, he took special pride in the negotiations of the Concordat with the Vatican, which ho personally signed. Dollfuss probably owed some of his popularity to the disparity between his robust energy and his physical size—he was 4 ft. 11 ins. in height. He was married to a German lady, who survived him with two young children.

27. Marshal Louis Hubert Gonsalve Lyautey, French soldier and Colonial Administrator, was born at Nancy on November 17, 1854, and passed out of Saint-Cyr into the Corps d'Etat-major at the age of 21. He gained experience both of military service and administration in Algeria (1880-82), on the North-Eastern frontier of the French territories bordering on China (1894), and in Madagascar (1897). In 1907 he was placed in command of the Oran Division, beginning the work of the conquest and pacification of Morocco. Lyautey was appointed High Commissioner for Morocco, which he governed with ability until April, 1910, when he was recalled to France to take command of the Tenth Army Corps at Rennes. Trouble breaking out again in Morocco, he was sent back as Resident-General. When the war came and troops were needed for the Western Front, Lyautey was ordered to evacuate the interior of Morocco. He replied that he would release all the troops and material that might bo required, but would not evacuate one square yard of Moorish soil, and with a mere skeleton force ho held on. In December, 1916, he was recalled to France, much against his will, in order to become Minister of War. In March, 1917, he resigned, after members in the Chamber had objected to the brief military manner in which he stated his arguments ; in September he was back in Morocco. In 1923 and 1924 he wished to retire owing to ill-health, but was prevailed upon to remain in view of the difficult situation in the Rif. He resigned in 1925. He received the Medaille Militaire and the Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honour, and was created Marshal of France in 1921. King George V. made him honorary G.C.M.G. during the war ; in 1928 he was awarded the gold medal of the African Society. He was chief organiser and director of the International Colonial Exhibition in 1931. He was elected to the French Academy in 1911. In 1922 he published two volumes of letters written from Tonkin and Madagascar to his sisters and others. He was keenly interested in music, painting, and architecture. While he was still an obscure cavalry captain at St. Germain he startled the Army by an article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, in 1891, on the ideal relations between officers and men. To him more than to any other man France owes her great territorial dependency in Northern Africa. Lyautey was accorded a State funeral.

AUGUST.

l. Field-Marshal Paul von **Beneckendorf und von Hindenburg,** President of the German Reich since 1925, was born in Posen on October 2, 1847, and entered on a military career at the age of 11. He subsequently took part in both the Austrian campaign of 1866 and the Franco-German War. He entered the *Kriegsakademie* in 1873, and then passed through the various grades of staff appointment. At the age of 46 he was promoted colonel, and took command of the 91st Infantry Regiment at Oldenburg, where he remained until 1896, when he became Major-General and Chief of Staff to the Eighth Army Corps at Coblenz. In 1900 he took command of the 28th Baden Infantry Division at Karlsruhe, an appointment which he vacated three years later on succeeding to the command of the Fourth Army Corps at Magdeburg, one of the most important peace-time commands. He retired in 1911, at the age of 64, and went to live in Hanover. On August 23, 1914, he received a telegram from General Headquarters asking whether he was ready for employment in a high command. Before his answer " Am ready " arrived, he received a further telegram announcing his appointment as G.O.C. Eighth Army, which was then in retreat on the Eastern frontier. He soon stemmed the retreat, and by defeating the Russians at Tannenberg (August 28-29) and at the Masurian lakes he liberated East Prussia. He was made Colonel-General, was decorated with the first class of the Iron Cross, and was placed at the head of the Eighth and Ninth Armies. Although the campaign in Southern Poland ended in a retreat, Hindenburg was nevertheless promoted to be Field-Marshal. The effort to push the enemy back beyond the East Prussian border made little difference to the general military situation, but his fame and that of his Chief of Staff (General von Ludendorff) rose high, and they both received special tokens of the Imperial favour. On August 29, 1916, Hindenburg was made Chief of the Great General Staff. When hostilities came to an end Hindenburg led the army home, and though the Kaiser fled, he remained at his -post. He retired from active service in 1919. Even before the death of President Ebert, in 1925, Hindenburg had been sounded as to his readiness to become a candidate when a presidential election should occur. He declined ; but when an actual election was hold in which the first ballot failed to give any of the half-dozen candidates the required clear majority of over half the votes polled, he was again approached, and eventually agreed to become the single candidate of the united parties of the Right for the second ballot, in which only a simple majority was required. On April 26, 1925—at the age of 78—he was elected President of the Reich. From the beginning he set the example of a dignified simplicity in State ceremonial, and the keynote of all his utterances was Germany's need for unity. In March, 1930, he called on Dr. Bruning, the Parliamentary Centre Party leader, to succeed the Socialist Chancellor, Herr Muller. But as Dr. Bruning could not obtain majorities, there began in June, 1930, the period of government by decree resting on the President's emergency powers under the Constitution. It was then thought that Germany would find tranquillity. But that hope was belied when the September elections increased the National Socialist strength from 12 to 107. Hindenburg agreed to stand again for the Presidency, and in May, 1932, he was elected by 19,000,000 votes to Herr Hitler's 13,500,000. But the old President was not strong enough to withstand the political intrigues in his immediate entourage, which resulted in his dismissing Bruning and General von Schleicher, and in his associating with Herr von Papen and Herr Hitler. With the passing of the enabling Act giving Hitler full powers, the President was eclipsed. In 1920 Hindenburg published his memoirs, " Aus Meinem Leben." He married, in 1879, Gertrud von Sperling, and had one son and two daughters.

6. **The Rev.** Dr. **Robert Laws,** missionary-statesman of Nyassaland, was born at Aberdeen on May 28,1861, the son of a cabinetmaker. He was brought up in an atmosphere of evangelicalism, and early came under missionary influence. He served an apprenticeship as a joiner and builder, and paid his fees at college

partly by working at the bench and partly by giving lessons to less forward youths. He took the degrees of M.A. and M.D. at Aberdeen, and went to Edinburgh to attend the Theological Hall of the United Presbyterian Church. Completing his course in 1874, he offered for service on the mission field in Africa, and while waiting for an opening served as resident physician at Glasgow Smallpox Hospital. When, in 1875, the United Presbyterian Church decided to found a mission in Nyassaland in memory of David Livingstone, Laws was one of the first party of eight sent out. Not long afterwards, Laws, with E. D. Young, R.N., circumnavigated Lake Nyassa and discovered the range now known as the Livingstone Mountains. The first station founded by the mission was at Cape Maclear, and Laws, with his strong character and his knowledge of carpentry, building, and medicine, was soon marked out as the leador. He was the first man to administer chloroform in inner Africa, and to introduce the use of coins in Nyassaland. In his missionary work he always put first the preaching of the Gospel. But he was a great advocate also of education, industrial as well as literary. In 1895, after some years at Bandawe, new headquarters were chosen at Kondowe, overlooking the north end of the lake, which had been discovered by Laws and Dr. Elmslie. In 1906 Laws was called to Scotland to become Moderator of the General Assembly of the United Free Church, but he returned to Nyassaland on the expiry of his year of office, accepting at the Governor's request a seat on the Legislative Council. He was made a C.M.G, in 1923. The jubilee of the Livingstonia Mission found him still at his post. There was now a church membership of 10,000, and some 800 schools and 47,000 scholars, and the jubilee was celebrated by the laying of the foundation-stone at Kondowe of new buildings for the Overtoun Institution, a central training college. In 1927 Dr. Laws resigned and returned to Edinburgh. He had learned several Bantu languages, and among his books was a translation of the New Testament into Njanja. During a visit to South Africa in 1876 he married Margaret Gray, sister of Dr. Gordon Gray, of Rome.

11. Cecil Head lam, historian, scholar, and traveller, the youngest son of Edward Headlam, Director of Education in the Civil Service, and grandson of Archdeacon Hoadlam, was born on September 10, 1872, and educated at Rugby and Magdalen College, Oxford, where he graduated m 1893. He visited many parts of the world, and wrote a number of scholarly topographical books, *e.g.*, " India and Burma," " Venetia and North Italy," " Provence and Languedoc," and he told the "stories" of Naples, Nuremberg, Chartres, and Oxford. Ho edited the letters and poems of his brother Walter Headlam, a Cambridge Greek scholar. During the war he was employed in the Press Bureau as Censor of Press cables. His most important book was " The Milner Papers: South Africa, 1897-1899," published in 1931, for the editing of which he received the medal of the Royal Empire Society. The knowledge he gained as editor of the " Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series," enabled him to contribute to the " Cambridge History of the British Empire " several valuable chapters dealing with Colonial problems. For some years he had serious trouble with his eyes which at one tinu? threatened to put a stop to his writing. In 1913 he married Mary May Elles, daughter of F. Fraser of Inverness.

17. Professor Georges Dreyer, F.R.S., Professor of Pathology at Oxfoid, was born at Shanghai on July 4, 1873, the son of Captain G. H. N. Dreyer, of the Danish Royal Navy. He took his M.D. degree at the University of Copenhagen, and was only 34 when he was elected Professor of Pathology and Fellow of Lincoln College, having already taken the degree of M.A. at Oxford. He contributed to the *Journal of Pathology and Bacteriology* a succession of papers on immunity, experimental pathology, and the biochemical effect of light rays. From 1914 to 1919 he was a temporary lieutenant-colonel in the Royal Army Medical Corps attached to the R.A.F. One of his greatest services in the war was the mass production of an emulsion which could be used with success in the diagnosis of typhoid fever even by imperfectly trained persons. He also devised a formula for estimating the vital capacity of individuals. He was twice mentioned in

despatches, and in 1919 was created a C.B.E. In 1921 he was elected F.R.S. For some time he was a member of the Medical Research Council, was a Fellow of the Royal Danish Academy of Letters and Science, and Officier de l'Instruction Publique in France. As Professor he was in charge of the Sir William Dunn School of Pathology at Oxford. He married, in 1900, Margrete Caroline, daughter of Laurits Jorgensen, of Laaland, Denmark.

17. Dr. William Mitchlnson Hicks, F.R.S., eminent physicist and first Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University, was born on September 23, 1850, and educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he took his degree as seventh wrangler in 1873, being elected a Fellow of St. John's in 1876. He was one of the first students at the Cavendish Laboratory of Experimental Physics established in 1873. In 1885 he obtained the Hopkins prize for a memoir on vortex motion. His papers in 1881,1884, and 1885 on toroidal functions and on the steady motions of a hollow vortex were, with Sir J. J. Thomson's treatise on vortex rings, the recognised works on the subjects. He also wrote mathematical papers on higher hydro-dynamics and on pure mathematics, and designed several pieces of physical apparatus one of which, intended to measure alternating electric currents, was exhibited at the Royal Society annual meeting in 1894. His later work was on an important point relating to the drift of the earth through the ether. In 1891 he received the degree of Sc.D. from Cambridge University. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1885, and was also awarded the Society's Royal medal. From 1913 he devoted his attention to spectroscopy, and pursued investigations concerning the numerical relations between the frequencies of spectral lines. He contributed numerous papers on the subject to the *Transactions* of the Royal Society, and in 1922 wrote " The Analysis of Spectra." This treatise was based on a lecture for which in 1921 he was awarded the Adams prize at Cambridge. It was almost entirely due to Dr. Hicks that the Sheffield University was established. He was appointed Principal of the old Firth College and Professor of Mathematics and Physics in 1883, and guided its development into the University College, and finally to full university status by Royal Charter in 1905. He was appointed the first Vice-Chancellor. His wife died in 1920. He had two sons, one of whom was killed in the war.

18. The Right Hon. Sir Thomas Edward Scrutton, a Lord Justice of Appeal, was born on August 28, 1856, the eldest son of Thomas Scrutton, a shipowner. He was educated at Mill Hill School and the University of London, and Cambridge (Trinity College). At the Middle Temple he won the Barstow scholarship, and was called to the Bar in 188l. In the same year he took his LL.B, degree at London University, and in 1883 obtained the Yorke prize at Cambridge for an essay on the law of copyright. He also won the York prize in 1884, 1885, and 1886. During this period he was Professor of Constitutional Law and History at University College, London, and it was not until after the publication of a work on charter parties and bills of lading, in 1886, that he began to appear in the courts and to obtain a reputation as an authority on commercial law. When the Commercial Court was established he became one of its busiest juniors, but he also frequently appealed on the chancery side on questions of copyright. He took silk in 1901. In 1910 he was nominated to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. Justice Sutton. His brusqueness of manner impaired the despatch of business in his court, and a protest (the second on record) was made on behalf of the solicitors practising on the commercial side against the rudeness with which they were treated in chambers. As a Judge of first instance he decided, in 1913, against the assessment of supertax on the annuity granted to Princess Louise by letters patent, and in 1914 he delivered some important judgments under the Finance Act which were the subject of discussion in the House of Commons. The most sensational trial over which he presided was that of George Joseph Smith, known as "The Brides in the Bath Case," in 1915. During this case he attracted attention by forbidding sketching or photographing in Court. In 1916 he was appointed a Judge of Appeal, and after Sir Eldon

Bankes retired in 1927, Scrutton presided over Court I I . of the Court of Appeal. At the beginning of Trinity Term of 1932 he became involved in a dispute with Mr. Justice McCardie, whose judgment in a wife enticement case (Place *v.* Searle) was appealed against. Lord Justice Scrutton made personal comments on Mr. Justice McCardie, who retaliated by saying, before a case began, that if it went to appeal and Scrutton was a member of the Court, he would not supply a copy of his notes. Lord Justice Scrutton frequently denounced the increasing cost of litigation, and described a bill of costs in a slander suit as outrageous. One of his typical comments was " All judges make mistakes. Only the House of Lords do not make mistakes because there is no one to tell them that they do." He married, in 1884, Mary, daughter of S. C. Burton, of Great Yarmouth. She and three sons and one daughter survived him.

19. Sir Nigel Playfair, distinguished actor, producer, and manager, was born in London on July 1, 1874, and educated at Harrow and University College, Oxford (1892), where he soon joined the O.U.D.S. A brief experience at the Bar followed, enlivened by acting with the Old Stagers at Canterbury, and with the Windsor Strollers. He first appeared professionally at the Garnck Theatre in 1902 in *A Pair of Knickerbockers.* For a time he worked with Bouchier, and toured with Benson's company in the West Indies. Then, in 1907, he went to His Majesty's Theatre, where his unusual voice and appearance marked him for farcical parts—"Stephano " in *The Tempest,* the "Clown " in *The Winter's Tale,* and the " First Gravedigger " in *Hamlet.* At the Court Theatre he appeared in *John Butt's Other Island, You Never Can Tell,* and *Fanny's First Play.* He also played "Backbite" in *The School for Scandal* and "Cutler Walpole"in *The Doctor's Dilemma,* which discerning playgoers considered to be his best pait. In December, 1918, he went into management at the Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith, entering upon that phase of his career by which he will be chiefly remembered. There he produced Drinkwater's *Abraham Lincoln,* which ran for a year, and was followed in 1920 by *The Beggar's Opera,* which ran for nearly 1,500 performances. In the same year he appeared as "Touchstone" in *As You Like It,* and "Ralph" (his favourite part) in *Ralph Roister Doister,* which he produced at the Kingsway. Other successful revivals at the Lyric were *The Way of the World, The Duenna, The Rivals, She Stoops to Conquer,* and *The Critic.* He also produced new pieces such as *Riverside Nights, Tantivy Towers,* and *Derby Day,* and was part author of the English version of Capek's *R. U.R.* and *The Insect Play.* At the Open Air Theatre, Regent's Park, in 1934, he played "Jacques" in *As You Like It.* In 1925 he published *The Story of the Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith,* and *Hammersmith Hoy* in 1930. He was knighted in 1928.

23. Edward Arthur Burroughs, Bishop of Ripon, was born on October 1, 1882, the son of Prebendary Burroughs, vicar of Plymouth, and educated at Harrow and Balliol College, Oxford. In 1905 he was elected to a Fellowship at Hertford College, a position he held until 1920. His mam interests were, however, religious, and after his ordination, in 1908, he gradually lost his keenness for classical study in which he had excelled. He first came into prominence during the war through the challenge he uttered to the national conscience in a series of letters to *The Times,* reprinted as " The Eternal Goal" (1915). Perhaps his most successful work, and that which he most enjoyed, was his preaching at public schools. In 1917 he was appointed a Canon Residentiary of Peterborough, and at the same time chaplain to the King. Three years later he went as Chaplain Fellow to Trinity College, Oxford, in order to devote his whole time to pastoral work among undergraduates. In 1921 he was made Dean of Bristol, and in 1925 Bishop of Ripon, the youngest bishop on the Bench. Until shortly before his death he was Chairman of the British Council of the World Alliance for international friendship through the Churches.

28. **Sir Tannatt William Edge worth David,** Professor of Geology and Physical Geography at the University of Sydney, was born in 1858 at St. Fagan's,

Cardiff, where his father was rector, and educated at Magdalen College School and New College, Oxford. After studying at the Royal College of Science and taking his degree, he left in 1882 for Australia to join the New South Wales Geological Survey, of which he later became director. He virtually discovered the coal-fields at Maitland and carried out the whole of their survey. He was appointed professor at Sydney University in 1891. In 1897, on behalf of the Royal Society, he led the second scientific expedition to the coral atoll of Funafuti, 500 miles north of Fiji. He travelled through Mexico as a delegate to an international congress of geologists, and explored glacial beds in the Godavari River in the Deccan. He was elected F.R.S. in 1900, and from 1905 to 1907, and again, in 1917, was President of the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science. In 1907 he was selected by Shackleton as chief of the scientific staff of the British Antarctic Expedition. During 1908 he led the first party to climb Mount Erebus, and, in October, he went with Sir Douglas Mawson and Dr. Mackay to the South Magnetic Pole which was reached on January 16, 1909. David's account of the march is included in Shackleton's " The Heart of the Antarctic." David's diagrammatic east-west section of the geological structure of Antarctica, basod partly on observation and partly on deduction, remained in standard use. Ho also compiled an estimate of the Antarctic coal deposits which served as a basis for the more detailed estimate arrived at by the Mawson expedition three years later. During a visit to England in 1917 he acted as scientific adviser to the second Shackleton expedition. In the war period he rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the Australian Engineers, and was appointed Geologist to the British Armies on the Western Front, receiving the D.S.O, in 1918. On returning to Sydney, he went on a tour of exploration in Central Australia in 1921. His last scientific triumph was in June, 1928, when he announced the discoveiy, in rocks from Mount Lofty and the Flinders range in South Australia, of perfectly preserved animal remains dating back millions of years earlier than anything previously classified. He left unfinished a three-volume textbook on the geology of Australia. He was created a C.M.G, in 1910 and K.B.E. in 1920. In 1899 he received the Bigsby medal, and in 1915 the Wollaston medal of the Geological Society of London, the Conrad Malte-Brun prize of the Geographical Society of France, and the Patron's medal of the Royal Geographical Society in 1926, besides honorary doctorates from Oxford, Cambridge, St. Andrews, and Wales. New College, Oxford, elected him an honorary Fellow in 1926. He married, in 1886, Caroline Mallet, and had one son and two daughters. He was given a State funeral as a recognition of his national work as scientist, soldier, and explorer, being the first person, apart from politicians, to receive this honour in New South Wales.

SEPTEMBER.

1. Frederick Craufurd Goodenough, Chairman of Barclay's Bank, was born in Calcutta on July 28, 1866, and was educated at Charterhouse and at Zurich University. Having been admitted a solicitor, he entered the service of the Hudson Bay Company as assistant secretary in London. Soon he became assistant secretary to the Union Bank of London, and in 1896 he joined Barclay and Company Ltd. on the formation of that company, as their secretary. He was appointed general manager in 1903, director in 1913, and Chairman in 1917. Since his appointment the total resources of Barclay's Bank increased from 117,000,000/. to 397,000,000/. He believed that the strength of the British Empire lay in the development of the resources of the Empire as a whole. Practical manifestation of that view was shown by the acquisition of a share-holding in the Colonial Bank and by the amalgamation of that Bank with the National Bank of South Africa and the Anglo-Egyptian Bank, the new Bank being known as Barclay's Bank (Dominion, Colonial, and Overseas). He took a keen interest in the formation of the Dominion Students' Hall Trust for establishing in London a centre of residential collegiate life for students from the

Dominions. To Oxford University he was also helpful, serving as Chairman of the Bodleian Appeal. In recognition of his servioes he received the honorary **degree** of **D.C.L. in 1933. In 1917 he was** appointed a member of the India Council. He was joint treasurer of Westminster Hospital and a Governor of Charterhouse Foundation. He married, in 1898, Maive, daughter of N. C. Macnamara, and had three sons and one daughter.

1. Frank Brlant, Liberal M.P. for North Lambeth and honorary superintendent of the Alford House Institute for Working Men and Lads, was born in 1864, and for fourteen years was in the Civil Service. He was a member of the London County Council from 1905 to 1919 and again in 1931. For twenty-seven years he was a member of the Lambeth Board of Guardians, being Chairman for thirteen years, and a member of the Borough Council from its establishment till 1919. In 1914-15 he was Chairman of the Old Age Pensions Committee for London, and a member of the London Public Assistance Committee. He represented North Lambeth in Parliament as a Liberal from 1918 to 1929, and was again returned in 1931. At Alford House (where he died) he did remarkable social work among working men and boys. At first he had to meet active opposition, but he persevered, teaching his rough boys to play games with true sportmanship, to feel a new self-respect, and to enjoy the little things of life, always insisting on an active Christianity. In 1923, with Lord Arnold, he founded the Arnold-Briant camp at Deal. In February, 1934, he underwent an operation for the removal of an eye. Half an hour before he entered Westminster Hospital, he addressed an L.C.C. election meeting. He was unmarried.

5. **Viscount Devonport** (Hudson Ewbanke Kearloy), formerly Chairman of the Port of London Authority and Food Controller during the Great War, was born on September 1, 1856. After leaving the Surrey County School at Cranleigh, he entered the tea business, quickly mastering all the details of the trade. At 20 he started in business for himself, founding the firm of Kearley and Tonge. In 1892 he became a Liberal M.P. for Devonport and held the seat until his elevation to the peerage. He was not a good platform speaker, but he had studied the needs of a dockyard town and made himself in the House the spokesman of the lower deck and dockyard employees. His persistent attacks on the administration of the Royal Patriotic Fund led to the appointment in 1901 of a joint Committee which recommended extensive reforms, and when the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation was formed he became Chairman of the Finance Committee. In 1905 he was appointed Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Trade, and in June, 1908, was made a baronet. At the Board of Trade he conducted through the House of Commons the Bill constituting the new Port of London Authority, of which he was made the first Chairman. In order to take this post he relinquished his position in the Government and the prospect of further political advancement. When he refused to accept any salary it was feared it would place his successors in an invidious position. It was perceived, however, that the position of the first Chairman, who was appointed by the Board of Trade and would preside over a transitional state of things, differed in important respects from that of subsequent Chairmen who would bo chosen by the Port Authority itself. He retired from the Chairmanship of the Port of London Authority in 1925. He was sworn of the Privy Council in 1909, and was created Baron Devonport in 1910. In December, 1916, he was appointed the first Food Controller and Chairman of the Royal Commission for Sugar Supplies. In June, 1917, he was succeeded by Lord Rhondda, and was made a viscount. In 1916 he raised a fund of 250,000l. to extend the Dreadnought Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich, and he presented Cranleigh School in Surrey with **a** new speech **hall.** He married, in 1888, Selina, daughter of Edward Chester of Blisworth, **and** had two sons and one daughter.

9. **Roger Fry,** Slade Professor of Fine Art at Cambridge, was born in **1867,** the son of Sir **Edward** Fry ; **his intellectual** and emotional integrity gave some

hint of his Quaker ancestry. He **was educated at Clifton** College and King's College, Cambridge, where he took his degree in natural science in **1888.** Turning to the practice of art, he became a pupil of Francis Bate, and also studied in Paris. He first came into prominence in connexion with the " Post-Impressionist " exhibitions which he organised in 1911 and **1913.** These exhibitions excited keen controversy, but Fry was unperturbed, and it was to him that the recognition of Cezanne in England was due. He edited the " Discourses" of Sir Joshua Reynolds, was responsible for monographs on Giovanni Bellini and Paul Veronese, and contributed many articles to the *Burlington Magazine,* the *New Statesman,* and other periodicals. It is, however, in such publications as " Vision and Design " (1920) and " Transformation " (1927), works of a speculative as well as a critical nature, that his rank as an artistic philosopher is to be judged. For a time he held the position of Curator at the Metropolitan Museum, New York. In 1933 he was appointed Slade Professor of Fine Art at Cambridge, and in his inaugural lecture he made a strong appeal for the systematic study of art history. Several exhibitions of his paintings were held in London and he was a regular contributor to the exhibitions of the London Group of which he was a founder and a strong supporter. He married, in 1896, Helen Combe, and had one son and one daughter.

10. **Sir Isldor Georg Henschel,** singer, composer, and conductor, was born at Breslau, of Polish descent, on February 18, 1850. He began to learn the pianoforte at the age of five, at nine he sang the soprano solo in " Hear My Prayer," and at twelve he made his first public appearance as a pianist. In 1867 he entered the Leipzig Conncrvatorium and studied the piano under Moscheles and singing under Goetze, proceeding in 1874 to the Royal Conservatorium in Berlin. He sang at the Lower Rhenish Musical Festival at Cologne, where he met Brahms, his recollections of whom were published in 1906. He first appeared in England, which became his home, in 1877. He became a professor at the Royal College of Music and founded the London Symphony Concerts, which from 1886 to 1897 were an important feature of London musical life. During this period he conducted the Scottish Orchestra for three seasons (1893-95), and he appeared as a singer at the big festivals. After the death of Mrs. Henschel, in 1901, he went into retirement, but in 1907 he married again and renewed his professional life. In 1914 he was knighted. In 1918 he published " Musings and Memories of a Musician." As a composer he had some 60 opus numbers to his credit, but he will probably be best remembered for his songs, notably " Morning Hymn." Ho was naturalised in 1890, and received the honorary Mus. Doc. of Edinburgh. He was twice married, in both cases to American ladies who had been his pupils. His first wife was Miss Lillian Bailey, his second, Miss Amy Louis. He was survived by two daughters.

13. Sir Ernest Edward Wild, K.C., Recorder of London, was born on tfanuary 1, 1869, the son of a former Mayor of Norwich, and educated at Edward VI. Grammar School, Norwich, and Jesus College, Cambridge. He was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1893, joining the South-Eastern circuit. In 1902 his name became widely known through his defence of a prisoner in the Peasenhall murder case, when, after disagreements by two juries, a *nolle prosequi* was entered. In 1907 he was appointed Judge of the Norwich Court of Record, an ancient local Court held under **a** Charter of Charles II. He took silk in 1912 and attained a fair practice in jury cases in the Law Courts, but the South-Eastern circuit was still the scene of his principal successes. He was knighted in 1918. He fought four elections in the Conservative interest, and had been a member of the London County Council, before he was elected for the Upton Division of West Ham in 1918. In 1922, when Sir Forest Fulton resigned the Recordership of London, Wild was elected in his place by **a** small majority. The propriety of his remaining a member of the House of Commons, as four recorders since 1850 had done, was questioned. Ultimately, with the sanction of the Lord Chancellor and the Court of Aldermen, he arranged not to stand

at the ensuing General Election. Wild was a supporter of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society and of the Sheriffs' Fund at the Central Criminal Court for helping the dependents of persons convicted. He was a man of many interests, and among his published works was a volume of lectures he delivered on Spenser's "Faerie Qucene." He wrote poems and articles, found his chief recreation in golf, and held high office in Masonry. In 1932 he was made a freeman of Norwich. He married, in 1894, Myra, daughter of William Barnard, J.P., of Caister, Great Yarmouth.

18. Francis Fortescue Urquhart, Senior Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, was born on September 1, 1868. He took the name Fortescue after the death of his uncle, Chichester Fortescue, Lord Carlingford, in 1898. His father, David Urquhart, was well known as a traveller in the Near East, and when, in 1877, his father died, his mother was received into the Church of Rome and the children were brought up as Roman Catholics. Urquhart was educated at Beaumont and Stonyhurst, taking his first degree at the University of London, and then went up to Balliol College (1890). He was elected a Fellow of the College in 1896, nominally for three years and to take half-time work, but he remained at Balliol for thirty-six years. He was Junior Dean from 1896 to 1906, and for a while after Domestic Bursar and Steward of Common Room. On the election of A. L. Smith as Master, in 1916, Urquhart succeeded him as Dean, Senior Fellow and Jowett Fellow. Both as an administrator and teacher Urquhart served the College and the University with distinction, becoming one of the most forceful personalities at Balliol. He remained unmarried.

30. Sir John Adams, LL.D., Emeritus-Professor of Education in the University of London, was born at Glasgow on July 2, 1857, and educated at St. David's School and the University of Glasgow. After training as a teacher, he became in succession headmaster of the Jean Street School at Port Glasgow, and Rector of Campbeltown Grammar School. He began his long experience of training colleges as first Principal of the Aberdeen Free Church College, and then of the Glasgow Free Church College. He was President of the Educational Institute of Scotland in 1896-97, and he visited Canada on an Educational Commission in 1901. From 1902 to 1922 he was Professor of Education in the University of London and also Principal of the London Day Training College. He was knighted in 1925. Adams was the author of "Herbartian Psychology Applied to Education" (1897) and of many other works on the theory and practice of teaching, notably "The Teacher's Many Parts" (1930) and "Everyman's Psychology," which he wanted, characteristically, to call "Psychology with the Chill Off." He married, in 1893, Agnes, daughter of John Cook, of Ashley, Aberdeen.

OCTOBER.

9. King Alexander I, of Yugoslavia (Alexander Karageorgevitch), who was murdered by a Croat assasbin at Marseilles while on his way to Paris, was born at Cetinje, Montenegro, on December 17, 1888, the second son of King Peter of Serbia, then an exile, and Princess Zorka of Montenegro, who died while he was an infant in arms. He became Crown Prince in 1909 when his elder brother, Prince George, was forced to renounce his claim to the throne; he was appointed Regent on June 24,1914, owing to the illness of his father; and he was proclaimed King on the death of his father on August 16,1921. By that time he had gathered a fair amount of political experience. On December 1, 1918, as Regent, he had proclaimed the union and independence of the new Kingdom of the Serbos, Croats, and Slovenes, the name of which was changed in October, 1929, to Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav Constitution provided for only one Chamber, the Skupshtina, and a heavy responsibility rested on the King. He did his best to hold the balance between the centralist ambitions of the Serbs and the federalist tendencies

of the Croats, and his tactful diplomacy after the murder of the Croatian Deputies in the Skupshtina in June, 1928, when he visited the wounded Baditch, probably saved the country from civil war. In December, 1928, the King appointed Colonel Maximovitch as Military Governor of Zagreb, where the Croat Peasant Party was advocating a wide autonomy for Croatia which was to have a loose federal link with the rest of the King's dominions. The appointment was answered by a political boycott on the part of the Croats. On December 30, Father Koroshetz, the Slovene who had taken office as Prime Minister in July, resigned, and the King was faced with the twenty-fifth Cabinet crisis since the Vidovdan Constitution had come into effect in December, 1918. Weary of the ceaseless bickerings of the politicians, King Alexander abolished the Constitution, and on January 5, 1929, appointed an administration of picked men under General Pera Zhivkovitch as instruments of the autocratic power which he assumed. During the next two years the various parties were dissolved by decree, and in September, 1931, the King granted a new Constitution which provided for a senate in addition to the old Skupshtina, but left the Royal power supreme in the realm. In private life the King was a great student and reader ; books were his hobby. On June 8, 1922, King Alexander married Princess Marie of Rumania. They had three sons—Peter, the new King, born on September 6, 1923, Prince Tomislav, born in 1928, and Prince Andrew, born in 1929.

9. **Jean Louis Barthou,** French Foreign Minister and formerly Prime Minister, who was murdered at Marseilles by the Croat assassin who killed King Alexander, was born on August 25, 1861. After practising law for a few years, he went into politics, and in 1889 was elected Deputy for the Department of the Basses Pyrenees. Five years later he was appointed Minister of Public Works in the Cabinet of Charles Dupuy. From May, 1896, to June. 1898, ho was Minister of the Interior under Meline, on whose defeat he returned to the Bar. He again became Minister of Public Works in the Sarrien Cabinet in 1906, and continued in the post under Clemenceau until 1909. Then for eighteen months ho was Garde des Sceaux and Minister of Justice under Briand. Other Ministerial appointments followed and in March, 1913, Poincare, the newly elected President of the Republic, called on him to form a Government. The most notable event of his Premiership was the passage of the Bill for the re-establishment of the three years' period of military service, but it resulted in a reaction, and Barthou was defeated on a financial question on December 2, 1913. During the Great War he was Minister without Portfolio in the Painleve Government, but he played no very prominent part until after the Armistice and the Peace Conference. Thenceforward he entirely associated himself with Poincare in his determination not to allow any reduction in the claims and guarantees of Franco recognised in the Peace Treaty. In July, 1922, Barthou entered the Senate, and in October was appointed President of the Reparations Commission. He held this post until July, 1926, when he became Minister of Justice in Poincare's Ministry of National Union. He was also a member of the Briand Cabinet in 1929, and again took office in February, 1934, as Foreign Minister when Doumergue formed his Government of Truce after the riots caused by the Stavisky scandal. He published several books, the most notable being a "Life of Mirabeau" (1913), "Lamartine Orateur" (1916), "Les Amours d'un Poete" (1919), and "Notes de Voyage," descriptive of travels in his younger days. He was a member of the French Academy.

12. **Lord Cushendun** (Ronald McNeill), Irish statesman, was born on April 30, 1861, and educated at Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford. He was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn, but soon turned to politics and journalism. Between 1899 and 1904 he was first assistant editor and then editor of the *St. James's Gazette,* and he fought West Aberdeenshire, South Aberdeen City (twice), and Kirkcudbrightshire before he was elected in 1911 for the St. Augustine Division of Kent (afterwards the Canterbury Division). From 1906 to 1910 he was assistant editor of the eleventh edition of the "Encyclopedia Britannica," to

which he was also a contributor. His first book, in 1907, was on the history and danger of Home Rule, and his latest, " Ulster's Stand for Union " appeared in 1921. Politically he was a die-hard—one of Sir Edward Carson's followers from his entry into the House of Commons until the Irish treaty. In 1922, rather to the general surprise, Bonar Law assigned to him the Under-Secretaryship for Foreign Affairs, but he proved so skilful that Mr. Baldwin retained him at the Foreign Office when forming both his first and his second Ministry. In November, 1925, he was transferred to the Treasury as Financial Secretary. When Lord Cecil of Chelwood resigned in October, 1927, Mr. McNeill was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, with a seat in the Cabinet, being created Lord Cushendun. In the summer of 1929, when Sir Austen Chamberlain had a breakdown in health, Lord Cushendun was appointed Acting Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and chief British representative at the meetings of the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations, and it fell to him to sign the Kellogg Pact. Lord Cushendun married first, in 1884, Elizabeth Maud, fifth daughter of William Bolitho of Polwithen, Cornwall, and had two daughters ; and secondly, in 1930, Catherine Louisa, daughter of Sir Mortimer and Lady Isabel Margesson. The peerage became extinct.

14. Sir Arthur Schuster, distinguished Professor of Physics, was born on September 12, 1851, at Frankfort-on-Main. and educated there and at Geneva. About 1869 he came to Manchester, where his parents had settled, and in 1875, he was naturalised. In 1871, after a short time in his father's banking business, he entered Owens College and devoted himself to science. He was in charge of four solar eclipse expeditions—to Siam, 1875 ; Colorado, 1878 ,• Egypt, 1882 ; and the West Indies, 1886. In 1881 he was appointed to the newly established Chair of Applied Mathematics at Manchester University, and in 1888 he was transferred to the Langworthy Chair of Physics, from which he retired in 1907. His work as a mathematical physicist followed three main directions—the electric discharge through gases, spectroscopy (a word which he introduced at the Royal Institution in 1882), and terrestrial magnetism. In 1884 and 1890 he delivered the Bakerian Lectures. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1879, and received the Royal medal in 1893, the Rumford medal in 1926, and the Copley medal in 1931. From 1912 to 1919 he acted as one of the secretaries of the Royal Society. He presided over the mathematical and physical section of the British Association in 1892, and was President in 1915. For a time he was President of the International Association of Seismology and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the International Union for Solar Research. Largely through his efforts the Royal Society took part in the formation of the International Association of Academies in 1899, and from 1919 to 1928 he was secretary of the International Research Council. He was Ph.D. Heidelberg University and D.Sc. Manchester University, and he received several honorary degrees. In addition to many scientific papers he published books on the " Theory of Optics," on " The Progress of Physics," and, with Sir A. E. Shipley, on " Britain's Heritage of Science." He was knighted in 1920. In 1887 he married Cary, eldest daughter of Georgo Loveday, of Wardington, Oxford, and had one son and four daughters.

15. Earl Buxton (Sydney Charles Buxton), former Governor-General of South Africa, was born on October 25, 1853, and educated at Clifton and Trinity College, Cambridge. At 23 he was a member of the London School Board and he never lost his interest in education. He served on the Royal Commission from 1886 to 1889 and signed a minority report which urged that the time had come for national free education. In 1880 he published his " Handbook to Political Questions of the Day " which went into eleven editions. He won, in the Liberal interest, a by-election at Peterborough in 1883, but was defeated there in 1885, and at Croydon in 1886. In that year he won by a majority of 76 the seat for the Poplar Division of the Tower Hamlets, and this he held for twenty-eight years. In 1889 he took, with Cardinal Manning and John Burns, an important

part in settling **the** dock strike, being a member of the Conciliation Committee. He was appointed Under-Secretary for the Colonies in Lord Rosebery's Government of 1892-95, and the first Matebele War brought him into contact with African native problems, in which he never lost interest. In 1905 he became Postmaster-General in Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Ministry and was made a Privy Councillor with a seat in the Cabinet. Ho introduced the penny postage to the United States and the Canadian magazine post, and was the first Postmaster-General to recognise the Postal Servants' Union. He went to the Board of Trade in 1910, and during his four years' Presidency, was responsible for the Copyright Act, **1911** ; for raising the half-time age from 10 to 11; for Part II. of the Unemployment Section of the National Insurance Act; and for the Miners' Minimum Wage Act. He steadily improved the machinery for settling industrial disputes and established an Industrial Council to carry out the Conciliation Act. He also carried the Pilotage Act of 1912; the Bankruptcy Act of 1913 and the Maritime Convention Act; and was responsible for the " Fair Wages " clause in municipal contracts. In 1914 he succeeded Lord Gladstone as Governor-General of the Union and High Commissioner of South Afiica. He was created Viscount Buxton of Newtimber and G.C.M.G., and remained in office until September, 1920. Among his publications were " The Fiscal Question," "Finance and Politics, 1783-1885," "Mr. Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer," " Fishing and Shooting," and a study of General Botha. In 1920 he was elected President of the African Society, and in 1930 was presented with the Society's gold medal. When he resigned in 1933, he was given the exceptional title of " honorary president for life." He was made chancellor of the Ordei of St. Michael and St. George in 1920, and honorary D.C.L. of Oxford in 192l. Ill-health dogged him all his life, and at 77, after many operations, his leg was amputated. In 1882 he married Constance Mary, daughter of Sir John Lubbock, first Lord Avebury. They had one daughter, and two sons, both of whom died young. Mrs. Buxton died in 189l. In 1896 he married Mildred, daughter of Hugh Smith, Governor of the Bank of England, and had one son, Denis, who was killed in action in 1917, and one daughter who, with Lady Buxton, survived him. The peerage became extinct.

15. **Raymond Polncare**\ President of the French Republic during the war and three times Prime Minister, was born on August 20, 1860. He was educated at the Lycee Louis-le-Grand, Paris, and continued his studies at the Sorbonne, while preparing for the Bar. Taking his doctor's degree in 1873, he built up a good practice at the Bar and was legal editor of the *Voltaire.* In 1887 he entered the Chamber of Deputies at a by-election, and he was returned again at the General Elections of 1889. He soon made a reputation as an economist and sat on the Budget Commissions of 1890-91 and 1892, rising to Cabinet rank in 1893 as Minister of Education, Fine Arts, and Religion. In 1894 ho was appointed Minister of Finance in the second Dupuy Cabinet; in 1895 he returned to the Ministry of Education. From 1895 to 1897 he was Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies. During the next eleven years, feeling out of sympathy with successive Governments, he devoted himself to legal work and writing. In 1906 he was again Minister of Finance, under Sarrien. Following the publication of " Idees Contemporames " (1906) and " Questions et Figures Politiques " (1907), he was elected a member of the French Academy at the age of 49. On January 13, 1912, he became Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. A year later he was elected President of the Republic, and he at once departed from precedent, while keeping strictly within the constitutional limits, by addressing the Chambers directly, informing them that it was his function to be " a guide and adviser for public opinion in times of crisis." He never liked to delegate work and wrote most of his letters in his own hand. When the war came, he seconded every measure for its vigorous prosecution, and he held the opinion that no Armistice should be granted till the military victory was final and crushing. Soon after his retirement, on February 17, 1920, he was elected Senator for the Meuse and President of the Inter-Allied Reparations Commission,

but resigned three months later when decisions taken at the Hythe Conference (May, 1920) impaired, as he thought, the authority of the Commission. He became an active journalist, writing regularly for the *Temps*, the *Matin*, and the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Early in 1922 he was elected Prime Minister for the second time. His principal aim, he made it clear, was to insist on the proper fulfilment by Germany of all her treaty obligations. He proclaimed France's right to take separate action to secure payment from Germany, and after an abortive conference in Paris in 1923, he put his policy into effect,and, in agreement with Belgium, occupied the Ruhr. The result was not satisfactory, and Poincare was subjected to bitter criticism. On March 26 he was defeated on a minor issue, and resigned, but resumed office the next day. Tho elections of May, 1924, showed that opposition was not confined to Parliament; the Cartel des Gauches was returned with a majority, and on the assembly of the new Chamber of Deputies, Poincare again resigned. Tho situation, however, did not improve, and in two years the franc had fallen to 240 to the pound. There were rumours of a dictatorship and the President asked Poincar6 to form a Government. On his acceptance the franc rose to about 180. He formed the Government of National Union, with himself as Minister of Finance, and in 1928 he was able to stabilise the franc at 124. On July 26, 1929, the debt agreements with Great Britain and the U.S. were passed in the Chamber, and on the following day Poincare^ who was obliged to undergo an operation, resigned for the last time. He retired to Roquebrune and resumed his journalistic activities. In 1921 he published "The Origins of the War."

NOVEMBER.

l. Baron Edmond de Rothschild, founder of the Jowish settlement in Palestine, a bonofactor of scientific research and a noted art collector, was born at Boulogne-sur-Soine, near Paris, on August 19, 1845, the youngest son of Baron James Mayer de Rothschild, of Austria. Every year Baron Edmond shared with his brothers in the distribution of large sums among the poor of all creeds and nations. But the immediate relief of the Jews in different countries did not satisfy him, and in 1883 he began to lay the foundation of the agricultural Jewish settlement in Palestine, although he was not a Zionist in the political sense, and was opposed to Dr. Herzl's Zionist organisation until the Balfour Declaration in 1917. It was computed that his contributions to Jewish colonisation into Palestine amounted to about 70,000,000 gold francs. By 1899, owing to differences between the colonists and the officials appointed by the Baron m Paris, he transferred his interests to the care of the Jewish Colonisation Association, the body created by Baron de Hirsch for the administration of 10,000,000/. which he had left to relieve persecuted Jews. In 1924 all the Rothschild undertakings were transferred to the Palestine Jewish Colonisation Association, a body known as the "Pica" and officially regarded as a public utility undertaking. When the extension of the Jewish Agency was affected in Zurich in 1929 Baron de Rothschild was elected honorary president. He was a patron of the Arts, and massed a wonderful collection of treasures of all kinds. He founded and endowed the Maison de l'lnstitut de France at Queen's Gate, London, for housing French students and research workers. He was also a benefactor of scientific research ; in 1921 he presented the Academie des Sciences with 200,000/. for a laboratory to be devoted to physical and chemical science and its application to industry and agriculture. In 1927 he gave 242,000/. to the Rothschild Foundation for biological research. He was Governor of the Bank of France and a former administrator of the French State Railways. Many decorations were conferred on him, including the Legion of Honour. He had been a member of the Paris Jockey Club since 1868. He married, in 1877, Adelaide, daughter of Wilhelm Karl Rothschild, and had two sons (one is Mr. James de Rothschild, M.P. for the Isle of Ely), and one daughter.

3. Sir Robert McAlpine, Bt., founder of one of the largest contracting firms in the world, was born at Newarthill, Lanarkshire, on February 13, 1847. His father died when he was three and he had to make his own way in the world. At first he was employed as a bricklayer on railway construction work. Then, at the age of 20, he started *in* business on his own account in Glasgow. By the time he was 27 he had built and owned practically the whole of Burnbank in Lanarkshire. Soon the business was developed into railway and factory construction, in which reinforced concrete and the McAlpine system of tunnelling in ferro-concrete segments were extensively used. In 1890 he assisted in building the first underground tube railway at Glasgow. The contracts carried out by McAlpine's firm, estimated at 100,000,000l., included the Wembley Exhibition and the Empire Stadium, the factories of British Dyes at Huddersfield, the Spondon works of the British Cellulose Company, the mechanical transport depot at Slough, Takoradi harbour and railway terminus in Africa, the Singer works in Glasgow, the reconstruction of the Southern Railway in Thanet, and Dorchester House, Park Lane, the latter at a cost of 1,750,000l. McAlpine was created a baronet in 1918. He married first, in 1867, Agnes, daughter of William Hepburn, and had five sons and three daughters ; and secondly, in 1889, Florence Margaret Palmer, and had one son and two daughters.

4. The Earl of Desart (Hamilton John Agmondesham Cuffe), for fifteen years Treasury Solicitor and Director of Public Prosecutions, was born on August 30,1848. At the ago of 12 he became a midshipman in the Royal Navy, but leaving the service in 1863, he went to Radley and then to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his degree in 1869. In 1872 he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple, of which he was elected a Bencher in 1905. His first official appointment was the secretaryship of the Judicature Acts Commission in 1877 which led, in 1878, to his becoming Assistant Solicitor to the Treasury. In 1894 he became Solicitor, which office was then held in conjunction with those of Queen's Proctor and Director of Public Prosecutions. When the last office was separated from the others in 1908 Lord Desart held the first two posts alone until he retired in 1909, when he was made a baron of the United Kingdom. In 1898 he had succeeded his brother as fifth Earl of Desart. In 1905, during the Russo-Japanese War, he was one of the British members upon the North Sea Inquiry which investigated the circumstances of the firing on some British seamen by the Russian Baltic fleet off the Dogger Bank. In 1908 he presided as British plenipotentiary over the Naval Conference of London, which resulted in the Declaration of London, 1909. Two years later he was appointed one of the four British members of the Permanent International Court of Arbitration at The Hague. He presided, too, over the Prize Claims Committee set up m 1915. Among the celebrated cases which as director of Public Prosecutions he conducted for the Government were the Jameson Raid case, the prosecution of Jabez Balfour for the Liberator frauds, the Maybrick case, and the prosecution of Lord Russell for bigamy. He was made a C.B. in 1894, K.C.B. in 1898, and a Privy Councillor in 1913. In 1919 he was created a Knight of St. Patrick, and in 1920 he was appointed Lieutenant of County Kilkenny. He was a member of the Irish Convention in 1913 and was elected to the Irish Senate on its establishment in 1921. He married, in 1876, Lady Margaret Lascelles, who died in 1927, and had two daughters but no son or heir presumptive.

— Sir Alfred Gilbert, R.A., the sculptor of Eros, was born in London in 1854, and was educated at Aldenham Grammar School. At first he studied medicine, but from Mercer's School he entered Heatherley's School of Art and went on to the Royal Academy Schools where, in 1875, he competed for the gold medal for sculpture. In the same year he went to Paris, where he continued his medical studies. After three years at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts he visited Rome and other Italian cities. Returning to London about 1880 he studied under Edgar Boehm and quickly made a reputation. He was elected A.R.A. in 1887 and full R.A. in 1892, and was for a time Professor of Sculpture in the Royal

Academy Schools. Works like "Perseus Arming," "Icarus," and "The Enchanted Chair" attracted the attention of connoisseurs and public alike, and he obtained commissions such as that for the Duke of Clarence Memorial at Windsor, that of Lord Arthur Russell in Chenies Church, and the bronze figure of Queen Victoria in the Great Hall, Winchester. Gilbert was at the height of his popularity after his election as A.R.A. in 1887, and the lavish revels which were held at his studio in Maida Vale ended in financial disaster. Royal appreciation of his work was expressed in the offer of a studio and suite of apartments at Windsor Castle. Gilbert's best-known work, and in his own words "both my crown of thorns and my crowning glory," is the Shaftesbury Memorial Fountain surmounted by a figure of Eros, which he called "Spiritual Love," in Piccadilly Circus. In 1908, perhaps owing to disappointment and financial loss over the fountain, Gilbert resigned his membership of the Royal Academy, gave up all his commissions and went to live in seclusion at Bruges. In 1925 the original study of Eros was purchased for the nation out of the Chantrey Bequest. In 1926, at the express desire of King George V., Gilbert returned to London to complete the Duke of Clarence Memorial at Windsor, and in the same year he was awarded the gold medal of the Royal Society of British Sculptors. When it was decided that part of the fund for a national memorial to Queen Alexandra should be devoted to a visible memorial to the Queen, Gilbert was commissioned to do the work which took the form of a bronze group symbolising Faith, Hope, and Charity; it was placed in a recess in the garden wall at Marlborough House and unveiled by King George on June 8, 1931. The next day Gilbert was knighted. He accepted the invitation of the General Assembly of Academicians to resume the membership which he had resigned in 1908; the Arts Club elected him as an honorary life member; the Chelsea Arts Club made him the guest of honour at their annual dinner, and a fund was started for a national testimonial. Among other works by Gilbert are the memorial to Fawcett under the south-western tower of Westminster Abbey, the Howard memorial at Bedford (1894), the bust of John Hunter over a gateway of St. George's Hospital, the busts of Holl and Caldecott in the crypt of St. Paul's, the bust of Petrus Paulus, the Belgian painter, and of G. F. Watts, who painted Gilbert in return. He was also painted by Seymour Lucas. In the Sam Wilson collection at Leeds Art Gallery there is a massive bronze mantel and overmantel by Gilbert which includes one of the few paintings ever done by him. In 1929 Miss Isabel McAlister published a large work on Gilbert's art. He married, in 1875, his cousin, Alice Jane, daughter of Francis Gilbert of Ottawa, and had three sons and one daughter.

5. Lieutenant-General Sir Harold Bridgwood Walker, a distinguished soldier, was born at Dilhorne, Staffordshire, on April 26, 1862, was educated at Shrewsbury and Jesus College, Cambridge, and entered the Army from the Militia. He saw service in Africa and India. On the outbreak of the South African War he was sent to the Cape and placed in command of a Mounted Infantry regiment which took part in the operations resulting in the occupation of Bloemfontein by Lord Roberts. He received his brevet majority in 1900, and in 1902 was awarded the D.S.O, and promoted to Major. By 1911 he was Colonel, and in April he went out to the East again on appointment as General Staff Officer, 1st Grade, Burma Division. When the Anzac Corps was formed in Egypt in 1915 Colonel Walker, who had just been made Brigadier-General, General Staff, was selected to join Birdwood. He was present at the landing on Gallipoli in temporary command of the New Zealand Infantry Brigade, and then had the 1st Australian Brigade before succeeding to the command of the 1st Australian Division. He was promoted Major-General in January, 1916, and came back to lead the Australians on the Western Front until 1918. In July he took over the 48th (South Midland) Division on the Italian front. In March, 1919, he was appointed to command all the British forces still in Italy, but in July he was brought home to become again G.O.C. the South Midland Division of the Territorial Army. He was created C.B. in 1915, K.C.B. in 1918, and K.C.M.G. in 1919. In 1923 he became Colonel of his old regiment, the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry. His next appointment

was in India again. Having been promoted Lieutenant-Greneral in 1923 he took up his duties as G.O.C.-in-C, Southern Command, in March, 1924. In May, 1928, he retired from the Army. He married Harriet Edith Coulthard, of Plymstock, South Devon, in 1887, and had two sons.

6. Alfred Richard Orage, editor of the *New English Weekly,* and formerly editor of the *New Age,* was born at Dacre in Yorkshire on January 22, 1873. In 1907, in collaboration with Holbrook Jackson, he took over the editorship of the *New Age,* which quickly gained prominence under his direction. Most of the brilliant journalists of the period used the *New Age* as a personal platform, and the editor's weekly commentary, written with his immense vocabulary and incisive debating power, kept a consistent outlook and policy. Orage wrote two books on Nietzsche, whose principles he applied to sociology in his propaganda for National Guilds. After the war he became a protagonist of the Douglas Social Credit proposals until he resigned the editorship of the *New Age* in 1921. During the next two years he worked in America, lecturing on literature and psychology. On returning to England in 1932 he founded the *New English Weekly* in which he advocated financial reform upon the Douglas principles.

16. Charles Sargeant Jagger, M.C, A.R.A., distinguished sculptor, was born in a Yorkshire colliery village, the son of a pit manager, in 1884. He received his first training at the Sheffield School of Art where, besides drawing, which he taught in the evening classes, and modelling, he studied metal engraving. Before he was 18 he had produced "Man and the Maelstrom" and "Promethous Unbound." With a scholarship he went to the Royal College of Art, where he studied under Professor Lanteri, winning several prizes and a travelling scholarship for a bronze door design which enabled him to spend some months in Rome and Venice. In 1914 he won the Rome Scholarship in Sculpture of the British School at Rome, but the outbreak of war prevented him taking advantage of it. During the war he was wounded three times and was awarded the Military Cross. He was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy in 1926. In 1932 he was appointed an additional member of the Royal Mint Advisory Commission on Coins, Medals, Seals, and Decorations. In 1926 he was awarded the Royal Society of British Sculptors' gold medal (a special distinction) for the Artillery Memorial at Hyde Park Corner, and in 1933 he again received the Society's medal for a group in stone executed for Imperial Chemicals House, Millbank. For the Roman Catholic Cathedral, Liverpool, he was preparing designs for a colossal figure of Christ the King, and at the time of his death he was engaged upon a statue of King George V. in his Durbar robes for New Delhi, where he was already represented by a statue of Lord Hardinge, Viceroy of India, 1911-16. In the Royal Academy, 1934, he had a colossal head of "The Steel Puddler," a portrait from memory of a comrade of his in the 4th Worcesters at Suvla Bay. One of the finest examples of Jagger's work was the Great Western Railway Memorial at Paddington Station; another was the figure of Sir Ernest Shackleton in a niche on the building of the Royal Geographical Society. He married, in 1925, Evelyn Wade, and had two daughters.

18. Cardinal Pietro Gasparrl, Papal Secretary of State from 1914 to 1929, was born on May 5, 185l. He began to study for the Church in the diocesan seminary of Nepi, and passed thence to the Pontifical Seminary at Rome, where he became private secretary to Cardinal Mertel. After taking degrees in philosophy, theology, and canon law he was chosen by a committee of French prelates to be Professor of Canon Law at the Catholic Institute in Paris, where he stayed from 1880 to 1898, when he was promoted to the dignity of Titular Archbishop of Cesarea of Palestine and was appointed Apostolic Delegate to Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia. So successful was he in improving the relations of the Holy See with the three republics that within three years he was recalled to Rome to become secretary of the Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, an office he held for six years, during which time he was called upon to deal with the crisis between France and the Holy See. In 1904 Pope Pius X. entrusted him with the codifica-

tion of the Canon Law, a task he completed in 1917, when he was promptly appointed President of the Commission for the Interpretation of the Codex. In 1907 he was created Cardinal, and in 1914 Pope Benedict XV. invited him to become Cardinal Secretary of State, from which office he resigned in 1929. On February 11 of that year he signed with Signor Mussolini the Lateran Agreement. Cardinal Gasparri was a member of the Royal Italian Academy.

21. **Philippe Berthelot,** for many years Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in France, was born in 1866, the younger son of Marcelin Berthelot, a renowned French chemist and a fervent republican. At 23 he received a diplomatic appointment in Portugal. For some alleged irregularity at Lisbon his career was interrupted, but in 1895, when Leon Bourgeois unexpectedly chose Marcelin Berthelot as Foreign Minister in a Radical Republican Cabinet, Philippe Berthelot was promptly reinstated in the Diplomatic service. By 1902 he was Second Secretary of Legation at Brussels, and after having been entrusted with a mission in the Far East he was attached to the Political Directorate at the Quai D'Orsay, where he became, in 1905, Assistant *chef de Cabinet,* with the rank of First Secretary. Thereafter his advancement was rapid, due in large measure to his assiduity and extensive knowledge of foreign affairs. He wrote the Report of the Special Commission upon the reorganisation of the Foreign Office in 1906 ; was made Sub-Director of the Asiatic Department in 1907 ; rose to be Minister Plenipotentiary in 1911; and in 1914 was appointed Assistant Director for Europe, Africa, and the East. In 1920 he was raised to the rank of Ambassador and formally appointed Secretary-General of the Foreign Office. Time and again efforts were made to remove him from his commanding position, and in 1922 he was suspended for ten years by a Council of Discipline. He was charged with having used his official authority in an attempt to save from disaster the Industrial Bank of China, of which his elder brother, Andre Berthelot, was the managing director. Three years later he was reinstated after an Amnesty Act had cancelled all disciplinary punishment inflicted on officials. He returned to the Quai D'Orsay in time to take an active share in preparing the Locarno Agreements of 1925, and in all phases of French foreign policy down to the time of his retirement (in 1933) on the ground of ill-health.

23. **Sir Arthur Wing Pinero,** well-known dramatist, was born in London on May 24, 1855, the son of John Daniel Pinero, a solicitor, who was sprung from an old Jewish Sephardi family. He was apprenticed to the law, but after much amateur acting he joined the Edinburgh Stock Company and made his first appearance at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, on June 22, 1874. In 1876 he came to London, and appeared as Mr. Darch in *Miss Gwilt,* and then went on tour with the Lyceum Company, playing such parts as Claudius, Rosencrantz, Guildenstern, and Roderigo. Later, under the Bancrofts, he played Sir Anthony Absolute in *The Rivals.* On October 6, 1877, his first work, a one-act play, called *Two Hundred a Year,* was produced at the Globe, and several minor pieces followed—*Daisy's Escape, Hester's Mystery, Lords and Commons,* and *Boys and Girls ;* in all sixteen pieces before he was 30. *The Money Spinner,* first produced in Manchester, came to London in 1881, and marked Pinero's entry to the stage of St. James's. His first real success, the farcical comedy, *The Magistrate* (Court Theatre, 1885), was followed by *The Schoolmistress, Dandy Dick, The Cabinet Minister,* and *The Amazons,* all of which became extremely popular. *Sweet Lavender,* in a more sentimental vein, had 684 performances after its first performance in 1888. *The Profligate* (Garrick Theatre, 1889) was the first of what may be called his unpleasant plays. Then came the thesis-play, *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* (St. James's Theatre), in which Mrs. Patrick Campbell appeared. It had no direct influence on the thought of the world, but in the theatre it was revolutionary. Its discussion may not have been profound, but at least it discussed something. Among the more important plays which appeared at regular intervals during the next thirty years were *The Notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith, Trelawney of the Wells* (1898), *The Gay Lord Quex* (1899), *Iris* (his best study of

a woman, although he himself is said to have preferred *Mrs. Ebbsmith), His House in Order,* and *Mid-Channel.* In 1909 when he was knighted, his reputation was at its zenith. Then came *Preserving Mr. Panmure* and *The Mind4he-Paint Girl,* a bitter study of the private life of musical comedy girls, which was received with open hostility at its first performance in 1911. His next and last play of any importance, *The Enchanted Cottage,* appeared in 1921. In 1883 he married Myra Emily Holme, daughter of Beaufoy A. Moore, and widow of Captain John Angus L. Hamilton.

23. Sir Ernest Alfred Thompson Wall Is Budge, eminent as an Assyriologist and Egyptologist, was born at Bodmin on July 27, 1857. His interests were early turned towards Oriental languages, and these he read at Cambridge, where he was a scholar at Christ's College. In 1882 he gained a Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholarship, and shortly afterwards was appointed as Assistant to the Egyptian and Assyrian Department of the British Museum. He was made Keeper of his department in 1893, holding the office until 1924. His time was spent in producing a large number of books on Oriental subjects and by trips to the Levant. He conducted excavations in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Sudan, meeting with various adventures on his solitary journeys, which are described in his book, " By Nile and Tigris." One of his best publications was the Syriac " Book of Governors " of Thomas Marga (1893), which gives a graphic picture of the monastic life of Mesopotamia in the ninth century. His sumptuous edition of the Ethiopic History of Tekla Haimanot was published through the liberality of Lady Meux. For the life of Alexander the Great in Ethiopic Budge received the Star of Ethiopia from King Menelik. After his publication of the cuneiform records of Esarhaddon, *m* 1881, he relinquished Assyriology and applied himself to Egyptology, and the British Museum entrusted him with the edition of the Book of the Dead. He wrote voluminously on the history and religion of Ancient Egypt, and did much to popularise these studies in a series of cheap handbooks. " The Mummy " was one of his best-known works on Egyptian life. He left a record of the early days of Assyriology in his amusing, " Rise and Progress of Assyriology." He was knighted in 1920. In 1883 he married Dora Helen, daughter of the Rev. Titus Emerson, rector of Allendale.

30. Sir Robert William Perks, Bt., for over fifty years the lay leader of the Methodist Movement, was born on April 24, 1849. He was educated at the New Kingswood School, Bath, and King's College, London, and after graduating at London University, qualified as a solicitor. In 1912, however, after practising as a solicitor, he joined the firm of Macarthur, Perks & Company of Ottawa and New York, contractors for dock and railway construction, one of whose undertakings was the Georgia Bay Ship Canal, providing a waterway for large ships between the Atlantic and the Great Lakes of Canada. He was Chairman of the Metropolitan District Railway Company in 1902-6, during the earlier stages of the electrification of the line. From 1892 to 1910 he sat in the House of Commons as Liberal member for the Louth Division of Lincolnshire, but in 1909 he decided not to stand again. He carried the Nonconformist Marriage Bill and a Bill enabling Nonconformists to enfranchise compulsorily their leasehold places of worship. From 1900 to 1906 he was treasurer, and later Vice-President of Lord Rosebery's Liberal League, and from 1906 to 1908 was Chairman of a group of 200 Nonconformist M.P.S. The son of a former president of the Wesleyan conference, he was himself an outstanding figure in Methodism, and he rendered great service in connexion with the Wesleyan Methodist Twentieth Century Million Fund by means of which the Century Hall, Westminster, was built. He will be best remembered for bringing about the union of the Wesleyan Methodist, Primitive Methodist, and United Methodist Churches. When in 1932 the three Churches became the Methodist Church, he was made vice-president of the firs£ conference of the new united Church. In the same year he presented a collection of Methodist engravings to Wesley's Chapel, City Road, in memory of his father, who was superintendent of the circuit in 1865. He was created a baronet in

1908, was a member of the Institute of Civil Engineers, and a J.P. for Oxfordshire and Kent. In 1878 he married Edith, daughter of W. Newburn, of Wykham Park, Banbury, and had three daughters and one son.

DECEMBER.

4. **Sir Horace Lamb,** eminent as a mathematical physicist, was born at Stockport on November 27, 1849, and educated at Stockport Grammar School, Owens College, Manchester, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he became second Wrangler, second Smith's prizeman, and a Fellow. In 1875 he was appointed Professor of Mathematics at Adelaide University. He returned to Manchester as Professor of Mathematics at the University in 1885, holding the post until he retired in 1920, and went to live at Cambridge. His first book, " A Treatise on the Mathematical Theory of the Motion of Fluids," appeared in 1878. His treatment of vortex and cyclic motion, with their electromagnetic analogues, the discontinuous jets of Helmholtz and Kirchhoff, the motion of perforated solids through a liquid and the effects of viscosity, was bold and original. From 1881 to 1884 he published a series of memoirs dealing with the application of harmonic analysis to vibrational problems, and a number of papers on the elastic deformation of plates and shells. Other publications include "Hydrodynamics" (1895) which became the standard treatise on the subject, " Elementary Course of Infinitesimal Calculus " (third edition, 1919), " Dynamical Theory of Sound" (1910), "Statics" (1912), "Dynamics" (1914), and "Higher Mechanics" (1920). In 1884 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, on the council of which he served for three periods of two years, and of which he was twice vice-president. He was awarded the society's Royal Medal in 1902, and the Copley Medal (its highest honour) in 1924. Seven universities gave him doctorates ; he was a foreign member of the Reale Accademia dei Lincei. He was President of the London Mathematical Society from 1902 to 1904, and De Morgan medallist in 1911. He was President of Section A of the British Association at Cambridge in 1904, and President of the whole Association at Southampton in 1925. In 1924 he deliverod the Rouse Ball lecture at Cambridge. He was knighted in 1931. He married, in 1875, Elizabeth Foot, of Dublin, and had three sons and four daughters.

5. **Lord Buckmaster** (Stanley Owen Buckmaster), former Lord Chancellor of England, was born on January 9, 1861, the son of J. C. Buckmaster, a science master at South Kensington, and a magistrate on the Spelthorne Bench. Educated at Aldenham School and Christ Church, Oxford (of which he was subsequently elected an Honorary Student), he was called to the Bar in 1884 by the Inner Temple, and later joined Lincoln's Inn, of which he became a Bencher. He began to practise on the common law side, but soon went to the Chancery Division. He took silk in 1902, attaching himself to the Court of Mr. Justice Buckley (Lord Wrenbury). In 1906 he entered Parliament as Liberal member for the Borough of Cambridge. An ardent free trader, he made his reputation in the House of Commons rather on questions outside the general issue of politics. On July 6,1906, he defended Mr. Justice Grantham in the Yarmouth election petition. In a debate in the House of Commons in February, 1908, on a resolution regretting the secrecy under which party funds were accumulated and administered, he aroused much criticism by moving an amendment condemning the expenditure in elections of large sums from the secret funds of the Tariff Reform League and other societies, not included in the candidates' expenses. In 1924 and 1929 he was Chairman of the Political Honours Review Committee. In October, 1911, he was returned for the Keighley Division of the West Riding. On his appointment as Solicitor-General, in October, 1913, he resigned the post of counsel to the University of Oxford which he had held since 1911. Early in the war he was made Director of the Press Bureau. He became Lord Chancellor on June 1,

1915, taking the title of Lord Buckmaster of Cheddington. In his eighteen months of office he introduced to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council the procedure for expediting the hearing of Indian appeals ; the measure which enabled the Judicial Committee to sit in two divisions ; and the earlier hearing of appeals to the House of Lords. He nominated only two High Court Judges —Mr. Justice Peterson and Mr. Justice McCardie. In December, 1925, he relinquished the judicial duties and his pension of 5,000l. a year as an ex-Lord Chancellor in order to become president of the new board of directors of British Controlled Oilfields, Ltd., a position he held until September, 1926, when he resigned owing to ill-health. He was Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Imperial College of Science and Technology. He introduced the Matrimonial Causes Bill, supported Birth Control, was president of the council for co-ordinating the work of the various societies opposed to capital punishment, and was a supporter of measures for the protection of birds. He was made a G.C.V.O. in 1930, and a Viscount in 1933. He was also an honorary D.C.L. of Oxford. He married, in 1889, Edith Augusta, daughter of Spencer Robert Lewin, of Widford, Ware, and had one son and two daughters.

5. Lord Riddell (George Allardice Riddell), newspaper owner and diarist, was born at Duns, South Scotland, on May 25, 1865, educated in London, and admitted a solicitor in 1888. He built up a large practice and became legal representative in London of the Corporations of Cardiff and Huddersfield. Before he retired from the law in 1903, he had made his first contact with journalism by acting as legal agent in London for the *Western Mail* In association with Lascelles Carr and Mr. (now Sir) Elmsley Carr, he bought the *News of the World,* and was appointed Chairman when the firm became a limited company. He developed the circulation of the paper from 30,000 to over 3,000,000 copies a week, due largely to the method of distribution through direct agents which he initiated. He succeeded Sir George Newnes as managing director of George Newnes Ltd., and was Chairman of C. Arthur Pearson, of Newnes & Pearson and of Country Life Ltd. During the war he acted as liaison officer between the Government Departments and the newspapers, continuing in that capacity at the Peace Conference, and the conferences which followed. In 1919 he was entertained at dinner by the Press and presented with his portrait painted by Sir William Orpen. In 1921 he accompanied Lord Balfour and the British Delegates to the Washington Conference on Naval Disarmament, serving again in a liaison capacity between the conference and the Press of all nations. In June, 1933, he published " Lord Riddell's War Diary, 1914-1918," and in November, " Lord RiddelFs Intimate Diary of the Peace Conference and After : 1918-1923." " More Pages from My Diary, 1908-1914," was published in November, 1934. Characteristically he devoted the profits of the diaries to the Newspaper Press Fund. He also published " Law for the Million," which had a large circulation, " Some Things that Matter " and " More Things that Matter," essays covering a wide range of subjects. After the war he rendered valuable service in negotiations between newspaper proprietors and the trade unions connected with the newspaper trade. He succeeded Lord Burnham as Chairman of the Newspaper Proprietors' Association, in the formation of which, in 1906, he had played a leading part. He was Chairman of the Periodical, Trade Press, and Weekly Newspaper Proprietors' Association, was President of the Advertising Association, founder of the London School of Printing, and President of the Printing Industry Research Association. He was President of the Royal Free Hospital to which he gave in all 100,000l., and he represented the voluntary hospitals on the London County Council Committee. With Sir Albert Levy he endowed the Eastman Dental Clinio with 100,000/., in addition to the 200,000*. from the founder. Lord Riddell had no family. Lady Riddell, by whom he was survived, was a daughter of D. W. Allardice of Rock Ferry, Cheshire.

10. Sir James O'Qrady, Governor of the Falkland Islands and formerly Governor of Tasmania, was born at Bristol on May 6, 1866, educated at St. Mary*s

Roman Catholic School, apprenticed at an early age to a furniture maker, and travelled all over England as a journeyman. In 1890 he returned to Bristol, and became active in trade unionism and local administration, being elected a city councillor in 1897. He organised the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association, which he represented at various conferences. In 1898 he was President of the Trade Union Congress at Bristol, and he gained wide experience of international trade union congresses in Europe and America. He served on the Exeoutive of the General Federation of Trade Unions and the Shipbuilding Trades Federation, and was afterwards elected secretary of the National Federation of General Workers. In January, 1906, he won for Labour East Leeds, and sat for that Division from 1918, and for the South-East Division till his appointment to Tasmania. He specialised at first in Indian questions and opposed some of the executive and administrative acts of Lord Morley, then the Secretary of State. During the war he called himself a " Labour Imperialist." In April, 1917, he went to Petrograd with Mr. Will Thorne, M.P., and Mr. W. S. Sanders, and a French Labour Delegation. When O'Grady called upon the Russian Revolutionaries to fight with the Allies, it was alleged that he and Mr. Thorne were Government agents, and in order to remove this misunderstanding Hyndman telegraphed to Keronsky, then Minister of Justice, a full record of the work of the two members. In November, 1919, O'Grady was appointed to negotiate with Litvinoff in Copenhagen concerning the exchange of British prisoners of war and civilians in Russia. Afterwards he worked as administrator of the trade union relief for the Russian famine. In October, 1924, he was appointed Governor of Tasmania, and in accordance with precedent was created a K.C.M.G. The appointment proved a complete success, and his term of office was extended for one year. He returned to England in April, 1931, and a month later left to take up his duties as Governor of the Falkland Islands. In 1933 he was invalided home suffering from blood poisoning. Lady O'Grady, whom he married when he was 21, died in 1929. They had three sons and seven daughters.

11. John Charles Doll man, a distinguished subject painter and entomologist, was born at Hove on May 6, 1851, and studied art at the South Kensington and the Royal Academy Schools. The early part of his career was chiefly devoted to black and white work and sporting pictures, and he was for many years principal draughtsman on the staff of the *Graphic*. He was an exhibitor at the Royal Academy almost continuously for sixty years. At the age of 19, he and several other young artists founded the original Hogarth Club, and for many years he was a member of the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours, and the Royal Institute of Oil Painters. One of his most famous pictures, " Les Miserables " (1886), is in the London Museum; another, "A Very Gallant Gentleman " (1914), is in the Cavalry Club. Among his best works, many of which became known as " the Picture of the Year," may be mentioned " Christmas Day at the Dreadnought Hospital" (1880), "Not Worth Powder and Shot" (1884), " Warranted Quiet to Ride and Drive " (1886), " The Rising Generation " (1881), "Judas" (1891), "The Sabbath Breakers" (1896), "St. Anthony" (1897), " Crusoe " (1899), " The Stymie " (1899), " The Top of the Hill" (1900), "Kismet" (1902), " Mowgli" (1903), "Famine" (1904), "The Valkyries Ride" (1908), "Am I My Brother's Keeper?" (1909), "The Hunter" (1911), "The Unknown" (1912), "The Mischief God" (1913), " Tipperary " (1915), "The Creditors" (1916), "Fraternity" (1917), and "Anno Domini" (1917), " Up a Tree " (1921), " The Oldest God " (1927), " Enchantment " (1930), and "Lions Disturbed" (1934). For many years he was an enthusiastic angler and ornithologist; at a later period he took up the subject of British Lepidoptera, and formed a fine collection which he presented to the British Museum. Its value was greatly increased by his water-colour drawings of the caterpillars of the various insects. He was also interested in photography, was an honorary member of the Royal Photographic Society, and constructed bioscopes and pocket cameras of original design. In his youth he visited North America, and

lived for some time on the Tuscarora Reservation, bringing home with him a quantity of studies of North American Indians. He married, in 1880, Mary Jane Fletcher, of Hereford, and had two sons and two daughters.

13. William Poel, Shakespearean student, actor, producer, and author, was born on July 22, 1852, the son of William Pole, F.R.S., engineer, musician, and authority on whist. He first appeared on the stage in 1876, and four years later made his first theatrical production—an episode out of " Don Quixote "—at the King's Cross Theatre. In 1879 a facsimile of the First Quarto (1603) of *Hamlet* was published. Poel, backed by F. J. Furnivall, decided to produce it; and at St. George's Hall in April, 1881, he played " Hamlet," with Miss Helen Maud (Lady Tree) as " Ofelia," in what was practically the first production of a Shakespeare play since Shakespeare's time, without scenery and without act and scene divisions. Between 1880 and 1932 he produced seventeen of Shakespeare's plays, most notably *Richard II.*, with Mr. Granville-Barker in the title part, and many plays by the other Elizabethan dramatists. He also staged several plays of his own writing, among them *Priest or Painter.* Many of the productions were made on behalf of the Shakespeare Reading Society, to which he acted as general instructor. In 1894 he founded the Elizabethan Stage Society, which gave *Twelfth Night* as its first production in 1895, and *Romeo and Juliet* as its last in 1905. After that date he carried on the work on his own responsibility or for the Elizabethan Stage Circle which he formed in 1927. He published " Shakespeare in the Theatre." He married, in 1894, Ella Constance, daughter of the Rev. Alfred Locock.

19. Lieutenant-Colonel John Ward, soldier and politician, was born at Oaklands, Spa. As a youth he worked as a navvy on the construction of the Manchester Ship Canal, and was almost grown up before an old lady taught him to read. He enlisted before he was 20, and served in the Suakin force with Lord Wolseley's expedition to the Sudan of 1885, receiving the Khedive's Star and medal with clasp. Returning to England he joined the Social Democratic Federation, and in 1889 founded the Navvies' Union. After some experience in municipal affairs, he entered Parliament in 1906 as Labour member for Stoke-on-Trent. When the war broke out he rejoined the Army, and raised five labour battalions, and in 1915 a pioneer battalion, known as the 25th Battalion of the Middlesex Regiment (" Die-Hards "). During a journey to the Far East the troopship *Tyndareus,* in which the battalion was embarked, was mined, and Ward distinguished himself by his courage and resource. After a period in Hong-Kong and the Straits Settlements, the 25th Battalion was ordered to Vladivostock for service in Siberia. Colonel Ward, though under the command of General Knox, chief of the British Military Mission in the Far East, was virtually senior British Officer in that region, and in consequence played a political as well as a military part m the events of 1919-20, an account of which he left in his book " With the Die-Hards in Siberia." He was made C.B. and C.M.G., and he received the Croix de Guerre of France, Italy, and Czechoslovakia. He was also made a Cossack Ataman by his Tartar comrades, a high honour. In 1918 Ward, who had differed from the Labour Party on national defence, was returned unopposed as Coalition Liberal for Stoke. In 1922 he was elected as a National Liberal by a large majority over Labour, and in 1923 by a much smaller majority. In 1924 he was elected as an Independent Constitutionalist with Conservative and Liberal support, but in 1929 he lost his seat, and did not stand again. He married, in 1892, Lilian Elizabeth, daughter of George Gibbs.

20. The Right Hon. Sir Albert Spicer, Bt., a distinguished Free Churchman, was born at Brixton on March 16, 1847, the second son of James Spicer, head of the firm of paper makers, and educated at Mill Hill, and at Heidelberg. From his early days Spicer took part in the activities of the Congregational Church at Woodford, and this led to a seat in the Essex Congregational Union, and on the board of the London Missionary Society. In 1865 he joined his father's

firm, retiring from the directorate after sixty years' service. He was President of the London Chamber of Commerce, 1907-10; and in 1909 he visited Sydney to preside over the Chambers of Commerce of the Empire. For ten years (1907-1917) he was a member of the Commercial Intelligence Advisory Committee of the Board of Trade. But his chief interest was the Congregational Church and its Foreign missions. Having become a director of the London Missionary Society in 1873, he was appointed its treasurer in 1885, and held that office for twenty-five years, and that of chairman in 1881. On mission deputations he visited India, Samoa, South Africa, China, Canada, Russia, and Australia. He helped in the foundation, for ministers' post-graduate study, of Mansfield College, Oxford, of which he was a trustee, a member of the Council, and treasurer from 1888 till 1921. In 1893 he was elected Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, the first layman to hold the office. In 1896 he was made a Vice-President of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and, four years later, President of the Sunday School Union. For seven years he served on the Army Council's Advisory Committee for the welfare of the Army. Mill Hill School elected him Chairman of its Court of Governors, and after 1927, its president. In 1886 he unsuccessfully contested the Walthamstow Division of Essex. Six years later he was elected for the Monmouth Boroughs in the Liberal interest, but was defeated there in 1900. From 1906 to 1918 he was member for Central Hackney. He was created a baronet in 1906, and a Privy Councillor in 1911. He served on several Royal Commissions, including that on Paper, 1916-18. He was also Chairman of the Marconi Inquiry Committee in 1912, and he took great interest in the Bribery and Secret Commissions Prevention League, Incorporated, of which he was an original vice-president. He married, in 1879, Jessie, daughter of D. Stewart Dykes, and had three sons and eight daughters.

21. Sir John William Gilbert, a former Chairman of the London County Council, and for twenty-six years a member of its Education Committee, was born on October 23, 1871, and educated by the Christian Brothers at St. Joseph's Academy, Kensington, St. Joseph's College, Clapham, and the London University, where he graduated in 1891. In 1896 he became secretary of Providence (Row) Night Refuge and Home, which his uncle, Mgr. Gilbert, Cardinal Manning's Vicar-General, had established. Later he was appointed joint secretary of the Southwark Diocesan Schools Association. He was a member of the Ministry of Health Homeless Poor Advisory Committee since its formation. He was the first Roman Catholic Alderman of the London County Council, and was co-opted a member of the Education Committee in 1908-10. He was Chairman of the committee from 1913 to 1917, and from 1928 to 1931. In 1917-18 he was Vice-Chairman of the London County Council, and in 1920-21 Chairman. For six years (1921-27) he was Chairman of the General Purposes Committee. From 1921 to 1929 he was a member of the Senate of the University of London, and in 1929 he became a member of the Court of the University, which in 1933 conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws *(honoris causa)*. In 1923 he was a member of the Board of Educational Departmental Committee on the Training of Teachers; from 1931 to 1934 he was a member of the Burnham Committee; and in 1934 a member of the London Passenger Transport Board. He took a great interest in Roman Catholic affairs, being for many years a manager of Catholic elementary and special schools in London. In 1908 he was lay honorary secretary of the International Eucharistic Congress, London; and in 1929 was joint honorary secretary of the National Catholic Congress and Celebration of the Centenary of Catholic Emancipation. In 1921 he was made a Knight Commander of St. Gregory, and he was also a Knight of St. Silvester. In 1922 he was created K.B.E. He was unmarried.

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