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AT HOME AND ABROAD**

FOR THE YEAR

1935

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M. EPSTEIN, M.A., PH.D.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THE Editor of THE ANNUAL REGISTER once again expresses his thanks to *The Times* for permission to make use of matter published in its columns.

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD'S SECOND NATIONAL MINISTRY.

(NOVEMBER 6, 1931, TO JUNE 7, 1935.)

CABINET MINISTERS.

Mr.	Ramsay MacDonald.
<i>Lord President of the Council</i>	Mr. Stanley Baldwin.
<i>Lord Chancellor</i>	Lord Sankey.
<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>	Mr. Neville Chamberlain.
<i>Secretaries of State :—</i>	
<i>Home</i>	Sir John Gilmour.
<i>Foreign</i>	Sir John Simon.
<i>Colonies</i>	Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister.
<i>Dominions</i>	Mr. J. H. Thomas.
<i>War</i>	Lord Hailsham.
<i>India</i>	Sir Samuel Hoare.
<i>Air</i>	Marquess of Londonderry.
<i>Scotland</i>	Sir Godfrey Collins.
<i>Presidents:—</i>	
<i>Board of Trade</i>	Mr. Walter Runciman.
<i>Board of Education</i>	Lord Irwin.
<i>First Lord of the Admiralty</i>	Sir Bolton M. Eyres Monsell.
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<i>Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries</i>	Major Walter Elliot.
<i>Minister of Labour</i>	The Hon. Oliver Stanley.
<i>First Commissioner of Works</i>	Mr. W. Ormsby-Gore.
<i>Postmaster-General</i>	Sir H. Kingsley Wood.

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<i>Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster</i>	Mr. J. C. C. Davidson.
<i>Minister of Pensions</i>	Major G. C. Tryon.
<i>Minister of Transport</i>	Mr. Leslie Hore-Belisha.
<i>Attorney-General</i>	Sir Thomas Inskip.
<i>Solicitor-General</i>	Sir D. B. Somervell.
<i>Paymaster-General</i>	Lord Rochester.
<i>Civil Lord of the Admiralty</i>	Captain D. E. Wallace.
<i>Financial Secretary to the Treasury</i>	Mr. A. Duff Cooper.
<i>Financial Secretary to the War Office</i>	Mr. Douglas Hacking.
<i>Secretary for Mines</i>	Mr. Ernest Brown.
<i>Under-Secretaries of State :—</i>	
<i>Air</i>	Sir Philip Sassoon.
<i>Colonies</i>	The Earl of Plymouth.
<i>Dominion Affairs</i>	Mr. Malcolm MacDonald
<i>Foreign</i>	Earl Stanhope.
<i>Home</i>	Captain H. Crookshank.
<i>India</i>	Mr. Richard Austen Butler.
<i>Scotland</i>	Mr. A. N. Skelton.
<i>War</i>	Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal.

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Parliamentary Secretaries:—

Admiralty

Agriculture and Fisheries

Education

Health

Labour

Post Office

Board of Trade

Overseas Trade

Transport.

Treasury

- Lord Stanley.
- . Earl De la Warr.
- Mr. H. Ramsbotham.
- . Mr. Geoffrey Shakespeare.
- , Mr. B. S. Hudson.
- , Sir Ernest Bennett.
- Dr. Edward Leslie Burgin.
- . Major D. J. Colville.
- Mr. Austin Uvedale Morgan Hudson (*from April 13*).
- . Mr. H. D. Margesson.

SCOTLAND.

Secretary of State

Under-Secretary of State

Lord-Advocate

Solicitor-General

- . Sir Godfrey Collins.
- . Mr. A. N. Skelton.
- TMr. Wilfrid G. Normand (*till March 28*).
- Mr. Douglas Jamieson (*from March 28*).
- Mr. Douglas Jamieson (*till March 28*)
- Mr. T. M. Cooper (*from May 16*).

MR. STANLEY BALDWIN'S THIRD ADMINISTRATION.

(TOOK OFFICE JUNE 8, 1936; RECONSTRUCTED NOVEMBER 22, 1935.;

CABINET MINISTERS.

<i>Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury</i>	vMr. Stanley Baldwin.
<i>Lord President of the Council</i>	Mr. Ramsay MacDonald.
<i>Lord Chancellor .</i>	Lord Hailsham.
<i>Lord Privy Seal .</i>	{Marquess of Londonderry (till November 22).
<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>	{Viscount Halifax (from November 22).
<i>Secretaries of State:—</i>	Mr. Neville Chamberlain.
<i>Home .</i>	Sir John Simon.
<i>Foreign</i>	rSir Samuel Hoare (till December 18).
<i>Colonies</i>	\Mr. Anthony Eden (from December 22).
<i>Dominions</i>	{Mr. Malcolm MacDonald (till November 22).
<i>War</i>	{Mr. J. H. Thomas (from November 22).
<i>India</i>	Mr. J. H. Thomas (till November 22).
<i>Air</i>	Mr. Malcolm MacDonald (from November 22).
<i>Scotland</i>	Lord Halifax (till November 22).
<i>Presidents:—</i>	{Mr. A. Duff Cooper (from November 22).
<i>Board of Trade</i>	Marquess of Zetland.
<i>Board of Education</i>	Sir Philip Cunhffe-Lister (Viscount Swinton).
<i>First Lord of the Admiralty</i>	Sir Godfrey Collins.
<i>Minister of Health</i>	Mr. Walter Runciman.
<i>Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries</i>	Mr. Oliver Stanley.
<i>Minister of Labour</i>	Sir Bolton Eyres-Monsell (Viscount Monsell),
<i>First Commissioner of Works .</i>	Sir Kingsley Wood.
<i>Minister without Portfolio for League of Nations Affairs</i>	Major Walter Elliot.
<i>Minister without Portfolio</i>	Mr. Ernest Brown.
	Mr. W. Ormsby-Gore.
	\Mr. Anthony Eden (till December 22).
	Lord Eustace Percy.

MINISTERS NOT IN THE CABINET.

<i>Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster</i>	Mr. J. C. C. Davfdson.
<i>Postmaster-General</i>	Major G. C. Tryon.
<i>Minister of Pensions</i>	Mr. Robert S. Hudson.
<i>Minister of Transport</i>	Mr. Leslie Hore-Belisha.
<i>Attorney-General .</i>	Sir Thomas Inskip.
<i>Solicitor-General .</i>	Sir D. B. Somervell.
<i>Paymaster-General</i>	Lord Rochester (till December 7).
<i>Civil Lord of the Admiralty</i>	Lord Hutchison (from December 7)*
<i>Financial Secretary to the Treasury</i>	Mr. Kenneth Lindsay,
	fMr. A. Duff Cooper (till November 22).
	\Mr. W. S. Morrison (from November 22).

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<i>Financial Secretary to the War Office</i>	Mr. Douglas Hacking (<i>till November 29</i>).
<i>Secretary for Mines</i>	Sir Victor Warrender (<i>from November 29</i>).
<i>Under-Secretaries of State:—</i>	. Captain H. P. C. Crookshank.
<i>Air</i>	. Sir Philip Sassoon.
<i>Colonies</i>	. The Earl of Plymouth.
<i>Dominion Affairs</i>	. Lord Stanley (<i>till November 29</i>).
<i>Foreign</i>	. Mr. Douglas Hacking (<i>from November 29</i>).
<i>Home</i> .	. Viscount Cranbourne (<i>from August 7</i>).
<i>India</i> .	. Captain David Euan Wallace (<i>till November 29</i>).
<i>Scotland</i>	. Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd (<i>from November 29</i>).
<i>War</i> .	. Mr. Richard Austen Butler.
<i>Parliamentary Secretaries:</i>	. Mr. A. N. Skelton (<i>till November 29</i>).
<i>Admiralty</i>	. Lt.-Col. D. J. Coiville (<i>from November 29</i>).
<i>Agriculture and Fisheries</i>	. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal.
<i>Education</i>	{ Sir Victor Warrender (<i>till November 29</i>).
<i>Health</i> .	{ Lord Stanley (<i>from November 29</i>).
<i>Labour</i> .	. Earl De la Warr (<i>till November 29</i>).
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	. Sir Ernest Bennett (<i>till December 12</i>).
	. Sir W. J. Womersley (<i>from December 12</i>).
	. Dr. Edward Leslie Burgm.
	. Lt.-Col. D. J. Coiville (<i>till November 29</i>).
	. Captain David Euan Wallace (<i>from November 29</i>).
	. Mr. Austin U. M. Hudson.
	. Mr. H. D. Margesson.
	SCOTLAND.
<i>Secretary of State</i> .	Godfrey Collins.
<i>Under-Secretary of State</i>	Mr. A. N. Skelton.
<i>Lord-Advocate</i>	Mr. T. M. Cooper.
<i>Solicitor-General</i> .	Mr. Albert Russell (<i>from November 30</i>).

ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1935.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE MEANS TEST MUDDLE AND INCREASED ARMS EXPENDITURE.

WHEN the year 1935 opened, the international sky was clearer than it had been for some time, and home affairs were able to claim a greater share of the public attention. Political speculation in England was in fact busy with two questions. One was whether the Government would shortly reconstruct itself in preparation for a General Election, and the other was whether Mr. Lloyd George's forthcoming speeches on his plan for dealing with unemployment (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 103) would be found to contain anything of real importance. The two questions were closely connected, as unemployment policy was undoubtedly the weak spot in the Government's armour, and the entry of Mr. Lloyd George into a Government calling itself "national" was by no means beyond the bounds of possibility. The Government had now been in power over three years, and was naturally no longer so popular in the country as it had been; while there was as yet no marked "swing of the pendulum" towards the Labour Party—not to mention the Liberals—the suppression of party differences which was the basis of the Government's existence was becoming irksome to large numbers of voters. In Parliament, however, the Government, in spite of much muttering and discontent among its supporters, still maintained its domination. What was equally important, it was still united in itself, and unanimous in its resolve to seek from the electorate, when the time should come, a new lease of power as a National Government. Hence it was still in a position to bide its time, and while actively making preparations for the next elections, it gave no countenance to the persistent rumours that it would appeal to the country in the autumn.

Mr. Lloyd George's first speech in description of what people **had** already christened his "New Deal" was made at Bangor on January 17, his seventy-second birthday. He commenced by emphasising a fact which he said was obvious, yet which many people (including, apparently, the Government) passed by without noticing or without realising fully what it imported. This was that the present confusion and depression were not attributable to, and could not be explained by, the ordinary trade cycle. The whole economic system, which had not been working too well before the war, had broken down, certainly temporarily and perhaps permanently. President Roosevelt had discovered this, and that was why, though he started with recovery, he was now proclaiming a new order to be necessary. The Prime Minister of Canada, an out-and-out Conservative, had come to the same conclusion. The Archbishop of Canterbury had expressed the same thought in his New Year address. Yet in the face of all this, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer was proclaiming that the Government did not intend to do any more in the way of remedies for unemployment than they had been doing.

When Mr. George came to his own remedies, they proved to be a good deal less drastic than this exordium would have led one to anticipate. Naturally, the preservation of peace was assumed by him as a basis for any internal improvement, and he looked to close co-operation between Great Britain and the United States as the best guarantee of this. A cessation of the senseless trade warfare between nations was another important point, and, as a means of effecting this, he advocated a ruthless use by Great Britain of the tariffs which she had adopted. Granted these two points, his main proposal was that the financial and administrative resources of the State should be called into play for bringing about a number of new developments in town and country. Something, he admitted, was already being done in this direction, but the scope of it needed to be greatly enlarged. For this object, his own first suggestion was that there should be set up a permanent body for the purpose of thinking out and preparing schemes of reconstruction which would provide useful and necessary work. In theory, the Economic General Staff was such a body, but in practice something much more effective was needed. What he suggested was a Statutory Council with an independent existence, with definite functions, and with power to act within the limits of those functions. It should be the duty of this Board to take a survey of the industrial, agricultural, and financial resources **and** potentialities of the country, and on this basis to prepare **and** approve plans for industrial organisation, land development, **and** so forth, not leaving out of account the opportunities afforded by Britain's Colonial Empire, and utilising to the full the national credit for the financing of its enterprises. The Board should aim **not** merely at meeting the present emergency, but at ensuring

a permanent reconstruction of such branches of the economic and industrial system as were at present defective.

Pari passu with the institution of this Board a change should be made in the composition of the Cabinet, on the principle adopted during the war. Instead of being composed of heads of gigantic Departments, attention to which absorbed all their energy, it should consist of a small body—not more than five—of the ablest men available, who would be free from the cares of departmental work and would devote themselves entirely to the consideration of wide and comprehensive questions of policy at home and abroad.

With regard to the actual schemes of work which he had in mind, Mr. Lloyd George did not lay claim to any originality ; to a certain extent they had even been accepted in a general and vague way by the Government. The most important were the reorganisation with State assistance of certain staple industries ; a housing programme of considerable dimensions ; road construction on a scale commensurate with present-day traffic ; development of railways, canals, telephones and electric power ; improvement of the water supply ; and above all, replanting people on the land. For financing the schemes, Mr. Lloyd George suggested that the Council should make a careful estimate, not only of the cost of their undertakings, but also of the capital available in the course of the year for their purposes. There should, therefore, be something in the nature of two Budgets each year—one dealing with the ordinary revenue and expenditure, and the other a Budget of capital expenditure. It might also be worth while to float a great " Prosperity loan," which he was sure would be enthusiastically subscribed to. It was also important to ensure that the Bank of England should not prove an obstacle, or give the Government misleading advice, as it had done on frequent occasions in the last few years. As at present constituted, the Bank was not sufficiently in touch with the industries of the country. It was a closed corporation, with its eyes too exclusively on the City. It should be made more independent of the City of London and brought into closer contact with the industries and commerce of the nation, and its directorate should be chosen with this end in view. Finally, Mr. George suggested that the proposed schemes could be executed partly by existing Departments, partly by new *ad hoc* Departments, and partly by special Boards.

Mr. Lloyd George's speech hardly fulfilled the expectations which he had raised by his own previous announcements, and disappointment was expressed even among his admirers, partly at the vagueness of his proposals, partly at their lack of novelty. Nevertheless, their reception in the country at large was distinctly favourable. Lord Snowden had given them an effusive blessing in advance ; the Labour Party boasted that Mr. George had stolen their ideas ; the Liberals declared their entire acceptance

of his programme, only entering a caveat against his somewhat equivocal references to tariffs ; and the more progressive section of the Conservative Party viewed it with approval. At the beginning of his speech, Mr. George had disclaimed any intention of launching a party campaign, or seeking to become a party leader. But he had not debarred himself from office should it be offered to him ; and the question at once suggested itself in many quarters—and especially to those Ministerialists who had long been calling impatiently for a reconstruction of the Cabinet and an infusion of new blood—whether he could not, and should not, be invited to join the Ministry. Following, however, the lead of Mr. Neville Chamberlain—who was repelled by the "unorthodoxy" of Mr. George's finance—the Government gave his proposals only a formal acknowledgment, and showed no inclination as yet to come to closer quarters with their author.

On February 22 Mr. Lloyd George delivered at Manchester the second main speech in his campaign for securing a co-operative effort on non-party lines for combating unemployment. As in his previous speech, he confined himself to drawing broad outlines, without filling in the details of his plan. He expressed his disappointment with the cool reception given to his proposals by the Government—so different from the response with which he had met in the country at large—but declared himself still ready to submit his plans to them if requested. This time the intimation proved more effective. On March 1 the Prime Minister wrote him a letter inviting him to submit to the Cabinet the estimates and calculations to which he referred, and promising that they would be immediately and carefully considered. Mr. George at once accepted the invitation, and the examination of his plan was commenced by the Government in earnest.

Meanwhile, the Minister of Labour, on his own initiative, had tried a new approach to the solution of the unemployment problem. He interviewed first members of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress (January 24) and then representatives of the National Confederation of Employers' Organisations, and asked both bodies whether they would co-operate with him and with one another in an inquiry into methods of absorbing more workers into employment. Among the specific problems which he suggested for consideration were the probable effects on numbers employed of reducing working hours, the possibility of reducing overtime, the effect on unemployment of raising the school-leaving age, the potential supply of skilled labour, and the training of young workers. Both parties promised their co-operation, though the trade unionists warned the Minister against being led into "interminable investigations regarding the supposed effects of reduction of hours upon industry, as this could lead nowhere."

At the beginning of the year a certain mitigation was for the first time effected in the "economic war" which had been in

existence between Great Britain and the Irish Free State ever since Mr. de Valera had seized the Irish annuities over two years before (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 59). On January 3 it was announced that, as a result of discussions which had been going on for some weeks, an informal understanding had been reached by which the Irish Free State undertook to make practically all its purchases of coal from England, while the latter in turn offered a substantial increase in the quota of cattle allowed to enter the country from Southern Ireland. The arrangement was expected to mean an increase in coal export from the United Kingdom to Ireland of about 1,250,000 tons a year, providing employment for about 5,000 miners.

On January 4 the result was announced of the ballot of the cotton spinning firms on the two schemes recently put forward by the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' Associations—one for the formation of a Cotton Spinners' Association to carry out a quota system for the regulation of production and prices, and the other for reducing the productive capacity of the industry as represented by the number of spindles in use (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 82). For the former scheme the voting gave 50.76 per cent, in favour and 31.44 per cent, against; for the latter 66.34 per cent, in favour and 18.4 per cent, against. On the strength of these figures it was resolved by the General Committee of the Federation to drop the first scheme and proceed with the second, and an office was opened in Manchester to receive offers for redundant spindles.

Shortly afterwards (January 9) the long-awaited Trade Agreement between the United Kingdom Government and the Government of India, in which Lancashire was so vitally interested, was signed in London. The United Kingdom accepted the principle that in India revenue considerations must be given due weight in fixing the levels of import duties. India, on her side, undertook not to alter the principles of her protective policy to the disadvantage of the United Kingdom, and in particular not to impose protective duties more than sufficient to equate the prices of imported goods to the fair selling prices of similar Indian goods. India also repeated the undertaking already given that if and when the second 5 per cent, surcharge imposed in 1931 could be taken off the generality of goods, it would be taken off cotton goods.

On January 22, after several months of negotiation, the railway companies and the railway trade unions at length came to an agreement with regard to the new machinery of conciliation to be set up in the industry. The problem was to create some body to replace the statutory National Wages Board which had ceased to function two years before, when it was unable to come to a unanimous decision on the dispute then in progress (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 4). The weakness in the National Wages Board had been that it had contained members nominated

from their own bodies by both sides to the dispute, and these had naturally espoused the views of their own side. It was now decided that the chief arbitral body should be a Railway Staff Tribunal, consisting of three independent members, of whom one was to be nominated by the unions and one by the companies, while the chairman was to be appointed by agreement, or, in default of agreement, by the Minister of Labour. Representatives of the parties to the dispute were to be allowed to sit as assessors, but were to have no share in the findings. Hearings were to be public if the parties agreed ; otherwise the tribunal itself would decide.

On January 22 the London County Council took a bold step for the purpose of saving the country round London from being further swallowed up by the ever-advancing town. The need was urgent, as a survey made in 1930 had shown that within the preceding few years 5,500 acres of land suitable for playing fields within a radius of 11 miles from Charing Cross had been built on, and a further survey made three years later showed that the total available—some 26,500 acres—had in the interval been reduced by a further 3,000 acres. In order, therefore, to preserve a " green belt " round London, the London County Council declared itself ready to co-operate with the county councils of Buckingham, Essex, Hertford, Kent, Middlesex, and Surrey by contributing to the cost of acquiring or " sterilising " land to be reserved in their areas. The offer would be open for three years, and the sum which the Council was prepared to contribute in that period was 2,000,000Z. The hope was at the same time expressed that these proposals would stimulate rather than retard the private generosity of landowners.

On January 24 the report was issued of a committee which had been appointed, with Sir William Beveridge as chairman, to consider the question of insuring agricultural workers against unemployment. In the early years of unemployment insurance, there had been no question of including agricultural workers in the system, as there had been so little unemployment among them. Of late years, however, conditions in this respect had changed, and the census of 1931 and certain independent inquiries gave reason to suppose that the general rate of unemployment in agriculture was now 7.5 per cent., which was materially higher than the rate in a number of industries already insured. Hence the Committee had no difficulty in deciding that in principle an unemployment insurance scheme for agriculture, which should include horticulture and forestry, was desirable. In view of the differences of wages and conditions in agriculture from those in other industries, it was deemed inadvisable merely to transfer **the rates** of contribution and benefit in the latter to the former. **For agriculture** it was suggested that the rate of contribution should be 4d. a week each from the employer, the worker (3½d. from a woman),

and the National Exchequer, with a reduction of 25 per cent, in the case of hirings for twelve months and 12½ per cent, in the case of six-monthly hirings. The rate of benefit suggested was 12s. for an adult male, 10s. 6d. for an adult female, 6s. 6d. for a wife, and alternative scales of 2s. for each child or 3s. for the first child and 2s. 6d. for each additional child, subject to a maximum of 30s. per week. Insured workers were to qualify for benefit by paying twenty contributions, and were then to draw at the rate of two weeks' benefit for the first ten weeks' contributions, and one week's for every subsequent two weeks, subject to a maximum of fifty weeks in any one year. It was estimated that the scheme would affect 703,000 male and 47,000 female workers.

Meanwhile the Government had been busy making its preparations for the forthcoming session. On January 17 the text of its new Housing Bill for dealing with overcrowding was published. For the first time a definite national standard was fixed for housing accommodation, and a rule was laid down that the number of occupants of a house must be small enough to allow of proper separation of the sexes, apart from the case of husband and wife and children under 10. A scale was drawn up allowing two persons to one room of normal size, three to two rooms, five to three, seven persons and a child to four, and ten to five, with an additional two to each room in excess of five. The minimum floor space for a room to be occupied by two persons was fixed at 110 square feet, and by one person at 70 square feet. To deal with existing overcrowding, the local authorities were to be required to take a survey of the position in their own areas, and then to report to the Minister of Health the extent of the need and its proposals for meeting it. Where they judged the " redevelopment " of certain areas to be necessary, they would be responsible for carrying into effect their plans, if approved by the Minister, and they would be given powers of compulsory purchase subject to compensation at market value. Where it was decided to build flats in a redevelopment area, the Exchequer would assist with a subsidy, as in fact it would in all cases where the Minister was satisfied that the provision of houses at a suitable rent would involve an undue burden on the locality. Special attention would be given to rural areas, and the subsidies there would be somewhat more generous. All the subsidies hitherto payable under the old Acts, together with those provided by the present Bill, would be pooled in a general Housing Revenue Account, and the local authority would be at liberty to administer the pool and adjust rents throughout the area as it thought fit. Local authorities would be permitted to delegate their activities and pass on their subsidies to housing associations and similar bodies. A new central body to be known as the Housing Advisory Committee would be established, for the Minister to consult on occasion. Finally, the Bill made special provision for landlords

who were liable to suffer injustice through their property being included in a clearance area, although in good condition. The Bill also proposed to prolong for two years—till June 24, 1938—the Housing Act of 1926 which provided that the Exchequer and the local authorities might subsidise to the extent of one-third the cost of reconditioning houses for rural workers.

On January 22 the text of the Herring Industry Bill was published. It was based on the report of a Sea Fish Commission made in the previous August, but differed from it in some important particulars, notably in respect of finance. It accepted the Commission's recommendation that a Herring Board should be appointed to reorganise, develop, and regulate the industry, but, unlike the Commission, left it to the Board itself to prepare a scheme for doing so. The Board was to consist of an independent chairman, two other independent members, and five members with practical knowledge of various sides of the industry. It would be nominated in the first instance by the Minister of Agriculture, the Secretary of State for Scotland, and the Home Secretary on behalf of Northern Ireland, but an effort was to be made later to make it more directly responsible to the industry. Any scheme drawn up by the Board would have to be submitted to Ministers, and could not come into operation without an affirmative resolution of both Houses of Parliament. For financing the work of the Board, the Bill proposed that a Herring Advances Account not exceeding 600,000*l.* should be established under the control of the Treasury, out of which the Board should be enabled to grant loans for reconditioning and re-equipment of boats and similar purposes. The Board would also be empowered to borrow from other sources, but its total indebtedness was not to exceed 1,000,000*l.*

Finally, on January 24 there was issued the text of the Government of India Bill which was to be the principal measure of the forthcoming session of Parliament (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 104). It was easily the longest Bill which had ever been placed before Parliament, containing 451 clauses and 15 schedules, and covering 323 printed pages. Fortunately, the burden which it involved was not so portentous as it seemed, as nearly half of the Bill was made up by duplication. Besides a Constitution for India, it contained also a Constitution for a separated Burma, and to make this self-contained a great many provisions had been repeated. There was also a good deal of inevitable repetition in the clauses relating to the Federal Executive and Legislature and to the Provincial Executives and Legislatures. The Bill contained no preamble, being based on the preamble of the 1919 Act.

The new Bill repealed all existing legislation dealing with the Government of India, with the exception of certain technical provisions in the Government of India Act of 1916. It followed in practically every respect the recommendations of the Joint

Select Committee. Its main purpose was first to constitute eleven Autonomous Provinces (two of them new), and then to establish an All-India Federation embracing these Provinces and those Indian States which should enter by the voluntary act of their rulers. It was laid down that the establishment of the Federation should be dependent on the accession of States containing not less than half the total States' population, and entitled to fill at least half the seats provided for States' representatives in the Federal Upper House (Council of State).

Each of the Provinces was to have a directly elected Legislative Assembly, and in five of them—Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, and Bihar—there would be an Upper House as well. The Bill contained no franchise provisions for the Provincial Legislatures, as the Government considered that these could be better dealt with by Orders in Council, to be approved by Parliament. Provincial Governments were to be formed of Ministers responsible to their Legislatures. At the head of the Provincial Government was to be a Governor appointed from England who was to be guided in all matters by the advice of the Ministry save in respect of certain special responsibilities, such as the prevention of any grave menace to the peace and tranquillity of the Province, or the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities.

The Federation itself was to have an Upper and a Lower House composed of members indirectly elected by the Provinces and representatives nominated by the States. It was to deal with matters, such as currency and tariffs, which concerned India as a whole, and to have its own responsible Ministry, by whose advice the Governor-General was to be guided. The three departments of Defence, Foreign Relations, and Ecclesiastical Affairs were, however, to remain the direct responsibility of the Governor-General, who also would have certain special responsibilities, such as the prevention of any grave menace to the peace and tranquillity of India or any part of it, the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities, and so forth.

Recruitment in Great Britain for the Indian Civil and the Police Services was to continue, and provisions were inserted in the Bill for preserving Service rights and for protecting the discipline of the police and the independence of the Judiciary against the possible effects of political influences. A safeguard was also introduced against any attempt to use the fiscal freedom of India deliberately to damage British trade with India. The supreme authority in all matters relating to India, from which all other powers would be delegated, was to be a corporate body known as "the Secretary of State in Council of India," which was to take the place of the existing Council of India.

While the Government were thus occupied, they found their whole position undermined from a quarter where danger was little

suspected. On January 7, in accordance with the announcement made by the Minister of Labour in the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 105), the new Unemployment Assistance Board took over from the local Assistance Committees the care of the unemployed who were entitled to draw transitional benefit, and commenced to apply the regulations for dealing with them which Parliament had sanctioned at the end of the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 105). When these regulations were published and debated, Parliament and the public had been led to expect that they would produce a substantial improvement in the lot of the unemployed living on the "dole." No doubt they did in fact have this effect in a large number of cases ; but in a considerable number also the new methods for taking account of rent and assistance from relatives had the opposite result. Reduction of benefit was especially frequent in South Wales, the district where suffering was already most acute. Within a fortnight a cry of protest had arisen from this and similarly affected districts, and as the facts became more widely known, a wave of indignation communicated itself to the rest of the country, finally reaching the metropolis itself. Thus, by the time that Parliament met at the end of January, a storm was ready to break over the head of the Government.

The exploitation of the means test grievance was naturally the affair in the first place of the Labour Party ; but at the same time the Government was threatened with trouble from the Conservative side on a totally different ground. In the recent fights over the India Report in party and Parliament, the "die-hards" had been defeated but by no means crushed ; and they determined to carry the struggle into the constituencies. An opportunity was soon provided by a Parliamentary vacancy in the Wavertree division of Liverpool which occurred early in the year. The local Conservative association chose a candidate who supported the Government. The India "die-hards," however, put forward an opposition candidate in the person of Mr. Randolph Churchill, the son of Mr. Winston Churchill. His candidature was frowned on by the party headquarters, and dire penalties were threatened against any Conservative member of Parliament who should support him. In spite of this, he obtained active assistance not only from his father, but also from several other Conservative members. The result of the election (February 6) gave a shock to the party headquarters : Mr. Churchill obtained over 10,000 votes, coming within 3,000 of the poll of the official Conservative candidate, and the effect of the party split was to hand over to Labour one of the safest of Conservative seats.

Mr. Churchill and his friends were at first exultant, and declared their intention of continuing the campaign. Further reflection, however, on the possible consequences of such a course induced them to desist, and the experiment of Wavertree was not

repeated. Apart from the danger of handing over Conservative seats to the Opposition, the malcontents seemed to have been influenced by a curious fact which soon came to light. While the blow to the Government was not regarded in England itself as of any great consequence, in foreign countries a very serious view was taken of it, and it was made the occasion for the withdrawal from the Bank of England of large sums of what was commonly known as "funk money," with the result that there was a sharp fall on the Stock Exchange in British Government stock and other securities.

Parliament reassembled on January 28, and the expected storm at once burst on the head of the Government. The Minister of Labour asked for a Supplementary Estimate of 5,000,000*l.* to meet the expenditure entailed by the new unemployment assistance regulations up to the end of the financial year. Being aware of what was in store for him, he made a deprecatory speech, pointing out that the Unemployment Assistance Board had not yet got into its stride, and promising that steps would be taken to redress all grievances. His appeal did little to moderate the fury of the Labour members, and one after another of them poured out on him and on the Government and on the Assistance Board the vials of the wrath which had been engendered in them by the sufferings of their constituents. Liberal and Ministerialist speakers also complained that they had been misled as to the purport of the regulations, and condemned the inhumanities to which they had given rise. Only one or two speakers from the Conservative benches ventured to put in a word on behalf of the Government.

When the debate was resumed on the next day, Mr. Lansbury moved to report progress with the object of enabling the Government to postpone the operation of the Board's regulations until the appeal tribunals should be at work. Mr. Baldwin declared that the Government, so far from resenting the criticisms directed against it, welcomed them as a tonic influence, but at the same time he deprecated Mr. Lansbury's motion on the ground that to refuse to vote money for a system which Parliament itself had established would lead to chaos. The motion was nevertheless carried to a division, where it was rejected by 243 votes to 73. After some further attacks on the Government, the debate was closed with a conciliatory speech from the Minister of Labour. While maintaining that the amount of transitional benefit per head had increased in the country as a whole, he admitted that this was no consolation for those whose payment had been reduced. He declared that the trouble was due in large part to a certain rigidity of administration on the part of men who were new to their job, and therefore acted with a certain timidity which would disappear with experience. At the same time, he admitted that further action was necessary for the remedying of grievances, and

promised to take it without delay. Mr. Stanley's speech had a pacifying effect on the House as a whole and the vote was carried by 243 votes to 68.

The Minister lost no time in carrying out his undertaking. On February 5 he informed the House of Commons that he had consulted with the Unemployment Assistance Board, which had agreed with him that in the light of the cases brought forward, the whole situation should be considered afresh. This would take time, and to ensure that the interval would be without prejudice, new instructions would be issued providing that applicants who had been granted increases under the regulations should preserve the benefits which had been conferred upon them, while those who had suffered reductions would be reassessed on the system prevailing before the regulations, and would receive payment retrospectively. Mr. Stanley frankly admitted that his statement might be interpreted as a confession of failure on the part of the Board and as a surrender on the part of the Government, but he declared amid loud applause that feelings of dignity and pride could not be allowed to stand in the way of remedying hardships. In spite of this disarming admission, a number of Labour members could not resist the temptation of gloating over the Government's discomfiture.

The action contemplated by the Assistance Board required the sanction of Parliament, and the task of giving to it legal form was no easy one. While the Parliamentary draftsmen were still wrestling with the problem, the unemployed at Sheffield made a demonstration (February 7) accompanied by some violence which so alarmed the City Council that it sought permission from the Government to restore at once the reductions that had been made in transitional benefit. The Prime Minister indicated on the next day in Parliament that it was open to any other local authority to take a similar course ; but incidentally he brought the Government into further discredit by admitting that he had first learnt of the action of the Sheffield Council not from any Government Department or official source, but from the newspapers.

A Bill for putting into effect the promises of the Government was duly introduced by Mr. Hudson, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour, on February 12. The Bill provided that applicants should receive payment for the time being either under transitional benefit or under the Regulations, according to whichever was more favourable to them. It gave an indemnity to local authorities which had made advances in anticipation of the appointed day, and cancelled the second appointed day, viz., March 1, on which the Unemployment Assistance Board was to have taken over the care of the uninsured able-bodied unemployed. The Minister would not hazard any estimate of the cost of the new regulations, beyond saying that it would be heavier than the cost of the system in force before January 7.

Mr. Greenwood, on behalf of the Labour Party, accepted the Bill as making partial amends to the unemployed, but declared that the Government would have to climb down still further. A withdrawal of the Regulations would not be sufficient; nothing short of a radical amendment of Part II. of the Unemployment Act dealing with the household means test would suffice. Liberals saw in the breakdown a justification of the warning which they had uttered when the Bill was first introduced against withdrawing the administration of unemployment relief from public control. Opinions were divided as to whether the blame should be laid on the new Board or on the Government, but the Minister of Labour chivalrously insisted on shouldering the whole of the responsibility himself, saying that it was impossible for anyone to foresee the effect of the regulations as a whole. The Bill was not opposed by the Labour Party, and was carried on the next day with some minor amendments, and by the House of Lords on the day following.

The Labour attack was carried a stage further on February 14, when Mr. Lansbury moved a vote of censure on the Government for their lack of a policy for providing employment in general, and in particular for having " misled " the House as to the financial effect of the Regulations. When it came to the point he could bring no evidence of " misleading," and changed his charge to one of " gross incompetence." The Prime Minister, amid much interruption and some personal abuse from the Labour benches, made a vigorous reply, declaring that the Government was just as much concerned about the unemployment problem as the Opposition, and that but for its efforts the situation would be much worse than it was. He chided the Labour Party for not co-operating with the Government instead of carping at it, and taunted them with aiming at producing a crisis which would spell ruin to the working classes. Mr. Chamberlain usefully seconded his chief by descanting on the benefits to employment of " cheap money and sound finance." These two speeches, coupled with the courageous handling by the Government of the relief problem, did much to restore the confidence of its supporters, which had been somewhat shaken by the recent muddle, and the censure vote was defeated by 374 votes to 68.

With the rejection of the vote of censure by so decisive a majority, the Government was able to breathe more freely. If it had during the days of the crisis harboured any thoughts of an early General Election, these were now entirely dismissed. Even the question of reconstruction was no longer regarded as urgent. Mr. Chamberlain was able to declare boldly that he would have nothing to do with Mr. Lloyd George's " New Deal," and the Minister of Labour also, though he offered to resign, was retained at his post. The Labour Party returned to the charge on March 4, when they moved to reduce the Vote on Account as

a protest against the Government's unemployment policy. The **Minister** of Labour, however, made a spirited reply, laying special stress on the fact that in last December more persons had been employed in British industry than ever before, and that in 1934 chronic unemployment had affected no more than 400,000 persons. Of the total insured population of 12,750,000, 60 per cent., or 7,750,000, had been continuously employed, and the average employment of the rest had been 32 weeks in the year. The motion was defeated by 225 votes to 59.

A minor difficulty arising out of the change of regulations gave some trouble. Under the original scheme, the Unemployment Assistance Board was on March 1 to have taken over from the local authorities, to the extent of 40 per cent, of the cost, the care of the able-bodied unemployed who were not in receipt of transitional benefit payment. By the temporary legislation just passed this date had been postponed to some date as yet unspecified. The Chancellor of the Exchequer now offered to grant the local authorities financial assistance on a 40 per cent, basis of the payments made during December, January, and February. This satisfied the Scottish authorities, but not those of England and Wales, who desired that the basis should be the six months from September, 1934, to March, 1935. The negotiations proved difficult, and agreement was not reached till February 28, when the Chancellor at last consented to accept the basis desired by the local authorities.

The second reading of the Housing Bill was moved by the Minister of Health on January 30. He described the Bill as one which made a great social reform urgently required by the conscience of the nation. Like the slums, overcrowding was an evil legacy of the industrial revolution. The last census showed that there were 50,000 families in the country living at a density of four or more to a room, and 180,000 families living at a density of three to a room. The worst evils of overcrowding were associated with the central areas of the towns built in the eighteenth, and the first half of the nineteenth century. These regions were full of mean streets developed wastefully and badly, and which according to modern ideas were neither proper from the point of view of private amenities, nor economic from the point of view of housing the maximum number of people under proper conditions. It was with these central areas in particular that they had to deal, realising that it was necessary to find means of housing the inhabitants of these areas at or near their original homes, partly in order that they might be near their work, partly because they were bound to the spot by ties of social associations.

In explaining the details of the Bill (*vide supra*, p. 7), the Minister took occasion to remark that the strong prejudice which still existed in certain parts of the country against flats was probably due to the fact that the tenement dwellings first erected ill

Great Britain were thoroughly bad. He had found that wherever the intending occupants came in contact with good modern flats of fine design, the prejudice broke down. His object was to provide dwellings at an average rent of rather under 10s. a week, inclusive of rates in urban areas, and of 3s. to 5s. a week in rural areas. For this purpose it would almost certainly be necessary to provide a subsidy for flats and agricultural cottages, but probably not for other small houses.

The Bill was flatly opposed by the Labour Party, which moved to reject it on the ground that it "involved unnecessary delay in the production of new houses, provided inadequate financial assistance to local authorities, entailed unjustifiable increases in the payment of public monies to property owners, and encouraged local authorities to transfer their responsibilities to unrepresentative organisations." These objections were not shared in other sections of the House, among whom the Bill found general commendation, and the second reading was carried by 291 votes to 46.

A few days later (February 12), Lord Balfour of Burleigh and other prominent members of the National Housing Committee, addressed to the Prime Minister a letter in which, while declaring themselves in agreement with the purpose of the Bill, they expressed doubts as to whether it was, in fact, calculated to accomplish its expressed object. In particular, they criticised it for relying upon localised initiative on the basis of the existing administrative areas, and as tending to reverse an existing tendency towards decentralisation. The Prime Minister in reply pointed out that, unless the whole system of administration in the country were remodelled, the task of remedying housing evils could be undertaken only by the local housing authorities, though of course they might have the assistance of the central Government. The Government, he said, were also anxious to encourage the decentralisation of industry, but if they were to wait for that they would have to condemn hundreds of thousands to go on living under overcrowded conditions indefinitely.

On February 4 the second reading of the Herring Industry Bill was moved by Sir G. Collins, the Secretary of State for Scotland. In explaining the genesis of the Bill, he drew a gloomy picture of the condition of the industry. The present production of cured herrings, owing to the reduced demand in foreign markets, was only about a third of the pre-war figure, and half of the figure of five years ago, while the home consumption of herrings had fallen by about a third since 1913. In 1913 1,600 vessels took part in the East Anglia fishing, while last year the number was under 1,000. Even with that reduction the average earnings of the Scotch fishermen did not amount to 10*l.* for the whole season. The Sea-Fish Commission presided over by Sir Andrew Duncan had come to the conclusion that under modern conditions the old individual outlook which worked well enough in a world of

expanding markets must now subordinate itself to efficient organisation. A conference of representatives of 325 different interests connected with the industry held on October 25 had unanimously approved the Commission's recommendations, and emphasised the need for immediate action. He therefore asked the House to assist him in getting the Bill on the Statute book at the earliest possible moment so that the new Board might be functioning before the next herring season commenced. The Bill was favourably received in all parts of the House, although some members expressed regret that the Government had not seen its way to embody in it more fully the recommendations of the Commission, and the second reading was passed without a division. The Bill became law on March 15.

The third reading of the Bill for granting a subsidy of 2,000,000Z. to tramp shipping (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 100) was considered by the House of Commons on February 1. Mr. Runciman reported that at an international shipping conference held shortly before in London good preparatory work had been accomplished for bringing about the international rationalisation of shipping. Meanwhile, however, there had been little, if any, improvement in freights, and foreign subsidies were as large as ever. Much, therefore, as the British Government loathed subsidies, they felt bound to grant them in this instance. The Bill was again opposed by the Labour Party, but the third reading was finally carried by 147 votes to 37.

The India Bill was brought before a very full House of Commons for its second reading by the Secretary of State for India on February 6. The Minister laid stress on the wide measure of agreement which previous discussions had revealed with regard to the essential features of the Bill—the institution of Federation and Provincial Autonomy, and the insertion of safeguards. He pointed out that the Bill, though big, was not clumsy, that it followed closely the report of the Joint Select Committee which had already been emphatically endorsed by Parliament, and that the points of controversy were not numerous, and were to be found in methods rather than principles. Referring to the opposition which had been manifested against the Bill in India, the Minister affirmed his continued belief that the new Constitution would improve relations, and that it would be worked. He also found in it confirmation for his view that neither now nor at any future time would it be possible to hope for general agreement in India about any scheme, and that if Parliament waited for general agreement it would wait for ever. The time had come for Parliament to act, and the longer Parliament took to act, the greater would be the opposition in India and the less the agreement behind their proposals. The real danger, he continued, in India was not Congress nor Communism nor misgovernment, but irresponsibility. The history of the British Empire showed that

a sense of irresponsibility, carrying with it a sense of inequality of status, was the real danger to good relations between the Mother Country and oversea dependencies. A move forward on the road to responsibility was therefore more than a mere political reform ; it was the outward and visible sign of the recognition of their status.

It might be asked, he said, if that was the case, why was it not made clearer in the Bill ? Why was it not embodied in a preamble to the Bill ? The reason was that there was no need for a preamble, as no new pronouncement of policy or intention was required, the ultimate aims of British rule in India having been set out finally and definitely in the preamble to the Act of 1919. The position of the Government was that they stood firmly by the pledge contained in the 1919 preamble and by the interpretation put upon it by the Viceroy in 1929, that " the natural issue of India's progress as there contemplated is the attainment of Dominion status." But this goal could not be attained until India had surmounted certain difficulties which were inherent in the problem and were not of British creation ; for instance, the cleavages of race, caste, and religion in India and India's inability to defend herself. Indians must solve these problems themselves, but the Bill was a genuine attempt to help in their solution.

Mr. Attlee, on behalf of the Labour Party, moved that no legislation for the better government of India could be satisfactory which did not explicitly recognise India's right to Dominion status, and which did not politically enfranchise the workers and peasants of India. The Bill, he said, provided for the Constitution being worked by the privileged classes in India, but it gave no opportunity to the great bulk of the Indian people to shoulder responsibility and so achieve by constitutional means their social and economic emancipation. For that reason the Labour Party would oppose it. Sir Herbert Samuel, on behalf of the Liberals, agreed with Mr. Attlee that the great questions before the Indian people would be the social and economic ones, but he thought they would be better treated under the new Constitution than at present, and therefore assured the Government of the steady and consistent support of the Liberal Party in the forthcoming discussions. He expressed some anxiety in regard to the question of Dominion status, but was reassured by a promise from the Secretary for India that he would insert in the Bill words to show that the preamble to the 1919 Act was not to be repealed along with the Act itself.

The debate took up three days, and was followed with close attention throughout. Now that the time was coming to take a really binding decision, members seemed desirous of expressing and hearing once more the pros and cons which had already been so exhaustively ventilated, in order to make sure that nothing transpired which might induce them to alter their decision. The

debate produced no confession of a conversion ; all the speakers seemed to have hardened in their previous convictions whether in favour of or against the proposals of the Bill. The Conservative Opposition, pointing to some recent decisions of the Indian Government in the fiscal sphere, made rather more play than before with the danger of discrimination by India against British imports, but this had already been discounted by the other side. Mr. Baldwin, in winding up the debate, again appealed to his recalcitrant followers in the name of party unity, but with as little success as before. The Labour amendment was finally rejected by 404 votes to 133, the minority including 79 Conservatives, and the second reading was automatically carried (February 11).

The discussion of the India Bill in Committee was commenced by the House of Commons on February 19. No less than thirty days of Parliamentary time had been assigned to this task, and it seemed at first as if even this allowance would be scarcely sufficient. After some skirmishes on the method of appointing the Viceroy, the Conservative critics of the Bill, with Mr. Churchill at their head, turned their full fire on the Federation proposals. Their enthusiasm, however, soon showed signs of flagging, and their numbers in division lists before long fell to less than sixty. A proposal to substitute an All India Advisory Council for the Federal scheme with responsible government at the centre was rejected on February 21 by the substantial majority of 308 votes to 50.

The smooth passage of the Bill seemed to be already assured when it encountered a serious and unexpected obstacle. On February 25 the Indian Princes met and passed a resolution expressing strong dissatisfaction with the Federal scheme embodied in the Bill, asserting that it departed from agreements made between themselves and the British Government. The Secretary of State for India did not minimise the gravity of this action, but after considering the criticisms passed on the Bill by the Princes, he came to the conclusion that they could be met by suitable explanations and amendments. Mr. Churchill naturally took—or professed to take—a different view, and when the discussion on the Bill was resumed on February 26, he moved to report progress, on the ground that after the resolution of the Princes it was useless to proceed with the Federal scheme. The Secretary of State in reply declared that the resolution of the Princes had come upon him as a great surprise, as he had been under the impression that there were only points of detail at issue between the States and themselves, and he indignantly denied the charge that the Government had gone back upon their agreements. This charge, he thought, could only be due to misunderstanding of the language of the Bill, and he therefore undertook to make it clearer wherever necessary. What the Princes would

like, he was well aware, was to specify in their Instruments of Accession those provisions of the Bill which they would accept and reject the rest. To this, however, the Government could not consent; they must insist on the Princes accepting the whole Bill in their Instruments of Accession, but they would be willing to negotiate with them subsequently on the points to which they took exception. He had no doubt that he could persuade the Princes to accept this undertaking, and he therefore saw no reason to postpone consideration of the clauses in the Bill dealing with Federation.

The Minister's speech had a calming effect on the House, and disposed of a crop of alarmist rumours which had sprung up. His arguments naturally did not convince the "die-hards," and the Labour Party also, while accepting his statement that the Government had done their best to keep their word with the Princes, were averse to proceeding with the Bill till the latter had made their position more clear. After an animated discussion, Mr. Churchill's motion to report progress was defeated by 283 votes to 89.

The Princes continued to maintain for some time a somewhat equivocal attitude, and a further pronouncement of theirs gave occasion for another motion in the House of Commons on March 20 to report progress on the India Bill. This was defeated by 270 votes to 94, and no further attempts were made to hold up the passage of the Bill on the ground that the Princes would not be willing to accede.

On February 15 the House of Commons approved without demur a vote up to 34,000,000Z. for the new telephone development which the Postmaster-General confidently expected to take place in the next few years. The present time, he informed the House, was favourable for a programme of acceleration, since money was cheap and prices of telephone plant had fallen appreciably. The present rate of development was 200,000 new subscribers a year, but he was hoping to add 750,000 during the next three years. In the last five years the numerical increase in the number of telephones had been greater in Great Britain than in any other European country, but this country had still a good deal of leeway to make up. The House at the same time gave a second reading to a Bill authorising a number of changes and improvements in the general postal service, and containing a curious but highly necessary provision making it a punishable act to address offensive remarks through the telephone to operators at the exchanges.

On January 30 the Minister of Agriculture informed the House of Commons that the discussions with the Dominions on the question of a long-term policy for meat imports were proving more difficult than had been expected, and could not possibly be concluded by the date originally fixed, namely, March 1. As

the subsidy granted to the beef industry in the previous July was due to expire on that date (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 61), on February 18, he asked the House to prolong the subsidy for three months, with an option of a further prolongation for three months. He declared that the subsidy system had worked smoothly, and asked the House not to begrudge a little more temporary help to keep alive a "large and indispensable" industry. There was some criticism from the Opposition, but the vote was eventually carried by 196 votes to 37. In the middle of March Mr. Lyons, the Prime Minister of Australia, arrived in England, and on March 25 he began discussions with Mr. Elliot and other British Ministers on the question of meat imports from Australia.

On February 18 the Prime Minister announced that, in accordance with the promise made by the Government towards the end of the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 98), a Royal Commission had been appointed, with Sir J. Eldon Bankes as chairman, to inquire into the subject of arms traffic and manufacture. Three specific questions would be considered by the Commission: first, whether the manufacture of arms should be made a State monopoly by the United Kingdom, whether alone or in conjunction with other countries; secondly, whether any steps could be taken to remove or minimise the objections to the private manufacture of arms stated in Article 8, paragraph 5, of the Covenant of the League of Nations; thirdly, whether the present arrangements in the United Kingdom for the control of the export of arms could be improved. In reply to questions, the Premier stated that the Commission would not at present have power to take evidence on oath, but that power would be granted if the Chairman intimated that it was needed; that the Commission would usually sit in public, but not necessarily; and that it would not have power to compel the Government to disclose documents contrary to public interest.

Questions of foreign policy were by now claiming the first place in the attention of the Government and the nation. The last day of January had witnessed the arrival in London of MM. Flandin and Laval, the French Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, on a diplomatic visit of high significance. The recent visit of M. Laval to Rome had resulted in a Franco-Italian accord which had considerably relieved the prevailing international tension, and had paved the way for concerted action between those two countries and Great Britain for the appeasement of Europe. The British Government, on its side, had been eagerly looking forward to the French visit, believing that it would now be possible to tackle effectively the problem of granting to Germany equality of rights "in a system which would provide security for all nations," as envisaged in the Geneva agreement of December 11, 1932.

The discussions commenced on February 1, and were terminated before midnight on the next day, the British representatives being the Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, Sir John Simon, and Mr. Eden. The scope of the discussions was somewhat wider than had been at first intended, comprising nothing less than a general examination of the principal questions of European policy. One subject which was broached was that of reinforcing the Locarno Pact so as to make it specifically applicable to air attacks. As the Government had not yet formulated any policy on this matter, a Cabinet meeting was called to consider it. The conversations were carried on throughout with great frankness and cordiality, and resulted in a measure of agreement which surpassed the most sanguine hopes of the general public.

On February 3 a statement was issued making known the results of the conversations. Three main points were affected—Austria, Germany, and air policy. With regard to Austria, the British Ministers made it clear that, in consequence of the declarations issued on February 17 and September 27 of last year, the Government considered Britain to be among the Powers which would, as provided in the Rome Agreement, consult together if the independence and integrity of Austria were menaced. With regard to Germany, the British and French Ministers were agreed that Germany was not entitled by unilateral action to modify its obligations under the Peace Treaties. At the same time, they laid it down that nothing would contribute more to the restoration of confidence and the prospects of peace among nations than a general settlement freely negotiated between Germany and the other Powers. This "general settlement" was defined as one which would make provision for the organisation of security in Europe, particularly by means of the conclusion of pacts, freely negotiated between all the interested parties, and ensuring mutual assistance in Eastern Europe and the system foreshadowed in the Rome *proces-verbal* for Central Europe. Simultaneously, this settlement would establish agreements regarding armaments generally which in the case of Germany would replace the provisions of Part V. of the Treaty of Versailles. It would also be part of the general settlement that Germany should resume her place in the League of Nations.

The statement further declared that in the course of their meetings the British and French Ministers had been impressed by the special dangers to peace created by modern developments in the air, the misuse of which might lead to sudden aerial aggression by one country on another. To provide against these dangers, it was suggested that a reciprocal regional agreement should be made between certain Powers by which they should undertake immediately to give the assistance of their Air Forces to whichever of them might be the victim of unprovoked aerial aggression by one of the contracting parties ; and it was resolved to invite

Italy, Belgium, and Germany to consider whether such a convention might not be promptly negotiated.

On the same night, before making any formal announcement in Parliament, the Foreign Minister broadcast a message on the Agreements. For this apparent slight to Parliament he was taken to task on the next day by Mr. Lansbury, but he excused himself by saying that he had been anxious that the Agreement should not be misunderstood, and as it was Sunday he could not wait till Parliament met. He informed the House, much to its satisfaction, that if the air scheme were adopted, it would not commit Great Britain to anything beyond the class of case already covered by the Locarno obligations, and he assured it that there would be no slackening of effort on the part of the Government to reach a genuine disarmament convention. In reply to a request from Mr. Lansbury, the Prime Minister promised to give opportunity for a general discussion on the Agreement later, when a more suitable time should arise.

The proposals contained in the statement were at once communicated to the German Government. The reply from Berlin, which was not communicated till February 15, did not greatly improve the prospects of disarmament. The German Government welcomed with alacrity the proposal to conclude an Air Convention providing for mutual assistance against unprovoked attack. With regard to the other proposals, however, it committed itself no further than to say that "it would submit to an exhaustive examination the entire complex which had been laid before it of the European questions raised in the first part of the London *communiqué*." From the British point of view, the most interesting part of the reply was a suggestion that the British Government should enter into a direct exchange of views with the German Government, as it had done with the French.

The German reply was considered by the Disarmament Committee of the Cabinet on February 19, and by the full Cabinet on the next day. It was decided to insist that in any future conversations which might take place the Anglo-French statement should be considered as a whole, and that no special section of it should be divorced from its context. Subject to this proviso, the idea of an early visit by British Ministers to Berlin was favourably considered. An intimation was soon after received from Berlin that too much stress should not be laid upon the priority accorded to the Air Convention in the German reply, and that Herr Hitler, in fact, set no limits in advance to the scope of the discussion of the European situation. The way having thus been paved, the Government had no hesitation in accepting an invitation for Sir John Simon to visit Berlin early in March.

That the visit to Berlin should be followed by one to Moscow was an idea which naturally suggested itself both to the British and to the Russian Governments. The opportunity of visiting

Warsaw also seemed one which should not be neglected. Accordingly, arrangements were made that after the Berlin visit a British Minister should go on to the Russian and Polish capitals, but whether the British representative should be Sir John Simon or some other Minister was not yet decided.

The Civil and Revenue Departments Estimates for the coming year, which were published on February 28, amounted, excluding the Post Office, to 366,140,024*2*. This was considerably larger than the Budget estimate of the previous year, and almost exactly the same as the whole Civil expenditure of that year including supplementary Estimates. As no provision was made in the Estimates for the continuation of the cattle subsidy and of the beet sugar subsidy, which had already been decided on by Parliament, or for the work of the Commissioners in the Special Areas, not to mention unforeseen emergencies, it was obvious that the expenditure for the coming year was likely to be considerably larger than for that which was just closing.

Increases in the Civil expenditure had been the order of the day for five or six years past, but they had to some extent been offset by reductions in the expenditure on the Services. This year, however, the taxpayer was denied this consolation. Mr. Baldwin had already announced some months before that there would be an increase in the Air Force expenditure; and Mr. Chamberlain had subsequently warned the public that expenditure on the other forces would probably move up in sympathy. These prognostications proved correct. The Army Estimates, published on March 4, amounted to 43,550,000*0*., being an increase of 3,950,000*2*. over those of the previous year. The Air Estimates, published the next day, were for 23,851,100*2*., an increase of 3,685,000*2*. over the previous year, and the Naval Estimates, published on March 6, were for 60,050,000*2*., an increase of 3,500,000*2*. Thus there was a total increase in the expenditure on the fighting forces of nearly 11,000,000*2*. over that of the previous year.

Although a small addition was contemplated to the personnel of the Navy, there was no intention of enlarging either that force or the Army beyond their present limits. The additional outlay was to be used only for improving their equipment—in the case of the Army largely for providing new barrack accommodation, which was urgently needed. The Air Estimates, however, made definite provision for the addition during the coming financial year of a dozen new squadrons, as the first instalment of the programme of Air Force expansion announced by Mr. Baldwin in November.

For some years a desire had been felt in the House of Commons that the debates on the votes for the various Defence Services should be preceded by a comprehensive debate on Imperial Defence as a whole. This year, in view of the increase in the Estimates, the case for some such procedure seemed stronger

the best possible account of themselves should occasion arise. As **for** the increase in the Air Force, that had been fully debated **last** summer. He drew attention to the fact that after his speech in November on German armaments in which some people thought **he** had expressed himself with too much freedom, there had been **a** distinct improvement in European relations, and he took this as an omen that a similar result would follow from similar plain speaking now. The White Paper had been frank with regard to Germany, but he believed that a frank understanding was the only effective prelude to any kind of negotiations, and he saw no reason why the negotiations commenced in Paris and Rome and to be followed in other capitals should not lead to a new era in Europe. In reply to the charge that Great Britain was destroying the barrier against disarmament, Mr. Baldwin pointed out that in the last few years Japan, Italy, France, Russia, and the United States had all greatly increased their armament in various ways, and he clinched his argument by declaring that the country which showed itself unwilling to make the requisite preparations for its own defence would never have moral or material force in the world.

After hearing Mr. Baldwin's speech, Sir Herbert Samuel was constrained to admit that though there might be things to criticise in the White Paper, there was no sufficient ground for refusing the extra 10,000,000Z. for which the Government was asking. Sir John Simon assured the House that the Government had no intention of reverting to the methods and outlook which prevailed before the consultative system was established, and were still convinced that there was no security for the world comparable with the effective working of a real and universal League of Nations. The vote of censure was eventually rejected by 424 votes to 79, and an amendment moved by Sir A. Chamberlain approving the policy of the Government was carried by a similar majority.

On the next day (March 13) the White Paper was discussed in the House of Lords. Lord Ponsonby led the attack on it with a motion similar in terms to that of Mr. Attlee. The Government was defended by Lord Reading and the Archbishop of Canterbury ; Lord Cecil, however, was more critical, and while he saw no great harm in the actual expenditure proposed, he expressed a fear that the Government was about to abandon the collective system and revert to what had been called the pre-war system of international anarchy. Lord Hailsham, on his side, complained that neither the Opposition speakers nor Lord Cecil had done anything to combat the misrepresentations of the White Paper which were being made for electoral purposes. The motion was eventually negatived without a division.

In the course of his speech, Mr. Baldwin had explained that **the** references to Germany in the White Paper were meant in no

invidious sense and were not intended to throw on Germany the sole blame for the competition in armaments. This statement was received with approval in the German Press, and, significantly enough, Herr Hitler's cold immediately took a turn for the better, with the result that March 24 was now fixed as the date for Sir John Simon's visit to Berlin.

Matters were at this stage when Herr Hitler, on March 16, without any warning took the momentous step of decreeing the reintroduction of conscription in Germany. Immediately on hearing the news, Sir John Simon, who had gone to South Wales, returned to London on the same day, and the Prime Minister came up from Chequers the next morning. A grave view was taken in London of the situation, and a full Cabinet meeting was called for the next morning (March 18). Meanwhile the Foreign Secretary drafted a Note to Germany which was approved by the Cabinet and transmitted to Berlin without delay.

The British Note began by protesting against the step taken by the German Government as being a further example of unilateral action which, apart from the question of principle, was calculated seriously to increase uneasiness in Europe. It then went on to make clear the basis on which the British Government had been preparing to pay the visit to Berlin suggested by the German Government, pointing out that what was contemplated was " a general settlement freely negotiated between Germany and the other Powers," and " agreements regarding armaments which in the case of Germany would replace the provisions of Part V. of the Treaty of Versailles." Germany's decision to raise her military effectives to a strength greatly exceeding any before suggested must make agreement more difficult if not impossible, and the British Government therefore, while most unwilling to abandon the arranged visit, desired before undertaking it to obtain an assurance from the German Government that it still wished the visit to take place with the scope and for the purposes previously agreed, namely, " to carry consultation a stage further on all the matters referred to in the Anglo-French *communiqué*"

The German Government at once intimated its desire that the visit should still take place, and its willingness that the conversations should be within the scope and for the purpose previously agreed. In order that this information might first be made public through the House of Commons, the Speaker, contrary to precedent, allowed the debate on the Army Estimates to be interrupted to enable the Foreign Secretary to make a statement. The news was received with satisfaction by the House, and the renewed invitation from Germany was immediately accepted by the Government.

The House of Commons, on a request from the leader of the Opposition, discussed the projected visit to Berlin on March 21. Speeches were made by Mr. Lansbury and Sir Herbert Samuel,

both of whom were careful to say nothing which might embarrass **the** Foreign Secretary. Mr. Lansbury urged him to express Britain's willingness to sacrifice her Air Force on the altar of disarmament, while the Liberal leader dwelt upon the difference between granting equality to Germany and allowing her to attain a position of predominance. Mr. Lansbury described the reaction of the country to the German declaration as a feeling of shock and despair, and Sir Herbert Samuel as one of alarm and resentment, but both were in favour of the projected visit taking place.

The Secretary for Foreign Affairs pointed out that in two ways the German declaration was a serious setback to the prospects of an agreement which till that moment had seemed so hopeful. In the first place it was a unilateral denunciation of a treaty, and such an action, whatever explanation there might be for it, inevitably raised questions as to the value of agreements, and this was a very bad preparation for future agreements. Secondly, the figure indicated by the German declaration for German effectives was so large, so far beyond what any Power in Western Europe could match, as to render doubtful the possibility of any agreement between Germany and some of her neighbours. These considerations, however, serious as they were, did not in the Government's view affect the desirability of carrying out the Berlin visit. The object of British policy was to help in bringing Germany back into the councils and comity of Europe on terms which would be just to her and fair and secure for all. This being their object, the present visit would be purely exploratory, and would be followed by further international meetings in which he hoped Germany would take part.

The action of the British Government in deciding to send a Note of protest to Berlin without previously consulting France gave great umbrage in that country, and was severely criticised in several quarters at home. It was, strangely enough, defended by Sir H. Samuel in his speech on March 21 as indicating Britain's readiness to act on her own responsibility. The Government itself, however, seemed to feel that something required to be done in order to placate its critics, and accordingly it arranged for Mr. Eden to proceed to Paris on March 23 to confer there with M. Laval and Signor Suvich before joining Sir John Simon in Berlin.

Sir J. Simon duly left for Berlin as arranged on March 23. True to his undertaking, he confined his activities there strictly to the task of "exploring" the ideas and intentions of the rulers of Germany, and sought for no definite understandings. The result of his "explorations" was to confirm the worst suspicions which were held in England with regard to Germany. They disclosed, as he said later, considerable "divergencies of view" between the two Governments. Herr Hitler would have nothing to do with the proposed Eastern Pact of mutual guarantee. He had no

interest in the " collective system " of peace and security, though he was not unwilling to return to the League of Nations—on terms. He would give no guarantees with regard to Austria. He would not hear of withdrawing the conscription order; and he informed Sir John Simon that Germany had now achieved parity with Great Britain in the air.

Sir John Simon returned to London with this message on March 27, while Mr. Eden went on to Moscow. The first effect of the Berlin visit was to arouse public interest to an unexpected degree in the conversations which were now about to take place in the Russian and Polish capitals, and the Government held its hand until they should know the results. The British representative found that the views of M. Stalin were far more akin to his own than those of Herr Hitler. The Russian leader expressed himself as being emphatically in favour of the collective peace system, repudiated any designs on the integrity of the British Empire, and declared that there could be no conflict of interest between Russia and Great Britain. Public opinion in England was very favourably impressed by the cordiality of Mr. Eden's reception, and there could be no doubt that, although the conversations were confined strictly to an interchange of views, the two countries had drawn appreciably nearer through their influence. From Moscow Mr. Eden went on to Warsaw, where he learnt that Poland was inflexibly opposed to joining the proposed Eastern Pact, but was open to consider alternative schemes for securing peace in Eastern Europe. He concluded his tour with a brief visit to Prague.

The Navy Estimates were introduced in Parliament by the First Lord of the Admiralty on March 14. He explained that the bulk of the additional money requested this year was for replacement and modernisation, all, as he pointed out, strictly within the limits of the London Naval Treaty. He informed the House that according to present arrangements the position at the end of 1936 when the London Naval Treaty came to an end would be that in cruisers Great Britain would have built fully up to its total tonnage and its replacement tonnage, in submarines it would have done very nearly the same thing, but in destroyers they were deliberately refraining from building up to the limit allowed. He expressed regret that Japan had denounced the Treaty of Washington, which had prevented armament races for so many years, but he had hopes that the main intention of the ratios under that instrument—the preservation of peace—would be perpetuated in some other way. Britain attached the greatest importance to qualitative limitation, and was willing and anxious to join in an international agreement for a reduction of sizes of ships, so that the existing tonnage of the fleet might be reduced without any sacrifice of protection.

In introducing the Army Estimates on March 18, the Financial

Secretary to the War Office, Mr, Douglas Hacking, informed the House that a large part of the increase would be devoted to the provision of coastal and anti-aircraft land defences which were becoming more and more necessary, and he warned the House that the sum asked for this year was not sufficient to put the Army into the condition in which it should be, and was to be regarded only as an instalment. He insisted that the increase was in no sense provocative, but in spite of this it was opposed by the Labour and Liberal parties, naturally without effect.

In presenting the Air Estimates on March 19, the Under-Secretary for Air, Sir Philip Sassoon, gave the House of Commons the comforting information that the British Air Force was really stronger than its figures would indicate, and that it fell very little, if at all, behind those of the United States and Italy, while it had certain advantages also over those of France and Russia which were much superior in numbers. Nevertheless, in the opinion of the Government, their numerical weakness was serious, and could not be allowed to continue, and there must therefore be a considerable increase in Britain's Air Force—of which the sum now asked for was only a beginning—unless there was some international agreement for reduction. Mr. Churchill pointed out that the Minister had said nothing about Germany, and went on to assert that the German Air Force was already stronger than the British, and was growing more rapidly. Sir Philip Sassoon replied that the position of Germany's Air Force was enveloped in a good deal of obscurity, which he hoped would be cleared up by the Foreign Secretary's visit to Berlin, but as far as could be ascertained, Britain was still considerably stronger than Germany in this arm. The Air Estimates also were opposed by the Labour and Liberal Parties on grounds of policy, but again without effect.

Early in the year considerable uneasiness was caused in commercial circles by the failure of certain well-known firms in circumstances which suggested a financial scandal. Speculation in the pepper, tin, and shellac markets had been carried to a point which seemed to many people dangerous to the public interest, and which, taken in conjunction with other recent events, seemed to indicate the prevalence of highly reprehensible methods in what was commonly called "the City." After various questions had been asked about the matter in Parliament, on March 7 a Labour member, Mr. Grenfell, formally moved a reduction of the Vote of Account in order to press for an official inquiry, and he was supported by a number of speakers from all sides of the House. Mr. Runciman, in reply, admitted that the public had good reason to be disturbed over the events in question, as prominent names had been dragged in, and even the name of Stavisky had been whispered, though, as was generally agreed, without any justification, as there was no question of any member of the Government or of the House of Commons being mixed

up with the affair. He did not think, however, that a special Governmental inquiry was necessary, as the Official Receiver had very wide powers, far wider than was generally realised, and he promised that these would be used to the utmost for the purposes of investigation, without fear or favour. This assurance satisfied the House, and the motion for reducing the vote was negatived without a division.

On March 12, after a number of preliminary announcements, the Minister of Transport issued a definite Order by which the provisions of the Road Traffic Act of 1934 imposing a speed limit of 30 miles an hour in built-up areas were to be brought into force on the following Monday, March 18. The Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police at the same time warned motorists that this time the limit would be strictly enforced and not even slight breaches of the law would be connived at. One method to be used for detecting offenders was for policemen in concealed uniforms to ride about the roads at thirty miles an hour and to summon any one who passed them to stop by means of a gong. As a concession to motorists, certain by-pass and other arterial roads were exempted from the Order in spite of the fact that they were lit with lamps and built-up to a certain extent.

In a message issued just before the Order came into force, the Minister of Transport said that the purpose of a speed limit was to save the many careful and considerate road users from the reckless few, and that if the speed limit were observed in the spirit in which it had been imposed it would be a hardship to none and a boon to many. At the same time, he requested the "leaders of the religious world" to co-operate with him in rousing the public conscience on the matter, and the Archbishop of Canterbury and a number of Bishops made appeals in the sense he desired.

On March 20 and 21 the House of Lords devoted itself to an academic debate on the comparative merits and demerits of capitalism and socialism. Lord Sanderson brought forward a motion, almost identical in its terms with one brought forward by Mr. Snowden in the House of Commons twelve years before, declaring that the capitalistic system had proved a failure, and advocating in consequence the public ownership and control of the instruments of production and distribution. To this Lord Mount Temple moved an amendment describing capitalism as a "well-trying system/" and socialism as one which was purely speculative, and would be found impracticable and oppressive in operation. Naturally, the bulk of the House inclined to this view, and the motion received only 10 votes on a division.

Shortly afterwards (April 3) the House of Commons, in a somewhat similar spirit, discussed the possibilities of improving the existing economic system. The idea of national planning for industrial organisation and revival, which was now much in

vogue with the more progressive section of the Conservative Party, was embodied in a formal motion which was supported by a number of Conservative "back-benchers." Unfortunately, their views proved to be somewhat lacking in precision, and the best speech of the debate was by common consent one by Mr. Assheton, which pointed out very forcefully the limitations of planning, and, incidentally, declared the "New Deal" of President Roosevelt to be a failure. The President of the Board of Trade also maintained that the would-be planners had not faced certain awkward problems connected with wages and the displacement of men by machines, and at the same time he called attention to the considerable amount of planning which was already being carried out by the Government, instancing the latest developments in the tramp shipping industry, the cotton industry, and the iron and steel industry.

The accounts for the financial year, which were issued on March 31, showed that revenue had been 716,441,050*l.*, about 10,000,000*2.* more than the Estimate, and expenditure 696,536,403*2.*, or some 9,000,000*2.* less. There was thus a gross surplus of ordinary revenue over ordinary expenditure of 19,904,647*2.* The revenue from income tax was 228,877,000*2.*, or 9,377,000*2.* more than the Estimate, and only 50,000*2.* less than in 1933-34, in spite of the reduction in the standard rate from 5*s.* to 4*s.* 6*d.* in the pound. Surtax also produced 1,165,000*2.* more than the Estimate, but 1,425,000*2.* less than in the previous year. The net receipts from the Post Office were 1,750,000*2.* less than expected, on account partly of the restoration of cuts in pay, partly of the reduction in telephone charges. On the expenditure side, the chief saving was one of over 12,000,000*2.* on the interest and management of the National Debt, which was rendered possible by the continuance of abnormally low money rates.

In the House of Lords on April 2, Lord Danesfort called the attention of the Government to two Bills then before the Parliament of the Irish Free State, the effect of which would be to deprive Free State citizens of their rights as British subjects, and to make all British subjects aliens in the Free State, and he urged it to intervene on behalf of loyal subjects of His Majesty. The Lord Chancellor, in reply, pointed out that it was proposed to add to one of these Bills a clause enjoining reciprocity of treatment as between British subjects in Ireland and Free State subjects in England and the Dominions. If this clause were inserted, he said, no case would arise for action on the part of the Government, and they were therefore waiting to see what was the actual form which the Bills would finally take.

Early in April two more attempts were made to amend the composition of the House of Lords in such a way as to give it a greater measure of real power in the State. The first was a very modest measure proposed by Lord Rockley on April 4 for providing

for the creation of five Life Peers for the next ten years. In spite of much criticism, this was given a second reading by 44 votes to 14, but as the Government refused to sponsor it, the proposal was not taken very seriously. The other scheme, moved by Lord Rankeillour on April 9, was more ambitious, as it aimed definitely at strengthening the House of Lords in the Conservative interest, and involved the repeal of the Parliament Act. For this reason it was opposed, not only by Labour and Liberal Peers, but also by Lord Hailsham, on behalf of the Government, and it was finally withdrawn without being put to the vote.

On April 9 a joint deputation from the Welsh Churches and from the members of the Welsh Parliamentary Party, including Mr. Lloyd George, waited on the Prime Minister and on the Minister of Labour, in order to lay before them the plight of the unemployed in South Wales. The visit arose out of a resolution of a conference of religious bodies at Shrewsbury on February 22 calling the attention of the Government "to the physical, mental, and spiritual deterioration of the people of Wales, who are sinking into bitterness and despair owing to their long-continued unemployment." The Bishop of St. Asaph emphasised the loss which would befall the nation if a certain type found in the South Wales coal-field were allowed to die out. The Ministers, in reply, assured the deputation of their sympathy, and pointed, in proof, to the assistance which the Government was giving to various voluntary efforts on behalf of the South Wales unemployed.

Prominent among these were certain agricultural schemes under the supervision of a private body known as the Land Settlement Association. This body had been formed in 1934 at the request of the Minister of Agriculture to test the feasibility of the economic settlement of unemployed men on the land. At the end of the year the Commissioner for the Special Areas, Mr. Malcolm Stewart, had presented it with an estate of 25,000 acres at Pott on in Bedfordshire, and in addition had offered to pay one-third of the cost of settlement where men were transferred from his areas. The Government also had offered to contribute 75,000l. a year for three years on a pound for pound basis of subscriptions received by the Association, and the Carnegie Trust had offered to contribute 150,000l., spread over five years. The Association considered that it required 1,000,000Z. for carrying out the experiments on a proper scale, and for the remainder of this sum it was now appealing to the public.

CHAPTER II

THE SILVER JUBILEE.

WHILE Sir John Simon and Mr. Eden were on their tour, arrangements had been made for a joint Anglo-French-Italian Conference at Stresa on April 12, to consider the relations of the three countries to Germany. On leaving Prague, Mr. Eden had travelled to Cologne by air, and had been unfortunate enough to meet with exceptionally rough weather. The fatigue of the journey coming on top of the exertions of his tour so exhausted him that on his arrival in London he was ordered a complete rest of six weeks. Consequently he was unable to accompany the Foreign Secretary to the conference at Stresa, as had been originally intended, and it was decided that his place should be taken by the Prime Minister. He had already, however, drawn up his reports on his visits to the European capitals, and these were considered by the Cabinet at a long meeting on April 8.

On the next day Sir John Simon laid before the House of Commons the results of the "explorations" which had been conducted by himself and Mr. Eden in the various European capitals. He did little more than confirm and slightly amplify the accounts which had already appeared in the Press, and he carefully refrained from giving any indication as to the policy which the Government meant to pursue. A certain light, however, was thrown on their sentiments by his statement that in the course of their interviews with Herr Hitler the British Ministers had indicated strong disagreement on certain points, and that at the end of them he had expressed their disappointment at the difficulties disclosed in the way of agreement. In reply to questions, the Foreign Minister gave an assurance that no commitments would be entered into by the Government before the House had had an opportunity of reviewing the situation; while earlier in the day the Prime Minister had repudiated the idea that Great Britain might be willing to hand over to Germany any of her colonial mandates.

Prior to the Foreign Secretary's statement, the attention of the Under-Secretary for Air had been called to the remark made by Herr Hitler in the course of his conversations with Sir John Simon, that Germany had now achieved parity with Great Britain in the air, and he was asked how this was to be reconciled with official figures recently given. In reply, the Minister said that, if all relevant factors were taken into account, he believed that the British Air Force had still a margin of superiority over the German. He admitted, however, that the rate of Germany's air development was such as to cause the Government serious alarm,

and that the situation would need close and continuous watchfulness in order that any necessary alterations might be made in their own programme, should circumstances so demand.

The Prime Minister and Sir John Simon duly left for Stresa on April 10, without having given any indication of the precise policy they intended to pursue. It transpired soon afterwards that there was a serious difference of opinion within the Cabinet itself, one section of that body inclining to the "isolationist" policy advocated by Lord Beaverbrook. It was this section which was responsible, soon after the opening of the conference at Stresa, for the issue in London of a statement to the effect that Great Britain would on no account undertake any international commitments beyond those by which she was already bound. This step caused great annoyance to the British delegation at Stresa, which promptly declared the statement to be without authority. Nevertheless, it proved to be correct as far as it went. The British Ministers at Stresa refused resolutely to enter into any further commitments on behalf of their country. Their reason for this, however, was not any desire to remain aloof from European complications, but in order not to place any obstacle in the way of Germany's return to the League of Nations. Subject to this limitation, they showed themselves anxious to co-operate as far as possible with France and Italy; they promised moral support for any endeavours to form an East European Pact and to secure the independence of Austria, and they reaffirmed Great Britain's undertakings under the Locarno Treaties and her willingness to enter into an air convention.

In reporting the results of the conference to the House of Commons on April 17, the Prime Minister pointed out that it had been called specifically to consider the Franco-British Declaration of February 3 in the light of the information gathered by the Foreign Secretary and the Lord Privy Seal in Berlin and other European capitals, and that the German military claims of March 16, and the method of their announcement, influenced in one way or another the whole of the negotiations. In spite of this provocation, the three Governments had unanimously recorded their continued anxiety to join in every practicable effort to promote international agreement on limitation of armaments, Germany being invited to be a partner to the negotiations. Without condoning her recent action, but on the contrary making it plain that they regarded it as a grave cause of unsettlement and a blow to any international organisation of peace and order, they had kept the door open for Germany to join as an active partner in the movements they had planned to create a system of collective security in Europe.

In an article which he contributed to the next number of the *News Letter*, the organ of the National Labour Party, Mr. MacDonald was at pains to point out that Germany had only

herself to thank for the stand taken against her by himself and **his** colleagues at Stresa, and complained bitterly of the difficulties **which** she placed in the way of the peacemaker. While admitting that there was a measure of justice in the German claims, he charged Germany with having acted in such a way as to destroy the feeling of mutual confidence in Europe, with "breaking up the road to peace and besetting it with terrors." Germany was demanding a measure of armed power which would put most of the nations of Europe at her mercy. The German people were asking far too much of those who understood them best and sympathised with them most when they claimed that their pacific protestations should be taken at their face value in spite of their obvious contrast with their actions. A country which presented its neighbours with *faits accomplis* which were not to be discussed was asking too much of them if it had any idea of helping to secure peace. Germany had pursued this method to its own damage, except as a military power. It had not won the honour and sympathy which it sought; it had raised the suspicions of practically every nation in Europe, and no German could be surprised if the conduct of his Government had provoked the apprehension and disapprobation of the Council of the League of Nations. It was true that all the blame for Europe's troubles could not be placed at Germany's door; but this would not save it from the blame of destroying the chances of success in peacemaking which were once more presenting themselves, and of throwing the mind of Europe suddenly into anxiety, and turning it back upon the fatal ways of militarism, thus compelling the nations of Europe to return for an evanescent comfort to increased military equipment.

Scarcely had this article had time to circulate when the German Government gave a fresh provocation to the nations of Europe, and to Great Britain in particular, by announcing its intention of constructing twelve submarines, in defiance of one of the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. The contemplated action was not of great moment in itself, but the method of its announcement was calculated to deepen suspicion of Germany's ultimate aims. Public opinion in England became more anxious than ever to obtain from the Government some definite announcement of policy, and some clear assurance that it was taking measures to provide against all potential dangers. The Prime Minister accordingly, after long consultations with the Cabinet, prepared a full statement on the situation, which he delivered to the House of Commons on May 2, three days after the reassembling of Parliament on the close of the Easter recess.

Mr. MacDonald took his start from the London Declaration of February 3, which, he said, indicated that they were moving away from the Versailles regime and were entering upon a European relationship based on free negotiation, on security, and on armed

strength. That declaration gave general satisfaction all over Europe, because it promised the beginning of a sound European settlement, and it was reaffirmed point after point at Stresa. The general object of the declaration was to realise the idea of collective security in some form or other, and though they recognised with regret that circumstances had changed, that still remained the objective of immediate British foreign policy. The question was therefore whether Germany would now come forward and show her readiness to help to restore the international confidence so rudely shaken by her recent independent action in regard to armaments.

At the same time the Government by the issue of the White Paper had made it clear that they would not neglect their powers of defence. It was worthy of note that no nation had regarded the contents of that paper as being a menace to itself. In relation to the new military circumstances, they proposed to put their power of defence into a state which would enable the British people to feel that they were being protected. The chief danger was, of course, from the air. The assurance given by Mr. Baldwin in November that in no circumstances would they accept any position of inferiority to whatever force might be raised in Germany in the future still held good. There was no doubt, however, that the German force had been expanded to a point considerably in excess of the estimate they had given in November. That, said Mr. MacDonald, was a "grave fact," and the Government were already taking steps for further and accelerated expansion of the British Air Force to implement Mr. Baldwin's declaration.

Mr. MacDonald then called attention to the Stresa resolution affirming the desirability of an Air Pact for Western Europe, and intimated that the Government would use every effort to translate it into practice. He summed up British policy as combining defence, collective security, international agreement upon armaments, and peace. It was not aimed at military alliances but at the widest possible collaboration, and every other nation which contemplated peace would be welcomed into its free companionship.

Having heard the Prime Minister's statement, Mr. Lansbury, on behalf of the Labour Party, said that they had no confidence in a proposal to secure peace by pacts based on enormous armaments, but nevertheless he congratulated the Government on the fact that they had left the door wide open for Germany to come in. Sir Herbert Samuel, while deploring the prospect of a competitive race in armaments, fully approved of the course taken by the Government, and promised the support of the Liberal Party for any measures that might be necessary for avoiding inferiority in the air. Mr. Churchill criticised the Government severely for not having listened earlier to the warnings he had given them, and contended that they had not, in fact, kept their pledge to

maintain parity in the air. Sir Austen Chamberlain also demanded some explanation from them of the mistake into which they had fallen regarding Germany's air strength. The defence made by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs was that the figure given by Mr. Baldwin in November had been substantially correct, but where the Government had fallen into error had been in failing to make due allowance for the rapidity of new construction in Germany since that date. Replying to questions raised by Mr. Lansbury and Sir H. Samuel, the Minister said that there was no inherent contradiction between regional pacts and the Covenant of the League ; that Britain still advocated the complete abolition of military and naval aircraft, provided there were effective supervision of civil aviation ; that if Germany attacked Russia, and France under her new pact with Russia attacked Germany, Great Britain would not be obliged under the Locarno Treaty to come to Germany's assistance ; and that, in answer to a question put to him by Herr Hitler in Berlin, he had declared that the question of transferring colonial mandates to Germany was " not discussable."

In spite of the approval given to its policy by the House of Commons, the Government was considered in many quarters to have shown undue antagonism to Germany at Stresa, and still more a little later at Geneva, when the League of Nations condemned the unilateral abrogation of treaties. It was subjected to sharp criticism in a debate in the House of Lords on May 7, when Lord Dickinson, a Socialist Peer, moved a resolution deprecating the censure which had been passed on Germany by the Council of the League of Nations, and calling on the Government to resume negotiations with that country on lines which would be acceptable to the German people. It was unfortunate, he said, that the League should have pronounced judgment on Germany without hearing what she had to say. Lord Rennell emphasised the same point. Lord Mottistone complained that the attitude of Germany was grossly misrepresented in England, and affirmed from his own personal knowledge that the German people desired nothing more than peace and friendship with Britain. Earl Stanhope, replying for the Government, repeated the remark of the Foreign Secretary in the House of Commons, that Germany by her recent action had gravely shaken the feeling of security in Europe. It was by acts, and not by words, that she could re-establish that feeling of security, and the test would be her willingness to co-operate with other Governments in framing an Air Pact. As for the second part of the motion, it seemed entirely superfluous, as it urged the Government to do what it was already trying to do. The motion was eventually withdrawn.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced the Budget in the House of Commons on April 15 before a very full attendance. He commenced by pointing out that the expectations to which he

had given utterance in his Budget speech of the previous year regarding the progress of trade had been fulfilled. Industrial output had increased by about 12 per cent., manufacturing production had established a new record, exports were up by 30,000,000Z. There was only one direction in which a new low record was established for trade, namely, in the time lost in trade disputes. Retail trade and consumption had continued to increase, and at the same time there was a rise in savings deposits of various kinds of nearly 50,000,000Z. In no other country could they find a parallel to the results which had been achieved in Great Britain.

Referring to the excess of over 9,000,000Z. in the yield of income tax over the estimate, the Chancellor pointed out that only 2,000,000Z. of this could properly be put down to under-estimating. The rest was due to the fact that in the March quarter the Inland Revenue had collected a record percentage of the tax, so that he had much less to carry forward to the next year than he had anticipated. He warned the House that this was a piece of good fortune which could not be expected in future years.

As a result of various operations, the nominal amount of the fixed National Debt had been reduced during the year by 21,750,000Z., and the annual interest charge by 1,650,000Z. For the coming year he proposed to retain the fixed debt charge at the figure of 224,000,000Z., and again to take powers to borrow in order to guard against contingencies. With some smaller items, this would bring the total for the Consolidated Fund services up to 235,580,000Z. The Estimates for the Supply services already approved amounted to 490,390,000Z. These, however, did not include the beet sugar subsidy, the cattle subsidy, and the increased cost of unemployment assistance. For these items he allowed 4,000,000Z., which would bring the total for the Supply services up to 494,390,000Z., which was nearly 25,000,000Z. more than the original estimate for 1934. Altogether, without the Road Fund and the Post Office the ordinary expenditure for the year would amount to 729,970,000Z.

On the revenue side the Chancellor estimated the yield from income tax at 237,000,000Z., which was 14,000,000Z. more than the yield of 1934, leaving out of account the amount due to the acceleration of collection. This with 51,500,000Z. for surtax, 80,000,000Z. for death duties, 25,000,000Z. for stamp duties, and 2,500,000Z. for other things, brought the total for inland revenue to 396,000,000Z. From Customs and Excise the Chancellor was optimistic enough to anticipate a yield of 296,000,000Z. which was 6,000,000Z. more than the amount received in 1934. Along with other items, this brought his prospective revenue to 735,580,000Z., which was 5,610,000Z. more than his estimated expenditure. A further addition to his revenue of some 8,000,000Z. in the current year was to be derived from an increase in the tax on heavy oils

for Diesel engines from one penny to eightpence per gallon. Another 4,470,000*l.* was added to the surplus by the more questionable means of a "raid" on the Road Fund, somewhat reminiscent of the methods of Mr. Churchill. Along with minor items, this brought his prospective surplus up to 11,025,000*l.*

The bulk of this surplus Mr. Chamberlain proposed to utilise for the benefit of the small income tax payer, whose interests had been neglected in the last Budget, by charging the first 135*l.* of taxable income at *Is. 6d.* in the pound instead of *2s. 3d.*, and increasing the personal and children's allowances of this class. The cost of these concessions to the Treasury would in a full year be 10,000,000*?.*, but in the current year only 4,500,000*l.* A sum of 2,700,000*?.* was to be allowed for abolishing the entertainments tax on seats up to sixpence and reducing the tax on seats over sixpence in theatres and music halls (but not picture theatres). The bulk of the rest of the surplus was to go to completing the restoration of cuts which had been begun in the previous years, the Chancellor keeping in hand a margin of 500,000*?.*

In concluding his fourth Budget statement, Mr. Chamberlain remarked that, while they could not close their eyes to the anxious situation abroad, or to the depression at home, they could, taking the country as a whole, and looking back over the past three and a half years, see that improvement had been solid, continuous, and steady. He attributed this result to a spirit of confidence generated by a number of factors—tariffs, conversion operations, cheap money, balanced Budgets and remissions of taxation. Broadly speaking, he thought they could say that they had recovered 80 per cent. of their prosperity, and, given peace abroad and a fair measure of unity at home, he saw no reason why, in the current year, they should not make a further substantial advance.

Mr. Chamberlain's guarded optimism was shared by the bulk of the House, and his statement came in for very little criticism. His method of disposing of his surplus, and especially his solicitude for the small taxpayer, met with general approval. His raid on the Road Fund was, however, deeply resented by the motoring community, and in a debate on the Budget resolutions on May 1, the diversion of 4,500,000*?.* from the Fund to general revenue was attacked by a number of speakers as a breach of the agreement made with the motorists in 1909, when the Fund was instituted. Mr. Chamberlain replied by denying the assumption of the critics that any bargain had ever been struck between the motorists and the Government by which the Road Fund was to be expended solely on roads. If more money were needed for the Road Fund in future, the Minister of Transport, he said, could seek further provision. The House upheld the Chancellor's action by 206 votes to 53. Another feature of the Budget which came in for

criticism in the same debate was the withdrawal of the rebate on heavy oil for Diesel engines. This Mr. Chamberlain justified on the ground that the petrol engine was being unfairly treated because of special favours given to its competitors, and his proposal therefore did something to redress a grievance.

On April 12 the President of the Board of Trade asked the House of Commons to confirm an Order just made by the Treasury, on the recommendation of the Import Duties Advisory Committee, raising the duty on most iron and steel imports from 33½ per cent, to 50 per cent. He reminded the House that as far back as 1931, when Protection was first introduced, the iron and steel industry had asked for a duty of 50 per cent. He informed the House that the imports of iron and steel, after declining considerably for a few years, had in 1934 jumped up again, chiefly owing to the activities of the recently formed International Steel Cartel. The British steel and iron industry had been trying to come to some satisfactory arrangement with this body, but so far had not succeeded, and the chief object of the increase in the duty was to place in its hands an effective bargaining weapon. The industry, he declared, was now actively reorganising itself in a satisfactory manner, and he did not think, therefore, that the interests of the consumers would suffer. Liberal and Labour speakers threw doubts on the *bona fides* of the steel industry, but they were assured from the Government side that the industry had been given to understand that the duties were not an end in themselves but a means to an end, and that when agreement was reached with the Cartel it might be possible and necessary to review the action taken under the Order.

Armed with this weapon, the British steel industry was able to command a much more respectful hearing from the Cartel, which hitherto had not regarded the British Government as being in earnest in its desire to stop "dumping." At the end of April, British members were admitted into the Cartel under a temporary arrangement, and the increased duty on iron and steel imports was suspended for three months. In June a conference took place between representatives of the Cartel and of the British Iron and Steel Federation, and agreement was reached that from August 8, when the temporary arrangement ceased, imports of iron and steel products from the Cartel countries during the next five years should not exceed 670,000 tons during the first twelve months and 550,000 tons during each succeeding year. Under such conditions the Federation considered that it would be able to retain a due share of the home market even without the additional duty, and the increased duty imposed in March was consequently rescinded.

By this time both Parliament and people were busily preparing to celebrate in a manner worthy of the occasion the twenty-fifth anniversary of the accession of King George V. to the throne,

commonly known as his "Silver Jubilee." It had been arranged that a thanksgiving service should be held at St. Paul's, and that the King and Queen should proceed thither in state from Buckingham Palace. By the desire of the King, the route was made as long as possible, while the procession was planned on a fairly simple scale. The public, however, was determined to show its loyalty in no uncertain fashion, and the streets all along the route were decorated on the most lavish scale, at a cost, as it was reported, of millions of pounds. The Dominions also seized the opportunity to demonstrate their unity with the mother country, and they all sent their Prime Ministers to convey their greetings to the King, with the exception of the Irish Free State, which held conspicuously aloof from all share in the proceedings.

During the week-end before the anniversary, which fell on a Monday, extraordinary scenes were witnessed in the Metropolis. Thousands of people poured in from the country, and for the greater part of two days and nights the centre of the town was taken possession of by sightseers, the main thoroughfares being rendered impassable for vehicular traffic. The size of the crowds dwarfed anything that had ever before been seen, even in London. The night before the procession was spent in Hyde Park or outside Buckingham Palace by thousands of people determined to obtain a view.

The actual day (May 6) provided a fitting crown to these preliminaries, the arrangements being carried through without a hitch, and popular enthusiasm being worked up to a climax. At half-past ten the procession started from Buckingham Palace, advancing in the midst of dense throngs up Constitution Hill and then by way of Piccadilly and the Strand to St. Paul's. First came the Premiers, then the members of the royal family, and finally the King and Queen themselves, who were greeted everywhere with tremendous enthusiasm. In St. Paul's was assembled a congregation of about 4,000 representatives of all branches of the national life, of the Empire, and of foreign countries, many of them in brilliant array.

After the National Anthem and a few hymns and psalms had been sung, the Archbishop of Canterbury tendered the homage of the nation in an address at once courtly and statesmanlike. The past twenty-five years, he said, had been a period of almost unbroken strain and anxiety. Yet beneath the troubled surface there had been in the life of the nation the deep underflow of a spirit of unity, confidence, and steadfast strength. That spirit had found a centre in the Throne. Elsewhere ancient monarchies had been swept away by the storms of revolution, but here the Throne had been established in even greater security. The Empire, too, in these twenty-five years had become a fellowship of self-governing peoples. Yet their freedom had not lessened but had strengthened loyalty to the one Commonwealth ; and it

was in the one Throne that they found the symbol and bond of their unity. While the Throne served this purpose in virtue of its own character, the personality of the King had given to it the power of a personal attachment. He had brought it into the hearts of his subjects, for they had discerned in him a man whom they could understand, respect, and trust. In the passage of time he had come to be not only the King, but the father of his people, and to loyalty had been added the warmth of love, as was being testified on that day.

After the ceremony, the procession returned to Buckingham Palace by way of the Embankment, the Admiralty Arch, and the Mall. The weather was gloriously fine, and several thousands of people were overcome by the heat, but otherwise there was no untoward incident of any consequence. In the evening the King broadcast a message of thanks to the people for their manifestations of loyalty and love to himself and the Queen. Soon after nightfall he pressed an electric button which set alight a bonfire in Hyde Park, and a chain of some two thousand beacon fires was thereupon kindled on various points of vantage throughout the country, including the peaks of Snowden, Scafell, Skiddaw, and Snaefell, in the Isle of Man. The day was kept as one of rejoicing throughout the country, and in London there was great jollification in the night. Before the day was out, the King sent a letter to the Home Secretary assuring him of his entire satisfaction with all the ceremonial arrangements and congratulating him and all concerned on the wonderful way in which everything was so successfully organised and carried out, and specially praising the police for their tactful and sympathetic handling of the crowd.

London remained *en fete* for a week. The King and Queen made a number of ceremonial drives through streets which had not been on the route of the procession, and were everywhere acclaimed with the utmost enthusiasm. On two days they paid surprise visits to some of the poorest districts in the South and East of London, where they found even stronger manifestations of loyalty and affection. The floodlighting of the principal buildings in London drew vast crowds of sightseers every night, and on the last night, for the first time, they got a little out of hand.

On May 8 the King, accompanied by the Queen, held a reception at St. James's Palace of the representatives of the Diplomatic Corps and of the Oversea Dominions in order to receive their congratulations. On the same day a motion was brought forward by Lord Hailsham in the House of Lords, and by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons that a humble address of congratulation should be presented to His Majesty. The motion was seconded by Lord Ponsonby and Mr. Lansbury, in speeches which breathed a spirit of sincere loyalty, though the latter significantly remarked that had such a motion been moved when he was very

much younger he might have felt somewhat differently. It was resolved that the address of the Commons should be delivered by the Speaker, and that the wording should be left to him.

The next morning the Peers assembled in unprecedented numbers in Parliament, and both they and the members of the House of Commons proceeded in rows of fours to Westminster Hall, the meeting place of the first English Parliament, six hundred and seventy years before. The King entered on the stroke of midday, and the Lord Chancellor read the Address of Greeting and Congratulation from those "loyal and dutiful subjects/' the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Speaker did the same on behalf of the House of Commons.

The Chancellor and the Speaker both laid stress on the flexibility of the Constitution in respect both of home and Imperial affairs. The King replied in the same strain. Pointing to the "rafters of mediaeval oak beneath which they were celebrating the present under the spell of the past," he said it was a source of pride and thankfulness to him that the perfect harmony of the Parliamentary system with the Constitutional Monarchy had survived the shocks that had in recent years destroyed other Empires and other liberties. Their ancient Constitution, ever adaptable to change, had during his reign faced and conquered perils of warfare never conceived in earlier days, and had met and satisfied new democratic demands both at home and overseas. The system bequeathed to them by their ancestors, again modified for the needs of a new age, had been found once more, as of old, the best way to secure government by the people, freedom for the individual, the ordered strength of the State, and the rule of law over governors and governed alike. He recalled that when his grandmother, Queen Victoria, celebrated her two Jubilees, she gave thanks for a long period of unbroken prosperity. In looking back over the twenty-five years of his reign, the thankfulness which he felt was chiefly for escape from danger greater than ever before threatened their land. Through later years their path had led uphill, and they were treading unfamiliar and broken ground, for there had been far-reaching changes, especially in economic conditions. But they had made headway through the earnest goodwill, prudence, and stability of the British people, and to-day the country had attained to a measure of industrial success which gave it confidence in the future.

Throughout the whole of Jubilee week a holiday atmosphere prevailed in Parliament no less than in the country. However, legislative work was not entirely neglected, and on May 9 the Minister of Health asked the House of Commons to approve the arrangements which had been made by the Treasury with the local authorities for making good to them the losses in which they would be involved through the failure of the Government to take over the burden of poor relief on March 1, as originally

stipulated in the new Unemployment Assistance Act (*vide* p. 12). The principle of these arrangements, he said, was to put the local authorities as far as possible in the same position after March 1 as they would have been if March 1 had been maintained as the appointed day. For this purpose their expenditure had been estimated on the basis of that which they had incurred in the three months December, 1934-February, 1935, when the cost of out-relief was exceptionally high ; and in other ways also he pointed out that the arrangement was highly favourable to the local authorities. In the subsequent debate a number of speakers contended that the assistance to be given would be very unequally distributed, and would be quite inadequate for the places most in need of it, but this was denied by the Government spokesman, and the second reading was eventually carried by 152 votes to 49.

On May 8 the text was published of the Restriction of Ribbon Development Bill which had so long been anxiously awaited by lovers of the countryside. It was understood that the delay in its publication was due chiefly to the difficulty in reaching some agreement among the parties interested on the question of compensation. The Bill had ostensibly two main objects—to make the roads safer for traffic and to preserve the amenities of the countryside, but in fact it gave much more prominence to the former than to the latter. It gave local authorities power to control ribbon building by making it unlawful, in the case of so-called "classified" roads, to construct, form or lay out any means of access to or from the road or to erect or make any building within 220 feet from the middle of the road without their consent. These provisions were, however, not to be retroactive. The Bill further conferred on the highway authorities power to adopt standard widths for roads, up to a maximum of 220 feet, "with a view to providing for adequate and safe passage for traffic along any road." With regard to compensation, it was provided that this should not be paid until the claimant satisfied the arbitrator that proposals for the development of the land were immediately practicable, and had been prevented or injuriously affected by the restrictions, and that there was a demand for such development. An interesting provision of the Bill was that local authorities should have power to construct parking places for vehicles underground, as for instance under the London squares.

The Bill received a qualified blessing from the House of Lords on May 16, when the second reading was moved by Lord Plymouth. In the discussion which ensued, regret was expressed by many speakers that the Bill did not do more to preserve the amenities of the countryside, but it was recognised that at any rate it made a good beginning which might afterwards be improved on. It was remarked that, ironically enough, the first effect of the Bill might be to accentuate the evil which it was intended to combat, because the speculative builder was likely to redouble his exertions in the

time left at his disposal for ribbon building, as unfortunately it **was hardly** possible to make the provisions of the Bill retrospective. **For** this reason the enemies of ribbon building reduced their criticisms of the Bill to a minimum, and it was duly carried through all its stages by the end of May.

The Committee stage of the India Bill in the House of Commons was completed on May 15, having occupied the whole thirty days originally set aside for it. Thanks to the tact of the chairman, Sir Dennis Herbert, and the self-restraint exercised by members, the time-table laid down was closely adhered to and the whole Bill was adequately discussed. Once the difficulty with the Princes had been surmounted, the Bill was never in danger,, largely on account of its extremely able handling by both the Secretary and the Under-Secretary of State for India. On April 5 Mr. Churchill again moved to report progress on the ground of a memorandum drawn up by certain members of the Bengal Civil Service and published in one of the London dailies, complaining that the interests of British Civil servants were sacrificed under the Bill. The Secretary of State for India, however, pointed out that this document was the work of a few individuals and had no official backing, and Mr. Amery twitted Mr. Churchill with having discovered another "mare's nest." On April 30 a number of members from Lancashire pressed strongly for the appointment of a tariff board to advise the Indian Federal Government, in the hope that this would secure better treatment for Lancashire imports, but the Government declared itself unable to interfere to such an extent with India's fiscal autonomy. On April 11, in accordance with an undertaking given by the Secretary of State, a clause was inserted in the Bill stating that the part of the preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919, which declared British policy to be the progressive realisation of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire, was not to be repealed. This was equivalent to renewing to India the promise of "Dominion status," the omission of which had caused great dissatisfaction both in India and in pro-Indian circles in England.

The India Bill came up for its third reading in the House of Commons on June 4. Sir S. Hoare was able to affirm that after a very full and adequate discussion it retained unimpaired the three cardinal principles of All-India Federation, Provincial Autonomy, and Responsibility with safeguards. In response to an appeal from the Minister, Sir H. Page-Croft said that though he and his fellow "die-hards" still had hopes in the House of Lords, they were sufficiently patriots to do their best to make it work, should it reach the Statute book. This undertaking, however, was not endorsed by Mr. Churchill, who, in closing his **long** and often brilliant fight against the Bill, lamented the fact **that** the Government had paid so little attention to the demands

of a considerable section of its followers, and outdid himself in prophecies of disaster. The strange alliance between Socialists and Tory "die-hards" in opposition to the Bill was kept up to the end, and a motion for rejection received 122 votes, the Government majority being 264.

By this time important decisions had been taken by the Government with regard to the Air Force. While it was still considering how to give effect to the policy of rearmament, to which it now seemed committed, it had been urged once more to adopt the idea of a unified control of the defence forces which after due consideration it had rejected in the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 24). In the House of Lords on May 15 Lord Mottistone moved that a Minister should be appointed to direct the policy and method of supply of the three Services, on the ground that immense waste and real danger would be involved in rearmament if it were not directed by a man giving his whole time to the job, with all the best brains, industrial and scientific, at his disposal. Lord Hailsham, on behalf of the Government, again refused to entertain the idea, maintaining that effective co-ordination between the three Services was now secured by the Committee of Imperial Defence, with the assistance of a Cabinet Secretariat and a Chiefs of Staff Committee. Lord Mottistone was still not convinced that a single responsible head was not necessary, and he carried his motion to a division, in which it was defeated by 23 votes to 14.

The precise steps by which Britain was to secure and maintain parity in the air with Germany were explained by Lord Londonderry, the Secretary of State for Air, in the House of Lords on May 22. He first cautioned the House against taking an exaggerated view of Germany's strength. When the German Government claimed to have parity with Britain on the basis that their first-line strength was between 800 and 850 aircraft, he thought they were including in their figure of first-line aircraft a greater proportion of their total air resources than was justifiable or compatible with what was necessary to provide and maintain an effective combatant force. Nevertheless there was no doubt that Germany possessed facilities for very rapid expansion, and it was necessary for Britain to take these into account. The Government were determined to take no risks whatever with the security of the country in the air. They proposed, therefore, to raise the strength of the Royal Air Force based at home, irrespective of the Fleet air arm, to 1,500 first-line machines by March 1, 1937. This meant that they were nearly trebling the present strength of the Air Force at home, and nearly doubling the total which they should have reached by the same date under the programme of expansion announced last July, and provided for in the current Air Estimates. For manning this force, they would require 2,500 more pilots and an additional personnel, including

pilots, of nearly 22,500, In addition to the 18 new stations required under the present programme of expansion, they would require 31 new stations of one kind or another under the new programme. In respect of the cost he would at present give no estimate.

Lord Londonderry said little on the question of armament policy in general, and what little he did say was not of a nature to reassure pacifist opinion. He spoke disparagingly of the idea of totally abolishing bombing aeroplanes, declaring that it was inapplicable to the state of the world to-day, and that limitation, not abolition, was all they could really hope for. Not without justice Lord Ponsonby complained that the speech took them back to the 1914 policy of national armaments pitted against one another and increased competitively until the explosion came. At the same moment, however, Mr. Baldwin in the House of Commons was expounding the policy of the Government in a somewhat different spirit, to which this reproach at any rate was certainly not applicable.

Whereas Lord Londonderry had spoken of a large Air Force as something desirable in itself and had actually boasted of his own successful efforts to prevent aerial disarmament, Mr. Baldwin was at pains to defend the policy of Air Force expansion as something imposed on the Government by painful necessity and to be reversed at the earliest opportunity. He made clear once more that it had been decided upon as an act of national defence which no responsible Government in possession of the knowledge which a Government must have could leave undone. In addition, it was necessary in order to enable the country to fulfil its obligations under the Covenant of the League of Nations and similar pacts. In supporting the Government the House would be reinforcing not only national security but also collective security, because they all knew that their armaments would be used only in restraint of an aggressor. Further, some parity in numbers was an almost necessary step to make easier the two things that they most desired—some form of collective security like the proposed air pact of the Locarno Powers and some method of limitation. Both would be far easier to obtain if all parties started more or less from the same point—a view which seemed to be borne out by some sentences in a speech just delivered in Berlin by Herr Hitler. Mr. Baldwin concluded by emphasising the imperative need of banishing the fear of air attacks if the nations of Europe were to settle down to the task of solving their internal problems and rehabilitating trade and commerce.

Mr. Baldwin's thesis that a large Air Force was necessary for purposes of national defence was strongly opposed by Mr. Attlee and other Labour speakers, who held that Britain should not rely for defence solely on her own strength, and for this reason the Labour Party moved a reduction in the Vote on Account. At the

same time Mr. Attlee, the mover, agreed that it was incumbent on Great Britain to be in a position to play a proper part in a system of collective security. Conservative speakers, on the other hand, attached more importance to the motive of national defence, and severely blamed the Government for having allowed itself to be caught napping. The Labour motion was eventually rejected by 340 votes to 52.

The Air Force debates took place on the day after Herr Hitler had made his long-awaited and momentous speech in the Reichstag on Germany's foreign policy. Consequently, it was not possible in the discussions to take full account of this speech. Nevertheless, its effect on the debates was by no means negligible, especially in the House of Commons. Mr. Baldwin stated that the Government regarded it as being, among other things, an answer to the appeal made by the Prime Minister to Germany in his speech on May 2. The Government further recognised that it had made more precise the German attitude in several directions of the greatest importance, and had indicated in a number of respects what Germany was prepared to do. The Government, he said, regarded these declarations as of very serious consequence, and would at once devote to them the very closest attention in a spirit of sympathy and candour. Such was the impression which the speech made on Mr. Baldwin personally that, as he informed the House, after reading it he had torn up the peroration which he had originally composed for his own speech, and had composed another in which he spoke of an opportunity being opened up "even now, at the eleventh hour," of removing the air menace. Many other speakers also, even if they did not approve of Herr Hitler's speech as a whole, declared it to contain offers which were worth following up, and the same opinion was voiced in the Press of all shades.

Herr Hitler's speech was discussed more fully by the House of Commons on May 31, in a debate on the Foreign Office Vote. Sir Herbert Samuel, who opened the debate, described the speech as "by common consent one of the most important events in present-day international politics." Herr Hitler, he said, had spoken with a definiteness, an absence of platitude and diplomatic vagueness, which was most refreshing and helpful. It was therefore the duty of the Government to give his proposals the most careful consideration, whatever they might think about the present regime in Germany or the motives underlying the Chancellor's speech. That speech offered an opportunity of bringing about some international arrangement with regard to Air Forces, and the country would be gravely disappointed if it were missed.

The Secretary for Foreign Affairs soon made it clear that the Liberal leader was pushing an open door, as the Government was sympathetically considering not only Herr Hitler's speech, but proposals of a somewhat more definite character with regard to

an Air Pact which had since been received from Germany. In fact, he could say that the Air Pact was engaging the earnest attention of all the States concerned. Their own conception of such a Pact involved three elements. The first was the Locarno Air Pact as referred to in the London Declaration of February. The second was the negotiation of levels of air strength as between parties to the Pact, and the third was an agreement among the Powers for the outlawry of indiscriminate bombing. Like other members of the House, he had been very glad to find in Herr Hitler's speech indications that he was anxious to discuss all these points.

A question which was naturally uppermost in the minds of all speakers in the debate was whether the Government should suspend its preparations for increasing the British Air Force while the discussions for a Pact were going on. With the exception of Sir Stafford Cripps, all speakers agreed that such a course would be unwise, partly because it would deprive Britain of "bargaining power," partly because it might in the future expose her to unnecessary risks. In view of Lord Londonderry's speech on May 22, Sir Herbert Samuel expressed doubts as to the Government's sincerity in the cause of collective security, nor did the speech of the Foreign Secretary entirely satisfy Liberal opinion on this matter. Positive assurances on this point were, however, given at the end of the debate by Mr. Eden, and the Liberal Party forbore from moving a reduction in the vote.

On May 16 the regulations were issued by the Board of Trade under the Petroleum Production Act passed a year before for governing the search for oil in Great Britain (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 26). Licences were to be issued by the Board of Trade only to persons with proper financial and technical qualifications, and when granted were to create a monopoly for the area covered. Licences were to be of two kinds—prospecting and mining. The maximum area for which a prospecting licence would be issued was 200 square miles, and the minimum area 8; the maximum area for a mining licence was to be 100 square miles and the minimum 8. The fee for a prospecting licence would be 20l., and it would be in force in the first instance for three years; the fee for a mining licence would be 40l., and it would be in force for fifty years. Licensees would have to make their own arrangements with surface owners, subject to the right of appeal to the Railway and Canal Commission. The rate of royalty payable to the State on any crude oil found would be between 3s. and 6s. a ton. It was stipulated that all operations must be carried out in such a way as not to interfere unnecessarily with the amenities of the locality. The regulations were laid on the table of both Houses of Parliament, and meeting with no opposition, became operative at the end of June.

On May 16 the Minister of Labour informed the House of

Commons that while the Government had accepted the principle of insurance against unemployment for agricultural workers, as recommended in the report of Sir William Beveridge's Committee in January (*vide* p. 6), it would not for the present introduce legislation on the subject. The reason was that it had been found impossible in practice to draw up a scheme acceptable to all parties. The chief stumbling-block was that in certain areas, chiefly in the West and North of England and in Scotland, there was very little agricultural unemployment, and the workers there objected to paying for a scheme from which they were likely to derive no direct benefit for themselves.

On May 23 the text was issued of a new Insurance Bill which, while not touching the vexed question of the means test, conferred substantial benefits on wage earners suffering a prolonged spell of unemployment. The Bill had two main clauses. One provided that the insurance of a person who had been continuously insured for ten years should, in respect of pension rights and medical benefit, not lapse after about twenty-one months, as at present, but should be kept in force year by year so long as the unemployment continued. Another clause provided that arrears of health insurance contributions due to unemployment, which under the present law were excused to the extent of one-half (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1932, p. 46), should be excused in full as from July 2, 1934. It was estimated that the cost of keeping the pension rights in force, which would gradually rise to 1,100,000l., could be defrayed out of the surplus of the pensions fund up to about 1945, while for the financing of the arrears it was proposed to set up a new Unemployment Arrears Fund, built up equally by a levy on the contributions of members of approved societies, and by an annual Exchequer grant.

The second reading of the Finance Bill was carried by the House of Commons on May 21, after a comparatively brief discussion, a Labour motion for rejection being negatived by 265 votes to 47. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was in a highly optimistic mood, contending that the effect of the Government's policy had been definitely to increase the purchasing power of the people. Nor would he admit that trade was bad. On the contrary, he said, in many cases it was booming, and in many districts it was difficult to find unemployed who had the qualifications necessary for the work which was offered. This was true ; but what Mr. Chamberlain omitted to mention was that this itself was a result of the prevalent unemployment, which had rendered it impossible for a sufficient number of men to be trained in certain skilled occupations.

On May 24 the Minister of Transport asked the House of Commons to approve a revised edition of the Highway Code, which had been prepared under the auspices of the Ministry, and which embodied the results of four years' experience. Only

5,000,000 copies of the old code, issued in 1931, had been disposed of, **and** in order to make the new code better known, the Minister **proposed** to make a free distribution of no less than 15,000,000 **copies**, to commence with. In presenting his estimate to the House of Commons on June 3, the Minister of Transport was **able** to report a gratifying decline in the number of road casualties, in spite of a great increase in the number of motor vehicles. The improvement was most marked in London, where the safety measures had been chiefly concentrated. Two sections of road users who had not partaken in this improvement were cyclists and children, and for their protection the Minister announced that special measures were being taken, in the provision of special tracks on certain roads for cyclists and of play streets for children.

The Housing Bill (*vide* p. 7) received its third reading on May 29. In the Committee stage criticism had been concentrated chiefly on the compensation provisions, and the Government in the end consented to increase somewhat the compensation provided for shopkeepers and owner-occupiers displaced by slum clearance schemes. A demand of the Opposition that the standard of accommodation should be heightened was, however, rejected by the Minister on the ground that any higher minimum standard than the one laid down would be impracticable. In moving the third reading, Mr. Shakespeare, the junior Minister, stated that the rehousing had now reached a rate of 66,000 houses a year, and that in the previous year unassisted private enterprise had produced 286,000 houses.

On June 1 the Government received its usual half-yearly reminder from the United States Secretary of State of the amount due from Great Britain to that country under the head of War Debt, accompanied by an assurance that the United States were still fully disposed to consider any proposals which Britain might put forward with regard to the indebtedness. The Government made the usual reply that they were still reluctantly obliged to suspend payments for the reasons given a year before, which still held good, as the essentials of the situation did not seem to have changed in the interval.

The question of Waterloo Bridge once more came before the House of Commons on June 3, when the London County Council asked permission of Parliament to borrow a sum of 280,260*l.* as part of the total expenditure which would be required for the reconstruction of the bridge. The Minister of Transport said that, although Parliament had on more than one occasion expressed its disapproval of the plan to rebuild adopted by the London County Council, it had no desire to stand in the way of the Council raising the money it required by means of a loan. A large number of Conservative members, however, were actuated by different feelings, and they secured the rejection of the request by **121** votes to 96—an action which was put down by members of

the Labour Party to "political spite." The L.C.C. then announced its determination to raise the money required out of the rates.

On June 5 the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced in the House of Commons that the Government had undertaken, subject to the consent of Parliament, to guarantee to the London Passenger Transport Board a number of loans which would enable that body to carry out great and in part urgently needed improvements and extensions in London passenger transport. The programme, which would take five years to execute, involved the building of about 12 miles of new tube railways, the electrification of approximately 44 miles of suburban railway, the doubling and electrification of about 12½ miles of further suburban railways, and the substitution of trolley buses for tramcars on 148 route miles. The total cost of the works included in the programme was in the neighbourhood of 35,000,000?., and it was only through the aid of an Exchequer guarantee of the loans to be raised that the Board and the railway companies would be enabled to undertake at once the whole of the programme, much of which would otherwise have had to be deferred.

In asking the House of Commons a fortnight later (June 21) to sanction the action of the Treasury, Mr. Chamberlain pointed to the scheme as another illustration of the benefits of the Government's policy of cheap money, as also of their idea of the right policy to pursue in regard to public works. It proved, he said, how unfair was the charge often brought against him that he was against all kinds of public works ; it showed that the Government were ready to seize all opportunities of promoting public works which fulfilled certain conditions, though such opportunities did not occur every week. Mr. Lansbury welcomed the scheme as a step along the path of Socialism, and pointed out that it would have been impossible but for the work done by Mr. Herbert Morrison, when Minister of Transport in the Labour Government, in initiating the London Passenger Transport Board.

The question of the sugar-beet industry was at this time causing the Government considerable embarrassment. On April 12 reports had been issued by the Committee which had been appointed in April, 1934, under the chairmanship of Mr. W. Greene, K.C., to inquire into the condition of the United Kingdom sugar industry. The reports fully bore out the strictures which at various times had been made in Parliament on the industry and which had led to the appointment of the Committee. The principal value of the industry was stated to be that of a relief measure to farmers, to whom in a period of depression it supplied a cash crop when cash was urgently needed, and whom it enabled to keep in cultivation land which might otherwise have been abandoned. As a relief measure, however, it was declared by the majority of the

Committee to be unsatisfactory, the assistance which it afforded being both extravagant and inequitable. They considered that the stimulus given by the subsidy to beet cultivation was unhealthy for agriculture ; and that as far as the employment provided was concerned, there was no evidence to show that this was any greater than would have been provided by the devotion of the money involved to some alternative purpose, or that it was of a specially desirable quality. They were unable, therefore, on a review of all the facts put before them, to find positive justification for the expenditure of a sum of several millions per annum on an industry which had no reasonable prospects of ever becoming self-supporting, and on the production of a crop which, without that assistance, would at present sugar prices be valueless, and accordingly they could not recommend the continuance of the subsidy. One member, however, joined issue with them on this point, provided the industry were properly reorganised.

While the Government could not ignore the outspoken condemnation of the subsidy contained in the report, it had no intention of abandoning the sugar-beet industry to its fate. Being unable for the time being to find a way out of the impasse, the Minister of Agriculture, first with a financial resolution on June 27, and then with a Bill on July 12, asked the House of Commons to continue the subsidy for twelve months from next September, in order to enable the industry to carry on while permanent measures to assist it were being devised. The subsidy was mercilessly criticised by Dr. Addison and Sir H. Samuel, but it also found its defenders, and the second reading of the Bill was eventually carried by 134 votes to 36.

Parliament rose for the Whitsuntide recess on June 6, and on the next day the long-heralded reconstruction of the Government at length took place. It was carried out not by Mr. MacDonald, but by Mr. Baldwin. The chief object of the change was ostensibly to constitute a "National Government" which at the next General Election should be able to appeal to the electorate with the maximum of effect. For this purpose it was advisable that there should be a certain shuffling of posts in the existing Ministry, and that some of the weaker elements should be dropped so as to allow an infusion of "new blood." From the electoral point of view, the two posts in which a change was most urgently required were the Premiership and the Foreign Office. Mr. MacDonald as Prime Minister had ceased to be an asset to the National Government ; he had no political following, and had long since lost his popularity both in Parliament and in the country. Sir John Simon, as Foreign Secretary, had forfeited the confidence of the country at the time of the Japanese seizure of Manchuria, and had never succeeded in regaining it. Hitherto he had held his ground in face of the persistent and growing clamour of a large number of Ministerialists. Now, however, he showed himself

more compliant, and the Cabinet reconstruction was accordingly no longer delayed.

That Mr. Baldwin should displace Mr. MacDonald as Prime Minister was inevitable, as he had long been the dominant figure in the Cabinet, and the state of Mr. MacDonald's health made it advisable that he should seek some less arduous post. This he found in the Presidency of the Council which was vacated by Mr. Baldwin. Sir John Simon became Home Secretary and Deputy Leader of the House of Commons. He was succeeded as Secretary for Foreign Affairs by Sir Samuel Hoare, whose place at the India Office was taken by Lord Zetland, a former Governor of Madras, and also a Conservative. Mr. Eden, whom many people would have liked to see Foreign Secretary, was given a place in the Cabinet as Minister without portfolio, and with the special function of keeping Britain in touch with the League of Nations. Lord Londonderry, whose views on armaments did not exactly coincide with those of Mr. Baldwin, left the Air Ministry to become Lord Privy Seal, and his place was taken by Sir P. Cunliffe Lister. The members who dropped out were Lord Sankey, the Lord Chancellor, who was tired of politics, Sir J. Gilmour, who had not been a conspicuous success at the Home Office, and Sir Hilton Young, who in spite of having done some good work at the Ministry of Health had not succeeded in making himself popular, especially with the Conservatives. Their departure left room for new blood in the shape of Mr. Ernest Brown and Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, who had already been junior Ministers, and for Lord Eustace Percy, who was taken into the Cabinet as representative of the progressive group of younger Conservatives.

Believers in "national" government were far from satisfied with the reconstructed Cabinet, which seemed to them no great improvement on the old one. The increase in its membership from twenty to twenty-two was especially criticised, and it was pointedly asked why the two Ministers without portfolio could not have been given the sinecure posts of the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster and the Presidency of the Council. Mr. Baldwin was, in fact, considered to have been unduly influenced by personal considerations in making his appointments, and Labour speakers in the House of Commons did not scruple to characterise some of them as savouring of jobbery.

Care was taken to preserve as far as possible the existing balance of parties in the Government. In the new Cabinet there were still three National Labour members, fifteen Conservatives instead of fourteen, and four National Liberals instead of three ; and much the same proportions were observed in the junior Ministries.¹

Mr. Baldwin, in a broadcast address

¹ For a full list of Ministers,

night, insisted with great emphasis that the Government was still "**national**" in the true sense of the term. This description, **however**, hardly tallied with the realities of the situation. Mr. MacDonald, although he still bore the label of "National Labour," **had** long since become indistinguishable from a Conservative, and **it** was significant that in his new post his chief function was to be the co-ordination of the defence forces. Mr. Runciman, while still calling himself a Free Trader, seemed to place little check on the protective proclivities of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Minister of Agriculture ; and the other Labour and Liberal members of the Cabinet, whatever might be their own convictions, did not hold key posts. Hence the Liberal and Labour Parties had to find consolation in the thought that the Government, while virtually Conservative, was after all not as reactionary as it might have been.

Addressing a great National Government demonstration at Himley Park, near Birmingham, on the next day, Mr. Baldwin declared that the co-operation between himself and Mr. MacDonald, now that they had exchanged positions, would continue to be as close and cordial as heretofore, and he made it clear that no great change was contemplated in the policy of the Government. Referring to apprehensions which were widely held in Conservative quarters, he announced that there was no idea of submerging the old Tory Party, and that it would enter on the next election as a separate body. He suggested, however, that in certain constituencies where the sitting Conservative member had announced his intention of retiring at the next General Election, arrangements might be made for putting forward a nominee of one of the other parties who should receive Conservative support.

It was noteworthy that in all this process of reconstructing the Cabinet, the name of Mr. Lloyd George was not so much as breathed. The Government had not as yet shown an inclination to take up any of the new schemes which he advocated, and had come to the conclusion that it could safely venture to appeal to the country when the time came without his assistance. Although it had done nothing yet to solve the problem of the means test, the outcry against it on that score had completely died down; and a number of by-elections which had recently taken place had shown that it was now more than holding its own in the country. **For** this gratifying change in its prospects it had largely to thank Herr Hitler. Germany's warlike preparations had created something of a scare among the public, which instinctively felt that **the** national defence would be safer in the hands of a Conservative **than** of a Labour Government. The patriotic feelings evoked by the Jubilee celebrations were also thought to have been an asset **for** the Conservative Party. The Government was still examining Mr. Lloyd George's plans, but it was an open secret that it **intended** to reject them entirely, and was busily engaged in **finding the most plausible reasons for doing so.**

Mr. Lloyd George soon showed that he was not going to submit tamely to this rebuff. On June 12 there was issued a manifesto—which was reproduced in the Press the next day—strongly criticising the policy of the Government in regard, on the one hand, to international peace, and on the other hand, to unemployment. The signatories of the document were drawn largely from the leaders of the Free Churches who were known to be strong supporters of Mr. Lloyd George ; and as Mr. George himself was also among them, it was natural to suppose that he was the chief instigator, a surmise which was borne out by the subsequent course of events. The manifesto by no means limited itself to criticism. Its main purpose was to pave the way for the creation of a " Council of Action for Peace and Reconstruction " which, while affiliated to no party and containing men of all parties, should play a prominent part in the next General Election by throwing its weight on the side of those candidates who satisfied its requirements ; and it invited all societies and organisations, religious, social and political, to send representatives to a convention which would be held at the Central Hall, Westminster, on July 1 and 2 for this purpose.

The violence of the attack on the Government contained in the manifesto was resented in some Free Church quarters which otherwise would have joined the movement, but which now held aloof. An announcement made a few days later that the Council of Action would put forward 350 candidates at the next General Election lent colour to the opinion of those who saw in the movement an attempt to found a new political party under the presidency of Mr. Lloyd George. The announcement was hurriedly withdrawn, but not before it had caused consternation among the adherents of the movement and led to the withdrawal of some prominent supporters.

Invitations to the Convention were accepted by 2,680 delegates, including 82 members of Parliament and 445 ministers representing all denominations. The chair was taken on the first day by Lord Lothian. Lord Cecil led off with a speech on the subject of peace and the Peace Ballot, and then a well-known Free Church leader, Dr. Scott Lidgett, after referring in somewhat laudatory terms to the Government, moved that the Convention should pledge itself to support the programme laid down in the " Call to Action." Among the other speakers were Mr. Lansbury and Sir Herbert Samuel. The central figure of the Convention, however, was Mr. Lloyd George, who did not speak till the second day. He announced that local councils of action would be established in all important centres, for the purpose of catechising candidates at the next General Election, and putting up candidates of their own where necessary. What form the catechism was to take Mr. Lloyd George did not reveal, but he gave the impression that the business of the Councils would be to dance to the tune which

he should call. One or two of the speeches struck a critical note, **but** these found little response in the audience, and the motion was carried with practical unanimity.

The new Government had not been long in office when it took a totally unexpected step, and one of far-reaching importance, in the field of foreign relations. Taking advantage of an offer made to him by Sir John Simon when in Berlin in April, Herr Hitler, on June 3, sent Herr Ribbentrop to London, along with some German naval experts, to discuss the question of a naval agreement between the two countries. As a basis of discussion, Herr Ribbentrop brought with him a clear-cut proposal that Germany should limit her Navy to 35 per cent, of the British strength, whatever that might be. Discussions went on, with a short break at Whitsuntide, till June 18, when complete agreement was reached. In a White Paper issued on that date, it was stated that the British Government accepted the proposal of the German Government that the future strength of the German Navy in relation to the aggregate naval strength of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations should be in the proportion of 35 : 100. This ratio, it was laid down, was to be a permanent relationship between the two countries, and was not to be affected by the construction of other Powers, although in the case of abnormal construction by other Powers, the German Government reserved to itself the right to invite the British Government to examine the new situation thus created. While not exceeding the ratio of 35 : 100 in total tonnage, Germany was to have the right to possess a submarine tonnage equal to the total submarine tonnage possessed by the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. She undertook, however, not to exercise this right save when an exceptional situation arose, and then not before giving notice to the British Government and discussing the step in a friendly spirit; in normal circumstances the German submarine tonnage would be 45 per cent, of that of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The First Lord of the Admiralty, in a broadcast speech delivered the same night, commended the Agreement as a step which would make it easier to bring about a new treaty of general naval limitation when the Washington and London Agreements came to an end in 1936. What, however, most struck observers in France and Italy, and many critics in England, was the fact that after having a few weeks before severely criticised Germany for a unilateral repudiation of the Versailles Treaty, England now openly abetted her in doing the very same thing once more. While the content of the Anglo-German Agreement was regarded as on the whole not unsatisfactory, the manner in which it had been brought about was deeply resented both in France and in Italy, and was declared in both countries to be an evil precedent and a breach of the "united front" formed at Stresa. The

British Government showed itself very sensitive to these criticisms, and sent Mr. Eden on a tour to Paris and Rome to soothe ruffled tempers and explain that no harm had been done. Mr. Eden was unable to convince M. Laval and Signor Mussolini that England's action had been correct, but he succeeded in reassuring them as to British intentions, and restored the friendly feeling which had been disturbed for a time.

At home the Agreement first came under fire in the House of Lords on June 27, when Lord Lloyd criticised it on the ground of the bad impression which it was bound to make on their friends abroad. Lord Londonderry, in defending the Government, asked the House to take a realistic view of the situation. After all, what was the Government to do? To have missed such an opportunity of limitation in the sphere of naval defences would have been to miss the chance of eliminating that fatal competition between Germany and Great Britain which did so much to poison the atmosphere a quarter of a century before. To have insisted on prior consultation with other countries would definitely have meant the loss of the Agreement. The British Government believed that by setting a fixed point of departure for future discussions, both as regards British and German armaments, they had done a great service to other Powers; and in precisely the same manner, if those Powers could succeed in coming to an agreement with Germany in regard to land or air armaments, in such a way as not to commit Great Britain to any particular strength, they would do them and the rest of the world a service.

In spite of the First Lord's defence, the Agreement was again vehemently criticised a few weeks later (July 22) in the House of Commons by speakers from both the Labour and the Conservative benches. The Minister, however, retorted with some confidence that he would probably have been criticised even more severely—though not, of course, by the same speakers—had he rejected the German offer; and that the critics did not represent the view of the House as a whole seemed to be shown by the fact that a motion to reduce the vote for the Admiralty was defeated by 247 votes to 44.

On July 29 Lord Londonderry, in the House of Lords, explained, in answer to a question from Lord Cecil, what was meant by abandoning the ratios and substituting a policy of programmes in reference to naval limitation. He said that after the breakdown of the naval conversations in the previous year, the Government had come to the conclusion that the only hope of preserving some form of quantitative limitation lay in eliminating from any future treaty figures which appeared to constitute a ratio as between the various signatory Powers, and to substitute for existing treaty engagements on this point a system under which each Power would make a voluntary and unilateral declaration of its construction programme for a period of years, say, 1937-42.

Although it was not proposed that these declarations should have the force or form of contractual obligations, nevertheless the construction figures appearing in the programmes would require to be concerted beforehand between the Powers, and it would be necessary for each Power to undertake not to modify its announced building programme without giving previous notice of, say, at least one year. This plan, it was thought, would at least offer certain guarantees against the resumption of unrestricted and competitive building.

The Labour Party took an early opportunity of challenging the new Government on the subject of its unemployment policy, being encouraged to do so by an admission made by Mr. Baldwin in a public speech soon after he became Premier, that the National Government had so far entirely failed to cope with the problem of the distressed areas. Moving a vote of censure on July 9, Mr. Greenwood laid stress on the fact that while the number of registered unemployed, in spite of a certain decline, was still over two million, the number of persons receiving poor relief had increased from 953,000 in 1931 to 1,620,000 last December ; and he complained that the Government, instead of improving the lot of the masses, was lavishing money in subsidies to favoured interests. Mr. Baldwin, in reply, admitted that the Government had not considered " plan " for dealing with unemployment, but he denied that it was any the worse for that. It had a policy on the subject, which was to improve the economic condition of the country by means of tariffs, subsidies, and similar devices. Mr. Baldwin then went on to detail the great benefits which the country had derived from cheap money, trade agreements, and so forth, exactly in the familiar strain of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he also repeated almost verbally Mr. Chamberlain's views on public works. He made no mention of Mr. Lloyd George's proposals, and incidentally referred in disparaging terms to the efforts put forth in the United States to revive industry by means of State expenditure.

The vote of censure was heavily defeated—by 450 votes to 76—but the Premier's speech, with its complete absence of any new ideas, left a feeling of disappointment in the House. Mr. Harold Macmillan, the member for Stockton-on-Tees, despairingly besought the Prime Minister to make a more " inspired " speech before it was too late. Mr. Lloyd George, who was present at the debate but did not speak, immediately sent a letter to Mr. Baldwin asking to be relieved of his pledge not to publish his national development programme until the Government was ready to publish at the same time its comments. The Government had no option but to consent, and Mr. George's programme, as finally revised after its examination by the Cabinet, was duly published in the Press and as a separate pamphlet a week later.

The Government statement on Mr. Lloyd George's proposals

was issued on July 22. It was courteous in tone, and showed at least that the proposals had received very careful consideration. The Government recognised that Mr. George's ultimate purpose was the same as their own, but they could not admit that his methods were well conceived in any particular. His claim that his plans would bring unemployment substantially and promptly to an end seemed, they said, to be entirely out of relation to the actual proposals submitted ; in fact, some of them might have the opposite effect. In no single direction would they see any good in his suggestions. His land settlement proposals, which aimed at replacing 92,000,0002. a year of imported foodstuffs by home produce, could only be carried out at the cost of artificially increasing the price of food, and would have undesirable repercussions on British relations with the Dominions and foreign countries, besides intensifying the difficulties of the export trades. His housing proposals would dislocate the present building activity and put nothing comparable in its place. In his plans for reorganising industry he had suggested nothing that was at once new and practicable. The same remark applied to his plans for improving oversea trade. With the various social changes proposed by Mr. Lloyd George the Government was in strong sympathy, but it denied that if carried out they would materially affect the unemployment problem. His public works programme "produced no new and good suggestions for developing national resources and improving national conditions." Finally, Mr. George's idea of creating a National Development Board and a small inner Cabinet of Ministers, mostly without departmental responsibilities, was rejected as tending to divorce policy from administration, and as being more likely to cause delay and confusion than to conduce to rapid action.

While criticising Mr. George's proposals, the Government did not neglect to call attention to its own efforts at dealing with the same problems, placing them in so favourable a light as to give the impression that it had nothing to learn, not only from Mr. Lloyd George, but from anyone else either. Mr. George rejoined with a defence of his proposals in which he held up to scorn the "boastful complacency" of the Government. At the same time, he abandoned all pretence of keeping clear of party strife, and announced that he would launch a campaign to secure a political following for himself and his programme.

The idea of the Government that it was doing all that could be reasonably expected of it to assist the distressed areas was not borne out by a report issued on July 17 by Mr. P. M. Stewart, the Commissioner for the Special Areas in England and Wales, after six months' experience in that office. He complained strongly that his powers were much more limited than they appeared to be on the surface, and that he was not given a free hand to carry out many plans which were unquestionably desirable; and he did

not conceal the fact that he was disappointed with the results so far attained. He did not altogether blame the Government for this ; the fact was, as he became more and more convinced, that the major problems of the special areas could not be isolated and left to one small department; they had to be tackled by the Government as a whole, and there was hardly a Government Department which could not and should not help. It was, he said, clearly uneconomical and inefficient for the Commissioner to initiate activities which could be better performed by existing departments already possessing the necessary machinery and experience.

The Commissioner's report was without delay seized upon by the Labour Party as an occasion for moving a vote of censure on the Government (July 23), on the ground that it exposed the " utter futility " of the Government's policy with regard to the special areas. Mr. Greenwood, the mover, sarcastically remarked that the Government had provided a tiny piece of sticking plaster to hide the gaping wounds of the suffering districts, and if that was insufficient, then another 2,000,000l. might be forthcoming. The defence of the Government was made by the new Minister of Labour, Mr. Brown. He pointed out that the Commissioner had in fact done a considerable amount of good with the means at his disposal and that his limitations were due not to any interference on the part of the Ministry, but to an Act laid down by Parliament itself. He entirely failed, however, to meet the criticism that the Act itself was unsatisfactory, nor did he give any indication that the Government was likely in any way to change its policy. By an oversight on the part of the Labour Party, the motion was allowed to be " talked out," so that it was not put to the test of a division. There could be no doubt, however, that the statement of the Government's attitude made by Mr. Brown, and later by another new Minister, Lord Percy, did not satisfy the House, and it was adversely criticised in the Press, even in the organs which usually supported the Government.

The general feeling of disappointment found strong expression in the House of Lords, where the Commissioners' reports were discussed on July 31. The Bishop of Winchester, referring to the debate in the Commons, said that the Government had failed to outline any plan which they proposed to introduce dealing with the question, and that they had left behind an impression not of determination but of hesitancy and uncertainty. Other speakers from all parties endorsed this view, and the Government found not a single defender. Lord Londonderry, who replied on its behalf, added nothing to what Mr. Brown had said in the other House ; and after hearing him the Bishop of Winchester applied to the Government's policy a sentence taken from *The Times*: " The total of these ameliorative and restorative measures is very considerable, and the benefit to many individuals is great . . .

but they are not in themselves fundamental remedies ; they are palliatives."

The discussion of the India Bill in the House of Lords was commenced on June 6, when Lord Salisbury carried his hostility to the measure to the point of opposing it on the first reading—a most unusual course. From this point the Bill was in charge of the newly appointed Secretary for India, Lord Zetland, who piloted it through the House with great tact and skill. As before, the debates in the Upper House were marked by the great wealth of expert opinion brought to bear upon the subject. In spite of the great preponderance of the Conservative Party in the House of Lords, the Government were hardly less successful there than they had been in the Lower House, the second reading being carried on June 20 by 236 votes to 55. In the Committee stage, the Bill was once more subjected to a minute and searching examination, and a large number of minor changes, mostly improvements in drafting, were made in it. One amendment of substantial importance was also accepted by the Government—that the proposed Federal Council of State should be chosen by direct instead of indirect election. In the debate on the third reading on July 24, Lord Snell, who had led the Labour opposition, appealed to Indians to accept and work the Bill, reminding them that the Labour Party would never have risen to their present heights if they had refused co-operation in democracy when their position seemed hopeless. Lord Lloyd, Lord Rankeillour, and Lord Salisbury, the protagonists of the Conservative opposition, made their final speeches against the Bill, but they did not challenge a division. The Lords' amendments were accepted by the Commons on July 30, and at the close of the session the Bill duly received the Royal Assent and India obtained the right to self-government.

A few weeks later (August 25), Mr. Churchill, in a letter to his constituents, expressed his intention to "bury the hatchet," now that the measure which he had fought so valiantly for four years was at last on the Statute book. He quoted with approval the words used by Lord Salisbury (then Lord Cranbourne) after the passing of the Reform Bill of 1867 : " It is the duty of every Englishman and of every English party to accept a political defeat cordially and to lend their best endeavours to secure the success, or to neutralise the evil, of the principles to which they have been forced to succumb. . . . We shall dismiss the long controversy with the expression of an earnest hope that the sanguine confidence of our opponents may prove in the results to have been wiser than our fears." In face of the tasks and dangers that lay before the country—dangers larger and nearer than those threatening from India—Mr. Churchill thought that the Conservative Party could not do better than take Lord Salisbury's memorable words and doctrine as their guide.

On June 6 the Privy Council, on an appeal from Ireland, decided that under the Statute of Westminster the Parliament of the Free State possessed the right to abrogate the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1922. The British Government, however, much to the disappointment of the Labour Party and anti-Imperialists generally, did not allow this decision to deflect it from its settled policy towards Ireland. On July 10 the Secretary for the Dominions stated in the House of Commons that he was still willing to submit the dispute between Great Britain and Ireland to a tribunal composed of representatives from the British Empire, but excluding foreigners. He declared that the Government would be no party to Southern Ireland going out of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and would take every step to prevent it. They intended to uphold and maintain the sanctity of agreements.

The Ribbon Development Bill (*vide* p. 45) first came before the House of Commons on June 25. By this time the vested interests which were opposed to it had had time to organise their forces, and consequently its passage through the Lower House was by no means assured, especially as the attitude of the Government to it was somewhat equivocal. In fact, at one point it almost came to grief. The second reading having been carried, it was referred to a Standing Committee; and here on July 17 an amendment was carried, against the advice of the Government, that appeals against decisions of the highway authorities in disputes between owners and local authorities should lie not to the Minister of Transport, but to petty and quarter sessions. Ostensibly, this change was recommended as a protest against further encroachments of bureaucracy, but there could be little doubt that its effect would be to make local authorities afraid to use the powers granted to them by the Bill and so to render it ineffective for the purpose of checking ribbon development. However, the triumph of the vested interests was short-lived. In the Report stage on July 29, the Minister of Transport moved an amendment restoring the right of appeal to himself, subject to the condition that he might be asked by either party to hold a public inquiry, and that he should publish the reasons for his decision. Contrary to the contention of the opponents of the Bill, he insisted that the questions which would be involved in the disputes which were likely to arise would be not legal but administrative in nature, and should, therefore, properly be dealt with, not by the Courts, but by the Minister. The Minister's amendment was eventually carried by 201 votes to 57, and the third reading was passed without a division.

The discussions on the Ribbon Development Bill lent added interest to the report for 1934-35 of the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest and National Beauty which was issued on July 14. The acquisitions of the Trust during the year had

amounted to about 11,000 acres, bringing the total area under its control to over 50,000 acres. It had considerably extended its holdings in the Lake District, and was now turning its eyes to Snowdonia and the southern portion of the Malvern Hills, the latter of which was already " threatened " with industrial development. Speaking the next day at the annual meeting of the Trust, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the First Commissioner of Works, said that his Department was inspired by the same ideals as the Trust, and was co-operating with it in the work of preserving as many as possible of the national inheritances of the past from neglect and vandalism. Conspicuous among these were a number of the " ancient homes " of the British aristocracy which constituted a unique feature of the British scenery. Owing to the incidence of death duties and other causes, the problem of preserving these in a proper state was becoming continually more difficult, and as his own Department could not take them over till they became ruins—which might ultimately be the fate of some of them—he thought the best solution of the problem was to be found in some form of co-operation between the owners and the Trust. But for such an undertaking the Trust would need a far larger membership and a far larger income than it had at present.

The Finance Bill reached its third reading after an exceptionally smooth passage on July 5. Mr. Chamberlain claimed that he had almost realised his ambition of removing the burdens imposed in 1931. He attributed his success partly to the spirit of the people, partly to his always having kept in the forefront the necessity of maintaining confidence. He warned the House, however, that success would not continue if there was any sudden reversal of policy. After a brief debate the Opposition at the last moment challenged a division, but mustered only 11 votes.

On July 15 the House of Commons, somewhat unwillingly, at the request of the Minister of Agriculture once more prolonged the cattle subsidy, this time until October 31, 1936. Mr. Elliot informed the House that the negotiations which had been going on for some months with the representatives of Australia and New Zealand had so far led to little result, the obstacle being the Anglo-Argentine Agreement which prevented them placing a tariff on foreign imports of chilled and frozen meat, and which did not expire till October 31, 1936. The Minister once more enunciated the Government's agricultural policy as having for its basic principle the preservation of the livestock industry, and this survival, he said, would ultimately be secured by a tariff on imported meat, the proceeds of which would go in subsidy to the home producer.

On July 18 the President of the Board of Trade gave an encouraging report to the House of Commons on the state of the country's trade. Between January and June exports had reached a total of over 206,000,000l., compared with 189,000,000l. in the

previous half-year. The growth had gone on month by month, and he had no reason to believe that an end had been reached. Practically all manufactures had shared in the improvement, even cotton, though not in all its branches. The export of coal, however, showed a decline of about 200,000l. The home trade had also gone on expanding during the year, and he felt constrained to withdraw a remark he had made a year before, that he believed it to be nearing saturation point. The outlook for trade with countries in the sterling area, he said, remained very hopeful, but elsewhere there was rather a stagnation in world trade, and no real improvement could be expected until the difficult currency questions facing some countries had been solved. He therefore approached the coming year with restrained optimism, but still with optimism. The Government was criticised by Sir H. Samuel for not having responded to the indications given by the French and United States Governments that they would be willing to discuss the question of currency stabilisation, but a motion to reduce the vote for the Board of Trade was defeated by 174 votes to 42.

On July 19 the Select Committee of the House of Lords, which had been considering the Osteopaths' Bill (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 107), recommended that the measure should not be proceeded with. The evidence laid before it had made it clear that osteopathy did not fulfil the conditions which would justify it in claiming a statutory register. No definition of it emerged "which satisfactorily differentiated the osteopathic sphere of activity." The number of practitioners in the United Kingdom was found to be very small—not more than 2,000 to 3,000, of whom only about 170 could claim to be qualified. The qualifications, moreover, had been conferred abroad, and the Committee had no evidence about the standard of education of osteopaths in America. Consequently, it recommended Parliament to proceed with caution in giving what it believed would amount to a "hall-mark" to osteopathy.

Shortly before the end of the session, by a Bill—known as the Money Payments (Justices Procedure) Bill—originally introduced in the House of Lords, and carried through both Houses of Parliament without opposition, a long overdue reform was made in the law regarding imprisonment for debt. Hitherto imprisonment had followed almost automatically on failure to pay a fine, irrespective of the circumstances of the defendant, but the new Bill provided that before an order for imprisonment was made, the magistrates should examine the case before them to decide whether this was the fairest thing to do in the circumstances. In introducing the second reading in the House of Commons on July 26, the Home Secretary stated that there were about 53,000 cases a year of imprisonment for debt, of which more than a third were due to failure to pay fines or some other money payment

ordered by a court of summary jurisdiction. He would, he said, be disappointed if the Bill did not bring about a substantial reduction in the number of persons who went to prison every year for the non-payment of fines.

In its preparations for the next General Election, the Labour Party in the middle of June decided to run a candidate at Daventry in opposition to Captain Fitzroy, the Speaker of the House of Commons. The decision was heard with regret by members of all other parties, among which the opinion was unanimous that the Speaker, being above party, should be spared the necessity of an electoral contest. The Cabinet interested itself in the matter, and considered various suggestions for solving the problem. In the end Mr. Baldwin, in a letter written to Mr. Lloyd George on July 31, suggested that leading members of the House, without distinction of party, should be prepared to make arrangements to visit Mr. Speaker's division, to defend the tradition of the Speaker's abstention from party politics, and to appeal to his constituents to return him as a member who had conferred distinction upon his electors by his occupancy of the Chair, and who by that very fact was debarred from personally taking part in fighting a contested seat. The Premier's suggestion was accepted with alacrity by leaders of all parties except Labour, which refused to withdraw its decision. On August 1 Mr. Lansbury issued a statement justifying its decision on the ground that in Daventry there was a fairly active local Conservative Association which had commenced political propaganda, assisted by members of Parliament. As this was directed against the Labour Party, the local organisation felt compelled to accept the challenge and to ask for the approval of a candidate. Mr. Lansbury further pointed out that in 1933 the Labour Party Conference had passed a resolution declaring that the Speaker ought not to represent a particular constituency on his election to the Chair, and that proposals to that end had been made by them to the Government in the previous year. In view of all the circumstances, therefore, it was clear that the Labour Party could not be held responsible for the present position, and he resented any suggestion, expressed or implied, that the Labour Party lacked respect for Mr. Speaker or for his high office.

On June 27 the final results were announced of the so-called "Peace Ballot"—a kind of unofficial referendum on the subject of peace and war which had been initiated over a year before under the auspices of the League of Nations Union (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 90). The public throughout the country had been invited to answer "yes" or "no" to the following five questions—whether they were in favour of the League of Nations, of all-round disarmament, of the abolition of naval and military aircraft, of the private manufacture of arms, and of

(a) economic, and (6) military action against an aggressor nation. The total number of voting papers returned was over eleven and a half million (11,640,066), which far exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the promoters of the ballot. The vast majority of the answers to most of the questions were in the affirmative ; the largest number of negative answers were given to question 56 (2,366,184, or 20·3 per cent.), and to question 3 (1,699,989, or 14·6 per cent.).

In announcing the figures at a meeting in the Albert Hall (June 27), Lord Cecil, who had throughout been the moving spirit, expressed his gratification at the result of the ballot, and pointed out that the number of affirmative answers to most of the questions was greater than that of the votes ever given to any single party in any General Election, save to the Conservative Party in the last election, which was abnormal. They now had a proof which no Government could ignore that the people was behind the League of Nations. The Archbishop of Canterbury also declared that it could not fail to strengthen the Government's hands in pursuing a policy of collective security.

The announcement of the Peace Ballot figures came at an opportune moment, for there was every indication that the sincerity of Great Britain's attachment to the League of Nations might soon be put to a truly acid test. Signor Mussolini was by this time openly threatening to establish a military domination of Italy over Abyssinia. In the dispute between the two countries Britain had practically no direct concern, but she was most anxious that the Duce should not flout the League of Nations as he seemed inclined to do, and so render unworkable the whole system of collective security. Mr. Eden made an open appeal to the Duce at a meeting of the League Council, with no other result than to let loose in the Italian Press a torrent of vilification of Britain which the British Government thought serious enough to call for a protest. During his visit to Rome (*vide* p. 59) he took the opportunity to discuss with Signor Mussolini the question of Italy's relations with Abyssinia, which was now giving the British Government almost more concern than the international situation in Europe. In his anxiety to present a situation from arising in which the League might be forced to intervene, he went so far as to offer the Duce a strip of British territory in Somaliland if he would waive some of his demands on Abyssinia. His host, however, remained obdurate.

The news of this offer was received in England with mixed feelings, and numerous questions were asked about it in the House of Commons on July 4. To allay the misgivings which it had occasioned, Mr. Eden explained that if it had been accepted, Great Britain before giving it effect would have consulted both France and Abyssinia, and would have given Parliament an opportunity of discussing the matter. He admitted that there

were risks in his action, but justified it by the gain in view. The House, however, seemed to think that the acceptance of the offer might have raised more problems than it settled, and was therefore not sorry that it had been refused.

At this juncture the new Secretary for Foreign Affairs made his first statement on foreign policy in the House of Commons (July 11). Reverting to a practice which had fallen into disuse for some years, he did not confine himself to the question immediately at issue, but ranged over the whole field of international affairs, defining England's relations to all the principal foreign countries. Turning first, as was not unnatural, to France, he pointed out that the new Anglo-German naval agreement assured to France, under existing conditions, a superiority over the German fleet of 43 per cent., as compared with an inferiority of about 30 per cent, before the war, so he did not think that France had any reason to complain. Dealing next with the French thesis that "peace was indivisible," he said that England could not agree to this if it meant that, supposing it were possible, an Air Pact should not be concluded without waiting for the adjustment of other questions. On the other hand, England accepted the thesis so far as to recognise that it was to her interest that an Eastern Pact and a Danubian Pact should be concluded as soon as possible. This led to the statement that England was most closely interested in the maintenance of the integrity and independence of Austria, a change in the status of which would shake the foundations of European peace. The Minister then went on to emphasise the need for a system of collective security to be built up through the League of Nations. Coming to the Abyssinian question, he declared that Britain admitted Italy's need for oversea expansion, and the justice of some of her complaints against Abyssinia, but she did not see in this sufficient grounds for Italy plunging into a war, and she would not abandon any chance of averting such a calamity, whether through the machinery of the 1906 Treaty, or of the League of Nations, or both. Finally, summing up Great Britain's international position, the Minister declared that in spite of temporary irritations she would continue to co-operate closely with France, that relations with Russia, both commercial and political, were better than they had been for years, that Britain's attitude to Germany was one of "practical and comprehending realism," that they were most anxious to continue on friendly relations with Japan, and that relations with the United States were, and would no doubt remain, excellent.

Although in many respects the speech was very outspoken, it still left the House in doubt as to how far precisely the Government was prepared to go in defence of the principle of collective security. The Labour Party flatly declared that the Government was not in earnest on the matter, and on that ground moved to

reduce the vote for the Foreign Office by 1001. They found no support outside their own ranks, however, and the motion was rejected by 236 votes to 40. Abroad the speech attracted great attention, and was looked upon as a landmark in international affairs, the new Minister being thought to have put the British position much more clearly than his predecessor had ever done. The speech was well received in every country except Germany, which was disappointed to find England still adhering so closely to the principle of collective security.

The failure of the British attempt at mediation made it almost certain that the Italo-Abyssinian dispute would be considered by the League of Nations. The Government, therefore, now made inquiries as to what would be the attitude of France in such a case. It found, as it had more or less expected, that France was averse to bringing any pressure to bear on Italy, whether through the League or otherwise. The question, therefore, arose whether Britain should follow the lead of France in this matter or act independently ; and it was one on which the Cabinet naturally found it extremely difficult to come to a decision.

In the debate on the adjournment (August 1), both Mr. Lansbury and Sir Herbert Samuel dwelt at length on the Abyssinian difficulty, and exhorted the Government to stand fast by its obligations to the League of Nations. The Foreign Secretary assured them that it fully intended to do so. He did not conceal his opinion that the effect of a war between Italy and Abyssinia would be wholly bad—in particular that it would be harmful beyond exaggeration for the League and all that the League stood for—and he declared that the Government was determined to make every reasonable effort to avert such a calamity. He could not, however, give any assurance that those efforts were likely to be more successful in the future than they had been hitherto ; and his parting message to the House was that the state of Europe remained one of " gloom and apprehension."

CHAPTER III.

BRITAIN'S LEAD TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

THE course of events in the next few weeks more than justified the apprehensions expressed by the Foreign Secretary with respect to the question immediately at issue. Relations between the League of Nations and Italy became steadily worse, until an open breach occurred which set them at loggerheads with one another. But the effect of this untoward development on the peace and harmony of Europe was by no means so sinister as had **been** feared. On the contrary, the blow struck by Signor **Musolini** at the **League** of Nations, so far from paralysing it, seemed

to rouse it to new life and vigour ; and this chiefly in consequence of the initiative and leadership displayed by the British Government.

After the adjournment of Parliament (August 1), some five weeks were still to elapse before the fateful meeting of the Council of the League which would consider the question of Italy's designs on Abyssinia. Both the British and the French Governments determined to utilise the interval for making another attempt to dissuade Signor Mussolini from carrying out his avowed intention of invading that country as soon as the rainy season should terminate, early in October. It was arranged that Franco-British-Italian conversations on the subject should be held at Paris. Accordingly on August 11, Mr. Eden, the Minister for League of Nations Affairs, returned from the country to London, and after consulting with the experts at the Foreign Office, crossed over to Paris the next day in company with a small delegation.

Conversations opened formally on August 15, and continued till the 18th. The French and British delegates put forward proposals which, while respecting the sovereignty and independence of Abyssinia, envisaged considerable concessions, not only economic but also territorial, on behalf of Italy. Signor Mussolini declared these to be wholly unsatisfactory, and in effect laid claim to nothing less than complete domination over the country. To this the others would on no account consent, and in consequence no agreement could be reached.

The breakdown of the conversations rendered it practically inevitable that the Italo-Abyssinian dispute should be considered by the Council of the League of Nations at its next meeting on September 4. A *communiqué*, it is true, was issued stating that " study of the dispute would be continued through diplomatic channels," but few, indeed, were sanguine enough to build any hopes upon this. The British Government was now, therefore, face to face with the problem of the line it would take up at the Council meeting, with the full knowledge that the action of the Council would probably be determined by the lead which it should give.

Immediately on the close of the Paris conversations, Sir Robert Vansittart, the head of the Foreign Office, who had accompanied Mr. Eden, went to Aix-les-Bains, where Mr. Baldwin had just gone as usual for his summer holiday, and reported to him. At the same time the members of the Cabinet—nearly all of whom had remained within easy reach of the capital, in expectation of such a contingency—were summoned to return to London. Among the first arrivals was Sir Samuel Hoare, who, before returning, saw the King at Sandringham. At Whitehall, on August 22, he discussed the situation with a number of visitors, among whom were Mr. Lansbury, Sir Herbert Samuel, Sir Austen

Chamberlain, Lord Robert Cecil, and the Dominion High Commissioners, and thus made himself acquainted with all shades of opinion. On the afternoon of the same day the Prime Minister crossed the Channel accompanied by Mr. Chamberlain, the only other Minister who had left the country.

On the next day (August 24), a fully attended meeting of the Cabinet discussed the situation for several hours. As a result of their deliberations it was unanimously resolved that Britain should uphold its obligations under its treaties and under the Covenant of the League, in accordance with the declaration made by Sir Samuel Hoare in Parliament on August 1. At the same time the meeting recommended that there should be no slackening in the efforts to find a peaceful solution ; and in order that those efforts should not in any way be prejudiced, the Cabinet decided to maintain for the present the embargo on the export of arms to both parties to the dispute, though well aware that in practice this step worked out greatly to the disadvantage of the Ethiopians.

The decision of the Government to stand fast by the Covenant came as an agreeable surprise to that large section of the public which, while itself devoted to the League, had always doubted whether the National Government was sincere in espousing the principle of collective security. Even now it was sceptical as to whether the Government would be true to its professions when the testing time came at the League Council meeting. Certainly there could be little doubt that this was the desire of the country at large. Such criticism as there was of the Government's policy came chiefly from strongly Conservative quarters, and was voiced most effectively by Mr. J. L. Garvin, the well-known editor of the *Observer*, who warned the Government that Mussolini was in grim earnest, and that it would be safer not to interfere with him.

Any lingering hopes which may have been held that an accommodation might still be arrived at were dispelled by a highly intransigent speech made by the Duce at Bolzano on August 29. Having to choose between him and the League, the British Government again surprised the doubters by deciding unhesitatingly in favour of the latter ; and on September 3 Mr. Eden arrived in Geneva fully prepared to give effect to the decision of the Cabinet on August 24 to " uphold Britain's obligations under the Covenant."

At the Council meeting on September 4, it fell to Mr. Eden to report on the Three-Power negotiations recently held in Paris. After explaining the proposals which had been made on behalf of France and England and which had been summarily rejected by Italy, he went on to define the position of the British Government. He first assured the Council that the Government would still do everything in their power to bring about a peaceful settlement of the dispute. But in any case, he said, the Government were acutely conscious of their responsibilities as members of the

League, and were prepared to fulfil their share of such responsibilities. He impressed upon the delegates the supreme importance of not allowing the League to fail in dealing with this dispute. For this end, he said, the nature of the task lying before the Council was plain ; it was their duty to use the machinery of the League that lay to their hand—preferably, of course, with the co-operation of the parties in the dispute.

Mr. Eden's speech made it clear that Britain had gone to the limit of concession to Italy in this matter, and that, if her offers were finally rejected, she would not hesitate to call upon the League to take action. The speeches of M. Laval and other delegates left no doubt that such a call would meet with a ready response. After the meeting of the Council, a Committee of Five was appointed to try to bring about an accommodation before the Assembly should meet on September 11.

On September 8 Sir Samuel Hoare arrived in Geneva, bringing to Mr. Eden the assurance that the line of action he had pursued so far in the Abyssinian question had the full support of Mr. Baldwin and the whole of the Cabinet. The Foreign Secretary found that, in spite of the statements of Mr. Eden, there was still considerable scepticism at Geneva as to whether Great Britain was really in earnest in her profession of devotion to the principles of the League, or at least whether she was not actuated purely by selfish and interested motives ; for certainly it was possible to explain Britain's anti-Italian attitude as due wholly to her own Imperial interests. To combat these suspicions, when the Assembly met on September 11, he opened the proceedings with a speech in which he defined the British attitude towards the League and its obligations with a precision and fulness such as had never previously been displayed.

He began by reaffirming the support of the League by the British Government and the interest of the British people in collective security. British public opinion, he pointed out, had been solidly behind the League when it had been founded, and not from any selfish motive, but because the British public saw in the League the best instrument for peace. As practical people they believed that collective security founded on international agreement was the most effective safeguard of peace, and they would be gravely disturbed if the new instrument that had been forged were blunted or destroyed. Further, this belief *in* the necessity of preserving the League was their sole interest in the present controversy ; no selfish or imperialist motives entered into their minds at all.

Having thus given a sufficient indication that Great Britain was prepared to do her part in the cause of collective security, Sir Samuel proceeded to make it clear that this undertaking was conditional on the other members of the League doing their share also. The League, he pointed out, was not a super-State or a

separate entity independent of or transcending the States which **made** up its membership. It was what its member States made it. If it succeeded, it was because its members had, in combination with each other, the will and the power to apply the principles of the Covenant. If it failed, it was because its members lacked either the will or the power to fulfil their obligations. But while the obligations of the Covenant remained, circumstances had conspired to make the burden of keeping them much heavier than it had been originally. The spirit of war had raised its head ; armaments had increased ; territorial arrangements had become inelastic ; there were too many " empty chairs " at their table. One thing, therefore, was certain. If the burden was to be borne, it must be borne collectively. If risks for peace were to be run, they must be run by all. The security of the many could not be ensured solely by the efforts of the few, however powerful they might be.

At the conclusion of his speech Sir Samuel Hoare repudiated suggestions which had been made that Britain's fidelity to the League could not be relied on, describing this idea as an illusion which it was unjust and dangerously misleading to hold or encourage. Further, he said, it would be a complete misunderstanding to suppose that this policy of full acceptance of League obligations was peculiar to the present question at issue. The British nation, he proclaimed, had demonstrated its adherence to the principles of the League and not to any particular manifestation. Any other view was at once an under-estimate of their good faith and an imputation on their sincerity.

Sir Samuel's speech was at once acclaimed by the Assembly as a pronouncement of the first importance, which marked out clearly for the Council and the Assembly the course they should pursue. It enhanced his already high reputation as a Minister of Foreign Affairs. By the British Press it was received with almost universal approbation, Labour and Liberal opinion showing itself particularly well pleased. The one paper which ventured to express open disapprobation was the *Daily Mail*, which declared that it would be madness for Great Britain to take the lead in proposing sanctions against Italy—the course to which it now seemed to be definitely committed unless Signor Mussolini should unexpectedly draw back.

On the same night (September 12) Sir Samuel Hoare broadcast from Geneva a message to the British nation in which he asserted that, whatever might happen in the end, no one would be able to say that the British Government and its representatives had not made every possible effort to avoid what they believed to be a great calamity. During his stay in Geneva he had, he said, been **greatly** struck by the respect with which Great Britain, and indeed **the** whole British Empire, was held by the world. Many countries **seemed** to be looking to them for advice and guidance ; and be

had tried to put before them the typical British point of view, and in particular to express to them first of all their universal desire to live and let live in peace, and secondly their determination to keep the word which they had solemnly given in the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Shortly after the meeting of the Assembly a number of British warships were moved into the Mediterranean, and British garrisons there were reinforced. No reasons were announced for this step, and little publicity was given to it in the British Press. In the foreign Press, however, it received great prominence, and sinister constructions were placed upon it. In Italy it was regarded as a hostile act, and formal protests were made against it to the British Government. In reply, the British Ambassador in Rome informed the Italian Government that the measures taken did not imply any aggressive intention on the part of Great Britain, but were a natural consequence of the impression created by the violence of the campaign against the United Kingdom which had been conducted by the Italian Press during the last few weeks. At the same time Britain complained of Italian military preparations in the Mediterranean basin, notably of the despatch of large reinforcements to Libya, in the neighbourhood of Egypt, and Signor Suvich in turn explained that these were of a purely precautionary nature and had no aggressive aims. The explanations on both sides were accepted, but a state of acute tension between the two countries prevailed for some time afterwards.

By 50 votes to 2 the Assembly decided to institute collective measures against Italy, but at the same time a Committee of Five was appointed to make further efforts for a peaceful solution. Negotiations between the Committee of Five and the Italian representatives dragged on for about a fortnight, without producing any result. On September the 24 British Cabinet met and gave full approval to all that had been done by the British representatives in the course of the negotiations. On September 26 the League Council met to consider the report of the Committee of Five, and Mr. Eden stated that the British Government would firmly abide by their declaration of policy. The Council decided to adopt the procedure laid down by paragraph 4 of Article XV. of the Covenant, by publishing a report on the facts of the dispute and making recommendations.

On the day before Sir Samuel Hoare had made his great speech in the Assembly (September 10), the French Government had addressed to the British Foreign Office an inquiry to learn "to what extent they might be assured in the future of the immediate and effective application by Great Britain of all the sanctions provided by Article XV. of the Covenant in the event of a violation of the Covenant of the League of Nations and a resort to force in Europe," with particular (though veiled)

reference to Germany. The reply of the British Government was handed to the French Ambassador on September 26 and made public a couple of days later. The Foreign Minister referred the French Government to the clear and unequivocal declarations which he had made in his speech of September 11 with regard to the determination of the British Government and people to carry out the obligations imposed upon them by the Covenant, and he emphasised the fact that Great Britain stood for the collective maintenance of the Covenant and particularly for steady and collective resistance to all acts of unprovoked aggression, and not merely to the one now under consideration. Further it was pointed out that this declaration, while technically binding only on the present Government in England, had the overwhelming support and approval of the British people, and was practically certain to be endorsed by any future Government.

In the meantime the British Government on its side had sought similar assurances from France. In the existing temper of the Duce and the Italian people, a sudden Italian attack on the British fleet in the Mediterranean was a possibility which could not be ignored. The naval authorities were of opinion that in such an eventuality the protection afforded by the British naval bases in the Mediterranean would not be sufficient, and they were anxious to withdraw part of the fleet unless better provision were made for its security. The British Government accordingly inquired of the French Government whether in case of an unprovoked Italian attack, the British fleet would be permitted to put in to the French ports. The French reply transmitted on October 4 was to the effect that the required facilities would be given on the understanding that a reciprocal guarantee for the future was forthcoming from Great Britain. On the strength of this undertaking the British ships were retained in the Mediterranean.

Italy commenced warlike operations against Abyssinia on October 4, and on the 10th the Assembly of the League met to consider what steps should be taken. Mr. Eden defined the position of Great Britain in face of the new situation. The foreign policy of the British Government, he said, remained firmly based upon its membership of the League of Nations. The League had two main tasks—first, to avert war by just and peaceful settlement of all disputes ; secondly, if it failed in the first objective, to stop war. It was with the second of these objectives that they were now concerned, and it was by the League's effectiveness in realising this aim that it would be judged. Action must now be taken, and it was for the members of the League to determine what that action should be. On behalf of the British Government he declared their willingness to take their full part in such action. He also urged the Assembly to act with promptness, since war was already in progress.

The response of the Assembly to this appeal was to place a

financial ban on Italy by forbidding all members to advance her loans. As Signor Mussolini took no notice of this, the question arose whether stronger measures should not be applied. Once more Great Britain took the lead. On October 16 the British delegation at Geneva issued detailed proposals for the refusal of Italian exports by League members; and Britain naturally accepted to the full and without reservation the sanctions which were subsequently imposed by the League on Italy—which, for the present, did not include an embargo on the export to Italy of the material in which Britain was chiefly interested—coal.

Britain's eagerness to set in motion the machinery of the League against Italy led to certain difficulties with France, where the Prime Minister, M. Laval, was loth to antagonise Signor Mussolini. On October 14 the British Government sought for an assurance from M. Laval that his Government were ready to fulfil up to the hilt the obligation assumed by all member States of the League under paragraph 3 of Article XVI. of the Covenant, that they "will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by a Covenant-breaking State." M. Laval's reply was to ask the British Ambassador whether Great Britain would be prepared to reduce the Mediterranean fleet to a normal footing if the Italian Government were willing previously to withdraw their extra troops from Libya. To this question the British Government replied with a decided negative, and they then repeated their request. M. Laval thereupon (October 18) transmitted to the British Ambassador a written answer of considerable length which he himself characterised as a "plain affirmative." The British Government, on studying the document, did not find it so precise as they could have wished, but they were satisfied to take M. Laval's word as to its import.

During the fateful weeks in which the British Government had thus been making history at Geneva, domestic affairs had been even quieter than they usually were during the holiday season. The increased readiness of the public to spend on holiday making was evidenced by the fact that the Bank of England return for the week ending July 31 showed the note circulation to have increased by 7,451,904Z. on the week to the new high record of 408,261,857?., the previous record having been 405,163,8002. on December 26, 1934. There were grounds for cheerfulness in the prospect, based on a number of indications, of continued trade improvement, and in the fact that the unemployment returns issued on August 6 registered less than 2,000,000 for the first time since July, 1930, while recording a new high level in the number of persons in employment. Unfortunately motor accidents did not show the same tendency, and in the next few weeks rose to almost the same high level as in the corresponding period of the previous year.

The report of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, issued in the middle of August, contained detailed schemes for **the** socialisation of the cotton industry and the coal industry. It also put forward suggestions for reforming the control of broadcasting, with a view to making it less one-sided than at present—suggestions which had already in July been laid by trade union representatives before a Committee set up by the Postmaster-General to consider the future of broadcasting. A reference to Fascism stated that there was definite evidence that the influence of the movement had declined considerably, and that its membership was much lower than last year. The membership of the trade unions on the contrary had for the first time in several years shown an increase, to the extent of about 100,000, or 3 per cent.

By the time the sixty-seventh Congress actually met—at Margate on September 2—the warlike preparations of Italy had raised a new issue which claimed its first attention. In the previous year the Congress had declared that "responsibility for stopping war ought not to be placed upon the trade union movement," but at the same time it had reaffirmed the obligation of the General Council to call a special Congress if war should be threatened, and had affirmed its adherence to the collective peace system. It was only natural therefore that in his presidential address Mr. W. Kean, of the Union of Gold and Silver Workers' Associations, should occupy himself chiefly with the international situation and devote a relatively small part of his address to a consideration of trade union subjects.

Most of Mr. Kean's speech consisted of a tirade against Mussolini and Fascism which was greatly to the taste of his audience. He stigmatised the threatened Italian invasion of Abyssinia as a criminal act which, if not combated, might have disastrous consequences for European civilisation. The duty of the League, he said, was plain, and its continued existence depended on its performance of that duty. It had the means at its command to check Italy's imperialistic designs, and it should not hesitate to use them to the utmost. From the trade union point of view there could be nothing more dangerous than the triumph of Fascism in Abyssinia, whereas the defeat of Fascism would mean a staying of the tide of reaction which threatened to engulf the world. "With Fascism in its final phase of lawless and criminal defiance of public law and the people's will to peace, they must not," he said, "fail as trade unionists to support a policy which would hasten the end of dictatorship as a method of government."

Following up the address of the President, the General Council on September 4, in conjunction with the National Executive of the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Party Executive, drafted a declaration setting forth the position to be taken up by the **Congress** on **the** Abyssinian question. The declaration stated

that the Congress was gravely disturbed by the violation of the law of nations threatened by Italy, and declared its profound conviction that such violation of the sanctity of international treaties was destructive of the foundations of civilisation. It condemned in the strongest terms the provocative and defiant attitude of the head of the Italian Government towards the League of Nations, and appealed to the Italian nation to honour their pledges to abandon war as an instrument of policy and their acceptance of responsibility, jointly with all other members of the League, for the maintenance of peace. The Congress called on the British Government, in co-operation with the other members of the League, to use all the measures provided by the Covenant to check Italy's aggression, and pledged its firm support for any action taken to uphold the authority of the League in enforcing peace. Finally, it called upon the British Government to urge the League to summon a world economic conference which should consider the question of the international control of the sources and supply of raw materials on the principle of economic equality of opportunity for all nations in the undeveloped regions of the earth.

On the next day Sir Walter Citrine, the secretary of the Congress, submitted this declaration as a resolution, with the addition that the British Government should be called on to take the initiative in summoning a new conference on disarmament and the traffic in arms. He said that there ought not to be the slightest doubt in the minds of the public of this and other countries where British Labour stood on the subject before them. The Congress demanded that the world should understand that there was required to-day not only a loyalty to a particular Government, but a loyalty to a system of peace under the League of Nations. They recognised—that there was a price to pay for peace, and that it might entail taking deliberate action against a breaker of the peace. Their demand must be for all measures which were necessary to restrain the peacebreaker. They recognised that it might mean war, but that was one of the things they had to face. They had to face the fact that there was no alternative left except to take the risk of applying sanctions, involving the possibility of war.

The resolution was supported by Mr. Ernest Bevin, but a number of less well-known speakers protested against endorsing a policy which might ultimately lead to war—at any rate, one which might lead to a "capitalist" war. After an animated discussion the resolution was put to the vote, and was carried by an overwhelming majority, 2,962,000 votes being recorded for and only 177,000 against.

On two occasions in the course of the proceedings an attempt was made by certain sections of the delegates to reverse the policy of the General Council in opposing Communism. In the

course of the year the Council had issued two circulars, one to the unions and the other to the councils, calling upon them to take steps for keeping members of " disruptive bodies " out of their ranks. The Miners' Federation moved the reference back of the circular to the unions on the ground that it interfered with their liberty of choice ; while five other unions moved a vote of censure on the Council for its action in the matter. After considerable discussion the former motion was rejected by 1,427,000 votes for, to 1,869,000 against, and the latter by 539,000 to 1,944,000. On the second day the Furnishing Trades Association moved that the General Council should be instructed to act with all organisations hostile to war and Fascism. Sir Walter Citrine pointed out that experience had shown it to be impossible for trade unions to ally themselves with Communism, and the motion was rejected. A resolution instructing the General Council to request from the Prime Minister the introduction of the 40-hour week in all Government establishments was carried, but one deprecating the acceptance of honours by trade union leaders was shelved by means of the " previous question."

By the time the Labour Party opened its annual conference at Brighton on September 30, the war cloud had grown blacker than ever, and, although the agenda contained resolutions of some importance to Labour, the delegates showed little disposition to discuss anything else. The Chairman, Mr. W. A. Robinson, of the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, took occasion in his opening address to rebut an assertion made in certain quarters that the resolution passed by the Trade Union Congress on the Abyssinian question (*vide* p. 79) was equivalent to a declaration in favour of war with Italy. So far, he said, from organised labour desiring war, it fervently prayed for the keeping of peace. It did not believe that sanctions necessarily involved war. On the contrary, it held that moral and material pressure on an aggressor was the one way to restrain the law-breaker without resort to arms.

On the next day Mr. Hugh Dalton, on behalf of the Executive, moved a resolution recommending the use by the League of Nations of sanctions in the Italo-Abyssinian dispute. He was supported by most of the party leaders. Opposition was offered by Sir Stafford Cripps on the ground that Labour should not join without power in the responsibility for a capitalist and imperialist war which sanctions might entail. The bulk of the delegates, however, saw no harm on this occasion in being on the side of a non-Labour Government, and after a debate lasting two days the resolution was carried on a card vote by 2,168,000 to 102,000.

The adoption by organised Labour, both in the Trade Union Congress and the Party Conference, of a militant policy in respect of Italy had important effects upon the party leadership. Lord Ponsonby, the leader of the party in the House of Lords, found

himself unable to follow the decision of the Congress to support the application of sanctions to enforce peace. On September 17 he sent a letter to Mr. Lansbury, as leader of the party, in which he declared his conviction that peace could never be secured by force of arms, and placed his resignation in his hands. It was accepted, and Lord Snell was appointed in his place. Mr. Lansbury himself on September 8 had issued a statement pointing out that during the whole of the period in which he had been leader of the party he had made it clear that in no circumstances could he support the use of armed force either by the League of Nations or by individual nations, and declaring that at the present juncture his view remained if anything stronger than ever. He continued, however, for the time being to retain the leadership of the party, but after the Labour Party Conference he found his position no longer tenable, and on October 8 at a special meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party he submitted his resignation. It was accepted with regret, and Mr. Attlee, the deputy chairman, was appointed to act as chairman for the rest of the Parliamentary session. Sir Stafford Cripps also, for somewhat different reasons, resigned from the Executive.

The National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations opened its annual conference at Bournemouth on October 4. The Indian question being now out of the way, the proceedings were more harmonious than they had been for some years past. Loyalty to Mr. Baldwin was more marked than ever before, and it was Mr. Churchill himself who at one point evoked a burst of cheering by declaring that "in the Prime Minister we have a statesman who has gathered to himself a greater volume of confidence and goodwill than any public man I recollect in my long public career."

On the first day the chief subject discussed by the conference was national and imperial defence. Sir Edward Grigg brought forward a motion urging that the Government must at all costs provide that the naval, military, and air services of the country should be adequate to safeguard British territory and seaborne trade against aggression by any single Power, and to carry out with loyalty and effect British international obligations. To this Mr. Churchill added an amendment pledging the party to accept and support any financial measures which might be necessary for the national safety, no matter how great the sacrifices might be. Mr. Chamberlain assured the conference that it was unnecessary to remind the Government of its duty to the nation, and welcomed the assurances of support which both the motion and the amendment contained. Both were thereupon carried unanimously.

On the second day the agricultural policy of the Government was criticised by a number of speakers as not being nearly protective enough, and its marketing schemes in particular were

declared to have failed. This was emphatically denied by **Mr. Elliot**, the Minister of Agriculture, who asserted that the hops and potato marketing schemes had undoubtedly been of value to the producers, and pointed to the fact that a short time previously the milk producers, on being consulted as to the future of the milk scheme, had voted by an overwhelming majority for its continuance. Dealing with the larger question, he pointed out that home production in many staple lines had increased enormously since 1931. Thus the production of wheat was in 1931 1,000,000 tons and in 1934 1,800,000 tons. The production of sugar at home in 1931 was 250,000 tons and in 1935 over 560,000 tons. The production of potatoes which for the ten years 1921-31 was 4,000,000 tons had in 1934 been 4,464,000 tons. The production of beef cattle between 1931 and 1935 went up by 279,000 head, and meat production had gone up from 1,100,000 tons in 1930 to 1,300,000 tons in the present year. They had further to remember that a great part of their food imports came from the Dominions of the British Empire, against whom they could not well put up higher tariff barriers. In the view of the Government, he said, the salvation of agriculture was to be found in the increased consumption of their own health-giving foodstuffs at home. They must therefore not raise the price of food out of reach of the housewife by artificial means. By the ear-marked tariff, the tariff the proceeds of which were used for the purpose of keeping food cheap, they had in fact succeeded in securing remunerative prices for home produce while keeping food cheap. After the Minister's speech a motion recommending higher tariffs and curtailment of the restriction on home production was defeated.

The international situation was hardly touched upon by the conference, but it was made by Mr. Baldwin the chief topic of a speech which he delivered to a mass meeting held in connexion with the conference. The Prime Minister showed himself to be of one mind with the Foreign Secretary and Mr. Eden. Addressing himself first to the isolationists in his own party—those who would fetch Britain out of the League and who believed that this country and the Empire would be safer outside than in—he scouted such an idea as being fundamentally a heresy—dangerous at the moment and far more dangerous in the future. Even in the eighteenth century, he said, isolation had been, in the words of the late Frederick Oliver, "the bubble of a disordered imagination"; much more was this the case now when scientific inventions had largely rendered worthless the natural barrier between Great Britain and the Continent. Thus the policy pursued by the Government was dictated by Britain's vital interests; and equally it was dictated by the obligation to fulfil their solemn international pledge. Great Britain, he emphatically declared, was actuated by no mean or selfish motives of her own

in opposing Italy, and resented and indignantly rejected aspersions which in certain quarters abroad had been cast on her sincerity in defending the Covenant. At the same time he made it clear—much to the satisfaction of his audience—that Great Britain would not take isolated action, and that she expected those who had accepted the same responsibilities as herself to shoulder them equally with her.

To this statement of policy Mr. Baldwin added a corollary which was equally to the taste of his audience. It was, he said, useless for Britain to accept obligations under the Covenant unless it had at its command adequate forces with which to carry them out in case of need. The deficiencies in military equipment which they had incurred since the war must be repaired. He did not like the doubts and questionings which had reached him from the world at large as to the ability of Britain to fulfil her obligations. So long as those doubts existed, their word would not carry that weight in the counsels of the world that the word of Great Britain always had carried and ought to carry. The conclusion to be drawn was, as he had already said in the House of Commons, that in no conceivable circumstances must they feel that they were inferior in the air to any nation within striking distance of Great Britain, and in no conceivable circumstances should it be impossible for their people to be secured in the supplies of their food from oversea.

When Mr. Baldwin made this speech, the prestige of the National Government in the country stood higher than had once seemed to be possible. From an electioneering point of view, the policy pursued by the Government in respect of the Italo-Abyssinian dispute had been extraordinarily successful. It had caught the popular imagination to a remarkable degree, as the correspondence columns of *The Times* and other papers testified, and had caused the public almost to forget the Government's shortcomings in the matters of unemployment assistance and the depressed areas. Certainly there was a section of the Conservative Party which, in spite of the warnings of its leader, still hankered after "isolationism"; but it could take comfort in the fact that a policy of supporting the League of Nations equally led to an increase of armaments. On the other hand, the pacifists were able to condone this increase when they were assured that it was for the support of the League. Thus the Government in the past three months had succeeded in reconciling many of its opponents without estranging its friends, and its electoral prospects were brighter than they had been for a long time.

Naturally this fact was not lost on the Conservative Party managers, and they had no difficulty in making up their minds that the hour was propitious for an appeal to the country. Rumours that a General Election would be held in November became current on September 9, and on the next day were turned

into certainties. The Liberal Association issued a statement protesting that an immediate General Election would be regarded in the country among great numbers of the electorate as nothing more than an attempt to exploit the international crisis in order to secure power for the Conservative Party for the next five years, and reminding the Government of the fate which ultimately befel Mr. Balfour for similarly taking advantage of a national emergency in 1900. The protest, however, passed unheeded, and the Government let it be understood that the election would be held at the earliest possible moment, though the exact date was not yet fixed.

Partly to expedite the dissolution, partly to make sure of its ground before proceeding further with the policy of sanctions, the Government on October 9 summoned Parliament to meet on the 22nd of the month, a week earlier than the date originally fixed at the time of the adjournment. It was understood that the session should be exceedingly brief and should be devoted principally to a debate on foreign affairs ; and all parties began to make their preparations for the General Election.

Parliament duly met on October 22, and both Houses almost immediately plunged into a consideration of the international situation. In the House of Commons the Secretary for Foreign Affairs opened the debate with a speech in which he gave a review of the events of the previous three months and defended the Government against criticisms which had been levelled against its policy from various directions. He claimed credit for the Government for having made the system of collective security work in face of great difficulties and temptations to stand aside, and as on previous occasions laid stress on the " moral " basis of its support of the League. One new point that emerged from his statement was that, contrary to the general idea, Great Britain had not woken up suddenly a few months or weeks ago to the gravity of the Abyssinian controversy, but that since the very moment when the controversy began, nearly a year ago, there had not been a week, scarcely a day, when they had not made their position perfectly clear to the Italian Government, and when they had not let it be known to the world that they regarded the crisis as one fraught with issues of the greatest danger. There had been no breach in continuity of policy between his predecessor and himself in this matter. This point was elaborated later in the debate by Mr. Eden. Another point, not exactly new but on which some uncertainty still existed, was that the French answer to the British communication regarding mutual assistance in case of attack had been completely satisfactory and that the solidarity of the two countries was firmly established.

The most important part of the speech was that dealing with military sanctions—a sore point with a large part of the Conservative Party. The Minister stated frankly that in his view

the pre-condition for the enforcement of such sanctions—namely, collective agreement at Geneva—had never existed. Military sanctions, like economic, could only be applied collectively, and they had made it clear at the beginning of the controversy that though they were prepared to take their full share as a loyal member of the League, they were only prepared to take their share in collective action. In point of fact, there had been so far no discussion of military sanctions. The Prime Minister had already made it plain that Britain would not contemplate an isolated war. Nor would they utter threats which could not be collectively carried out, or if carried out would turn the Abyssinian into a European war.

The last sentence was meant for the consumption of the more fiery spirits among the Liberal and Labour parties who were clamouring for Britain to take steps to close the Suez Canal and cut off Italy's communications. This point of view was expressed in the debate by a Labour speaker, Mr. Hicks. The opposite criticism, that the Government had gone too far, was voiced by Mr. Amery, who, while welcoming the statement that the Government had no intention of proposing the blocking of the Suez Canal, expressed regret that it had not been made much earlier. He described the whole policy of coercion by the League as self-destructive, and declared that that body was undergoing a trial which might prove disastrous to it. A settlement could have been devised by agreement, which would have been in the true spirit of the agreement.

Mr. Amery spoke for those Conservatives who in their hearts cherished a certain admiration for Signor Mussolini and his methods. Mr. Churchill probably represented a larger section when he remarked that, while some people said: "Trust the League of Nations," and others said: "Trust in British re-armament," he himself said: "Both." Since the Government was in fact pursuing both lines, he too could not refrain from giving them his support. The debate as a whole afforded convincing proof, if further proof were needed, that the Government had the country solidly behind it in its foreign policy and that its activities on behalf of the League of Nations had provided it with a splendid ground on which to appeal to the electorate.

Simultaneously with the debate on the Abyssinian question in the House of Commons, one on parallel lines was held in the House of Lords. The Government statement was made by Lord Londonderry, who, like Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Eden in the other House, showed great anxiety to persuade the House that the British Government had from the outset done all that was in its power to make Italy desist from its aggressive designs in Abyssinia. Labour and Liberal members, however, found the statement unconvincing, and persisted in their belief that after the advent of Sir Samuel Hoare to the Foreign Office there had

in fact been a change—from their point of view a very welcome change—in the attitude of the British Government to the League of Nations. Dissent from the Government's policy was expressed by Lord Mottistone from the pro-Italian, and by Lord Ponsonby from the extreme pacifist point of view, but all other speakers, in a three-day debate, gave it their more or less unreserved support.

The debate on the adjournment concerned itself chiefly with foreign affairs, but a few Labour members took occasion to raise the subject of unemployment. Mr. Attlee informed the House that the Labour Party had intended to bring forward a vote of censure on the Government for its failure to cope with the unemployment problem, and protested strongly against the way in which the Prime Minister had rendered this impossible, accusing him of a desire to dodge any discussion of home affairs. Mr. Greenwood said that, grave as the international situation was, a large number of people in the House and outside regarded domestic affairs as being of equal importance, and no smoke screening that the Government could devise could blur the picture in the minds of the masses of the people of the situation of the unemployed. These accusations were ignored by the Government.

The Prime Minister intervened on the second day of the debate to announce that Parliament would be dissolved immediately on the termination of the debate, on October 25, and that the General Election would take place on November 14. Though this had been commonly assumed for weeks past, he assured the House that he had only just made up his mind, and tried to convince them—not very successfully—that electioneering considerations were the last thing that had entered his thoughts. He quoted a dictum of Macaulay that it was always wise if possible to dissolve Parliament one year before the end of its legal term, and pointed out that there were technical reasons against holding an election either about Christmas time or in the spring or in the summer. He recognised that the Government was open to criticism for deciding to hold an election when there was such a critical position in foreign affairs; and his defence was that there was likely during the next few weeks to be a lull in foreign affairs, so that it would be perfectly safe to have an election in that time, whereas the same could not be prophesied for January—a statement which was not unnaturally characterised by Mr. Lloyd George as "amazing."

The only business transacted by Parliament during its three-day sitting was to approve an Order raising the allowances of insurance children under the 1935 Unemployment Insurance Act from two to three shillings a week (*vide* p. 10). On October 25 Parliament was formally dissolved, not quite four years after its election. The Bang's Speech gave a resume of the legislation which had been passed in the last session, the place of honour

being given to the India Bill, while other important measures mentioned were the Ribbon Development Bill, the Overcrowding Bill, and those for the assistance of agriculture and the shipping industry and the reorganisation of the herring industry. Reference was made somewhat apologetically to the expansion of the Air Force, and attention was drawn to the further considerable advance of the country towards prosperity, based on the more confident spirit in industry, the continued growth in the national revenue, and the prudent and successful management of financial affairs.

In appealing to the country, the Government had the support of three parties or groups—the Conservatives, led by Mr. Baldwin ; the National Liberals, led by Sir John Simon ; and the National Labour, led by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. Against it were arrayed the Labour Party, of which the head for the time being was Mr. Attlee; the Liberals without prefix, led by Sir Herbert Samuel, and commonly known as " Samuelites " ; Mr. Lloyd George's followers, commonly known as " Independent Liberals " ; the Independent Labour Party, and the Communists. At the time of the dissolution the Conservative Party was still in an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons. Losses at bye-elections had impaired its strength very little, and no split had occurred in its ranks, though four members had rejected the Party Whip. That it would lose a large number of seats in the election to the Labour Party was taken for granted, but no doubts were anywhere entertained that the Government would be left with a majority.

The Government's programme, which was issued on October 27, began by stating that the League of Nations would remain the keystone of British foreign policy, and that in the dispute between Italy and Abyssinia there would be no wavering in the policy hitherto pursued. Gaps in the national defence would be repaired in the next few years, but at the same time efforts would not be spared to bring about a general limitation of armaments. In economic affairs the policy of the Ottawa Agreements and also of bilateral commercial treaties would be continued, as would also the Government's agricultural policy. On the question of unemployment and unemployment assistance the programme was rather vague, but by implication it ruled out any grandiose plans. It included, however, a scheme of pensions for non-manual workers and raising the school leaving age to 15.

The Labour manifesto, which was issued on October 25, began with a vehement attack on the Government's record during its four years of office, declaring even its support of the League to be only lip service. Labour, it said, stood for a policy of international co-operation abroad, while at home it would pursue its policy of Socialist reconstruction and try to bring about the public ownership or control of banking, coal and its products, transport,

electricity, iron and steel, and cotton, and also of the land. It **would** repeal the **Trade** Disputes Act and the tax on co-operative societies. It pledged itself also to "far-reaching schemes of national development" and "a big move forward in education." It would endeavour to carry out this programme by constitutional and democratic means, and for this purpose would seek power to abolish the House of Lords and improve the procedure of the House of Commons.

The Liberal Party manifesto, issued on October 24, while supporting the foreign policy of the Government, emphasised the duty of the House of Commons to examine carefully all demands for increased expenditure, especially on armaments. It laid particular stress on the importance of removing the barriers to international trade caused by tariffs, quotas, subsidies, and unstable currencies. It advocated the employment of idle capital and idle labour on a number of enterprises which were urgently needed, such as housing, the expansion of agriculture and industry, and the better equipment of the country. It condemned the Means Test regulations and opposed the tendency to transfer powers from representative bodies to irresponsible Boards; and pressed strongly for the introduction of proportional representation.

By the time the election campaign began, Mr. Lloyd George's Council of Action for Peace and Reconstruction (*vide* p. 57) was fully organised. Its first provincial convention had been held at Plymouth on September 12, and this had been followed by others in all parts of the country. On October 20 the Council published a booklet on "Peace" in which, while accepting the Covenant of the League of Nations as the basis of its policy, it proposed that the League should seek to assure to its members not only security against aggression but satisfaction for their just needs. In order that time might be given "to deal with the fundamental issues which to-day make for war in the world as a whole," it suggested that the British Government should propose an armament truce for five years, together with a five-year pact of non-aggression during which no military alliances should be entered into. During this truce the Disarmament Conference should reassemble to complete an all-round convention and to consider the total abolition of bombing aircraft and similar questions. The Council's policy on "Reconstruction"—which was substantially Mr. Lloyd George's "New Deal"—was set forth in a booklet published the next day.

The Prime Minister opened the election campaign on October 25 with a broadcast speech in which he formally appealed to the public to renew its confidence in the Government of which he was now the head. Ignoring the withdrawal of the Liberal members in 1932 and other changes, he spoke of it throughout as if it was **the** same Government which had received a popular mandate **in**

1931. It had, he claimed, fully justified the trust reposed in it four years before, and he asked for their confidence again because in the present state of the world, with the problems that confronted them, a settled Government was essential—a Government that could speak with authority, that was known to have the full authority of the people, and that had before it a period of years in which it could fulfil its task. He had, he said, always stood for peace and always would do—peace at home and peace abroad—peace not uniformly imposed by a dictator but worked out by the reasoning of a free people ; and he asked them to return the National Government so that they might go on with their work for the improvement of conditions at home and the preservation of peace abroad.

The number of candidates nominated on polling day (November 4) was 1348, compared with 1292 at the previous election. Of these 585 were supporters of the National Government—Unionists, 515; National Liberal, 44; National Labour, 20; and National, 6. Against the Government there were nominated 551 Labour, 156 Liberal, 4 Independent Liberal, and 52 Independent candidates. This last group included some 20 Independent Labour Party candidates and a few Communists, but no Fascists, Sir Oswald Mosley having prudently decided to wait till " the next time." Thirty-eight candidates, mostly Conservatives, were returned unopposed, against 65 in the previous election. There were 147 three-cornered contests and six four-cornered. Sixty-five women candidates stood, compared with 61 four years previously.

Acting on the decision it had taken in the summer (*vide* p. 67), the Labour Party nominated a candidate for Daventry, the seat held in the last Parliament by the Speaker, Captain Fitzroy. This action was strongly resented by the other parties, and the Conservatives and Liberals of Daventry unanimously adopted Captain Fitzroy as their candidate without party label. At the meeting held for this purpose a letter, signed by Mr. Baldwin, Mr. MacDonald, Sir John Simon, Sir Herbert Samuel, and Mr. Lloyd George was read deploring the action of the Labour Party. In accepting the nomination, Captain Fitzroy said that the contest raised some very important issues. The Speaker was the guardian of the privileges of members of the House, the protector of minorities, and the guardian of freedom of speech. Thus it was the Speakership of the House of Commons which alone stood between the people and a dictatorship of the Executive. The Speaker, in order to fulfil his duties, must be removed from party politics. The mere fact of opposition to the Speaker of the day weakened the authority of the Chair ; his defeat would destroy it. Nor was it even the fact that the Speaker's constituency was disfranchised, for he had a casting vote which might on occasion be the most vital of all votes, nor had he personally neglected the special interests of his constituency.

Mr. Lloyd George's Council of Action did not put up any candidates of its own, but submitted a questionnaire to most candidates and advised its members to vote according to the answer given. In the course of the campaign, Sir John Simon inquired of the Rev. J. Scott Lidgett, a prominent Free Church minister and one of the leading members of the Council, what course he should advise when a supporter of the National Government was opposed by a Socialist. He replied that he would unhesitatingly support the former, and justified this course on the ground that Mr. Baldwin and some of his colleagues had made declarations which went far to meet their demands and raise hopes of still further progress, while Socialist leaders had stated their intention to bring forward proposals which, in his judgment, would bring about such a crisis as would disable them from giving effect to the policy of the Council, however well disposed their followers might be. This pronouncement was considered subsequently to have turned the scale in more than one constituency, including Sir J. Simon's own.

The oratorical campaign included twelve broadcast speeches, of which five were assigned to the Government, four to the Labour Party and three to the Opposition Liberals. The first broadcast on behalf of the Liberals was delivered on October 29 by Lord Snowden, whose intervention in the election campaign of 1931 had proved so effective. He now attacked the National Government as vehemently as he had then attacked the Labour Party. Sir Herbert Samuel, who broadcast on November 6, advised Liberals in constituencies where no independent Liberal was standing—which were the great majority—to consider the replies of Unionist and Labour candidates to the questions that had been addressed to them by the "Council of Action" and by the local Liberal Associations. Sir John Simon, on the other hand, speaking at Manchester on November 7, maintained that the policy of the National Government was "Liberal" in the best sense of the term, and that Liberals should have no difficulty in supporting it. As for tariffs, he had come to the conclusion that their tariff system had not worked the evils some had expected, and it was quite hopeless to talk of going back to free trade in the simple way.

Speaking at Leeds on November 7, Mr. Baldwin made a spirited defence of the Government's fiscal policy, citing the case of the steel industry as an instance of what a skilled use of the tariff could do. In the year before the imposition, in 1932, of the duty of 33 per cent, on iron and steel imports, the production had fallen to 3,750,000 tons of pig iron and 5,250,000 tons of steel. For the current year the production of pig iron was up to nearly 6,500,000 tons, an increase of 70 per cent., and of steel to more than 9,500,000 tons, an increase of 83 per cent. The steel production of Sheffield was the highest in its history. At the same time the

general price index of iron and steel products, as compiled by the Board of Trade, was approximately at the same level as in 1930, before the tariff was imposed. Thus the prophets of disaster from the application of a tariff policy had been falsified in every particular. They had increased production, decreased imports, increased exports, and maintained a steady price level. And unemployment in the industry, which in May, 1931, amounted to nearly 41 per cent., had been reduced to 17½ per cent.; while naturally there had been a most beneficial reaction on the coal industry.

The campaign did not arouse very great excitement in the country at large. The question that for the time being most interested the public was that of foreign policy, and the fact that on this point all parties were—or professed to be—substantially in agreement made the contest to a certain extent unreal. The attempts of Labour speakers or Lord Snowden to rouse the public to indignation over the Means Test or over Protection proved on the whole unavailing; while on the contrary Conservative speakers met with more success in rousing among the middle classes suspicion of the Labour Party as one which harboured predatory designs and favoured a policy of confiscation.

The outstanding feature of the campaign was undoubtedly the personal popularity of Mr. Baldwin, which was enhanced by every speech he made. It was not that he said anything very new or striking, but he managed to convey the impression that he was a man to be trusted in the present emergency, that the causes which the average Englishman had most at heart—peace, security, orderly progress, democracy—were safer in his hands than they would be in any other. Of all the figures on the political stage he alone was habitually thought of by the general public as a national and not merely a party leader; and not without reason, for in his political character he exhibited a unique combination of Conservative, Liberal, and Socialist traits, and it was he who gave the tone to the whole of the Government.

The result of the election was more favourable to the Conservative Party than had been anticipated by any save its most sanguine supporters. Out of its 454 seats it retained no fewer than 385, thus obtaining a clear majority over all other parties combined. The National Liberals came back with 32 instead of 35 seats, and National Labour with 8 instead of 15. Thus the number of Government supporters in the House remained at the very high figure of 428, in place of the 513 in the last Parliament. The Liberals came back only 17 strong instead of 26, and the Independent Liberals 4 instead of 6. The Labour Party increased its representation by 95 seats to 154, while the I.L.P. rose from 3 to 4 and the Communists secured a seat. The total Opposition thus amounted to 184.

The Labour Party's gains were chiefly in the North-East and

in London. It made little headway in Lancashire, in spite of the fact that this district was suffering severely from the depression and regarded itself as a "distressed area." The handful of Liberal gains were obtained in rural constituencies—Liberals were still strong in the West country—and most of their losses were in industrial areas. In the industrial parts of Scotland Labour suffered from a bitter feud which raged between the official Labour Party and the I.L.P. No fewer than 84 deposits were forfeited (compared with 75 at the previous election), the list including 39 Liberals, 20 Labour candidates, 16 Independents, and 9 I.L.P.

The personnel of the House of Commons underwent comparatively little change as a result of the elections, about three-quarters of the old members being returned. Among the new faces were a number of the Labour leaders who had been absent from the last Parliament, conspicuous among them Mr. Herbert Morrison, Mr. Clynes, and Mr. A. V. Alexander. Dr. Addison, however, who in 1934 had been successful in a by-election, was on this occasion again defeated. Among the Liberal victims were Sir Herbert Samuel, who lost Darwen in a three-cornered contest, Mr. Isaac Foot, and Sir Robert Hamilton. All members of the Government who stood were re-elected, with the significant exceptions of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and his son, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald insisted on contesting his old constituency, Seaham, in Durham, although the omens there had long been unfavourable. His election campaign if anything increased his unpopularity in the district, and he was defeated by over 20,000 votes, his opponent being Mr. Shinwell, a former Labour Minister. The surprise of the polls was the election by Oxford University of an Independent candidate, the well-known writer, Mr. A. P. Herbert, in preference to a Conservative. Captain Fitzroy was elected at Daventry, though he took no personal part in the campaign.

The actual votes cast for each party were by no means proportionate to the seats obtained, the luck of the ballot box being all on the side of the Government. The total Government vote was only 11,570,179, against a total Opposition vote of 9,930,460. Thus while the proportion of votes cast for the Opposition was over 80 per cent, of those cast for the Government, the proportion of seats obtained by them was less than 40 per cent. The Liberals were in particular hard hit by the disproportion; they had only one member for every 85,000 votes cast for them, while Labour had one for every 53,000, and the Government one for every 27,000.

While the election campaign was in progress, the Government took two measures of some importance for the benefit of commerce and industry by utilising its credit on their behalf. The Exports Credit Guarantee Department of the Board of Trade, just before Parliament rose on October 26, undertook in return for a small

premium to guarantee to an exporter of United Kingdom goods invoiced in sterling that he should receive from a solvent buyer 75 per cent, of the sterling value of those goods six months after the original due date of the bill, provided that the relevant regulations, whatever they might be, had been complied with. This facility was designed to protect the exporter against the "freezing up" of his money in foreign countries through exchange restrictions, as had so often happened in the past. Still more important was an agreement arrived at by the Government with the four main railway companies on November 4, after some months of negotiation, by which the Exchequer undertook to guarantee the principal and interest of a loan of £30,000,000 to the companies to enable them to put in hand an extensive programme of reconstruction and improvement.

On October 29 the British Government commenced the application of sanctions to Italy by the publication of an Order in Council prohibiting the granting of loans or credits to or for the benefit of the Italian Government or all persons resident in Italian territory, whether Italians or not, and the export to Italian territory of arms, ammunition, and implements of war. Warning was also given that the export to Italian territory of certain ores and metals, rubber and transport animals, and the importation from there of all goods other than gold and silver bullion and coin would shortly be prohibited. On November 3 the Co-ordinating Committee of the League of Nations fixed November 18 as the date on which these sanctions also should come into force. Sir Samuel Hoare, who was present at the meeting, in accepting the decision on behalf of Great Britain, stated that it was with great regret that they had been forced to take that action. They felt, however, that for those who were determined to uphold the principles of the Covenant and of collective security, no other course was possible. The object of their action was to shorten the duration of the war. They hoped and believed it would succeed in achieving that purpose. In any case they would continue to search for peace and work for peace along lines that were honourable to all concerned.

Neither Mr. Baldwin nor Mr. MacDonald was able to attend the Lord Mayor's Guildhall banquet on November 9, and it fell to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs to represent the Cabinet. In the course of his speech he declared that the British people and Government were determined to keep the word they had given at Geneva to Europe and to the world. At the same time they were resolved to join in any honourable attempt that would bring the Abyssinian war to an end. They were determined to throw the whole weight of their country into the scales of world peace. Their policy was simple and clear; it had not changed since his speech at Geneva, and would not change after the election.

During the summer trade and industry throughout the country in general had continued to improve—a fact which undoubtedly **had** contributed not a little to the success of the Government in the election. Imports in October had been the largest for any month for nearly four years, and exports the largest for five years. In the coal industry, however, the improvement, such as it was, had as yet brought no alleviation, or even prospect of alleviation, to the mineworkers of the hardships under which they laboured. Already in July their patience had begun to give out, and the Mineworkers' Federation had formulated a demand for an increase of the minimum wage rate in every coal-field by two shillings a day. This demand was grounded on the assertion that large numbers of mine-workers in more or less regular employment were not earning a subsistence wage. The owners did not dispute the statement, but pointed on their side to the equally undisputed fact that in the districts where wages were lowest the collieries were not making sufficient profits to bear an increase in wage payments. To this the miners retorted that profits could be substantially increased if the owners improved their selling arrangements.

The miners at first requested that their claim should be considered by the national organisation of the coal-owners, and appealed to the Government to use its influence to that end. The Government thereupon announced that it would welcome national negotiations but would not force the owners into them. The owners on their side, as on previous occasions, refused to discuss a national claim, and informed the miners that they must submit wage demands to the district organisations. This the miners refused to do, but they offered to lay their claims before an arbitral tribunal. They also made appeals to the Trade Union Congress and to the Labour Party, from both of which bodies they received assurances of "maximum" support in the struggle on which they were entering. They also held out the threat of a strike ballot if they did not obtain satisfaction.

The Government meanwhile continued its efforts at mediation. On October 21 and the succeeding days the Minister of Mines had several interviews both with the Executive of the Mine-workers' Federation and with representatives of the coal-owners. He pressed upon the owners—not for the first time—the view that only by a reorganisation of the selling side could a reasonable price be obtained for the sale of coal and the industry be put on a proper financial basis, thus allowing better wages to be paid. Feeling among the coal-owners themselves had for some time been steadily moving in the same direction, and on October 24 the Minister was able to inform the Miners' Executive that he expected in a few days to receive from the owners a definite undertaking that selling organisations would be established in all coal-fields, with central organisation, before the next July.

The Miners' Executive, in a reply issued at midnight on the same day, declared the Government's statement to be wholly unsatisfactory, since it did not include any definite offer of a wage increase, either immediately or for some time to come. The Government, they said, had merely sought an undertaking from the owners that they would do eight and a half months ahead what they should have done five years before. As the owners were still unwilling to submit the dispute to arbitration and as the Government refused to compel them, they had no option save to proceed with the ballot on the dates suggested—namely, November 11, 12, and 13.

On November 6 the president and secretary of the colliery owners' organisation went so far as to meet the president and secretary of the Mine-workers' Federation and explain to them their designs for a central selling organisation. They did not, however, discuss the question of wages. The miners' ballot accordingly duly took place on the dates fixed. The question put was : " Are you in favour of authorising the executive committee to press the claim for an advance of 2s. a shift for adults and 1s. a shift for youths, even to the extent of tendering your notice, if necessary, to enforce the claim ? " The result of the ballot, which was declared on November 20, showed an overwhelming majority for pressing the miners' demand, there being 409,351 votes recorded in favour and only 29,215 against.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GOVERNMENT'S *VOLTE-FACE*.

THE result of the General Election had been of such a character that it could be considered as a victory either for the Conservative Party or for the National Government. Mr. Baldwin, true to his pre-election declarations, decided to regard it, at any rate for the present, in the latter light, and accordingly he left the balance of parties in the Cabinet unaltered. Other changes also he reduced to a minimum. He even retained both Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, though well aware that the problem of finding them seats in Parliament would be no easy one. The latter, however, changed places with Mr. J. H. Thomas, whose removal from the Dominions Office was necessitated, partly by the general dissatisfaction with his handling of the Irish question, partly by the antagonism which he had aroused against himself in the Dominion Governments.

The only one of his former colleagues whose services Mr. Baldwin now dispensed with was Lord Londonderry, the Lord Privy Seal. This step was significant in view of the circumstance

that Lord Londonderry had been the great advocate of rearmament within the Cabinet (*vide* p. 48) ; and its significance was heightened by the fact that, contrary to general expectation, Mr. Churchill, the great advocate of rearmament outside of the Government, was not invited to join it. Lord Londonderry was replaced by Lord Halifax, who was succeeded as Secretary of State for War by Mr. Duff Cooper, the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, whose place was taken by Mr. W. S. Morrison, one of the more prominent of the younger Conservatives. Apart from these changes the Cabinet was left as it was.

Two members of the Cabinet went to the House of Lords, *viz.*, Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister, the Secretary for Air, who became Lord Swinton, and Sir Bolton Eyres-Monsell, the First Lord of the Admiralty, who became Lord Monsell. There was a good deal of shuffling among the junior posts of the Ministry, but the only newcomer was Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd, till now Mr. Baldwin's Parliamentary private secretary, who became Under-Secretary for Home Affairs.

In the domain of foreign policy the Government took an early opportunity of disarming the suspicions of those who had prophesied that, once it had obtained a fresh lease of power, it would lose its new-found zeal for the League of Nations and revert to the normal imperialistic outlook of the Conservative Party. On November 11 the Italian Government had addressed to the British Government a communication protesting against the imposition of sanctions as being grossly unfair to Italy. In its reply issued on November 22 the Government stated emphatically their conviction that the League and all its organs had endeavoured to carry out their duties with the greatest impartiality and to concede the utmost possible weight to the legitimate interests of Italy, and it refused to discuss the questions raised in the Italian Note. It merely recalled that on October 7 all the Governments represented on the Council of the League, with the exception of Italy, had declared that country to have violated Article 12 of the Covenant, and that the British Government had felt bound to assent to that decision and to accept the consequences that must inevitably ensue. As the Italian Note had appealed to England to exercise its " free and sovereign judgment,"⁵ the Government took occasion to point out that in subscribing to the Covenant they did not abandon or renounce their free and sovereign judgment, but undertook to exercise it thenceforth in accordance with the obligations of that instrument. No other course was open to them, and they would naturally desire to see the Italian Government place a similar construction on their own adherence to the Covenant.

Taking advantage of the continued abnormal cheapness of money, the Government at this time decided to undertake another large-scale conversion operation. On December 4 two loans to

the nominal amount of 300,000,000/. were offered for subscription. One was for 100,000,000Z., repayable on February 1, 1941, and was issued at the record low price of 1 per cent, at 98. The other was for 200,000,000Z., repayable in twenty-five years' time, and was issued at 2½ per cent, for 96½, which was also a record low price for so long a term. The object of the loans was to replace the existing Two and Three per cent. Treasury Bonds and to reduce the floating debt. Both issues were rapidly over-subscribed.

Prior to the opening of the new Parliament, the Labour Party, according to its custom, proceeded to the election of a leader for the session. There were on this occasion three candidates for the post—Mr. Attlee, Mr. H. Morrison, and Mr. Greenwood. The choice of the party ultimately fell upon the first-named, Mr. Greenwood being elected deputy-leader. The Liberal Party also, being deprived of Sir Herbert Samuel, had to elect a new leader. On the proposal of Mr. Lloyd George, they chose Sir Archibald Sinclair, Mr. George himself preferring to retain his semi-independent position, along with his family group. Captain Fitzroy was unanimously elected, for the fourth time, Speaker of the House of Commons.

The Parliamentary session commenced in earnest on December 3. The King had intended to open the session in person, but he was prevented by the death of his sister, the Princess Victoria, on the day before. The King's Speech contained no surprises. It commenced by reiterating the determination of the Government to fulfil its obligations to the Covenant, in co-operation with the other members of the League, and at the same time to use the full weight of its influence for the preservation of peace. Increases in armaments would be confined to the minimum required for fulfilling international obligations under the Covenant and adequately safeguarding the Empire. In the sphere of domestic legislation, the first place was given to measures for improving conditions in the coal-mining industry, the chief of which were the co-ordinating of selling arrangements in the industry and the unification of coal royalties under national control. Other measures foreshadowed were for the insurance of agricultural workers against unemployment, for the further development of air communications throughout the Empire, for raising the school-leaving age, and for combating the high rate of maternal mortality. The work of slum clearance would be pressed forward, and the active administration of the Housing Act of 1935 would be encouraged. Promises were held out of improved arrangements being made for assistance to the unemployed, but no hint was given as to their character.

Mr. Attlee, the Leader of the Opposition, in criticising the Speech, said that he found in it the same fatal dualism which had run through the whole of the Government's foreign policy. He did not see how the Government could at once **fulfil** the **Covenant**

and work for a peace that would be acceptable alike to Italy, to Ethiopia, and to the League of Nations. The one thing they required was a vindication of public law against the aggressor. Mr. Baldwin, in reply, admitted that the charge of dualism was superficially justified. But the paramount duty of those in a position of responsibility was to use every means of bringing about peace in the area of hostilities, and if any statesman brought Great Britain into war by neglecting anything which he could in honour and in conjunction with other members of the League do, his name would very properly be held in execration.

Referring to social problems, the Prime Minister said there was a good deal they might have put in which they did not put in, because they did not wish to overload their programme. They had commenced with education because, apart from its intrinsic importance, the operation of a Bill raising the school-leaving age would require a vast amount of work from the local authorities, and therefore if they wanted to see the fruits of it during the lifetime of the present Parliament they should begin with it at once. Such a Bill also would enable many questions relating to the health and physique of the children to be dealt with at an early date. Speaking of the "special" areas, the Prime Minister made an appeal to those residents of these areas who still enjoyed some measure of prosperity not to leave them. He reminded them that that prosperity was due in some measure to the efforts of the Government on their behalf, and said that they owed some duty to the country in return. A case to which Mr. Baldwin specifically referred was that of a firm of tinplate manufacturers which in the summer had announced its intention of removing from South Wales to Lincolnshire, but which, on representations being made by himself and others, had been induced to desist.

On the third day of the debate the discussion turned to foreign affairs, and Sir Samuel Hpare made a speech in which he stated clearly the Government's policy in regard to the laying of an embargo on the export of oil to Italy, which had now become the burning topic of the day. He informed the House that in the matter of the sanctions so far imposed the League machinery was working well, and that the member States on the whole were playing their part. As to the proposed embargo upon oil, as in the whole field of collective action so in this particular section of it, the British Government were prepared to play their part. The League Committee of Eighteen were shortly to discuss the matter, and when that meeting took place they would be prepared to take their share in whatever collective action should be determined. Referring to the postponement of the meeting—which had been fixed for November 29—at the request of M. Laval, the Minister said that that did not¹ signify any weakening whatever in the attitude of the member States. What it did do, in his

opinion, was to give a further opportunity for an intensive effort to bring about a peaceful settlement; and he went on to appeal to Signor Mussolini and his fellow-countrymen to lay aside their suspicions of England and her motives and concentrate upon finding a basis of settlement and making it possible for the world to return to a normal life.

The Labour Party on December 6 moved a comprehensive amendment to the Address, regretting the failure of the Government to indicate any effective policy for the restoration and maintenance of peace and the reduction of armaments and the removal of the economic causes of war, for planning the economic life of the country and for dealing with unemployment. The amendment was moved by Mr. D. Grenfell and was supported by Mr. Alexander and Mr. Attlee; the replies for the Government were made by Lord Eustace Percy and Sir T. Inskip. After a discussion extending over two days the amendment was negatived by 382 votes to 140. A Liberal amendment moved on December 10 was negatived by 350 votes to 143.

The first important problem with which the Government had to deal after the election was the situation in the coal-mining industry. Immediately after the announcement of the result of the mine-workers' ballot (*vide* p. 95), Mr. E. Edwards, the secretary of the Mineworkers' Federation, had written a letter to the Prime Minister calling his attention to the fact that the miners were prepared to strike, "if necessary," and asking him to receive the Executive of the Federation and hear their views on the situation. The Prime Minister referred them to Captain Crookshank, the Secretary for Mines, who accordingly took up once more the role of mediator in the dispute.

In the course of the next fortnight the coal-owners put forward proposals which gave the miners a not very definite prospect of obtaining here and there an unspecified advance of wages in the near future. The chief of these proposals was that large consumers of coal like gas companies should be asked to allow their existing contracts with the collieries to be revised with a view to increasing the purchase price and so creating a larger fund which would be available for wages. After an interview with the Minister of Mines on December 6, the Miners' Executive declared that the owners' proposals so far did not constitute a satisfactory basis of settlement, and announced the calling of a delegate conference for December 18. At the same time, however, they asked Captain Crookshank to continue his negotiations with the coal-owners.

The Labour amendment to the Address made specific mention of "the just claims of the miners for an immediate increase in wages," and the subject was frequently referred to in the debate. A speech on the subject which attracted particular attention was made by Mr. A. Jenkin, a miners' representative from South

Wales. Mr. Jenkin dwelt on one of the principal causes of the **discontent** of the miners—their belief that by means of subsidiary companies and similar devices the owners were able to make much **larger** profits than appeared in the ascertainments on which the miners' wages were based. On this account, he contended, it was imperative that the Government should intervene and see that the miners obtained justice.

The coal situation was discussed in both Houses of Parliament on December 11. In the House of Lords, Lord Marley called attention to the low wages paid in the industry, and begged the Government to realise the tremendous responsibility they had in the matter, and to try to prevent a stoppage. Lord Londonderry, a prominent coal-owner, spoke sympathetically of the men's demands, but said they could best be met by co-operation on the part of the owners and not by Government action. Lord Gainford, another coal-owner, went further and thought that the Government should subsidise the owners. Lord Sankey, on the other hand, considered that the only solution of the problem was through nationalisation.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Watkins, a Labour member, moved that the miners were justified in their claim for an immediate national increase in their wages. He asserted that it was quite possible that a strike might begin in the coal industry in a short time, and pointed out that, whereas on former occasions the reaction of the public to a coal strike was invariably one of hostility, on the present occasion it was looked upon as justified, as the last weapon of desperate men faced with terrible conditions. A Yorkshire coal-owner, Mr. Peake, made a conciliatory speech in which he urged both sides to enter into national discussions in order to ascertain what increase in wage rates was immediately possible. The Minister of Mines stated that he was at present in the position of a negotiator between two parties to an industrial dispute about wages, and therefore he could not express any view of his own, nor could the Government declare for or against the motion. The general tone of the debate was highly sympathetic to the miners, but on being put to the vote the motion was negatived by 179 votes to 157.

On December 12 representatives of owners in all the colliery districts met in London and decided to invite representatives of the Miners' Federation to meet them at an early date. This was the nearest approach to national negotiation which had been made since 1926. The invitation was accepted, and the meeting took place on December 17. The owners reported the efforts they had made to increase prices of coal as a means to the increase of wages. These efforts had not been as successful as they had hoped, and in these circumstances the most they could offer was **that in every district an advance in wages should take place as from January 1, the amount to be determined by the parties in the districts.**

The miners' representatives found this offer wholly unsatisfactory, and grave discontent was voiced at the delegate conference which met on the next day (December 18). On the same day the Miners' Executive called on the Minister of Mines and urged him to procure assistance from the Government by means either of a subsidy or of a loan or of a guarantee. The Minister, however, refused to listen to such suggestions. Thereupon Mr. Joseph Jones, the president of the Miners' Federation, declared that the situation was "exceedingly grave," and that both the owners and the Government must take their responsibility for any decision that the delegate conference might now take.

On the next day (December 20) the Executive laid before the delegate conference the following resolution: "That this conference regards the suggestions so far made as being entirely unsatisfactory and as by no means reflecting the pronounced opinion throughout the country in support of the miners' wage claim, and it resolves therefore that notices be tendered on January 13 and 20 respectively (*i.e.*, according as to whether a fortnight's or a week's notice was required) unless wage proposals satisfactory to the Executive Committee are obtained in the meantime." The resolution was carried almost unanimously, 478,000 votes being recorded for it and only 28,000 against.

On December 10 the Chancellor of the Exchequer asked the House of Commons for power to bring in a Bill authorising the Treasury to guarantee the principal and interest of a loan of 26,500,000*l.* for the four main-line railway companies for various works (*vide* p. 93). He said that the project would provide employment in many different districts, including the special areas, which would have preference. The scheme was criticised by Opposition speakers on the ground that the railways were already grossly over-capitalised, but was not opposed. When the substantive Bill was brought in on December 13, Mr. Chamberlain drew a distinction between this proceeding and the subsidising of private enterprise. In this case, he said, they were helping a statutory undertaking which was carrying on a great public service, and that without costing the taxpayer a penny, and merely by making use of the exceptionally low rate of interest which had been brought about by the confidence created by the policy of the Government. It appeared to the Government that they had in front of them a sound business proposition which it would be quite wrong to neglect; and he hoped that would not be the last project of the kind which they would be able to lay before the House of Commons, though—as he hastened to add—he had nothing else in his mind at the moment.

Meanwhile the Government had been busy in the field of foreign affairs. While the question of oil sanctions was still, so to speak, "in the air," they had towards the end of November sent to Paris an expert of the Foreign Office, Mr. Peterson, to

discuss with the French Foreign Office the possibility of framing proposals which might be acceptable both to the League of Nations, to Italy, and to Abyssinia. After about a fortnight of discussion, the Foreign Office experts had not yet come to any decision, and on December 6 Mr. Peterson made way for Sir Samuel Hoare, who was passing through Paris on his way to Switzerland for a much-needed holiday. Sir Samuel, who was far from well, was stated afterwards to have taken up the negotiations much against his will; why he did so at all remained a mystery to the end of the year. He had frequent conversations with M. Laval, and before he left Paris on December 9 he had given his approval to a set of terms which were to be laid before Signor Mussolini and the Emperor of Abyssinia as a basis of peace negotiations.

While the discussions were in progress every effort had been made to wrap them in complete secrecy, nor was there any intention of divulging to the public the terms finally agreed upon until they should have been submitted to the parties immediately concerned. As usually happened, however, in Paris, there was a "leakage," and on the morning of December 9 various organs of the Paris Press published versions of the proposals alleged to have been agreed upon by Sir Samuel Hoare and M. Laval. The versions differed rather widely from one another, but they all agreed in one point of supreme importance—that the new proposals made far larger concessions to Italy than had been envisaged in the proposals issued some time before by the Committee of Five. All agreed that large areas were to be transferred to Italy both in the North and in the South of Abyssinia, and that Italy was to be given virtual economic control of a large stretch of territory extending far into the West of the country.

When the alleged proposals were reported in England, they at first created a feeling of stupefaction in all those who had been relying on the British Government to uphold the authority of the League of Nations. There could be no doubt that, if the terms were only half as favourable to Italy as they were reported to be, the aggressor, so far from being punished, was being rewarded, and Great Britain had completely reversed the policy which she had so far been pursuing in relation to the Italo-Abyssinian dispute. In many quarters the report was received with blank incredulity, and hopes were entertained that the truth would be found to be something entirely different.

The Cabinet met on December 9, and after long discussions gave its approval to the proposals agreed upon by Sir Samuel Hoare and M. Laval. Rumours soon became current that there had been stormy scenes at the Cabinet meetings and that Mr. Eden had even threatened to resign if the proposals were approved; and these rumours naturally tended to heighten public anxiety. When Parliament met on the next day (December 10), Mr. Attlee asked the Prime Minister whether, before any further action was

taken, the House could be "informed of the nature of the proposals for the settlement of the Italo-Abyssinian war to which the Government was committed. Mr. Baldwin replied that, as no suggested basis had as yet been submitted for the views of either Italy or Abyssinia, it would be premature to make a statement on the subject at present, but he promised to lay the relevant papers before the House at the earliest possible moment. Mr. Attlee retorted that in a crisis such as the one which had arisen they were not in a position to wait, as there was a suspicion that the whole position of the present League system was being overthrown, and he gave notice that he would raise the matter again after the Liberal amendment to the Address had been disposed of.

Later in the day accordingly, Mr. Lees-Smith, on behalf of the Labour Party, called the attention of the House to the Italo-Abyssinian situation. Referring to the reports which had appeared in French and other newspapers of the proposed basis of settlement, he said that if 50 per cent, of them was accurate, then they were in contradiction of the Covenant of the League of Nations and an abandonment of the policy on which the Government fought the General Election. They were an illustration of the dualism and indecision which had been the curse of British foreign policy for the last four years. All countries which were able to take an independent view would condemn the proposals as a betrayal of the League and of the principles upon which the Government had asked the verdict of the people. If anything like those proposals went forward, the story in which they were playing a leading part in September would end in the discredit of the British name.

Mr. Eden, in replying for the Government, adopted a deprecatory tone which betrayed his own uneasiness. He first laid stress on the fact that the efforts of Sir Samuel Hoare and M. Laval to find a basis for peace had been carried on at the express request of the Co-ordinating Committee of the League, which meant the body of 50 members co-operating in the policy of sanctions, and that, therefore, they had been merely endeavouring to interpret the League's wish.

With regard to the reports that had appeared in the Press, Mr. Eden asserted that they contained many inaccuracies, though he refused for the present to specify what these were. It would not be right, he said, to make known in any way what the proposals were before they had been submitted to the principals. He did, however, go so far as to inform the House that they went somewhat beyond the proposals of the Committee of Five in that they contained an exchange of territory in detail, and that they were based on three main principles : an exchange of territory, conveying definite advantages to both sides ; League assistance to Ethiopia for the purpose of social, economic and administrative developments; and special facilities for Italian settlers and

Italian companies in connexion with that economic development. If what they were doing was contrary to the League and to the principles of the Covenant, it was for the League to say so, and if it did, the Government would make no complaint, and would accept its judgment.

Mr. Eden's statement completely failed to pacify the critics of the Government. A Liberal member, Mr. K. Griffith, immediately pointed out that he had not contradicted the general correctness of the Press reports of the proposals as he would unquestionably have done had he been able, and if only half of what was reported was true a dangerous precedent was being established. A number of Labour speakers also expressed their misgivings in very outspoken terms.

Mr. Baldwin closed the debate with a speech which did little to restore confidence in the Government. The League of Nations, he said, was a very human, fallible body, and the difficulties of keeping it to a continuous policy were almost insuperable. He personally had always recognised the possibility of the League failing in its earlier efforts to secure peace by collective action. He had never taken the view that if the League should fail they should despair ; on the contrary he thought that they should merely regard it as an incentive to try to do better next time. The essential point was that Britain was working in conjunction with the other members of the League and would go on as far as those other members would go with her. Unilateral action they did not propose to take now any more than they had ever proposed. The policy of dualism which had been attacked in the debate was not impossible, and they would have to consider again the whole question of how far sanctions should be allowed to go. They were, he said, learning and had learnt a great deal in the last three months as to what was possible in the world and what was not.

To show their dissatisfaction with the Government on this particular point, the Labour Party took the unusual course of demanding a division on the motion for the Address—a step to which Mr. Baldwin admitted there could be no objection in the circumstances. On a vote being taken, the Address was carried by 281 votes to 139.

The Government's victory on the motion for the Address did not secure it the slightest respite from criticism and denunciation both in Parliament and in the country. Notices of motion were immediately given in both Houses of Parliament condemning any settlement of the Italo-Abyssinian dispute which should reward the aggressor. Throughout the country the Liberal and Labour Press accused the Government of having shamefully betrayed its trust, while the moderate Conservative Press, though less abusive, equally displayed its disapproval of the Government's action. The anti-League Press, on the other hand, was openly jubilant.

Mr. Eden returned to Geneva on December 12, and immediately assured the Committee of Eighteen that the proposals put forward by the British and French representatives were neither definitive nor sacrosanct, and that if the League did not agree with them they would make no complaint. This statement had a calming influence on public opinion ; but the effect of it was spoilt by the publication on the next day of the full text of the proposals drafted in Paris and submitted to Italy and Abyssinia. This showed that the forecast had been substantially correct, and if anything had erred on the side of understatement, as the zone to be placed under the economic control of Italy was to extend westwards to the 35th parallel, and not the 36th, as had been assumed. The general public now became thoroughly roused, and both the Press and members of Parliament were inundated with letters declaiming against the iniquity of the proposals and of the Government in sponsoring them. Numerous public bodies passed resolutions of protest, and the League of Nations Union sent a deputation, headed by Lord Cecil, to the Prime Minister to remonstrate. The general indignation was still further heightened when it became known a few days later that a telegram had been sent from the Foreign Office to the British Minister in Addis Ababa urging him to use his " utmost influence " to induce the Emperor to give " careful and favourable consideration " to the proposals, and that Ethiopia was not to be allowed to construct a railway through the corridor to the sea which was to be assigned to her.

In response to a request from the Opposition, the Premier had set aside December 19 for a debate on the proposals. Realising the importance of the occasion, Sir Samuel Hoare, though still far from well, on December 16 returned to England in order to make his defence in person. Meanwhile he refused to utter any expression of regret. In his speech in Parliament on December 6, Mr. Baldwin had declared that if his lips were unsealed he felt certain that he could dissuade any member of the House from going into the Lobby against him. Friends of the League canvassed every possible motive of which they could think for the Government's action, but were unable to find any justification; and in the absence of any further enlightenment from Mr. Baldwin, the tide of public indignation continued to swell. A large section of the Conservative Party and also many members of the Cabinet let the Prime Minister know in no uncertain terms that the proposals could not possibly be defended. Mr. Baldwin thereupon withdrew his support from his still unrepentant Foreign Secretary ; and on December 18, the night before the debate, Sir Samuel Hoare resigned his post, after having held it for just over six months.

Thus after being in power only five weeks, a Government which had obtained what seemed to be an impregnable majority

at **the polls** was reduced to such straits that to save itself it **bad to** jettison one of its most important members. Speaking the next day in Parliament, Mr. Baldwin admitted that the depth of public feeling manifested in the country had come as a great surprise to him—and he might have added, to everyone else ; and he drew the correct moral from the event by saying that the conscience of the people had been roused, and before the force of that conscience no Government could stand.

In the meanwhile the Labour Party had been considering the terms of the motion which they should bring forward on December 19. The simplest plan would have been to move a vote of censure. The objection to this was that it would have automatically rallied the Ministerialists to the support of the Government. The Labour Party therefore cast about for a form of words which even the mass of Conservatives would not feel justified in rejecting out of hand, and after much deliberation resolved upon the following: " That the terms put forward by His Majesty's Government as a basis for an Italo-Abyssinian settlement reward the declared aggressor at the expense of the victim, destroy collective security, and conflict with the express will of the country and with the Covenant of the League of Nations, to the support of which the honour of Great Britain is pledged ; this House therefore demands that these terms be immediately repudiated.' ' At the same time a number of Ministerialists signed an amendment which declared the proposals of the White Paper to be unacceptable, and urged the Government to resume the policy outlined by the Foreign Secretary in September at Geneva, and endorsed by the country at the General Election.

The Government made no secret of the fact that it would regard the Labour resolution as equivalent to a vote of censure, and that the amendment was little more to its taste. The mass of its supporters, however, were determined that the Paris proposals should be disowned by the House, implicitly if not explicitly ; and in the end the Government was forced to give their approval to an amendment in the following terms : " That this House, holding that any terms for settling the Italo-Abyssinian dispute should be such as the League can accept, assures His Majesty's Government of its full support in pursuing the foreign policy outlined in the Government manifesto and endorsed by the country at the recent General Election."

The debate in the Commons on December 19 drew a packed House and a vast concourse of visitors, among whom were the Prince of Wales and a large number of Ambassadors and of peers. The occasion was indeed one which for dramatic interest can seldom have been surpassed in the history of Parliament. The political future of two of the leading statesmen of the country was at stake ; and the reputation of the country itself could not **fail to be** profoundly affected for better or worse by the tone **and the outcome of** the debate.

Being now a private member, Sir Samuel Hoare was permitted to make his statement before the Labour motion was brought forward instead of having to wait to reply to it. He said that ever since he had been at the Foreign Office he had been obsessed with the urgency of two grave issues : on the one hand the necessity of doing everything in his power to prevent a European conflagration ; and no less with the duty of doing everything in his power to avoid an isolated war between Great Britain and Italy.

In connexion with the present Italo-Abyssinian dispute, the Government had been faced with the double task of taking a full share in collective action and of trying to find a basis of settlement. In both fields a turning-point had been reached about a fortnight ago, when it became clear that a new situation was about to be created by the sanction of an oil embargo. It seemed clear that, supposing an oil embargo were to be imposed and that the non-member States took an effective part in it, the embargo might have such an effect upon hostilities as to force their termination. Just because of this, the situation immediately became more dangerous. From all sides they received reports that could not be disregarded, that Italy would regard the oil embargo as a military sanction or act involving war against them. Thus the danger became imminent that Italy might launch an attack on an England lacking the full support of other Powers ; and though he had no doubt that England would have been able to retaliate with success, yet he was afraid that such an occurrence would lead to the dissolution of the League.

In this situation it had seemed to him of paramount importance to do something which should have the effect of obviating the necessity for an oil embargo. This could only be the framing of proposals which could serve as a basis of negotiation between the parties to the dispute ; and to this end he and M. Laval had bent their energies during the two days that he had been in Paris. For him personally the task had been a double one, as he had had not only to work out a basis of negotiation but also to preserve Anglo-French solidarity which was none too securely based, and for this purpose he had had to make certain concessions to M. Laval.

Sir Samuel Hoare confessed that there were features in the scheme which he greatly disliked, but for all that he put up a spirited defence of it before the House, maintaining that it did not in effect go beyond the recommendations of the Committee of Five. He recognised, however, that the Paris proposals were dead, and he warned the House that the situation in consequence was more acute. The only alternative to the kind of unsatisfactory compromise contemplated in the suggestions put forward by M. Laval and himself was full co-operation, in the military sphere if necessary, between all the member States. Looking

back on the situation, he sincerely believed that the course he had taken was the only one possible in the circumstances. He recognised, however, that he did not possess the confidence of the country to the degree which was essential for a Foreign Secretary, and he had therefore thought it proper to resign.

Immediately after Sir Samuel Hoare's speech Mr. Attlee moved the Labour resolution. He affirmed that it expressed clearly and quite fairly the opinion of the majority of the people of Great Britain on the terms which the Government had put forward as just and as consonant with the British idea of justice. He summed them up himself as meaning the surrender to the aggressor of half an Empire in exchange for a corridor of camels. The Labour Party demanded their repudiation, because though they were said to be dead, they stood on record as the view of the Government of Great Britain of what was just. The responsibility belonged to the Government as a whole, and if Sir Samuel Hoare resigned, they should also resign. Two issues were raised that day. One was the question of the honour of the Prime Minister. If, as was suggested in some quarters—and not only by his political opponents—he had won an election on one policy and immediately afterwards was prepared to carry out another, it had a very ugly look. The other was the question of the honour of the country. They had to see that by their actions they were not killing all faith in the word of honour of Great Britain.

Mr. Attlee was followed immediately by the Prime Minister. Unlike Sir Samuel Hoare, Mr. Baldwin made no attempt to deny that he had committed an error of judgment in endorsing the Paris proposals. He found certain excuses for himself in the fact that he was swayed by loyalty to a colleague, that there was an insufficient liaison between London and Paris, and that the leakage of the proposals had forced the Government's hand. But he said not a word in defence of the proposals themselves, which he admitted were now absolutely and completely dead. The question had been asked, he continued, where the Government stood. His answer was that, as far as he was concerned, it stood where it had always stood ; and he quoted a passage from the Government's election manifesto beginning, "The League of Nations will remain as heretofore the keystone of British foreign policy." The House might think that the terms of the Paris offer went so far beyond what ought to have been done as to make all the previous efforts of the Government on behalf of collective security of no effect in their eyes. Short of that he claimed that they had fulfilled their pledges, and he asked that at any rate all who called themselves supporters of his should give him their confidence that night.

Mr. Baldwin was followed by Sir Austen Chamberlain, who throughout the past week had been one of the most outspoken opponents of the Paris proposals, and whose objections had finally

determined Mr. Baldwin to drop them. Sir Austen now declared that he would vote in favour of the Government, not on account of anything which the Prime Minister had said, but because the leader of the Opposition had impugned his honour. Sir Austen's example had a decisive effect on the voting ; and the amendment of which the Government had approved, and which was moved by Earl Winterton, was carried in the division by 397 votes to 165.

The two speakers who had played the part of defendants in the debate emerged from their ordeal with very different measures of success. Sir Samuel Hoare, though he had failed to convince the House, had won its respect and sympathy by his manly and able defence. His reputation at the end of his speech stood perhaps higher than ever before, and in spite of his present eclipse a brilliant political future was confidently prophesied for him. The Prime Minister, on the other hand, by his abject confession of error, had done nothing to retrieve himself from the discredit which his conduct during the past week had brought upon him. His speech was generally regarded as wholly ineffective, and the opinion was freely expressed that his days as leader of the Conservative Party were numbered.

In the House of Lords a motion similar in terms to the amendment which was put down but not proceeded with in the other House was moved by Lord Davies. The Government defence was made by Lord Halifax, who laid stress on the fact that Sir Samuel Hoare had gone to Paris without any definite instructions from the Cabinet, that he was very unwell at the time, and that the Cabinet's hand had been forced on December 9 by the premature disclosure of the proposals. After hearing the explanation the Archbishop of Canterbury declared that he was still in a state of bewilderment over the action which the Government had taken ; while Lord Cecil described it as "a most extraordinary chapter in diplomatic history." Labour and Liberal Peers were naturally even more critical. The motion was ultimately agreed to without a division.

The question of Sir Samuel Hoare's successor was eagerly canvassed by the general public. The choice was thought to lie between Lord Halifax, Sir A. Chamberlain, and Mr. Eden. It was rumoured at one time that the post had been offered to and accepted by Sir A. Chamberlain, but this report proved to be incorrect, and on December 23 it was announced that Mr. Eden was to become Secretary for Foreign Affairs and that the post of Minister for the League of Nation Affairs was to be abolished. It was understood that should Mr. Eden have occasion to leave the country, Lord Cranbourne, who a few months before had been appointed an additional Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, should deputise for him in the House of Commons. Mr. Eden's appointment was frowned on in certain Tory quarters on the ground that he was too inexperienced and too "sanctionist,"

but it was warmly welcomed by the mass of the public. Mr. Eden was now thirty-eight and a half, two months younger than Lord Rosebery had been when he became Foreign Secretary in 1894, and so the youngest occupant of the office since Lord Greville in 1791.

In a speech delivered at Birmingham on December 20, Mr. Neville Chamberlain stated that the Government would now "go back to the policy of sanctions/" and intimated that the question of an oil embargo against Italy was still being considered by the Cabinet, and that they would at any rate squarely face the question and not run away from it. The appointment of Mr. Eden as Foreign Secretary was universally regarded as an indication to the same effect. There could be no doubt, however, that, through the Paris proposals, Great Britain had for the time being given up her leadership of the League of Nations. Whether she would now regain or resume it was a question of which the answer was still wrapped in uncertainty.

Proof was soon given that, should Great Britain desire to pursue this course, no obstacle would be placed in her way by the other members of the League. In the course of his speech on December 17, Sir Samuel Hoare had laid stress on the fact that so far Great Britain alone of all the League Powers had shown any readiness to take military action against the aggressor, if necessary; and both the Prime Minister and Sir Austen Chamberlain had declared that if the other members expected her to do so, they must be prepared to come to her assistance. In fact, as transpired soon after the debate, as far back as December 6 inquiries had been made of a number of States—Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia, and France—whether they would be willing to do so. Soon after the debate, replies came from all these Powers that they were fully prepared to carry out their obligations under the Covenant.

On December 18 the Government accepted, and the House of Commons approved, a motion declaring that the time had arrived to survey the possibilities of restarting migration within the Empire. The Under-Secretary for the Dominions, Mr. Hacking, took the opportunity to announce that the Government were about to set up an Empire Settlement Board, consisting of three official and five unofficial members, with himself as Chairman, to consider and advise the Secretary of State on specific proposals for schemes of migration and any matters relating to oversea settlement that he might refer to them. At the same time he warned the House that the Dominions, while recognising in principle the desirability of encouraging migration, had made it clear that the economic conditions in their countries were not yet entirely favourable, and the Government, of course, could not encourage extended migration until new settlers could be received.

On December 20 the text was issued of the Bill to extend

unemployment insurance to agricultural workers. The Bill followed in the main the recommendations of the Unemployment Insurance Statutory Committee (*vide* p. 6), but proposed a weekly contribution of 4½d. from each of the three parties (employers, employed, and the Exchequer), and a weekly benefit of 14s. in the case of an adult male worker, instead of the 4d. and 12s. recommended by the Committee. The Bill was to apply to workers employed in forestry and horticulture, but not to private gardeners. Payment of contributions was to commence on May 4, 1936, and payment of benefit six months later, and the qualifying condition was to be payment of twenty contributions in two years preceding the date of claim.

Towards the end of the year, London became once more the theatre of a great international naval conference. Both the London and the Washington naval agreements contained a provision that such a conference should be held in 1936. The British Government, taught by previous experience, had sought to assure themselves beforehand that the conference, if it met, would not prove entirely barren, and had therefore for some months previously been conducting exchanges of views through the medium of London to discover whether sufficient common ground existed for making the conference worth while. The results of their inquiries were so far satisfactory that on October 24 they issued invitations to the United States, France, Italy, and Japan to attend a conference on naval armaments in London, on December 2, with a view to the conclusion of a treaty to take the place of the Naval Treaties of Washington and London, which were due to expire at the end of the next year. All the invitations were immediately accepted, but to suit the convenience of the American delegates, the opening date was changed to December 9.

The conference was opened on that date by Mr. Baldwin, at the Foreign Office. After welcoming the delegates from abroad Mr. Baldwin said that they were meeting "to do what was in their power to avert the calamity of a return to unrestricted naval competition throughout the world." The position of Great Britain had been explained in detail in a statement communicated to the Disarmament Conference at Geneva in 1932, and it still remained the same. Briefly, they were prepared to prolong the principles of the Washington and London Naval Treaties, with such modifications and adjustments as were expedient and necessary on account of altered international circumstances and the needs of individual Powers. They attached the greatest importance to a continuation of limitation in both the quantitative and the qualitative fields. They would like to see a reduction in the sizes of all the larger types of ships and of the guns which they carried, and still pressed for the abolition of submarines. The preliminary conversations, continued Mr. Baldwin, had made it clear that none of them would get exactly what they wanted,

but the essential thing was that they should agree on certain limitations which, while giving each Power such latitude as it might reasonably claim for the fulfilment of its own particular needs, might nevertheless relieve the public mind of the threat of a general race in naval armaments.

The conference elected Sir Samuel Hoare President, but the proceedings were mostly conducted by Lord Monsell, who was elected Vice-President. The first point to be considered was the Japanese proposal for a common upper limit to navies. This was not favourably received by the other delegations, and after some discussion was put on one side till other proposals should have been considered. The conference then examined the British suggestion that each Power should make unilateral declarations of policy regarding naval construction over a period of years. This was regarded as a more practicable plan, and was still being considered when the conference adjourned on December 20.

The unemployment returns issued at the end of December showed that on the 16th of that month the number of registered unemployed was 1,868,565, or nearly 50,000 less than a month before, and 217,250 less than twelve months before. The mainstay of the improvement in the industrial life of the country throughout the year had been the continued activity in building, which had become the greatest single industry in the country. In the second half of the year there had been some falling off in the number of houses built by private enterprise, and there was reason to think that this branch of the industry had passed its peak. On the other hand, the activity of municipal authorities in slum clearing was now in full swing, and they were preparing in a short time to deal with overcrowding. As the number of new houses required for these two purposes ran into hundreds of thousands, the prospects of the building industry were still good for some years ahead.

Before the end of the year, two Parliamentary seats which had been won by Ministerialists at the General Election fell vacant. The Unionist member for the Scottish Universities, Mr. Skelton, had in fact died before the result was announced, and soon after the election the question was considered at Unionist headquarters whether this did not present an opportunity for finding a seat for Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. The local Unionist organisation would naturally have preferred a Unionist candidate, but after some weeks of negotiation they were persuaded to put the interests of the National Government above those of party, and on December 24 they sent an invitation to Mr. MacDonald to stand as their candidate. Mr. MacDonald, as his opponents did not fail to remind him, had once in Parliament expressed his view that the University franchise ought to be abolished ; but this **did** not prevent him from taking advantage of the invitation. **An even** more piquant situation arose in the Ross and Cromarty

division where Sir Ian Macpherson, a National Liberal, resigned before the end of the year in order to become a peer. The Liberal Association of the district, following the patriotic example of the University Unionists, made approaches to Mr. Malcolm MacDonald. Here, however, the Unionists were not so accommodating as the Liberals at Glasgow, and they flatly refused to join in the invitation to Mr. MacDonald, whose candidature was still in suspense at the end of the year.

IMPERIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

IRELAND.

NORTHERN IRELAND.

THE Minister of Finance introduced his Budget on May 16, and was able to show an improvement in the finances of the State as compared with the previous year, due to an important change in the Re-insurance Agreement under the Unemployment Acts whereby Northern Ireland will receive during the current year from Great Britain a sum estimated at 640,000Z. Without this increased contribution Mr. Pollock would have found himself faced with a serious deficit. Expenditure this year was estimated at 12,534,000l., and Revenue at 12,552,000Z. Northern motorists pressed for a reduction of 25 per cent, in the 1Z. horse-power tax. The Minister was unable to grant the whole of this, but he conceded a 12½ per cent, reduction, bringing the horse-power tax down to 17s. Qd. This concession operates from January 1, 1936, and its cost to the Road Fund in the present financial year will be about 25,000Z.

Mr. Pollock reduced the tax on heavy oils for motor vehicles, at a cost to the Road Fund of 1,500Z. in the present year, while the duty on trailers attached to private cars was reduced from 4Z. to 2l. at a cost of 500Z. to the Road Fund.

A reduction in the entertainment duty on "living theatres" cost the Exchequer 5,000Z., leaving the estimate for Imperial contribution and surplus at 13,000Z.

In February, following similar action in Great Britain, Unemployment Assistance Allowances were restored to the rates existing before the reductions under the New Regulations were made. This development eased a situation which was being exploited by Communist agitators.

The unemployment situation continued to be unsatisfactory though there was increased activity during the year in the two staple industries, shipbuilding and linen manufacture. Northern Ireland had still in 1935 a higher rate of unemployment in relation to the insured population than Great Britain. The rate was only exceeded by the distressed areas of Britain, but per head of the population was not so different from Britain.

On May 9 sectarian trouble broke out in Belfast. There were disorderly scenes in some parts of the city, when hand grenades were thrown, and one man was shot. Sporadic outbreaks of disorder continued, and on June 12 a police sergeant was wounded. Some days later a girl was wounded, and on July 2 three persons were wounded by bullets. The Orange celebrations of "The Twelfth" were on a bigger scale than ever, but the atmosphere was highly charged, and in the evening there were serious riots, as a result of which two persons were shot dead and thirty-six others injured.

Curfew was imposed in Belfast, and the military were called out. By July 21 nine persons had been shot dead in the city, scores were injured, hundreds were driven from their homes, and there was much damage to property. The riots were the worst experienced in Belfast for many years. Many of the rioters were arrested and sentenced to terms of imprisonment.

The most important legislative measure passed by the Northern Ireland Parliament during the year was the new Transport Bill to co-ordinate road and rail transport services. Its provisions became operative on September 1, and after that date no road motor services for goods and passenger transport were allowed to operate without a permit from the new Road Transport Board, which has complete control of all road, goods, and passenger services. The scheme of road and rail transport co-ordination is the most complete yet devised in any country.

Another important measure passed during the year was the Summary Jurisdiction Bill which transferred the judicial administration of Justices of the Peace to Resident Magistrates. A considerable section of public opinion was opposed to this Bill on the ground that it abolished one of the safeguards of popular rights. The Act came into operation on January 1, 1936.

At the General Election for the Imperial Parliament in November there were contests in four of the Northern Ireland constituencies, the sitting Unionist candidates having been returned unopposed in the remaining constituencies. Republicans contested Belfast West, Armagh, and Down, but were all heavily defeated by Unionists. In Fermanagh and Tyrone the sitting Nationalist members, Messrs. Cahir Healy and Patrick Stewart, were threatened with Republican as well as Unionist opposition. A compromise was agreed to by the Republicans and the Nationalists whereby Messrs. Healy and Stewart withdrew from the contest in favour of two Nationalist Abstentionist candidates who, to satisfy the Republican party, undertook not to attend Parliament. They were both elected, their total poll showing a majority of about 9,000 over the total Unionist poll. Northern Ireland was thus represented in the new Imperial Parliament by eleven Unionists, all of whom had been re-elected.

THE IRISH FREE STATE.

The formal announcement of the Coal-Cattle Pact was issued on January 3, and many felt that the agreement was the beginning of the end of the economic dispute with Great Britain. These hopes were not to be realised, and the year passed without any further approach towards a settlement of the matters in dispute between the two Governments.

It was assumed that the Coal-Cattle arrangement would be followed by the abolition of the duties on both sides but this proved to be incorrect. Thus, while the cattle trade benefited to some extent by the increased quota granted by the British Government, citizens of the Free State were obliged to pay a duty of five shillings a ton for their coal. Foreign coal had been coming in free of duty in increasing quantities but henceforth British coal was to be given a virtual monopoly in the Free State and the cheaper foreign coal almost excluded. Naturally there was much dissatisfaction with this aspect of the bargain.

The Pact was criticised by the leaders of the United Ireland Party, who pointed out that it enriched the British Exchequer at the expense of Free State cattle breeders and raised the price of coal to the Free State public. The agreement was vigorously denounced by the Republican minority. The Government's case was that they could not afford to lose the revenue of 500,000l. which the duty on coal was estimated to produce in a year.

The Government in furtherance of their policy of attempting to find alternative markets for Free State produce concluded Commercial Agreements with Germany, on January 28, and Belgium, February 15. They provided for larger purchases by these countries of Free State produce so as to reduce the heavy adverse balance against the Free State's trade with these countries. A Trade Agreement with Spain was signed on April 1.

Discontent among the agricultural population of the south at the Government's failure to end the dispute with Great Britain resulted in the formation of the New Land League. This was inaugurated at a convention of farmers held in Cork at the end of January. The objects of the new organisation were, chiefly, to secure the suspension of the collection of land annuities for the duration of the economic war ; an honourable settlement of the matters in dispute with Britain ; derating for agricultural land ; and a living wage for rural workers.

Several officials of the new body were among a group of prominent County Cork farmers arrested towards the end of February, and charged before the Military Tribunal on counts concerned with advocating non-payment of land annuities. The defendants were heavily fined, with the alternative of prison sentences, which they elected to serve. During April and the months **following** seizures of cattle for non-payment of annuities were

frequent in the county, and numerous sales of seized stock and other property took place at Fermoy.

These developments had repercussions in a variety of ways. One was a scene in the Dail during May when visitors from Cork interrupted the proceedings. A number of protest meetings were held and lively incidents occurred at sales of seized cattle, culminating in a clash at Fermoy in July between a crowd of farmers' wives and daughters and the Civic Guards. The plight of the farming community was referred to in several discourses by Dr. Cohalan, Bishop of Cork. Several agricultural shows were not held as a protest against the imprisonment of farmers.

Mr. MacEntee's Budget, introduced on May 15, imposed new taxes on tea, sugar, and tobacco, while taxes on motor fuel and cinema seats were increased. At the same time a long list of additional Customs duties was announced. The Minister refused to withdraw the duty on British coal in spite of appeals from the Labour Party.

In the course of a debate in the Dail at the end of May Mr. de Valera made a speech remarkable for its conciliatory tone, in which he gave an assurance that the Free State Government would not permit the territory of the Free State to be used by any foreign power as a base for attacking Great Britain.

At the same time he declared that the Government were ready to negotiate further Trade Agreements with Great Britain on the basis of pound for pound. The speech had a favourable reaction in Britain. The Secretary of State for the Dominions (Mr. J. H. Thomas), speaking at Middlesbrough on May 31, said he welcomed Mr. de Valera's statement and was glad he had made it. It would be a great thing, said Mr. Thomas, for Britain and the Free State to stand side by side in face of any external aggression. "As to the question of trading relations," he added, "we hope that the day may soon come when our differences with the Free State—political and economic—will be solved." These friendly exchanges were welcomed everywhere except in the ranks of the Republican extremists.

During a prolonged transport strike in Dublin, which began on March 3 and continued until May 17, the I.R.A. threatened to cause trouble by intervening on the side of the men on strike. The Government's firm action averted this threat. Some forty leaders of the I.R.A. were arrested and after a short detention most of them were released.

An important constitutional decision was given by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on June 6 arising out of an appeal from a judgment of the Free State Supreme Court concerning fishery rights in Co. Donegal. The Council's judgment, delivered after long deliberation, declared that the Statute of Westminster conferred on the Irish Free State the power to abolish the right of appeal from the Free State Courts to

the King in Council, thus establishing the validity of the Free State Act.

The Free State Government were represented at the celebrations in London of the Silver Jubilee of the accession of King George the Fifth by the High Commissioner in London, Mr. J. W. Dulanty.

There were no changes in the personnel of the Executive Council during the year. Two vacancies which occurred in the Dail by death were filled after by-elections in June in County Dublin and County Galway. In the former case Mr. Cecil Lavery, K.C. (U.I.P.), was elected to succeed Mr. Batt O'Connor (U.I.P.), and in the latter Mr. Eamonn Corbett (Government Party) succeeded Mr. Martin McDonogh (U.I.P.). The result therefore was a gain of one vote for the Fianna Fail Party in the House.

Mr. de Valera attended the meetings of the League of Nations at Geneva in September as the Irish Free State's representative and approved the decisions arrived at regarding Italy's aggression in Abyssinia. He also committed the Free State to the imposition of sanctions. Mr. de Valera's action had the approval of virtually the entire country, but some spokesmen of the U.I.P. raised the point that, as Great Britain was the country most closely affected, he should have taken the occasion at Geneva to endeavour to effect a settlement of the Free State's dispute with that country before pledging Free State support of Britain's foreign policy.

Mr. Frank MacDermot expressed his unqualified approval of Mr. de Valera's action and very soon afterwards his resignation from the U.I.P. was announced. When the Dail reassembled in October Mr. MacDermot took a seat with the Independent deputies. A Bill was introduced in the Dail for the purpose of implementing Mr. de Valera's Geneva policy, and on the second reading only three deputies expressed their dissent—Sir Osmonde Esmonde (U.I.P.), and Messrs. P. Belton and W. Kent (Independent).

The extremist bodies, cherishing the slogan, "England's Difficulty is Ireland's Opportunity," clamoured loudly against Mr. de Valera for aligning himself with Great Britain, but Mr. de Valera had no difficulty in making an effective reply to these attacks.

Another Bill introduced in the Dail in October was given the unanimous support of all parties. This was a measure introduced by Mr. MacEntee, Minister of Finance, authorising the conversion of the First National Loan. This loan was floated by Mr. Cosgrave's Government in 1923 at 5 per cent., and the minister now invited stockholders to re-invest in a new loan at 4 per cent. Mr. Cosgrave gave his full approval to the scheme and Mr. MacEntee acknowledged this in a graceful speech. The Conversion Loan was a great success.

There was a debate early in the year on a motion put down in the names of Mr. Frank MacDermot and General Sean MacEoin demanding that the Government "ought either to abandon the profession of Republicanism or to seek authority from the electorate for the immediate establishment of a Republic." Mr. de Valera characterised the motion as a party effort to put the Government in a corner. Mr. MacDermot replied that his purpose was to get the Government to come out openly and tell the public where they stood.

When the debate was resumed at the end of October Mr. MacDermot had changed his position in the House from the front Opposition bench to the Independent bench, and, for that reason, was able to deny Mr. de Valera's assertion that the motion was a party one. When the division was taken the Government party voted in full strength, making 74, against the motion. The main body of the U.I.P. abstained from voting, with the result that the supporters of the motion numbered only 18. The deduction to be drawn from the division was that the Government party was solidly opposed to the setting up of a Republic for the twenty-six counties, which was all that could be done in existing circumstances.

The U.I.P. by their action might be taken as tacitly agreeing to this.

The Bill for the abolition of the Senate became law on November 25, but up to the end of the year it was not clear whether another second chamber, differently constituted, would be put in its place.

The religious riots in Belfast during the summer caused much indignation in the Free State, and attempts at "reprisals" on Protestant property in some parts of the Free State were promptly dealt with by the authorities and condemned by public opinion.

The Free State's total trade in 1935 was 57,247,995?., an increase of 201,578?. over that of 1934. The adverse balance of trade was 17,407,871?., a reduction of 3,789,152?. as compared with the figure for the previous year. Total imports during the year 1935 were 37,327,933?., compared with 39,121,720?. for 1934, and total exports were 19,920,062?. as compared with 17,924,697?. for 1934. Great Britain still remained the biggest importer of Free State goods and Northern Ireland was the next best customer. The reduction in imports into the Free State during the year reflected the considerable progress made in the development of home industries.

The end of Mr. de Valera's third year of office found him still in a strong position in the Dail and in the country generally. He continued to receive the support of the Labour Party, though the leaders of this party showed themselves at times rather doubtful about the wisdom of his economic policy.

CHAPTER II.

CANADA.

IN Canada the year was marked by important political changes. The Prime Minister, Mr. R. B. Bennett, in the early weeks of the year, in a series of nation-wide broadcast speeches, outlined his proposals for radical reforms in the Dominion's social and economic life. These proposals, known as Canada's "New Deal," aroused widespread comment and did much to revive the waning prestige of the Conservative party.

The sixth and final session of the Seventeenth Parliament was opened on January 17 with customary ceremony amid one of the worst blizzards of the winter. The ceremony was broadcast for the first time in Canada. In the Speech from the Throne, Lord Bessborough, Governor-General, cited the evidence of improved conditions in the expanding trade revenues and decreased unemployment. With this improvement, the time had come to carry forward with reform, on which the well-being of the country depended, and to remove defects and abuses of the Capitalist system, which were briefly described. A beginning had been made last session with a reform programme through the Natural Products Marketing and Farmers' Creditors Arrangement Acts, and Parliament would be invited to consider amendments which extend their sphere of usefulness. The Speech then dwelt on the Banking and Monetary legislation passed last session, and the acquisition of wider markets through the new Trade Treaty with France, and declared that Ministers would pursue vigorously every opportunity by which the world trade of Canada could be increased, as shown by the negotiations then proceeding with Poland, and would maintain a policy of consolidating and expanding Empire markets. It touched on the work of the Arbitration Commissions in deciding the compensation to be paid to Saskatchewan and Alberta in connexion with their natural resources, and said that the Government were co-operating with the Prairie Provinces in a survey of the drought-stricken area for the purpose of determining what permanent solution for their troubles could be found.

In fulfilment of the "New Deal" programme promised by the Prime Minister, the Speech forecast the general terms of the legislative programme of the session, which included measures to ameliorate the conditions of labour through insurance, a minimum wage, etc. ; to safeguard the consumer and producer against unfair trading practices; to regulate the concentrations of business ; to protect the investing public against exploitation, and to extend facilities for long-term credits. It also announced that the Government intended to undertake the reorganisation

of the Civil Service, to introduce the Borstal system in Penitentiaries, and to establish an Economic Council, whose function would be to advise Ministers on all economic questions affecting the national welfare.

In the debate on the Speech from the Throne, Mr. Mackenzie King (Liberal), Leader of the Opposition, attacked the reform scheme, claiming that the suggested measures touched only the fringe of the abuses of the present system and that no genuine reform could be accomplished until Labour and the Community shared with the capitalist investor in industrial policy. He urged that the Government had lost the confidence of the people, as was exemplified at the last by-elections, and should appeal to the people before attempting to introduce new reform measures which represented a complete *volte face* from the platform on which the Conservatives were elected in 1930.

Negotiations for a reciprocal Trade Treaty with the United States were announced by the Prime Minister (January 21), and this was the subject of repeated visits to Ottawa by Mr. W. D. Herridge, Canadian Minister at Washington.

In the same month the Austro-Canadian Trade Agreement, by which Austria extended most-favoured-nation treatment in return for Austrian products being given Canadian intermediate tariff rates, which had been signed originally for six months' duration in 1933, was again extended, this time indefinitely.

The problem of Dominion and Provincial rights which had asserted itself from time to time during the Bennett Ministry again came up in the debate on the Unemployment Insurance Bill (February), when Mr. Mackenzie King challenged the constitutional validity of the measure. Subsequently, the Government named a Select Committee of the House of Commons, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Hugh Guthrie, Minister of Justice, to study and report on the best methods whereby the British North America Act of 1867, the statutory foundation of the Dominion and Provincial Governments, could be amended to meet modern requirements while safeguarding the rights of racial and religious minorities and Provincial Autonomy.

Dealing with immigration in the House in March, Mr. W. A. Gordon, Minister of Immigration, declared that "Canada's doors will not be opened to a flood of immigrants at present." He added that no barriers had been raised against British immigrants and that the Provinces had been consulted from time to time in connexion with settlers. Concerning reports that some of the British settlers in Northern Saskatchewan who had been brought to Canada some years ago under the 3,000 Family Scheme were in want, Mr. Gordon said that he had been in communication with the settlers and would make a report to the House.

The Commission appointed in 1934 under the Chairmanship

of Sir Thomas White, to inquire into the Maritime Provinces' claims on the Dominion for subsidies, tabled a majority report in March. Its salient recommendation was that, in addition to the statutory Federal subsidies, totalling roughly 1,313,000 dollars annually, there should be paid supplementary subsidies of 1,300,000 dollars to Nova Scotia, of 900,000 dollars to New Brunswick, and of 275,000 dollars to Prince Edward Island. These would represent increases of 425,000 dollars, 300,000 dollars, and 150,000 dollars respectively on the supplementary subsidies awarded by the Report of the Duncan Commission, and paid since 1927. The Report stated that in assessing the amounts, the broad general consideration of equity and fairness had been taken into account, also the economic disadvantages to which the Maritime Provinces were peculiarly subject owing to their isolated geographical position in relation to the Central and Western parts of Canada.

Mr. E. N. Rhodes, Minister of Finance, presented his Budget on March 22. He placed receipts from taxation at 306,000,000 dollars, and other items brought the total revenue to 359,300,000 dollars, compared with 324,000,000 dollars last year. Ordinary expenditure totalled 356,600,000 dollars, leaving a surplus of 2,700,000 dollars compared with a deficit of 22,000,000 dollars in the previous year. But when special expenditures of 66,000,000 dollars, of which 60,000,000 dollars was for unemployment relief, and capital expenditures were added, there was a net deficit of 69,300,000 dollars. Moreover, this was swollen further by the vote of the deficit on the Canadian National Railways which, although down by 9,500,000 dollars, was still 42,500,000 dollars, and when all items were taken into consideration there had been an increase of 117,000,000 dollars in the National Debt during the year. Mr. Rhodes also explained that it had been necessary to make further loans totalling 23,300,000 dollars to the four Western Provinces to enable them to meet their obligations, and the total loans given them by the Federal Government since the depression started amounted to 74,600,000 dollars, of which Manitoba got 13,000,000 dollars, Saskatchewan 34,000,000 dollars, Alberta 12,000,000 dollars, and British Columbia 15,000,000 dollars. Mr. Rhodes estimated the direct liabilities of the Federal Government on March 31, 1935, at 3,305,000,000 dollars.

Mr. Rhodes announced that there would be no change in the basic rates of income tax, but there would be a graduated surtax beginning at 2 per cent, and levied on investment income, including interest, dividends, royalties, etc. All income over 14,000 dollars a year would be treated as investment income with a specific exemption of 5,000 dollars from surtax. The Corporation income tax would be increased from 12½ to 13¼ per cent., but the tax on the premium value of gold would be

discontinued. The Minister estimated that the changes in the income tax would yield an additional 12,000,000 dollars.

After a debate lasting for some weeks the Budget was approved by 98 votes to 74.

Important findings of the Tariff Board were tabled (March 23) concerning the investigation of a number of woollen schedules affecting British imports. The Board reported that as a result of careful inquiry made in the summer of 1933 of the wages paid in the United Kingdom and in Canada, it had been established that the hourly wages in Canada exceeded those paid in corresponding occupations in Great Britain by 55 to 60 per cent, in the woollen industry, by 76 to 78 per cent, in the worsted spinning industry, and by 65 to 75 per cent, in the worsted weaving industry. In the course of their investigations deputations from the English textile manufacturers had been heard at Ottawa, and the Report of the Board had been keenly awaited by the industries concerned on both sides of the Atlantic.

Seventy Mayors of Canadian cities held a conference in Ottawa (March 28) with a large body of members of all parties of the House of Commons to discuss unemployment relief. They urged that if the Federal Government did not immediately assume the responsibility for direct relief, the only alternative was bankruptcy for many municipalities. Their chief spokesman, the Mayor of Vancouver (Mr. McGeer), emphasised the grave dangers of municipal default on interest payments. In the absence of the Premier (who had been taken ill in February) Sir George Perley, acting Prime Minister, advised the Mayors first to approach their Provincial Governments upon whom the responsibility rested, but admitted that the problem was serious and said that it was receiving the attention of the Federal Government.

Canada's foreign policy came before Parliament (April 1) when a resolution moved by Mr. Henri Bourassa (Independent), supported by Mr. J. S. Woodsworth, leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth party, advocated practical isolation from European affairs. After some debate, in which Mr. Mackenzie King and members of all parts of the House emphatically dissociated themselves from the isolationist view, a resolution was adopted reaffirming the allegiance of Canada to the Kellogg Pact and supporting "all effective measures to ensure the world's peace, either through the League of Nations or otherwise, in co-operation with other Governments."

On April 17 Parliament adjourned until May 20. Before the House rose, Mr. Rhodes announced that the Government would recommend a contribution of 100,000 dollars to the Silver Jubilee Cancer Fund. He said that in view of the general desire of Canadians to associate themselves with His Majesty in his deep concern for the well-being of his subjects, the Government

would ask Parliament to vote this sum as a special thanksgiving gift from the entire population of the Dominion. Loyal addresses were also conveyed from the House of Commons and the Senate, and as a public holiday the day of the King's Silver Jubilee was celebrated throughout the Dominion. Mr. Bennett, who had partially recovered from his illness, left Ottawa on April 18 for New York on his way to Great Britain to attend the official Jubilee Celebrations in London.

During the recess the Government's programme for the forthcoming General Election was formulated, chiefly on the basis of Mr. Bennett's New Deal programme, and the recommendations of the exhaustive Report of the Royal Commission on Wages, Price Spreads, and Industrial Conditions, which had been tabled shortly before the adjournment. The most important recommendations of this Commission were : the establishment of a Federal Trade and Industry Commission to supervise generally and co-operate in the administration of the existing laws relating to trade and business practices, for which no other agency existed; the creation of a Consumer Commodity Standards Board as a Section of the Commission to establish consumers' standards and specifications and to enforce such standards ; the creation of a new division in the Federal Department of Labour for general research into industrial conditions ; an increase in the penalties for breaches of the Weights and Measures Act; national regulation of employment conditions, preferably by Federal legislation, or alternatively by co-operation between the Provinces ; the reduction of the standard hours of labour to a level not exceeding 44 hours a week, but accompanied by a certain flexibility in the administration of such laws to permit longer hours when necessary, with payment for overtime ; a more complete organisation of employers' associations and workers' unions ; amendments to the Dominion Companies Act, including a ban upon shares with no par value ; the enactment of regulations requiring that the annual statements of corporations, together with the auditors' report, be published in the daily press in such a way as to ensure the widest publicity, and in the *Gazette of Canada* ; a legal ban against directors and promoters issuing fully paid-up shares unless the corporation receives for them adequate consideration in cash, property, or services ; and the establishment of a Live Stock Board with administrative jurisdiction over all matters connected with every phase of marketing and the reduction of freight rates on livestock for export.

Canada's friendly relations with the United States were stressed by Sir George Perley in a statement at Ottawa (May 1) following a report published in the American Press (but strongly repudiated by President Roosevelt) concerning a projected establishment of an air base near the Canadian Border. The

acting Prime Minister said that President Roosevelt's frank and friendly declaration made it unnecessary and undesirable to discuss questions raised by the publication of the individual opinions of certain witnesses given before the Military Affairs Committee in Washington. He felt that nobody in Canada believed the United States Government had any intention of departing from the attitude which had been officially termed "the policy of the good neighbour," or of imperilling the unique advantages both countries enjoyed in being able to discuss common problems without considering the possibility of military conflict. It was, however, satisfactory to note the President's emphatic statement that the policy of the United States not only aimed to maintain the permanent peace conditions created by generations of friendship, but to live up to the spirit as well as the letter of treaties relating to the permanent disarmament of common boundaries.

Shortly afterwards (May 8) Sir George Perley again referred to foreign affairs in pronouncing Canada's acceptance of the League of Nations Sanctions Committee set up to propose measures to render the Covenant more effective in the organisation of collective security. "Canada had agreed to be represented on the Committee, with the reservation that membership would not involve acceptance in advance of any decision as to the application of Sanctions."

An extension of the existing Trade Agreement between New Zealand and Canada for a further six months was announced by the Finance Minister on May 21.

On Mr. Bennett's return to Quebec on May 17 he gave an emphatic denial to statements published in Canada that Great Britain had sought to influence the Dominions with regard to foreign affairs. Mr. Bennett declared that the European situation was difficult and dangerous, but Canada had made no commitments with the British Government regarding Empire defence nor had any been requested.

At the reassembly of Parliament on May 20 the Premier received a warm ovation from all sides of the House, to whom he gave a review of the London Jubilee celebrations and his political conversations with British Ministers.

Trade relations with Japan caused some disquiet during this session of Parliament owing to retaliatory measures threatened by the Japanese Government against special diunping duties levied on their exports to Canada, and the Prime Minister promised some modification of Canada's attitude.

Further consideration was given to the findings of the Price Spreads Commission, and during the rest of the session a remarkable number of Bills along the line of their recommendations were presented and discussed. During these debates Mr. H. H. Stevens (Conservative), a former Cabinet Minister and ex-Chairman of the

Commission, strongly condemned the measures as inadequate to remedy existing abuses.

A new Trade Treaty with Poland was tabled on July 3. In addition to a special concession on a selected group of products, the treaty extended to Poland intermediate tariff rates on all her products, while Poland granted Canada lowest regular rates on all Canadian produce with special low rates on fish, leather, silver fox skins, wood pulp and other commodities.

A sharp decline in wheat prices during July caused some consternation. This followed an announcement in Ottawa of the formation of a new Canadian Grain Board authorised to dispose of the large carry-over of wheat "as speedily as may be reasonably possible/" Mr. Bennett expressed regret that false reports regarding the Government's wheat policy had been cabled to England, and gave his assurance that "there is no intention that this country should offer its surplus grain at fire-sale prices or throw its surplus on the markets of the world." Steadier trading followed this announcement.

Parliament was prorogued by the Governor-General on July 5 after a session of remarkable legislative achievement. Among Bills passed were those establishing a Dominion Trade and Industry Commission, an Economic Council of Canada and a Grain Board, legislation for minimum wages, hours of work and weekly rest; a national scheme for unemployment insurance; the provision of loans to farmers; the appointment of a Royal Commission on National Health; programmes for housing developments, and numerous amending Acts.

In his last Speech from the Throne, Lord Bessborough, speaking first in English, then in French, expressed his deep regret that his term of office was drawing to a close. He had experienced constant proofs of goodwill and friendship on all sides, and on arriving in England he would assure the King of the unswerving loyalty to the Throne and the King's person which was so abundantly evident in all parts of Canada.

Parliament was formally dissolved on August 14, when the Prime Minister announced that the General Election would be held on October 14. Prior to dissolution, Mr. Bennett reconstructed his Cabinet, the new Ministers being Mr. G. R. Geary (Justice) in place of Mr. Hugh Guthrie, appointed Chairman of the Railway Commissioners; Mr. J. E. Lawson (National Revenue) in place of Mr. R. C. Matthews, who retired from political life; and Mr. W. G. Ernst (Fisheries), a post previously held by the Defence Minister. Five of the Senate vacancies were also filled.

Throughout the summer months the election campaign dominated public interest. The formation of a new group by Mr. H. H. Stevens, named the "Reconstruction Party/" contributed a new feature to political life. Its programme, supported

by the United Farmers of Ontario, included increased taxation on large incomes, corporations operating on a multiple basis to be assessed for each unit, the Federal Government to collect all taxes and divide on an equitable basis with the Provinces ; legislation to ensure fair prices for farmers' products and free them from the oppressions of middlemen through a democratic scheme of marketing control; complete investigation of credit and monetary problems as a prelude to evolving a plan of monetary control adapted to Canadian conditions ; nationalisation of the Bank of Canada ; restriction of interest rates to a much lower level; liquidation of the National Debt in 25 years by the use of latent natural resources through the development of gold and other mineral fields ; vigorous administration of all legislation based on the Price Spreads Commission's Report; creation of a Federal Trade and Industry Commission with real authority to regulate business ; completion of the Trans-Canada highway ; nation-wide reafforestation scheme ; national housing scheme for urban and rural areas, to be financed by Dominion Bonds if financial institutions will not co-operate ; measures to establish uniform wages and hours of labour with strict enforcement of the fair wage provisions ; exhaustion by the Dominion of its own powers and rights under the British North America Act before asking the Provinces to relinquish theirs, and no amalgamation of the Canadian railways under private ownership.

The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation Party, led by Mr. J. S. Woodsworth, issued its manifesto declaring that the emergence of the Stevens Party had made the fundamental issue of the Election Reform *versus* the Abolition of Capitalism, and that the programme of the C.C.F. offered the only real hope to all classes for emancipation from the insecurity and inhumanity of the present economic system. " The essential task is to oust an arbitrary, irresponsible plutocracy from power." The manifesto laid emphasis on the urgent need for a new policy providing for better security for the individual. It proposed the administration of unemployment relief on a scale sufficient to maintain decent living conditions ; a national system of insurance against unemployment, sickness, accidents, and old age, together with socialised health services, a national minimum wage, and a guaranteed minimum income for farmers. It also advocated the socialisation of banking and financial machinery, drastic amendments to the British North America Act to enable the Federal Government to deal effectively with economic problems which are essentially national in scope, and expressed the unalterable opposition of the party to Canada's taking part in " another capitalist war."

Mr. Mackenzie King, the Liberal Leader, opened his campaign with a series of broadcast addresses. He said that the Government's vast expenditure of public money had only served

to increase debt and taxation, to augment unemployment and prolong depression, and that its maintenance in office would spell bankruptcy for the Dominion. He then defended the existence of political parties as necessary for the effective working of the democratic system, and contended that the Liberal and Conservative parties in Canada had survived through generations because they had offered the best means for the expression of different political and economic views and for maintaining national unity by the avoidance of sectional and class cleavages. He argued that third parties were usually the offspring of prolonged hard times or internal quarrels in one of the old parties.

Outlining the Liberal Party's programme, Mr. King said as regards unemployment, which would be its first concern, it proposed to deal with the present emergency by creating a national system of unemployment insurance and introducing policies which would provide employment by reviving industry and trade. In the belief that Canada needed foreign trade as the basis of her commercial and industrial development, the party would promote trade with all nations and negotiate agreements with any countries willing to trade on a reciprocal basis. It would abolish the extravagant increases in tariffs made by the present administration and all unwarranted taxes on imports such as the Exchange and Dumping Duties. It would substitute stability for uncertainty and arbitrariness in the administration of the Customs Act, and continue its traditional policy about preference for British goods by a percentage reduction in the British preferential rates, rather than by a percentage increase in existing tariffs against foreign countries, which would mean a real preference for British imports. In respect of internal trade, the Liberal Party proposed to liberate it from any artificial control of prices, and would promote the development of agriculture and other industries by effecting reductions in the cost of production, opening wider markets, and giving State assistance for the marketing of natural products. As the party believed that credit was a public matter, it stood for the establishment of a properly constituted National Bank. The present Bank of Canada was of the Fascist type, and the Liberal Party proposed to regain for the nation the control of its currency and credit which it had lost. Another reform would be an Investment Control Board.

Concerning foreign affairs, the question of participation in a European war, stated Mr. Mackenzie King, would be determined only by Parliament. Later, Mr. King, who spoke in all the principal cities of the Dominion, warned his hearers against suggestions for the formation of a "National Government," which he regarded in the same light as the new "Reconstruction Party.'

Notwithstanding his impaired health, Mr. Bennett also

undertook a strenuous speaking tour, basing his appeal on the record of his Government and the programme of reform as foreshadowed in his New Year broadcast speeches.

At Toronto (September 15), dealing with the difficulties of the railway problem, Mr. Bennett made reference to his former Winnipeg slogan "Amalgamation never: competition ever," but added that if the Economic Council should recommend amalgamation he would submit the proposal to the people of Canada who, after all, were shareholders of the National Railways.

Nomination took place on September 30 and October 7. For the 245 seats the record number of 892 candidates were nominated, their party affiliations being Liberals 242, Conservatives 231, Reconstruction Party 173, Co-operative Commonwealth Federation 118, Social Credit Party 46, others, including Independents, Labour and Communists, 82. There were no unopposed returns.

Radio played an important part in the campaign, and every method of transport, from horses to aeroplanes, was used to reach outlying constituencies.

Polling took place on October 14. The result was a spectacular Liberal victory, the final standing of the parties being : Liberals 171, Conservatives 39, Social Credit 17, C.C.F. 7, Independent Liberals 5, Liberal Progressives 2, Independent Conservative 1, Reconstruction 1, Independent 1, United Farmers of Ontario 1.

Mr. Mackenzie King, with his new Cabinet, was sworn in on October 23 by Chief Justice Sir Lyman Duff, the acting Governor-General, as Lord Bessborough, having completed his term of office, had left Canada with Lady Bessborough and their family, amid many manifestations of popular goodwill, on September 28 for England.

By merging several Departments Mr. King constructed a Ministry of sixteen members as compared with twenty-one at the time of dissolution. The new Cabinet consisted of:—

Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs	Mr. MACKENZIE KING.
Finance	Mr. C. A. DUNNING.
National Defence	Captain IAN MACKENZIE.
Mines, Immigration and Interior	Mr. T. A. CRERAR.
Justice	Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE.
Public Works	Mr. P. J. A. CARDIN.
Agriculture	Mr. J. G. GARDINER.
Postmaster-General	Mr. J. C. ELLIOTT.
Trade and Commerce	Mr. W. D. EULER.
Secretary of State	Mr. FERDINAND RINFRT.
Pensions and National Health	Mr. C. G. POWER.
National Revenue	Mr. J. L. ILSLEY.
Fisheries	Mr. J. E. MIOHAUD.
Labour	Mr. NORMAN ROGERS.
Railways, Canals and Marine	Mr. CLARENCE D. HOWE.
Without Portfolio	Senator R. DANDURAND.

As neither Mr. Dunning, a former Finance Minister, nor Mr. Gardiner, Premier of Saskatchewan, had been candidates in the election, arrangements were made for them to contest seats at later¹ by-elections.

Immediately after the General Election the Prime Minister issued invitations to the Premiers of the nine Provinces to an inter-Provincial-Dominion Conference to be held at Ottawa for the purpose of considering amendments to the British North America Act and the re-alignment of Federal and Provincial authority.

Lord Tweedsmuir (formerly Mr. John Buchan), accompanied by Lady Tweedsmuir, arrived at Quebec from England on November 2, and was received by Chief Justice Sir Lyman Duff, Mr. J. O. Patenaude (Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec), Mr. Mackenzie King (Prime Minister of Canada), Mr. L. A. Taschereau (Premier of Quebec), and the members of their respective Cabinets. They were cordially welcomed by the people of Quebec, and the formal installation took place with traditional pageantry in the ancient Parliament Buildings in that city. Among other diplomatic representatives who were present was Mr. Vincent Massey, en route for England, to take up the High Commissionership in London, in succession to Mr. G. Howard Ferguson. Two days later the new Vice-Regal party reached the capital, where they were again received with warm demonstrations of welcome.

The Prime Minister announced in Ottawa (November 5) that arrangements had been made for the holding of the Dominion-Provincial Conference as early as possible; that negotiations for the settlement of trade difficulties with Japan were being actively prosecuted, and that Parliament would not be called until the New Year. The Government passed an Order in Council submitting to the Supreme Court of Canada the question of the constitutionality of certain legislation passed at the last session, including the Employment and Social Insurance Act, the National Products Marketing Act, three measures dealing with Hours of Labour and Wages, and Bills originating in the Report of the Price Spreads Commission.

The long projected reciprocal Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States was finally negotiated on November 15, when a treaty was signed at Washington (in the presence of President Roosevelt and members of his Cabinet) by Mr. Cordell Hull, United States Secretary of State, and Mr. Mackenzie King, who had spent some days for this purpose in the American capital. By this treaty reductions were made in the Customs tariffs of both countries, with the granting to each other of most-favoured-nation treatment and special concessions in a number of important commodities. President

¹ Mr. Dunning was returned for Queen's, Prince Edward Island, on December 30, 1935, unopposed, and Mr. Gardiner had not yet been returned at the end of the year.

Roosevelt, announcing the conclusion of the treaty (due to come into effect on January 1, 1936), said he hoped it would double the existing trade with Canada within a year and ultimately restore it to pre-depression proportions.

Canadian participation in European politics was again emphasised when Mr. Lapointe, acting Prime Minister, made an official statement on December 1 of clarification and reiteration of Canada's standpoint regarding sanctions, including a disclaimer that Canada as a country took the initiative in suggesting an Oil Embargo against Italy. "Canada has not departed in any way from the position as stated by the Prime Minister," said Mr. Lapointe. "The Government is not taking the initiative in proposing the extension of the measures with regard to the prohibition of exportation to Italy, and does not propose to take the initiative in such measures. The Canadian action and the participation by the Canadian Government has been and will be limited to co-operation in purely financial and economic measures of a pacific character which are accepted by substantially all the participating countries. With regard to future developments, Canada will continue with other members of the League to consider changes in the situation as they arise, including any proposal for the revision of economic sanctions."

In the closing weeks of the year the newly constituted Canadian Wheat Board was reorganised, but without alteration of the policy of selling wheat in order to reduce the surplus to a normal basis at competitive prices; the trade dispute with Japan was settled by an agreement of mutual cancellation of the surtax on imported goods; an Imperial Transatlantic (Air) Conference was concluded at Ottawa, unanimously approving the start of survey flights in 1936, to be followed by an experimental Air Mail Service; and the Dominion-Provincial Conference (which opened at Ottawa on December 9) continued its work in a wide survey of national problems.

PROVINCIAL GENERAL ELECTIONS.

Four General Elections were held in Canadian Provinces during the year.

In New Brunswick on June 27, the Conservative Government was heavily defeated by the Liberal Party, which carried 43 of the 48 seats in the Legislature. At the dissolution the position of the parties was Conservative 27, Liberals 14, Vacancies 7. The Premier, Mr. L. P. D. Tilley, and all his seven colleagues were defeated, and the new Government was formed by Mr. A. A. Dysart, who had been Leader of the Opposition since 1926.

In the Provincial Election of Prince Edward Island on July 23 the Liberal Party won every seat. In the last Legislature the Conservatives, under Mr. W. J. P. Macmillan, were

in power with 18 of the 30 seats, and a new Government was formed by Mr. W. M. Lea, a former Premier.

The remarkable success of the new Social Credit Party in the General Election of Alberta, held on August 22, caused a sensation throughout Canada. The United Farmer Ministry of Mr. R. G. Reid was left without a single seat in the Legislature, and Mr. William Aberhart, previously a Calgary High School Teacher and Head of the Prophetic Bible Institute, formed a Ministry of nine members. The outstanding feature of this election was the doctrine of Social Credit, which involved a reconstruction of the finances of the Province on the general principles of Major Douglas's social credit theory with the promise of a guaranteed "dividend" of 25 dollars credit per month for each citizen of the Province. Mr. Aberhart immediately issued statements that his Government, although it would proceed with its inauguration of a new credit regime, would sternly maintain the general credit of the Province. Later in the year he had conferences with the Dominion Premier on the subject of Dominion-Provincial finance.

A further noteworthy feature of this election was the use of the system of the alternative vote, with proportional representation in the two principal cities of Edmonton and Calgary. The final returns were : Social Credit 56, Liberals 5, Conservatives 2. Mr. Aberhart, who had not contested a seat in the election, was returned at a by-election in Okotoks-High River by acclamation on November 4.

* In Quebec, after a short and bitterly contested campaign, the Liberal Government under Mr. L. A. Taschereau was returned on November 25 with a reduced majority. In the new Legislature the Liberals won 48 seats against an Opposition of 42 seats, the opposition combining Conservatives under Mr. Maurice Duplessis and L'Action Liberale Nationale led by Mr. Paul Crouin.

CHAPTER III.

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA—SOUTH-WEST PROTECTORATE— NATIVE PROTECTORATES—SOUTHERN RHODESIA—NORTHERN RHODESIA.

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

THE Parliamentary session, which was opened by the Governor-General, the Earl of Clarendon, on January 11, was the first following the Hertzog-Smuts fusion. Members of both parties had long striven for this *rapprochement*, and by the electorate it was anticipated as a cure for a majority of the Union's political ills.

But like many cures, it was only a partial remedy. It certainly smoothed away many of the differences hitherto existing between the two rival parties, the South African and the Nationalist, but by so doing it inadvertently gave strength and the distinction of a recognisable opposition to that small political faction which, although always ready to trim and edge according to the exigencies of the moment, would never openly disavow republican principles. This faction started as a party of one under the leadership of Dr. Malan. His faith and sincerity of purpose were never in doubt, but his narrow and illiberal creed was the antithesis of union and unity. The Two Streams policy of a younger Hertzog had been conceived by a maturer Malan as a gospel of uncompromising racialism cum republicanism.

Dr. Malan's following was small when Parliament reassembled—rather smaller than had been expected, for it numbered 19 instead of 30—but its strength lay in its unyielding opposition to any and every form of racial co-operation, rather than in its numbers. There was also opposed to the Government Colonel Stallard's diminutive party of three, swinging as far to the right (or to the side of Imperialism) as Dr. Malan clung to the left. The once-influential Labour Party had been reduced to insignificance.

Thus assured of its friends and certain of its enemies, the Government should have been able to regard the constitutional issue as closed and devote a shortened session to practical work ; but within a few days of the reassembly of the House Dr. Malan adopted obstructionist tactics by moving a vote of no confidence. The debate was opened on January 24 ; it resulted in an all-night sitting. The Malanites produced no argument justifying the occupation of so much time, for their attack was directed mainly against General Hertzog. Even Dr. Malan's perfervid declaration that the ultimate destiny of South Africa "wak undoubtedly to be a republic," had nothing more weighty behind it than the applause of his following, and he had no answer for a simple question put to him by Colonel Creswell—now a ministerialist but formerly a member of the Labour Party, and a colleague of Dr. Malan in the pre-fusion Hertzog Cabinet. "Do you realise," asked Colonel Creswell, "that there are 800,000 English-speaking people in the Union to whom the British connexion and the Commonwealth ideal are as real an affection and sentimental attachment as any of your sentiments?" Dr. Malan's no confidence motion was defeated by 64 votes—19 to 83.

A little later in the month Dr. Malan returned to the attack by raising the question of South Africa's neutrality in the event of war. The consideration of amendments to the Seashores Bill presented him the opportunity of suggesting that clause 13 referred to an agreement which gave the British Admiralty certain rights and powers over the naval base of Simonstown. This,

it was alleged, amounted to a partnership between a former Union Government and the Imperial Government in connexion with a policy of defence never sanctioned by the House of Assembly.

Colonel Creswell strongly repudiated the suggestion that there had been anything in the nature of a secret understanding. For nearly nine years he (Colonel Creswell) had been responsible for the defences of the Union, and Dr. Malan had been one of his colleagues. During all those years they had been in full communication with the Committee of Imperial Defence, and so far as Colonel Creswell could recall there had been no dissension.

In any case Dr. Malan's question amounted to nothing more than an irritating interjection, because the subject of neutrality cropped up in a more definite and concrete form in other circumstances. Mr. O. Pirow, Minister of Defence, in a speech at Cape Town to the Imperial Press Conference, early in February, explained why South Africa was not prepared to participate in any general scheme of Imperial Defence. Two or three days later the Prime Minister was asked in the House to elucidate the position as presented by Mr. Pirow. Mr. F. C. Erasmus, Nationalist Member for Moorreesburg, asked : " Whether it is intimated by the said declaration that it is the policy of the Government to remain neutral in case of war between Great Britain and another country ? " General Hertzog replied : " No. Whether the Union will participate in a war in which Great Britain may be involved is a question which will be decided by the people of the Union, speaking through its Government and Parliament, the moment they are faced with this question." In answer to further questions the Prime Minister said that Mr. Pirow spoke on behalf of the Government when he made his declaration ; and he denied that an argument of a special nature relating to defence existed between the Union Government and the British Admiralty.

Nevertheless, although the expression of these and similar sentiments might be unwelcome to that section of the community which hoped for a tightening rather than a loosening of the Imperial connexion, Government spokesmen refused to pander to the extreme left. A Nationalist member, speaking in the House, in March, had suggested that the precedence accorded to the British admiral and naval officers at the opening of Parliament was derogatory to the Union's sovereign status. The Prime Minister immediately declared the suggestion to be both ill-mannered and offensive. He added: " The admiral is the highest representative in this country of the navy of our greatest, most important, and it is our most powerful friend, Great Britain. The British Navy, now that our freedom has been restored to us and our old enemy has become our best friend, means exactly the same to me as to an Englishman, because the freedom **of my people** and my country is just as dependent upon it as is that **of England herself.**"

This point was further emphasised by the Prime Minister on his return to South Africa from the Silver Jubilee celebrations of King George V. Speaking at the Bloemfontein conference of the Free State United Party, on September 10, General Hertzog—with the Italo-Abyssinian conflict in mind—said, South Africa in the past had never been unduly concerned about invasion. Even in republican days England was vitally concerned and was not likely to permit a foreign invasion of South Africa. There had been a time when South Africa was prepared to get rid of the British Fleet, but to-day the position was different. If South Africa forsook her friends, or sent them away, she must look to her own defences. If nations took as a matter of course the invading of other people's territory whenever they wanted expansion South Africa must realise the position, because not even England was now bound to come to her aid. It was necessary therefore for South Africans to be united, otherwise they might lose their independence. Fortunately the mass of South Africans were united. Progress towards national unity could not be stopped now.

On March 28 the country suffered an irreparable loss through the death of Mr. Tielman Roos, statesman, politician, and lawyer. His position in the public life of the Union was unique. He more than anyone else was responsible for South Africa leaving the gold standard ; he brought about the triumph of the Nationalist Party in 1924, and the idea of fusion was his inspiration, although his criticism of the leadership of General Hertzog and Gen. x1 Smuts induced him to form his own Central Party (*vide* ANNAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 129). One of his last political actions was to advise his followers to disband their organisation and to throw in their lot with the supporters of the Government. Mr. Tielman Roos took part in some of the stormiest episodes of the Union's political existence. He made opponents but never enemies, for he was a politician without malice or rancour. He was known as the " Lion of the North " [see under Obituaries].

This national bereavement was followed in April by a blow to the prestige of the Government. Its candidate in the East London by-election was defeated by the nominee of Colonel Stallard's Dominion Party. The seat might reasonably be regarded as a certainty for the United, or Government, Party, and in ordinary circumstances it would have been, but the campaign was largely based by anti-Government propaganda : the Union Status Act was represented as an endeavour to sever the Union from closer association with Great Britain. Moderate opinion was less apprehensive of the consequences of the change in the representation of the division than it was of its possible influence on hesitant Dutch opinion, for it felt that the result might lead to a more or less serious swing back to the Malanites in some of the Afrikaans constituencies.

The result of the Senekal (Orange Free State) by-election in August suggested that this fear was exaggerated, for the Malanite candidate was defeated by 179 votes.

On April 30 the Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament which had been considering General Hertzog's long-expected native Bills, presented their report, and the Bills were introduced in the House a few days later, just before Parliament was prorogued. The object of the first of the two measures, the Natives' Representation Bill, was to secure a uniform system of representation for the whole of the Union. Natives with certain qualifications possess the right to vote in the Cape Province and Natal, and although the Bill proposed to protect existing rights it would prohibit the registration of new native voters. Instead, natives were to be granted the right to elect four special Senators to the Union Parliament in addition to the four appointed by the Governor-General under the South Africa Act. With regard to representation in the Provinces, the Bill proposed to give the natives two additional Councillors in the Cape Provincial Council. In the other Provinces where the natives never had a vote in provincial elections, there would be no additional native Councillors. The Bill further provided for the creation of a Natives Representatives Council, consisting of 22 members, with the Secretary of Native Affairs as Chairman. Of these 22 members, 16 were to be natives and the remaining five would consist of the chief Native Commissioners of the Union.

The second measure, the Native Trust and Land Bill proposed to grant more land to natives for their stock, and to give them a greater opportunity for local self-government. The Trust, if created, would be vested with authority over all Crown lands reserved for native occupation or situated within released areas. The affairs of the Trust were to be administered by the Governor-General as trustee for the benefit of the native population. The extent of the areas which the Bill proposed for release to the natives was approximately 14,000,000 acres.

SOUTH-WEST PROTECTORATE.

On January 7 the deputation appointed to discuss with the Union Government the "fifth province" resolution passed by the South-West Assembly (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 135), arrived in Cape Town. Ten days later the Prime Minister's office issued an official statement. This recapitulated the reasons why the Protectorate wanted to be administered as a fifth province of the Union. It added that General Hertzog had told the deputation (led by Colonel Hamman), that although he appreciated the difficulties confronting the people of the territory, he felt that no decision could be expected from the Government until the matter had been thoroughly investigated from all

aspects. He believed that such an investigation could best be carried out by a strong Commission, and he promised that the Government would immediately consider the advisability of appointing such a Commission.

At the time this statement was being issued by the Prime Minister's office the League Council in Geneva were considering a report on the South-West Protectorate issued by the Mandates Commission. The Commission registered its concern at the adoption by the Legislative Assembly of the Protectorate of a motion aiming at the constitution of the territory as a fifth Province of the Union, subject to the provisions of the Mandate. Questioned in regard to his attitude towards this proposal, the accredited representative of the Union stated, and later emphasised, in his comments that he could not discuss the matter since it concerned an event that occurred after the close of the 1933 administration, and would have to be dealt with in the 1934 report. The Commission reserved its opinion on the matter pending full information. Members of the Council regarded the development as highly important, dealing as it did with a fundamental principle of mandates and its practical operation. Doubt was cast on the compatibility of the resolution with the spirit of the Mandate.

True to his promise, the Prime Minister appointed his Commission of inquiry, under the presidency of Mr. Justice Van Zyl, in April. It was authorised to examine the reasons for the apparent failure of the present system and to consider how the Protectorate's government could be improved, "due regard being paid to the character of the territory as a mandated territory and the rules of international law, the governing mandate, and the constitutional law of South Africa."

Following the announcement of the appointment of this Commission, the Union Government gave an assurance to the Mandates Commission that it did not intend to take any steps affecting the status of the South-West Protectorate without the closest co-operation with the Mandates Commission. This assurance was conveyed to the Commission in June by Mr. te Water, Union High Commissioner in London, and Mr. J. H. Conradie, Administrator of the Protectorate.

What was regarded as a slight easing of the political tension which had long existed in the Protectorate was the change in the attitude of the Administration towards the German Youth movement (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 135). This movement, which had been banned because of its participation in subversive politics, was permitted to reconstitute itself on the understanding that it would be entirely non-political.

THE NATIVE PROTECTORATES.

During General Hertzog's presence in London for the Silver Jubilee celebrations there was an interesting development in the situation regarding the control of the native protectorates of Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and Basutoland. These vast territories, although almost "ring-fenced" by the Union, have always been administered by the Imperial authorities, and the view of successive colonial administrations has been that there could be no acquiescence to the Union Government's request for their transfer to the Union until the natives themselves had manifested a desire for the change (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 136).

In the House of Commons, on May 23, Mr. J. H. Thomas (then Dominions Secretary) explained that his conversations with General Hertzog had resulted in a large measure of agreement. The future of the native territories, he said, had been discussed in the light of the provisions of the South Africa Act, 1909. As a result, it had been agreed that the best policy was to extend co-operation between the Union Government and the administration of the protectorates over as wide a field as possible, and in particular in all matters relating to their economic welfare and development. Questioned as to what he meant by "extended co-operation," Mr. Thomas said: "Boiled down it means that if there is friction between the Union Government and the territories, and there is ill-will, both sides suffer; and the arrangement we have made is that there shall be the closest co-operation between the territories and the Union, so that if, at any time, a change takes place, it will be with the goodwill and co-operation of all parties instead of hostility that would otherwise develop."

Before sailing for the Cape, General Hertzog acknowledged the open-hearted readiness with which the desires of the Union had been responded to by His Majesty's Ministers. In the course of an interview after his arrival in South Africa, General Hertzog carried the question a stage further. "The native territories," he said, "will be transferred under the terms of the South Africa Act in a suitable time. Once the British Government makes a decision it never goes back on it."

In various quarters the suspicion arose that the provisions of the South Africa Act might be capable of an interpretation injurious to the interests of the natives, and in both countries the authorities were closely questioned. Members of the House of Commons were particularly alert.

In South Africa, Sir William Clark, the High Commissioner, made a speech on July 10, at Mbabane, Swaziland, in which the position was clarified. The British Government are pledged, he said, before the decision to transfer is taken, to consult the native population, and he imagined that it would be generally agreed that if such a consultation revealed a strong and wide-

spread opinion adverse to change it would be a serious obstacle to transfer, whether it was looked at from the standpoint of the British or the Union Government. Nevertheless, the Union Government would have the right to complain if there were reason to think the issue was being any shelved or unduly delayed. The question was not one facile of solution, but rather one out of which, if it were not wisely handled, difficulties and friction might quite easily arise. "We have the right to be proud," added the High Commissioner, "that the native peoples are reluctant to leave our tutelage, unless, as in the case of India, they can claim that the time has come when they should be entrusted with the control of their own destinies."

SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

On February 18 a Trade Agreement between the Colony and the Union, to replace the Customs Convention, was signed in Cape Town. It came into force on the 1st of April. It remains in operation for a period of two years ending March 31, 1937, and thereafter it will run from year to year, subject to three months' notice. Opinion in the Colony inclined to the view that the agreement meant the abandonment of the theory of free trade between the two countries, and that although there are mutual concessions as regards certain commodities, Customs barriers would be established at the border. Southern Rhodesia could not hope for an expansion of trade with the Union, and Union commerce and industry would find trade developments retarded in the north. The setting up of a Customs barrier would find the two countries drifting apart. These forebodings, however, were not shared by the Prime Minister (the Hon. G. M. Huggins). Speaking in Bulawayo on March 2, he declared that the breaking of the Customs Convention had been inevitable. On sentimental grounds the break with the Union was to be regretted, but from a business point of view he was satisfied that it was the finest thing that had ever happened to Southern Rhodesia. Commercial opinion, as represented by the President of the Bulawayo Chamber of Commerce, was that the termination of the Customs Agreement was a retrograde step, and that the new position increased the necessity for a port on the west coast. The question of an outlet to the southern Atlantic has been debated for many years.

During the first session of the fourth Parliament, which was opened by the Governor, Sir Herbert Stanley, on March 11, it was agreed to build a new House of Parliament at a cost of approximately 100,000Z. In July the Government (United) Party lost the Hartley by-election to the Reform Party candidate, but the position was retrieved in the September by-election at Selukwe.

Shortly after the arrival in London in February of the Hon. S. M. Lanigan O'Keeffe, who had been appointed High Commissioner in succession to the Hon. J. W. Downie, the Government of Southern Rhodesia transferred its London headquarters to an imposing block of buildings in the Strand. The premises were formerly the offices of the British Medical Association.

Towards the end of December Sir Herbert Stanley opened the Birchenough Bridge which had been built at a cost of 125,000? to span the Sabi River. The cost was borne by the Beit Trustees, after whose Chairman the bridge was named. It is the longest single span bridge in Africa, and the third largest in the world.

NORTHERN RHODESIA.

Lusaka, the new capital of Northern Rhodesia, came into existence during the year, and when the Legislative Council met there in November, Livingstone ceased to be the seat of the Administration, although certain of its departments will continue to operate from the old capital for the next five years.

In 1933 the elected members of the Council passed a resolution approving in principle the amalgamation of the two Rhodesias, and periodically since action has been taken to formulate a definite policy. During the 1935 session the elected members reaffirmed their 1933 resolution. Communication was established with the authorities in Southern Rhodesia with a view to holding a joint conference for the purpose of discussing the question. Upon it there exists a considerable division of opinion.

CHAPTER IV.

AUSTRALASIA.

AUSTRALIA.

THE Lyons Ministry was in power in Australian Federal politics throughout 1935. For several months the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, Mr. Menzies, the Attorney-General, and Sir Henry Gullett, together with a body of financial and trading experts, were in England, in connexion with King George's Jubilee and the inter-Empire consultations which accompanied it. Dr. Page, the Country Party leader, was Acting Prime Minister during Mr. Lyons's absence. The Jubilee celebrations created much interest and enthusiasm in Australia, and the Commonwealth launched a maternal and infant welfare campaign as a Jubilee gift to King George and Queen Mary. The Commonwealth initiated the scheme with a donation of 50,000Z., and a motion to this effect was carried by the Canberra Parliament on April 4.

Another matter affecting the Imperial connexion was the appointment of Brigadier-General the Hon. Sir Alexander Hore-Ruthven, V.C., as Governor-General of the Commonwealth, in succession to the Right. Hon. Sir Isaac Isaacs. The appointment represented a reversion to the earlier practice of appointing an Englishman as the representative of the Crown, rather than a prominent Australian. Sir Alexander had been popular as a State Governor in South Australia and New South Wales, before he was translated to the Governor-Generalship. The British Government also selected Sir Geoffrey Whiskard, of the Dominion Office, as first High Commissioner to Australia, with functions similar to those of the British High Commissioners in Canada and South Africa. In announcing the appointment on August 15, Mr. Lyons welcomed the decision. It has special significance in view of Sir Geoffrey's connexion with the Migration Committee in London and the possible resumption of British migration to Australia in the near future. The main Australian objection to the resumption of migration had been serious unemployment in the Commonwealth itself. This unemployment fell materially in 1934 and 1935, and reached manageable limits. The question was debated on a censure motion moved by Mr. Forde at Canberra on September 25, when Mr. Lyons pointed out that the unemployment rate had fallen from 29 per cent, in 1933 to 16 per cent, in 1935.

Though the Lyons Ministry was in being throughout the year, it suffered a loss on November 5, when Mr. Hughes, Vice-President of the Executive Council, resigned owing to a difference of opinion with his colleagues over sanctions at Geneva. In a book, "Australia and War To-day," published just before his resignation, Mr. Hughes doubted the efficacy of sanctions, unless backed by force. In one passage Mr. Hughes expressed the opinion that "economic sanctions were either an empty gesture or war." In Mr. Lyons's view, this statement challenged the wisdom and sincerity of the Government's policy, and he asked for Mr. Hughes's resignation. In a debate in the House of Representatives, Canberra, on November 6, Mr. Hughes defended his views, but explained that his only purpose was to rouse Australians to the danger confronting them. Personally, he strongly supported the Government's policy. Ex-Service men's organisations in Australia appealed to Mr. Lyons to reinstate Mr. Hughes in his office, but the Federal Prime Minister judged that a solid front on the subject of sanctions was all-important, and Mr. Hughes left the Cabinet. In September Mr. Casey, the Assistant Federal Treasurer, was promoted to full Cabinet rank, and took over the Treasury portfolio, which Mr. Lyons had held in conjunction with the Premiership. Lastly, the elevation of Mr. Menzies to the Federal Attorney-Generalship involved the resignation of Sir John Latham. He was appointed Chief Justice of the High

Court of Australia, in succession to Sir Frank Gavan Duffy, who retired on September 13. Sir John was leader of the United Australia Party when the fate of the Scullin Ministry was in the balance in 1931, and his resignation of the leadership in favour of Mr. Lyons was an important factor in bringing the present Federal Ministry into being. The Federal Labour Party also suffered a loss, when Mr. Scullin resigned from the leadership on September 23. It was expected that the deputy leader of the party, Mr. Francis Forde, would succeed. In fact, Mr. John Curtin was nominated by a section of the party, and he defeated Mr. Forde by 1 vote, the final count being Curtin, 11 votes; Forde, 10. Mr. Curtin's nomination was a surprise, and Mr. Forde's supporters did not make the thorough canvass of the Labour Party voters which was needed for success, whereas Mr. Curtin's supporters were very active. Mr. Curtin represents a West Australian constituency, is a convincing debater, and holds moderate Labour views.

The Commonwealth delegation which visited London for the Jubilee celebrations brought back the meat agreement with the Mother Country, as the main political result of their visit. The agreement was signed on July 17, and fixed quotas for mutton, lamb, veal, and beef, the latter including a substantial increase in the permitted shipments of Australian chilled beef. The agreement was welcomed in Australia, where the trading situation was regarded as serious, in view of the proposed quantitative regulation or restriction of meat imports into Britain. The position of Queensland exporters, who sent 83 per cent, of the beef taken by the Mother Country from Australia, was particularly troublesome. In a debate at Canberra on March 28, Mr. Forde, then deputy-leader of the Opposition, sharply criticised the possible restriction of Dominion exports. "Great Britain should remember that while Argentina and Denmark were supplying foodstuffs to enemy countries during the war, Australia was assisting the Allies by every means in her power. Australia had borrowed 547,000,000l. in England, on which 26,000,000?. a year of interest was paid, and the British Government should be told that, if the great primary industries of Australia were crippled largely in the interests of British trade with foreign countries, the whole question of the payment of interest would have to be reconsidered." Mr. Forde's motion was rejected by 37 votes to 22.

Substantial increases in the Commonwealth defence votes, covering the second and third years of the three-year programme which began to operate in July, 1934, were announced by Mr. Parkhill, Minister for Defence, on July 5. Parliament was asked to approve an expenditure of 6,734,000l. in 1935-36. The expenditure upon defence in the previous year was 5,581,000l. Mr. Parkhill pointed out that the defence of Australia was based **upon** two principles: firstly, the power to resist aggression, and,

secondly, the necessity that Australia should play her part from the standpoint of the Empire, and to this extent relieve Britain in the colossal task which she faces of defending generally her vast Empire. Mr. Parkhill added: "Whatever we may feel about the League of Nations, international arbitration, conciliation, and the various pacts aimed to ensure peace, we must appreciate the fact that at the present time, while the nations are still prepared to use force, Great Britain must be prepared, if necessary, not only to defend herself and her Empire, but to honour her international obligations."

On November 12 it was announced that the Australian Air Force was to be increased to 200 machines, and the personnel to 600. Colonel J. D. Lavarack was appointed Chief of the General Staff for a period of five years, in succession to Major-General J. H. Bruce. Colonel C. G. N. Miles succeeded Colonel Lavarack as Commandant of the Royal Military College, Sydney.

The problem of sanctions and Australia's general attitude towards the League of Nations, which are closely associated with these defence plans, were debated at Canberra on September 23. Mr. Lyons announced that Mr. Bruce, Australia's delegate at Geneva, had been instructed to co-operate closely with the United Kingdom for the maintenance of League principles. Though the Prime Minister deprecated any discussion upon violations of the League Covenant at the time, Mr. Forde, Acting Leader of the Opposition in Mr. Scullin's absence, declared against Australia's participation in the Italo-Abyssinian embroglio. "It was immaterial to Australians," he said, "how the Abyssinian oilfields were eventually distributed, and the control of Abyssinia by any country was not worth a single Australian life. While the Australian Labour Party were opposed to participation in a foreign war over Abyssinia, they did not for one moment seek to justify the Italian attitude." Mr. J. A. Beasley, leader of the Lang Labour Group, was even more bitter in comment, urging Australia's withdrawal from the League of Nations and saying that the language of Downing Street was not that of Australia. On October 11, Mr. Beasley's motion was rejected by 27 votes to 21. On October 27, the Federal Government notified Geneva that it accepted in principle the policy of financial sanctions against Italy, the prohibition of imports from Italy, and the export of certain war munitions to Italy.

Meanwhile, the question of sanctions against Italy was being hotly debated in Labour circles. On November 28, the All-Australian Trades Union Congress voted against the imposition of sanctions by 78 votes to 41. The reason given was that "sanctions committed organised Labour in Australia to support the sending of armed forces overseas to take part in a capitalist war." The Bill imposing economic sanctions against Italy passed the House of Representatives on November 8 by 33 votes to 22, after a

disorderly debate. Mr. Hughes voted with the Ministry. Mr. Curtin, during the debate on the third reading, warmly declared that Australia must not be dragged at the coat-tails of every dispute that occurred in Europe.

Mr. Casey's Federal Budget statement was made at Canberra on September 23, and disclosed a general improvement in Australian conditions during the year. Owing to the rise in the price of primary products, Mr. Casey said that further progress was expected. Though the price of wool was lower in 1934-35 than it had been in the previous twelve months, values of wool were increasing in the latter half of 1935, as were those of butter, wheat, and non-ferrous metals, in which Australia was interested. Owing to conversion loans in Australia and England, there was a saving in interest, amounting to 2,935,000*l.* Mr. Casey estimated the Federal revenue for 1935-36 at 77,700,000*2.*, and the expenditure at 76,628,000*l.* This made possible reductions of taxation amounting to 510,000*l.* Tariff changes were introduced in March, November, and December, the general effect being to decrease the duties under the British preferential rate, while maintaining the Government's policy of adequately protecting efficient Australian industries and assisting in the creation of new industries. Thus, in the December schedule, the duty upon mining machinery was reduced, and there were reductions in the scale affecting lampware, wrapping paper, and cardboard.

On October 3 a Federal Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the Australian monetary and banking system, with Mr. Justice Napier of South Australia as Chairman, the other members being Mr. E. V. Nixon, a Melbourne chartered accountant; Dr. R. C. Mills, Professor of Economics at Sydney University; Mr. H. A. Pitt, a financier; Mr. J. P. Abbott, President of the South Wales Graziers' Association; and Mr. J. V. Chifley, a member of Mr. Scullin's Labour Cabinet. The economic position of Australia has been greatly strengthened by a marked increase in gold production, which had risen in value from 3,560,000*2.* in 1931 to 8,500,000*2.* in 1935. This only represented about 3 per cent, of the world's production, compared with the 40 per cent, of the world's gold which Australian mines supplied between 1851 and 1860. But the gain indicated by the increased supplies since 1931 was important, and would have been greater if there had not been a shortage of skilled and trained mining engineers and miners.

A shipping strike towards the end of the year proved troublesome, as shipping strikes have been in Australia on other occasions. It arose from a Federal award giving the seamen an average monthly wage increase of 22*s. 6d.*, but reducing the overtime rate. The men claimed that the reductions more than offset the increases, and many of them declined to accept the award.

Federal finance in Australia is mingled with that of the six

States, owing to the grants from Commonwealth revenue, which have been necessary for the balancing of State Budgets. In addition, there is the allocation of loan monies to needy States, which is determined by periodical meetings of the Loan Council. In general, the finances of the Australian States in 1935 showed a marked improvement. The six Budgets revealed a net deficiency of no more than 3,765,000l., the amount being 2,000,000?. less than the estimates made by the Loan Council a year earlier. Even the term " deficit " has a different significance, when it is remembered that the deficit only arises after large sinking fund payments have been provided from current revenue. In recent years Federal payments to the States increased greatly, rising from 9,250,000l. in 1925-26, to 15,250,000?. in 1932-33 and 20,500,000?. in 1934-35. Mr. Casey stated, in May, that these large grants from Federal funds would have to cease.

On March 22, Dr. Page, as Acting Prime Minister, introduced a Bill in the House of Representatives at Canberra, allocating 12,000,000?. to the States for rural rehabilitation. Dr. Page explained that the fall in world prices had forced many Australian farmers into virtual bankruptcy, making some form of debt adjustment essential. The debts of wheat growers alone amounted to 151,000,000?. To meet the worst of the trouble, it was proposed to borrow 12,000,000?., which was to be made available to the States for adjusting some of these farmers' debts. It was estimated that 30,000 farmers would qualify for a grant. The 12,000,000?. was distributed between the States in these proportions : New South Wales, 4,140,000?. ; Victoria, 3,000,000?. ; Queensland, 1,380,000?. ; South Australia, 1,560,000?. ; Western Australia, 1,560,000?. and Tasmania, 360,000?.

About the same time that Mr. Casey made his notification regarding the grants from Federal funds, the Commonwealth Bank Board, on May 24, sent a letter to the Loan Council, intimating that it was unwilling further to finance State deficits by the issue of bills. It asked the Council to reduce the existing Treasury bill debt by 5,000,000?. The effect of the Bank's request was materially to curtail the money available to the States from Australian loans issued in 1935, as nearly 10,000,000?. of the new loan money would be required to redeem the Treasury bills. When the Loan Council met at Canberra at the end of May, the State Premiers saw Mr. Casey, and an animated discussion took place before the allocations of loan monies were determined. In the end it was decided to increase the total loan programme to 31,000,000?., and the allocations for public works were distributed in the following proportions : Commonwealth, 5,750,000?. ; New South Wales, 8,000,000?. ; Victoria, 4,000,000?. ; Queensland, 3,000,000?.; South Australia, 2,100,000?. ; Western Australia, 2,600,000?.; and Tasmania, 600,000?. Mr. Dunstan, the Victorian Premier, was unable to persuade the Loan Council to increase the

Victorian allocation to 5,500,000l. Mr. Dunstan argued that Victoria could readily borrow the 5,500,000l., and he described the action of the Council as fastening shackles upon the soundest and most progressive of the Australian States. In particular, Mr. Dunstan contested the legality of the formula in the Financial Agreement, which based allocations of loan money upon the previous five years' expenditure. Under this formula, Victoria's share of the loan money compared badly with that of New South Wales. The reason for Mr. Dunstan's warm advocacy was that he had promised the Victorian Labour Party, in return for their support, to provide full-time work for the unemployed in the State. Mr. Dunstan himself belongs to the Country Party, and his failure to obtain the 5,500,000l. threatened the arrangement which kept his Ministry in office.

Freedom of trade between the Australian States was discussed at a conference of State Premiers and Attorney-Generals, which met in Melbourne on August 10. The conference was called as a consequence of certain legal complications, arising from section 92 of the Federal Constitution, which threatened to make marketing legislation ineffective. Suggestions for redrafting section 92 were made, with a view to removing the legal difficulties.

In matters of State concern, the appointment of Sir Alexander Hore-Ruthven to the Governor-Generalship of Australia entailed the succession of Admiral Sir David Murray Anderson to the State Governorship. The appointment was announced on November 4. Earlier in the year the New South Wales Premier, Mr. Stevens, resigned office and reconstructed his Ministry, following upon a dispute with Mr. Weaver, Minister for Health and Public Works. The new Ministry was formed on February 12, with Mr. Stevens as Premier, Treasurer and Secretary for Public Works, and Mr. Bruxner, as Deputy Premier. On May 11, Mr. Stevens's Coalition Government of the United Australia and Country Parties faced a General Election and was returned to power by a large majority. One or two seats were lost, but the victory over the Lang section of the New South Wales Labour Party was only less decisive than that in 1932. Mr. Stevens made his policy speech at Sydney on April 24, emphasising the progressive reductions in the State deficit and the remissions in taxation, which followed the dismissal of the Lang administration. Mr. Lang opened his electoral campaign at the Auburn Town Hall on April 27, when he addressed a meeting of the State Labour Party and put forward a policy of relief for farmers, relief for unemployed, and increased purchasing power. Mr. Lang said that the Labour Party would replace dole tickets with cash payments direct from the unemployment relief fund. He estimated that his programme would cost 20,000,000l. Of this, 9,000,000Z. would be required from the Loan Council, while he thought that 11,000,000l. could be secured from current taxation. Mr. Lang's plans included the increase of wages of

relief workers by 50 per cent., and he foreshadowed pressure upon the Arbitration Court to increase the basic wage in New South Wales, the justification for the increase being the dividends recently declared by operating companies.

As the New South Wales electorate rejected Mr. Lang's financial schemes, Mr. Stevens was left to present the State Budget on traditional lines. His speech was made on September 24, and included some welcome tax reduction and concessions to primary producers. The revenue was 45,317,000?., and the expenditure 47,067,000l. The deficit of 1,750,000l. was the lowest for seven years, and less than the State's contribution to the sinking fund. Indeed, when the sinking fund liability was taken into consideration, the State accounts showed a balance of 250,000l. on the right side. During a Budget debate on October 24 Mr. Lang made a bitter attack upon Mr. Stevens's financial policy, accusing the Premier of having diverted 14,000,000l. out of the 23,000,000L raised from the unemployed relief tax, to other channels. If the money had been properly expended, a Budget deficit of 6,500,000l. would have been shown. Had Mr. Stevens taken a true statement of the State accounts to the Loan Council, it would have been rejected, "so he deliberately manipulated the figures and wrongly applied 4,800,000l. of the unemployment relief tax, thus reducing his deficit apparently to 1,700,000l."

Victoria also had a State General Election in 1935, the result being defeat for the Argyle Ministry, and victory for Mr. A. A. Dunstan's Country Party. In the State Legislature Sir Stanley Argyle was defeated on a no confidence motion by 40 votes to 23, following upon a secret ballot of the Victorian Country Party, which withdrew its three representatives from Sir Stanley's Ministry. Mr. Dunstan was able to take office because his Ministry included two former Labour Ministers, Mr. Hogan, an ex-Premier of Victoria, and Mr. Bailey, who had been Mr. Hogan's Minister of Lands. Mr. Hogan became Minister of Agriculture and Minister of Lands in Mr. Dunstan's administration. The State Budget was introduced on July 30, when Mr. Dunstan announced a deficit of 170,000l. for 1934-35, and an estimated deficit of 435,000l. for 1935-36. Both were less than the deficits agreed upon with the Loan Council and less than the payment to the debt sinking fund. The Budget included extensive salary and pension restorations to Victorian Civil servants.

Queensland also had a General Election during the year. Voting on May 11 gave Mr. Forgan Smith's Labour administration a sweeping victory. He was supported by 46 members in a House of 62, compared with the majority of 33 which Mr. Forgan Smith enjoyed in the previous Parliament. Mr. Forgan Smith was opposed by the Country-National Party, and the Deputy Leader of the Opposition, Mr. R. M. Kang, was among the Country-Nationalists who lost their seats. The Queensland

Parliament opened on August 26. The Governor's speech announced legislation to assist recovery from the drought and loans for works costing 4,000,000l., including a Brisbane bridge joining the Valley and Kangaroo Point, and the beginning of flood prevention works at the head of the Brisbane River. To commemorate the twenty-fifth year of Queensland University, the Government gave 500,000l. for new buildings at St. Lucia, as the existing site was insufficient.

The Budget statement in South Australia was made by the Premier, Mr. Butler, on October 16. It showed a real surplus for the first time since the opening of the World War. The revenue was 11,218,00, compared with an estimated revenue of 10,556,000l. A drought in the northern cattle country, which had lasted for ten years, broke in the Autumn of 1935, and pastoralists are now looking forward to good seasons. Mr. Collier made his Budget speech in Western Australia, disclosing a revenue of 9,406,000l. and a deficit of 256,000l. The cuts in Civil servant salaries and wages, which were made in 1931, were restored. The petition which the State forwarded to the Imperial Parliament to enable Western Australia to withdraw from the Commonwealth (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 144) was judged not to be in order, and this decision of the joint Committee of Lords and Commons was announced on May 25. Mr. Collier, on hearing the decision, stated that the agitation upon the secession issue would continue until the State received a measure of justice from the Federal Parliament. Public agitation in Western Australia was relaxed after a visit which Dr. Page, then Acting Prime Minister, paid to Perth in June. Dr. Page announced that, in order to give fuller expression to the ideal of federation, he favoured the establishment of Councils representing all the Australian Governments, to promote marketing, transport and other activities common to the States on a uniform national basis.

Mr. Paterson, the Commonwealth Minister of the Interior, and a number of members of the Federal Parliament, spent three weeks in Central Australia, investigating pastoral and mining development. Aerial surveys were also conducted by Mr. Donald Mackay, following upon similar aerial surveys in 1930 and 1933. The area surveyed in 1935 was to the north of the East-West railway, as far as the Petermann Ranges. Lastly, Mr. Dyott organised an expedition to explore Central New Guinea, with the help of the Commonwealth Government and the Royal Geographical Society.

No record of 1935 would be complete without reference to the growth of trade between Australia and Japan, and the increasing understanding between the two nations which the growing inter-communication fostered. Following upon Sir John Latham's visit to Japan (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 142), a Japanese goodwill envoy, in the person of Mr. Katsuji Debuchi, visited Sydney and

Melbourne in September. The speeches made by Mr. Debuchi, Senator Sir George Pearce, and Sir John Latham during the visit were of happy augury for the future of Austral-Japanese friendship.

NEW ZEALAND.

For the first time in its political history New Zealand entrusted its fortunes to a Labour Ministry. The General Election was held on November 27, and, somewhat unexpectedly, resulted in the defeat of the National Government. This was a coalition, due to the fusion of the Reform and the United Parties during the crisis of 1931. The defeat of the Forbes-Coates coalition was partly due to the intervention of the newly-formed Democratic Party, but it also suggested that New Zealand voters had declared against the conservatism which has been the basis of Dominion political rule for the past quarter of a century. Mr. Joseph Savage, the new Prime Minister, speaking after the poll, said : " We, the Labour Party, intend to begin where the late Richard John Seddon and his colleagues left off. There was a time when New Zealand led the world in its social legislation. It seems to me that, at last, New Zealand has an opportunity of giving effect to the principles that have been dear to most of us during the greater part of our lifetime."

The low prices ruling for meat, butter and other primary products, however, cannot have been without influence upon the voters, when they decided to dismiss the Forbes-Coates Government and vote Labour. During 1934-35 exports, in New Zealand currency, aggregated 42,953,000l., while imports totalled 34,301,000l., showing a favourable trade balance of about 8,652,000l. This meant a decline of 13,733,000l. in comparison with 1933-34. New Zealand was able to meet her external obligations with a balance of 3,037,000l., as compared with a balance of 16,423,000l. the year before, but the difference meant much to the New Zealand public, and left them ready to consider Labour's promises favourably. Mr. Forbes was well aware of the dangers arising from export depression, and worked hard for a settlement of the meat quota, which was troubling New Zealand farmers even more than Australian producers. Addressing the New Zealand people before he left for London to attend the Jubilee festivities, Mr. Forbes said that no one in New Zealand would question the equity of the British producer's claim to the first place in the British market, but he added that " New Zealand has always received just and indeed generous treatment, and I am confident that we may expect the same generous recognition of our difficulties connected with the sale of our produce."

Both Mr. Forbes and Mr. Coates expressed satisfaction with the meat settlement when they arrived back in Wellington in

August. In Mr. Coates's judgment it was most gratifying that New Zealand had obtained exemption from the levy on mutton and lamb, New Zealand's chief meat exports. The quantities of beef exports agreed upon up to the end of 1935 were adequate for New Zealand, and she was also in a fair way to securing the right of absolute freedom to change from frozen to chilled meat. As for butter, New Zealand's exports would remain free until the end of 1936, unless Continental suppliers having agreements waived their right to a maximum duty of 15s. Mr. Forbes, speaking on August 19, said that he was confident that New Zealand had nothing to fear from the treatment to be expected from the British Government, when the present agreements expired.

The first meeting of the New Zealand Parliament was on February 13, before Mr. Forbes and Mr. Coates left for London. The chief business was concerned with the provision of cheap capital for landowners through a mortgage corporation and the financial rehabilitation of farmers. The Mortgage Bill was introduced on February 13, and the Rural Mortgagors Final Adjustment Bill on March 12. The first act established a mortgage corporation in accordance with the recommendation of the Dairy Commission in October, 1934, which suggested that a national mortgage corporation should be set up to provide farmers with long-term credit at the lowest possible rates. The Bill provided for the establishment of the Mortgage Corporation of New Zealand, indissoluble except by Act of Parliament, with a capital of 1,000,000l., half of which was taken up by the Minister of Finance on behalf of the Crown. The remaining 500,000l. was to be offered for public subscription. The Corporation was permitted to issue bonds, stocks and other securities, not guaranteed by the State, the total amount not to exceed fifteen times the paid-up capital and reserves of the Corporation, and to be secured by first mortgage of land in New Zealand. With certain exceptions, the Corporation was not permitted to lend in excess of two-thirds of the value of the security. The trading banks, insurance offices, and certain building and investment societies, expressed doubt regarding the desirability of a semi-State mortgage corporation, but the Bill was passed by a majority of 12 in the House of Representatives. The Rural Mortgagors Bill enabled adjustments to be made in the liabilities of protected farmer mortgagors, and thus made it possible for them to remain on their farms as efficient producers. Labour opposed the Bill on the ground that the State lending departments were being transferred to semi-State corporation control. The House of Representatives passed the Bill on March 28, and it was sharply criticised in the Legislative Council, but after conferences between Managers for the two Houses, became law. A British Nationality and Status of Aliens Amendment Act was also passed, providing that a woman

should continue a British subject, if on her marriage she did not acquire the nationality of her husband.

The second meeting of the New Zealand Parliament, which preceded the dissolution, was opened by Lord Galway on August 29, following upon the return of Mr. Forbes and Mr. Coates from England. Lord Galway succeeded Lord Bledisloe as Governor-General, and arrived in New Zealand on April 12, when he and Lady Galway received a very cordial public welcome. In returning thanks, Lord Galway conveyed a message of goodwill from King George and Queen Mary, and the assurance of their Majesties' unabated interest in New Zealand. In his speech from the Throne on August 29, Lord Galway referred to the situation at Geneva and stated that "in the opinion of his advisers, the United Kingdom Government should receive the full and unqualified support of the Government and people of New Zealand in their efforts to preserve the peace in the interests of mankind." Lord Galway added that Ministers were also considering legislation in connexion with unemployment, housing, health insurance, and national superannuation schemes, and the extension of suitable public works, as the necessary money was now available at low interest rates.

The Dominion Budget was introduced by Mr. Coates on September 17, when the Finance Minister announced a surplus of 1,626,000/., with revenue at 26,126,000/., and expenditure at 24,500,000/.. The revenue was nearly 1,900,000/. above the estimates, and included a "windfall" item, in the shape of profits from the sale of gold by the Reserve Bank, which brought in 1,360,000/. As this money was a non-recurring receipt, it could not be used for tax reduction but served to reduce the accumulated deficits of previous years. Mr. Coates explained that the Budget enabled the Government to restore cuts in Civil servants' pay and the reductions made in old-age pensions during the economic crisis of 1931. Though there could be no general reduction in taxation, the special unemployment tax was reduced by twopence, to eightpence in the pound. Lastly, a public works programme was announced, entailing the expenditure of 5,630,000/. and primarily designed to relieve unemployment and hasten trade recovery. Mr. Coates congratulated the Dominion in achieving Budget stability without a legacy of accumulated floating debt. It had been announced on May 31 that all New Zealand Treasury bills had been paid off, with the result that the Dominions public debt had decreased during the year by more than 20,000,000/..

On October 23 the House of Representatives passed all stages of the measure empowering the New Zealand Government to apply sanctions against Italy, under the Covenant of the League of Nations. It was explained that, though Labour had been consulted, the Party was not committed to any specific course of action in the matter. Explaining the Government's attitude on

September 19, Mr. Forbes said that they felt that the League of Nations was the hope of the future, and its testing time had come. "New Zealand was not going to shirk her obligations." Mr. Forbes added that, in his opinion, the whole world was indebted to Great Britain for her patience in trying to avoid the clash between Italy and Abyssinia.

Meanwhile, preparations for the polling on November 27 were proceeding. Trouble for the Forbes-Coates coalition was foreshadowed in a scathing attack by Sir Alexander Herdman, who had recently retired from the Supreme Court Bench. Though equally opposed to the Labour Party, Sir Alexander Herdman denounced the "adulterated Socialism" of the National Government, adding that "if the present Government be firmly established in office for another term and continues its dangerous practices, it may mean that for another four years you will have to endure waste, extravagance, and burdensome taxation, and that for another four years there may be a continuance of arbitrary interference with your lawful rights and another four years of mischief." Sir Alexander, who had been a member of the Massey Cabinet during the war, made his statement at Auckland on August 2. Another opponent of the Government, Mr. Hislop, Mayor of Wellington, addressed a big meeting at Auckland on October 1, as leader of the New Democrat Party. This occupied a position midway between that of the National Government and that of Labour. Mr. Hislop's policy included the reform of the Dominion Legislature, by reducing the number of members and combining the elective with the appointment system for the Legislative Council. A development loan fund of 8,000,000l., for the relief of unemployment, the abolition of the existing high exchange and a general reduction of taxation, were other items in the policy of Mr. Hislop's New Democrat Party.

At the nominations on November 12, 246 candidates were put up for the 76 European constituencies, 71 being Nationalists, 71 Labour members, 50 Democrats, while there were 30 Independents and 24 representatives of smaller parties. This division of votes necessarily made the result of the election uncertain. The Forbes-Coates coalition asked for support on account of its work of rehabilitation since the economic crisis of 1931, while Labour relied upon promises of employment for all able-bodied workers, and guaranteed agricultural prices. In the event, the balancing of bygone Budgets proved less potent as an electioneering cry than the optimistic promises of Labour, or the somewhat doctrinaire programme of the Democrats.

The success of Labour at the polls was followed by some decline of New Zealand credit on the London Stock Exchange, but the moderate pronouncements of Mr. Savage, the Labour leader, quickly reassured overseas investors. The chief fear was that dangerous inflation of currency might be attempted. The

Labour programme included the control of public credit and the establishment of a national credit authority, whose duty it would be to provide a money service sufficient to give effect to the will of Parliament. Mr. Savage, however, explained after the election that he did not see any reason to interfere with the trading banks. Labour's credit policy would be made effective through the Reserve Bank. Indeed, when Mr. Forbes and Mr. Coates accepted the verdict of the voters quietly, New Zealanders and people having business associations with the Dominion speedily saw the wisdom of co-operating with the new Cabinet. This was announced on November 29, the principal appointments being as follows :—

Mr. JOSEPH SAVAGE	-	-	Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs.
Mr. W. NASH	-		Minister of Finance and Customs.
Mr. W. L. MARTIN	-	-	Minister of Agriculture.
Mr. H. G. R. MASON	-	-	Attorney-General.
Mr. R. SEMPLE	-	-	Minister of Public Works.
Mr. P. FRASER	-	-	Minister of Education.
Mr. D. G. SULLIVAN	-	-	Minister of Railways and Commerce.
Mr. W. H. T. ARMSTRONG	-	-	Ministry of Labour.
Mr. F. JONES	-		Postmaster-General and Minister of Defence.
Mr. F. LANGSTONE	-	-	Minister for Lands.

At the same time, it was announced that Mr. William Jordan, who had been a policeman in London in earlier years, would succeed Sir James Parr as High Commissioner in London. Mr. Jordan resigned from the Metropolitan police in 1904, when he went to New Zealand. After serving in the World War, he became a member of Parliament in 1922. Mr. Jordan will take up his office when Sir James Parr retires at the end of 1936. Mr. Forbes became Leader of the New Zealand Opposition, with Mr. Coates as Deputy Leader. Mr. Savage, the new Prime Minister, is an Australian by birth, and came to New Zealand about thirty years ago. He entered the New Zealand Parliament in 1919, and succeeded Mr. Holland as Leader of the Opposition. He soon showed himself a painstaking politician, of generous sympathies and quiet judgment. After his appointment as Prime Minister, Mr. Savage called a meeting of the executive heads of State Departments, and asked their co-operation in the work of monetary and economic reorganisation which the Government had in mind. He said : " We are living in an age of change, and we must make changes with the least possible disturbance. They could build in New Zealand, but they also had to march with the British Commonwealth. The Labour Party had no desire to sever New Zealand's connexion with the people of the British Commonwealth, even if they could." The most definite departure from traditional usage made by the new Cabinet was the decision of the new Ministers that they would not wear silk hats and morning

dress when visiting Government House, to take over their portfolios. In the make-up of the Cabinet, Left and Right wing elements were skilfully blended, Mr. Savage being careful to select Mr. Nash, whose reputation was that of a cautious and moderate reformer, for the all-important office of Finance Minister. The choice of Mr. Nash was clearly due to a desire to reassure public opinion and establish a sense of confidence. Mr. Nash has stated that his Government desires to insulate New Zealand from outside forces and protect it as far as possible from overseas economic and financial influences. Other financial plans are the guaranteeing of economic prices to farmers and other primary producers. In connexion with inter-Empire migration, Mr. Savage stated that New Zealand wants people, but the Labour Party does not intend that they should become a charge upon the Unemployment Fund. A letter upon British migration to New Zealand, written by Lord Bledisloe, who had sailed for England on March 15, to the regret of all New Zealanders, was published in New Zealand early in September, and aroused much comment.

The competition which shipping companies trading with New Zealand suffered owing to subsidised shipping was also frequently discussed during the year. On April 1, Mr. Fraser, Deputy Leader of the Labour Party, introduced a Bill in the House of Representatives, prohibiting the carriage of passengers and goods between New Zealand, Australian, and Fiji ports, unless New Zealand rates of wages were paid. The Bill was not proceeded with, but it called attention to the fact that New Zealand believed British ships were being forced out of business by unfair competition. Negotiations continued throughout the year, but without reaching a definite conclusion, though there were several threats that legislative action might be necessary to meet the unfair American competition. On December 14 it was announced that the P. & O. Company had decided to discontinue its steamship service between San Francisco, New Zealand, and Australia. Questioned on the matter, Mr. Savage intimated that it might be necessary to give preference to British lines, in order to maintain a decent standard of living and conditions for New Zealand seamen. On November 23 an agreement was made between the New Zealand Government and Pan-American Airways for an air service between San Francisco and Auckland, beginning at the end of 1936, the minimum being two return trips a month, and the maximum two return trips a week. Pan-American Airways have an extensive system of passenger, mail, and freight services on the American coasts, so the extension of their services across the South Pacific was a natural development.

A happy episode in the social history of New Zealand was the visit of Lord Nuffield in March, and his gift of 50,000l. to help the crippled children of the Dominion. The announcement was made at a public dinner in Wellington on March 4. The Silver Jubilee

festivities in New Zealand took place on May 6, when military reviews were held and a chain of bonfires were lighted throughout the Dominion. The visit of the Duke of Gloucester, following upon his Australian tour, was warmly welcomed by New Zealanders.

CHAPTER V.

INDIA.

THE last full year of Lord Willingdon's Viceroyalty was marked by internal quiet and adjustments to the event 6,000 miles from the shores of India which will make 1935 for ever memorable in her history. The giving of the Royal Assent on August 2 to the Government of India Act was the climax of eight years of intensive labour in Constitution-making. Some happenings in India had no small influence on the sharp controversies in Parliament. Notably the Conservative critics of the measure, led by Mr. Churchill, argued that the conclusions of a conference of Princes and Ministers at Bombay on February 25 were tantamount to rejection of the Federal plan. Though the proceedings were confidential, reports of several speeches were telegraphed in full to the *Morning Post*. They showed strong support of the Resolution declaring that "without satisfactory modifications and alterations to fundamental points" the Bill and the draft Instruments of Accession would not be acceptable to the States.

H.M. Government gave full consideration to the detailed objections, and they were discussed by the India Office with distinguished counsel—Mr. W. T. Monckton (for the premier State, Hyderabad), and Mr. (now Justice) Wilfred Greene and Mr. W. Lennox MacNair for the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the Maharaja of Patiala. The Maharaja circulated the opinion of counsel that the amendments moved by the Government had adequately met the points of criticism, in so far as they could be met without destroying the essentials of Federation.

On the passing of the Act the work of preparation in India for the new order of government was quickened. On September 26 Sir Laurie Hammond, ex-Governor of Assam, arrived in Bombay to preside over a Committee to make recommendations for delimitation of the constituencies in all the Legislatures, and with instructions to pay a visit to Burma to advise on the problems of delimitation and cognate matters under the separate Constitution of that Province. At the end of October Sir Henry Wheeler went out as Chairman of a Committee to examine and advise upon the Constitution and procedure of the Government of India's secretariat under the changing conditions. On November 1, after a short study in London of the Cabinet secretariat system, Mr. (now Sir) Eric Mievile, the Viceroy's Private

Secretary, was made Secretary of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, in pursuance of the policy of approximation under the forthcoming conditions to the British Cabinet arrangements.

In September the announcement was made that Sir Otto Niemeyer, a financier of international standing and experience, would conduct the financial inquiry necessary before provincial autonomy can be established. The budgetary position of the Central and Provincial Governments, and certain aspects of the allocation of financial resources between the Centre and the Provinces will be examined. Happily the task has been somewhat lightened by what the Viceroy described on December 16 at Calcutta as the gradual movement during the year towards economic recovery. The improvement was reflected in Sir James Grigg's first Budget. Substantial realised and estimated surpluses enabled him to make a series of income-tax concessions, to remove the export duty on raw skins, to reduce the duty on silver from 5 annas to 2 annas per ounce, and to make grants of Rs. 100 lakhs (750,000l.) for rural economic development, Rs. 40 lakhs to the road development fund, Rs. 25 lakhs for road building on the Frontier, and Rs. 20 lakhs for the extension of broadcasting. India's mercantile trade showed substantial recovery.

In the spring the Reserve Bank of India with Sir Osborne Smith as Governor, came into existence and took over the responsibility for the management of the currency and exchange and for making the sterling remittances of the Government of India. The gold standard reserve and paper currency reserve were transferred to the Bank in whose custody they now form part of the cover for the note issue. From July 1 when the "scheduled banks" were required to make their deposits, the Reserve Bank became a central bank in the full meaning of the term, and on July 4 declared its Bank rate for the first time.

No small part of the preparations for the new Constitution related to the separation of Burma from British India and the grant to her of autonomy subject to safeguards. On August 30 it was announced that the Governments of India and Burma had reached agreement on trade and immigration arrangements between the two countries in the period immediately following separation. The *status quo* will be maintained for the tariff then in operation in respect to goods imported into either country from abroad. The interchange of commodities between Burma and India will in effect continue to be free of duty. No restrictions other than those now applied will be imposed on the entry of Indians into Burma. The arrangements are to remain in force for three years from the date of separation, and if not then terminated will continue, subject to determination on twelve months' notice on either side; they will be given effect to by Order in Council after approval by Parliament.

All these preparations showed the fixity of purpose of H.M. Government in pursuing the policy of provincial autonomy, all-India Federation, and responsibility with safeguards. It was further emphasised by the announcement in August, less than a week after the Act received the Royal Assent, of the appointment of Lord Linlithgow to succeed to the Viceroyalty in April, 1936. His Chairmanship of the Joint Committee on Indian Reforms (*see* ANNUAL REGISTERS, 1933 and 1934), and his close association with the Parliamentary discussions on the resulting Bill were generally conceded in India as qualifying him peculiarly for the task of bringing the new Act into operation.

The end of the Parliamentary battle was accompanied by some political transition in India. It was tacitly recognised by the Nationalist Press that with the passing of the Bill, continuation of the denunciations in general terms of the Reforms would be merely futile. The change in tone was manifest at the annual session of the Indian Liberal Federation at Nagpur in the closing days of the year. While expressing regret at the refusal of the Imperial Parliament to accept suggestions for the improvement of the Constitution from the Indian point of view, the Federation considered " anything like a boycott of the new Constitution to be futile and impossible," and urged that Nationalists of all parties should act together so as to secure their return to the Legislatures to extract from it whatever it can yield, and to accelerate further constitutional reform.

Such candour was not to be expected from the Congress Party, the local organisations of which in almost every Province notably in the United Provinces and Bengal, continued to break up into rival cliques and factions. Everywhere the failure of the Congress to make up its mind on its attitude toward the Communal Award, and its similar failure in respect of the vitally important question of acceptance of office under the new Constitution caused disillusion and bewilderment among the rank and file. Mr. Gandhi applied himself mainly to a campaign for village improvement. The Congress Socialist group seemed to gain in strength and influence, but its advance was looked upon with misgiving by the bourgeois elements from which in the past Congress had obtained much practical support. The celebrations of the golden jubilee of the first session of the Indian National Congress at Bombay on December 28, 1885, were lacking in enthusiasm. The depressed classes continued to be little responsive to Mr. Gandhi's efforts to bring them to his standard. At a conference on October 13 their principal leader, Dr. Ambedkar, announced that on account of Hinduism being based on inequality, he had decided to leave the Hindu fold, and he advised his fellow-sufferers to do the same.

In the Legislative Assembly, thanks to organisation and rigid discipline, and supported on many occasions by Mr. Jinnah's Independent group, which held the balance of voting power, the

Congress Party was able to defeat the Government with monotonous frequency, and its boycott of Viceregal and other governmental **social** functions was continued. By reason of such adverse votes, the Governor-General found it necessary to certify the Finance Bill in April, and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill in September. The latter measure keeps alive some important provisions of an Act passed in 1932 to counter the civil disobedience movement, in order to check and prevent certain forms of intimidation and associations dangerous to the public peace and to curb press encouragement of sedition.

In forwarding the papers to the Secretary of State (Lord Zetland) to lay before Parliament (Cmd. 5011), the Viceroy pointed out that the Congress Party had made it clear that though civil disobedience was in abeyance, the leaders had not abandoned the principle, and held themselves free to revive it when this might suit their purpose. The position in regard to terrorism in Bengal had improved very appreciably since 1932, but the Governor, Sir John Anderson, had on more than one recent occasion impressed on the public that the terrorist virus was still active and that the movement was still receiving a steady flow of new recruits. The number of detenus on July 12 was 2,515. It may here be noted that Sir John has undertaken, with results already promising, ameliorative measures whereby carefully selected detenus are being given at the public cost a training designed to enable them to assist in developing the neglected material resources of Bengal both to their own profit and to the advantage of the Province.

Lord Willingdon's despatch also referred to the danger of communal feeling which in the Punjab was "more tense than officers with long experience of that Province have ever known." There had been during the year serious communal riots in places as far apart as Karachi and Secunderabad, and also in the Agra, Champaran, and Rajshahi districts. The Karachi outbreak, on March 19, followed the execution of a Moslem who had killed in the Court of the Judicial Commissioner of Sind a young Brahman charged with writing insultingly of the Prophet Mahomed. Many thousands of Moslems carrying in angry procession the corpse of this *shahid* (witness for the faith) were barred from entering the city by the police supported by a platoon of the Royal Sussex Regiment. The mob was not stopped till nearly fifty rounds had been fired when 29 members of the crowd were killed and about 100 injured.

A communal fire lit at Lahore in the summer was still breaking into occasional fresh gusts at the end of the year. On July 8 a violent dispute between Moslems and Sikhs over the demolition by the latter on their own property of the old unused Shadigunj mosque led to the streets being patrolled by British troops in armoured cars. The trouble continued, and on July 19 the **Royal** Scots had to fire on rioters, ten of whom were killed and seventy-four wounded. Later a decision on the part of some

extreme Moslem leaders to engage in a civil disobedience campaign led to the arrest and deportation of six of them. In a further outbreak early in December three persons were killed and twenty-five seriously injured. The local Government found it necessary to prohibit for a prescribed period the carrying by Sikhs of *kirpans* (daggers), one of the five symbols of their faith. In consequence, in the closing days of the year certain sections of Sikhs decided to enter upon a campaign of civil disobedience.

Northern India was also the stage of a calamity beyond the wit of man to arrest or control. For the second year in succession it suffered from a disastrous earthquake, one of the greatest indeed which has afflicted India within historic times. Soon after 3 a.m. on May 31 some 20,000 people were buried in the ruins of their homes in the city of Quetta, the capital of Baluchistan and the Aldershot of India ; 10,000 other people were killed by the havoc wrought by the earthquake in the surrounding districts. The city and the civil and railway areas were totally destroyed, while in the cantonment area the R.A.F. barracks collapsed and all remaining buildings were either destroyed or rendered uninhabitable. The zone of the earthquake was about 130 miles long and 15 to 20 miles broad, and within that area, towns such as Mustang and Kalat and many villages suffered complete or partial destruction. As a result of the providential escape of the greater part of the Quetta cantonment, 12,000 disciplined troops, British and Indian, were on duty in an incredibly short time, and under Major-General (now Sir) Henry Karslake did magnificent rescue work with the assistance of the ladies of the station and the few male civilian officers who survived. Many of the 20,000 destitute refugees were seriously injured, and prompt rescue saved great further loss of life. The work of relief, for which large sums were raised by the Viceroy, was accompanied by the investigations of a Reconstruction Committee. At the close of the year Government accepted the recommendation to rebuild Quetta as far as possible on the old site. The share of the cost to be met from public funds amounts to 6,000,000l. Earthquake-resisting buildings are to be provided for all permanent servants of Government, and private buildings must conform to the same precautions.

To the north-east of Baluchistan anxieties of a different order came in the autumn. It was found necessary in September to impose terms on Upper Mohmand tribesmen who, under the evil influence of the Haji of Turangzai and his sons, had frequently raided the Peshawar district, attacked friendly tribes and in breach of agreement hampered the construction of a road to the head of the Gandab Valley. A force of some 15,000 men under Brigadier-General C. J. E. Auchinleck, after operations in difficult country which were among the most notable achievements of the Indian Army in recent times, crossed the Nahakki Pass into the plain of Kamalai on September 18. There had been little more than

hampering guerilla opposition, but early on the morning of September 29 a surprise attack was made by a strong *lashkar* of Afghan Mohmands of the Nowshera brigade, who were carrying out a reconnaissance westward of the Nahakki Pass. Two British officers and some 27 other ranks were killed. The leader, Captain Godfrey Meynell, M.C., five times wounded and dying with the words "Be brave" upon his lips, was posthumously awarded the V.C., the fifth to be won since the Great War. Heavy casualties were inflicted on the enemy, and the action was quickly followed by the arrival of a full *jirga* of all sections of the Upper Mohmands to sue for peace. The Gandab road was carried through the Nahakki Pass and severe terms were exacted from the tribesmen.

It may here be noted that early in December Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode completed his five years' notable term as Commander-in-Chief, and was succeeded by General Sir Robert Cassels, lately G.O.C.-in-Chief, Northern Command.

The celebrations in May of the Silver Jubilee of King George, alike in British India and the States, demonstrated the affection and esteem he had inspired in a many-millioned people, and the general recognition of the constant and far-sighted interest he had always taken in the welfare and prosperity of the country. In honour of the event a jungle tribe in East Kandesh, Bombay Presidency, swore to forsake wife beating for a period of six months.

Early in January a Trade Agreement between the United Kingdom Government and the Government of India was signed in London. It supplemented the main Ottawa Agreement by laying down the preferential principles to be followed in fixing the Indian protective duties on United Kingdom goods, and recorded certain assurances by H.M. Government in return, including efforts to promote the use of Indian raw cotton in this country. This treaty was the basis of the announcement made on September 10 of the appointment of a special Tariff Board under the Chairmanship of Sir Alexander Murray, a prominent business man with large Indian experience, to inquire into certain questions connected with the protection to be afforded to the Indian cotton textile industry against imports from the United Kingdom. The main duty of the Board, which assembled in the early autumn, was to decide what protection was necessary to equate the prices of textile goods imported from the United Kingdom to a fair selling price for similar goods produced in India. Full opportunity was given to the industry, whether Indian or British, to present their case and Lancashire sent a delegation to do so.

Measures of public amelioration and advance were steadily pursued. The passing of a Mines (Amendment) Act reduced the hours of labour, gave further protection to children and effected a number of other reforms. A Bureau of Industrial Intelligence and Research was constituted, and the Advisory Council held its

first meeting at Simla. A Central Advisory Board of Education was set up to meet the need for co-ordinated effort as between the Central Government and the Provinces.

In the Indian States, apart from the preparations to celebrate the Diamond Jubilee of the accession of the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, and the development of broadcasting in Hyderabad, the year was uneventful. At the end of September it was announced that the Government of India would continue to administer the State of Alwar for another fifteen years, and that it was unlikely the Maharaja would be permitted to return during that period.

In the international field, Indian sympathy was strongly on the side of Abyssinia. Without hesitation India joined her fellow-members of the League of Nations in imposing sanctions, financial and economic, against Italy. Lord Willingdon stated on December 16 that his Government viewed with regret the severance of trade relations—so mutually advantageous in the past—between India and Italy, but they felt that the maintenance of the principles of the Covenant of the League must outweigh more material considerations of profit and loss.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

As early as the first week of 1935 Mr. Anthony Eden made a statement which, in the light of subsequent events, may justly be regarded as prophetic : " 1935," he declared, " will be the most challenging year in post-war history. It will show whether we can make the League—the collective system—effective, or whether nations are determined to pursue a selfish course."

At the time when these words were uttered, it would have been humanly impossible to realise their full significance. If the coming months seemed destined to prove momentous in the organisation of peace, the reason was to be found in the sudden rise of the League's stock at the close of 1934. Standing on the threshold of its sixteenth year, the League of Nations was able to face the future in a spirit of unusual confidence. Rarely, indeed, had a year opened more auspiciously at Geneva. Two major political disputes—the Saar controversy and the Yugoslav-Hungarian crisis—were well on the way to peaceful settlement. The Italo-Ethiopian dispute was as yet a small and hardly noticeable cloud on the international horizon. With the successful completion of the tasks in hand, there were grounds for hoping that the League would be able to leave behind it all the stagnation and wasted effort of the previous three or four years.

Thanks largely to the precautions taken by the League Council, the Saar plebiscite on January 13 passed off peacefully. The Council wisely arranged to be in session during the critical period of the voting, although in point of fact no occasion arose for drastic intervention on its part. When the population of the Saar had decided by an overwhelming majority in favour of union with Germany, unanimous agreement was reached at Geneva upon the transfer of the whole territory. A special Committee was instructed to take the necessary steps with a view to the change of administration being completed by March 1.

After the expected settlement had been reached between Yugoslavia and Hungary, the Committee of Experts appointed by the Council set to work to prepare an international convention for the repression of terrorist outrages.

Italy and Abyssinia.—All other League activities during 1935 were overshadowed by the dispute between Italy and Abyssinia. Nevertheless, it attracted comparatively little attention during the early months of the year, and not until the autumn was a climax reached in this open and avowed challenge to the whole principle on which the League rested.

Following the clash between Italian colonial troops and a band of Ethiopians at Wal-wal, a series of Notes and telegrams had been submitted to the League, and on January 3 Abyssinia cited Article 11 of the Covenant. Secret negotiations were conducted at the January session of the Council, as a result of which Abyssinia agreed to suspend her appeal and to undertake direct negotiations with Italy.

In the weeks which elapsed, the incompatibility of Italy's demand for reparations with Abyssinia's refusal to concur without full investigation of the circumstances frustrated the negotiations. No substantial change in the situation had occurred by March. Whilst Abyssinia still urged that the Wal-wal incident and the larger boundary question should alike be submitted to arbitration, Italy stubbornly resisted all such proposals.

On March 17 the Ethiopian Government made a double appeal to the League under Articles 15 and 10 of the Covenant, alleging that Italy was evading the procedure laid down in the 1928 Treaty between the two countries, and that the despatch of troops and war material to the Italian colonies in Africa was creating the danger of a rupture. Not until May, however, did the Council give serious consideration to the dispute. With the report of fresh frontier incidents, matters had then taken an ominous turn.

In face of stubborn objection by Italy to League intervention, the Council had the greatest difficulty in securing any measure of agreement. But for the determination shown by Mr. Anthony Eden, the British representative, the meeting would probably have ended in deadlock. Two resolutions were at last adopted soon after midnight on May 25. Italy, for the first time, virtually admitted the League's competence to intervene. Both parties agreed to entrust the settlement of the various incidents to arbitrators appointed in accordance with the Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of 1928. Failing a settlement by August 25 at the latest, the Council should meet again to decide what further action should be taken. On the other hand, no check was imposed upon military preparations.

The Conciliation Commission, after a preliminary meeting at Milan on June 6, decided to begin work in earnest on neutral territory (the Netherlands) on June 25. Before the latter date, Abyssinia protested to the League that "the situation has gone from bad to worse," and added: "An aggression upon the independence and integrity of Ethiopia seems imminent." Attempts

by the British and French Ambassadors at Rome to initiate negotiations under the Tripartite Agreement of 1906 failed. On July 7 Signor Mussolini declared : " Our decision is irrevocable. There can be no turning back. Government and nation are now engaged in a conflict which we have decided to carry on to the bitter end."

Long before the next Council meeting, in August, it was apparent that the conciliation procedure had broken down. Private conversations dominated the Geneva proceedings, but they totally failed to produce any real result. Every fresh proposal by the Council members was resisted by Baron Aloisi, the Italian delegate, who, moreover, insisted that Abyssinia should be excluded from the negotiations. It was arranged that further discussions should take place between Mr. Eden, M. Laval, and Baron Aloisi, but their conference was abandoned after only three days.

The Council had decided to meet in any event, on September 4 to go into the general question of Italo-Ethiopian relations. Popular interest, however, was concentrated on the annual Assembly of the League, which was due to open five days later. Record crowds of visitors flocked to Geneva, so that the Press and public galleries were filled to capacity. Yet there was nothing on the Assembly agenda to indicate that dramatic intervention by the delegates would make the Sixteenth Assembly possibly the most important in the history of the League.

The general debate provided the opportunity to introduce the subject which was uppermost in the minds of everybody. Sir Samuel Hoare opened the proceedings with his celebrated speech of September 11, in which he declared the British Government's intention to uphold the League Covenant. " In conformity with its precise and explicit obligations," said the British Foreign Secretary, " the League stands, and my country stands with it, for the collective maintenance of the Covenant in its entirety, and particularly for steady and collective resistance to all acts of unprovoked aggression."

In contrast to the embarrassing silence which had sometimes fallen upon the Assembly in recent years, the readiness of other speakers to express their views was refreshing. In general, the lead from Great Britain was followed without hesitation. A brief statement by M. Laval to some extent removed doubts regarding the attitude of France. The debate as a whole revealed an impressive unanimity of purpose, and support for the Covenant was publicly voiced by the representatives of Great Britain, the Dominions, France, Russia, the Little Entente, the Balkan and the Baltic nations, and many Latin American States.

Whilst the Assembly settled down—a little reluctantly, perhaps—to the varied tasks of a normal session, other League bodies proceeded with their final efforts to avert the rapidly

approaching danger of bloodshed. At last Italy had consented to present a definite case against Abyssinia. The arbitrators on the Wal-wal incident, including the two Italian members, had also signed a unanimous report, absolving both countries from blame. But Baron Aloisi maintained that, although material proof was lacking, it still remained that Italy was confronted with a pre-meditated attack by armed forces, which was a revelation of Ethiopia's intentions and methods.

The Council set up a Committee of Five, consisting of the representatives of the United Kingdom, France, Spain, Poland and Turkey, which in turn appointed a sub-committee to study the documentary material. A report was ready to be considered by the Council on September 26. It was generally considered that the recommendations of the Committee of Five went to the extreme limit of concession to Italy, so great was the anxiety to prevent war. The League, it was proposed, should appoint a mission of foreign specialists to reform Ethiopian conditions in every department. Italy's special interest in the economic development of Abyssinia was recognised, and Great Britain and France promised to facilitate territorial adjustments.

Faced with the prompt rejection of this scheme by Italy, the Council decided to draft a report under Article 15, paragraph 4, of the Covenant. On October 2 and 3, before the report could be completed, Italian troops advanced on three fronts into Ethiopian territory.

Meeting on October 5, the Council had no difficulty in deciding that Italy was the aggressor. This verdict was endorsed by the Assembly, only Austria, Hungary, and Albania refusing to associate themselves with League action under Article 16 of the Covenant.

Sanctions, with the object of stopping the war, had now become inevitable, and the Assembly resolved itself into a co-ordinating committee. Eventually a smaller Committee of Eighteen, with two sub-Committees, began to draft the necessary measures. By the end of October, four classes of sanctions had been evolved, which may be described briefly as (1) an arms embargo ; (2) financial measures, refusing loans and credits ; (3) refusal to take imports from Italy ; and (4) an embargo on the export of certain key-materials to Italy. There was also a scheme for mutual assistance, to lessen the loss incurred by participating League members. The majority of States in the League were, in fact, applying these sanctions integrally from the date fixed by the League, November 18 ; and Sir Samuel Hoare reported to the House of Commons on December 5 that " I am glad to be able to tell the House that the League machinery is working well, and that the Member-States for the most part are playing their part."

Meanwhile M. Laval, still anxious not to jeopardise the Franco-Italian understanding, had not abandoned hope that a settlement

of the dispute could be achieved through conciliation and compromise. After conversations between him and Sir Samuel Hoare in Paris, details of a " peace plan " leaked out in the French capital, and the official text was published on December 13. The proposal to dismember Abyssinia and surrender a large proportion of her territory to Italy led to so violent an outcry on the part of world opinion that the sponsors of the plan were forced to disown it. After the resignation of Sir Samuel Hoare, the Prime Minister told the House of Commons : " The proposals are absolutely and completely dead. This Government is certainly going to make no attempt to resurrect them." Although there was never more than the remotest chance that the League would consider the " peace plan " an acceptable basis for negotiations, the unfortunate episode caused considerable anxiety at Geneva. However, the elevation of Mr. Anthony Eden to the post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs did much to obliterate the calamitous impression.

Other Political Questions.—According to the " Armaments Year Book," published by the League of Nations, expenditure upon armaments by almost all nations tended to increase. Hence it was not surprising that little headway was made at the International Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments. Such work as was done was of a purely technical nature. Officially, the Conference resumed its activities on February 14, when two of its Committees turned their attention respectively to the problem of the arms traffic and to the draft proposal submitted by the United States delegation. The latter was placed in the hands of drafting sub-Committees. Later in the year, meetings of the technical Committee on national defence expenditure were held.

An appropriate commentary on this unsatisfactory state of affairs was supplied when the annual Assembly of the League, for the second year in succession, decided not to appoint its Third (Disarmament) Committee. It was also significant that, after the death of Mr. Arthur Henderson in October, no successor was appointed to the office of President of the Disarmament Conference.

Shortly before his death, Mr. Henderson had completed a " Preliminary Report on the Work of the Conference," consisting of an introduction and twelve chapters. Surveying the political situation which had hampered the conference from the outset, he wrote : "All these events, creating as they did a general uneasiness, struck at the roots of mutual confidence between nations and troubled the atmosphere of the conference from the very start. The effect was manifest not only in public meetings of the conference, but also during the private negotiations carried out by the President himself in the various capitals or at Geneva."

The promulgation of the military laws of March 16 by the **German** Government had speedy repercussions at Geneva. **In an appeal** to the League, the French Government declared that the

decision to reintroduce conscription in the Reich, to reorganise the German Army, and to create a military air force was a deliberate repudiation of treaty obligations. This accusation was coupled with a request, under Article 11, paragraph 2, of the Covenant, for an extraordinary meeting of the Council to deal with the situation. After a session lasting from April 15 to 17, the Council passed a resolution condemning Germany's action, and setting up a committee to propose what measures might be applied should any State in future endanger peace by unilateral repudiation of its international obligations. Legally justifiable though the Council's action was, it had the effect of still further inflaming German opinion against the League, thus rendering the possibility of Germany's return to Geneva remote.

One unwelcome legacy which the League of Nations inherited from the past was the Chaco dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay. In January the situation was that Bolivia had accepted the solution proposed by the Assembly, while Paraguay had rejected it. The Advisory Committee set up to follow this dispute therefore recommended that Bolivia should be freed from the arms embargo, whilst stricter provisions should be enforced in the case of Paraguay. On February 24 the Secretary-General received formal notice of Paraguay's intention to withdraw from the League. After another meeting of the Advisory Committee, a special session of the Assembly was summoned for May 20. On the eve of the Assembly the two parties, for the first time since the beginning of the dispute, consented to send their Foreign Ministers to a neutral capital (Buenos Aires) to negotiate directly, with the assistance of the Argentine, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Uruguay and the United States of America. As a result of this fresh attempt at mediation, undertaken by the Latin American Powers as agents of the League, an armistice was signed on June 12, hostilities ceased two days later, and demobilisation began immediately. During the discussion of the actual peace terms which followed, the question of the exchange of prisoners caused difficulty.

When the Iraq Government's appeal against Persia (Iran) came before the Council in January, the Italian representative was invited to negotiate with the parties, both of whom undertook to prevent any incidents in connexion with the disputed frontier. By the May session of the Council encouraging progress had been made, and it was subsequently agreed that direct discussions might now serve a useful purpose. In consequence of the advance of these negotiations, it was not necessary for the Council to devote further attention to the dispute at the end of September.

Resuming its handling of the Finnish Government's claim against the Government of the United Kingdom in respect of Finnish vessels used during the Great War, the Council appointed a special committee to report not on the legal issue but on the

question of expediency which had arisen. The conclusion was reached that, whilst the Council had the right to deal with a request of this nature, it could not decide the case without arrogating to itself arbitral powers not conferred upon it by the Covenant. Thereupon the Council decided not to proceed with the Finnish claim.

Similar issues were raised in the Swiss claim to reparation for damage suffered by Swiss nationals during the Great War. Once more, with the aid of a small committee, it was ruled that the Council could not decide the issue without usurping the functions of an arbitrator.

In their efforts to delimit the frontier between Burma and the Chinese Province of Yunnan, the Governments of the United Kingdom and India and the Chinese Government sought help from the President of the League Council. On his advice Colonel Fr6d6ric Iselin, a Swiss engineer with previous experience of frontier demarcation, was made neutral President of the Joint Commission which started work in November.

Arbitration.—The decision of the Argentine Republic on December 28 to adhere to the " Optional Clause " increased to forty-three, the total number of States thus bound in advance mutually to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice in suitable classes of disputes. Twenty-two States remained parties to the General Act for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, covering other forms of disputes outside the scope of the " Optional Clause."

Two sessions of the Permanent Court of International Justice were held in the Peace Palace at The Hague in the course of the year. Both were concerned largely with giving advisory opinions at the request of the League Council.

At the 34th session, which opened on February 1, in accordance with the rules, a case relating to the situation of minority schools in Albania came before the judges. The issue had been raised at Geneva through the medium of petitions on behalf of the minorities. The Council had then decided to consult the Court as to whether the Albanian Government was justified in its plea that the abolition of the minority schools did not conflict with the Minorities Declaration signed in 1921, since its policy of secularising education applied to the majority as well as to the minority. By 8 votes to 3, the Court on April 6 delivered its advisory opinion that the Albanian Government's action was not in conformity with the letter and the spirit of the Minorities Declaration.

The principal case on the list for the 35th session concerned **the** consistency of certain legislative decrees, issued by the Senate of Danzig for amending the penal laws of the Free City, with the guaranteed Constitution. The relevant petitions had been received by the League Council through its High Commissioner at Danzig. **The** Court, by 9 votes to 3, answered that the decrees in question

were not consistent with the Constitution in that they violated certain provisions and certain principles thereof.

On November 23 the Swiss Minister at The Hague filed an application instituting proceedings against the Yugoslav Government under the "Optional Clause." The question to be decided is whether a Government (in this case, the Yugoslav Government) can refuse to be bound by the arbitral clause in a contract concluded with a foreign private firm.

The Council and the Assembly of the League, during September, elected M. Harukasu Nagaoka (Japanese) to fill the vacancy on the bench left by the death of M. Adatci. Other losses were unfortunately sustained by the Court through the resignation of Mr. Frank B. Kellogg (American) and the death of Dr. Schucking (German).

The Sixteenth Assembly.—Fifty-four States-Members of the League were represented at the 16th ordinary session of the Assembly, which met at Geneva from September 9 to 28. Four of the leaders of delegations held the joint offices of Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, whilst twenty more were Foreign Ministers. Dr. Benes of Czechoslovakia was elected President of the Assembly.

It has already been indicated that the conflict between Italy and Abyssinia dominated the 1935 Assembly which, in fact, took the unusual step of adjourning instead of dissolving at the end of three weeks, in order that it might rapidly be called together again in case of emergency. However, the routine work of the League must be done even in time of crisis, and the delegates at Geneva did not neglect their other duties.

But for the distraction of the Ethiopian question, the economic and financial situation would probably have been the principal topic of interest at the Assembly. M. Bonnet (France) made the first appeal for saner economic policies, and Dr. Burgin (Great Britain) later introduced a resolution advocating bilateral agreements for the removal of trade barriers. On the last day of the Assembly, Dr. Benes read a "very important message" from Mr. Cordell Hull, the United States Secretary of State, which declared that "such a consensus of judgment is most dramatic and encouraging."

Mr. Bruce (Australia) opened a constructive discussion on "Nutrition," when he urged that increased consumption of fresh foodstuffs would improve the health of the world. The technical organisations of the League were instructed to study the problem.

The refugee question was raised under three heads. Norway urged the unification and reorganisation of relief work under League auspices, and a small committee was set up to conduct an expert inquiry. Next, the report of the Nansen Office revealed a distressing situation among the million refugees, aggravated by

world-wide unemployment. With regard to the settlement of the Assyrians of Iraq, a practical scheme was at last evolved by the League, involving colonisation of the Ghab area of Syria. Of the estimated cost of 780,000l., Great Britain and Iraq each promised to provide 250,000l., and of the remainder the League was asked to vote 87,000l. The Supervisory Commission recommended that the expense should be spread over four years.

Another aspect of the Refugee question was brought to the fore by the letter of resignation dated December 27, written to the Secretary-General, of the League by Mr. James G. McDonald, High Commissioner for Refugees coming from Germany [see under Public Documents].

Other matters dealt with by the Assembly included nationality of women, the pollution of the sea by oil, mandates, slavery, the League's social and humanitarian activities, the health organisation and public works.

At the election of three non-permanent members of the Council, Poland (declared "re-eligible"), Rumania, and Ecuador secured the vacant seats. The Council now consists of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Russia (permanent members); and Argentine, Australia, Denmark, Poland, Chile, Spain, Turkey, Portugal, Ecuador, and Rumania (non-permanent members).

International Labour Organisation.—With the lifting of the economic depression, conditions for the work of the League's International Labour Organisation became more favourable than for many years past. Political storms left the I.L.O. almost untouched, as witness the decision of Japan to retain membership on her withdrawal from the League in March, 1935. The Italian Government delegate, too, co-operated usefully in the activities of the Organisation at Geneva. Only Germany, who left the League in October, ceased also to be a member of the I.L.O.

Fifty-two States took part in the 19th session of the International Labour Conference, held at Geneva from June 4 to 25 under the presidency of Mr. Creswell, Government delegate of the Union of South Africa. The agenda was exceptionally heavy, and five draft conventions were concluded. Whilst that prohibiting the work of women in underground mines was of comparatively limited scope, the agreement for the maintenance of pension rights for migrant workers affected large numbers of workers in many countries. The revised convention limiting hours of work in coal-mines mainly concerned the seven European countries which produce coal on a large scale. A general convention of principle approved the 40-hour week. Lastly, an important recommendation dealt with the elimination of juvenile unemployment.

A preparatory maritime conference was held at the end of the year, to prepare the way for the drafting of maritime conventions at a future session.

By December 31 the total number of ratifications of International Labour Conventions registered at Geneva was 678—an increase of 42 ratifications in the course of the year.

Mr. Winston Churchill aptly summed up 1935 when he described the League of Nations as being "in action and fighting for its life." The majority of nations rallied to the defence of the League, and were willing to make sacrifices to prevent a return to international anarchy. Parts of the League machinery, brought into operation for the first time, creaked under the strain, or functioned with maddening slowness. In December the League came as near as it had ever been to complete disaster. Although the outcome of its supreme effort to withstand aggression still hung in the balance when the year closed, there were many signs that its ordeal had strengthened the League.

CHAPTER II.

FRANCE AND ITALY.

FRANCE.

IN the field of foreign affairs, France's chief concerns in 1935 were with the Abyssinian conflict and the intervention in it of the League of Nations, and with German rearmament. In home affairs the chief features were the division between the "Leagues" of the Right and the "Front populaire" in which were grouped the forces of the Left, and the pressing need for a financial reform which could be carried through by the Government only with the aid of emergency powers. Between the foreign and domestic problems there was a kind of correspondence. In regard to the Abyssinian affair, public opinion was divided between the advocates and the opponents of sanctions against Italy; these were supported by the greater part of the Radical Socialists, the Socialists and the Communists, and were accepted only unwillingly by the majority of the members of the Right, as also by the mass of moderate Frenchmen who yearned for peace and tranquillity, and who were afraid that sanctions might lead to a conflagration in the Mediterranean and in Europe.

The year 1935 opened with the visit to Rome of M. Laval, at that time Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Flandin Cabinet. The compromise for which he worked at Rome was, in fact, realised only in respect to African questions, but it served to mark the desire of France and Italy for a *rapprochement*. These two Powers had both made efforts to safeguard the independence of Austria. On January 7 M. Laval and Signor Mussolini signed agreements defining the interests of the two countries in Africa, and containing

frontier rectifications in favour of Italy in North Africa and in East Africa. France made a number of concessions. In Tunis **all** children who should be born of Italian parents up to 1965 were to retain their nationality. A revision of frontiers was effected in favour of Italian Libya. Between Italian Erythrea and the French Somali coast a smaller piece of territory was ceded ; and Italy was granted further a share in the French railway from Jibouti to Addis Ababa. In regard to Austria, France and Italy undertook to consult one another in case the integrity or independence of Austria should be menaced. The sacrifices to which France consented were without doubt compensated by the *rapprochement* with Italy which released France, always apprehensive of an Italo-German combination and a new European conflagration, from the necessity of worrying about her " Alpine frontiers."

The Saar plebiscite took place on January 13. The Reich emerged from it triumphant, and with it Hitlerian National-Socialism, for no one had imagined that Germany would receive 90 per cent, of the votes. M. Flandin declared on January 15 that the French Government was in favour of the reincorporation of the Saar in Germany ; and, at its sitting of the 17th, the Council of the League of Nations fixed March 7 as the official date of the restoration of the territory to the German Government.

On January 31 MM. Flandin and Laval left for London in order to discuss with the British Government the disarmament of Germany, the Eastern Pact, and the Pact guaranteeing the independence of Austria. Their object was to find out whether, after the Franco-Italian conversations at Rome, instead of an assurance of the limitation of armaments so long demanded by all, there was to be a fresh race in armaments provoked by Hitler's new moves. Feelers were thrown out towards Germany ; proposals were made to her to associate herself with the other Powers in order to achieve the organisation of security in Europe. The British and French Ministers decided to invite Italy, Germany, and Belgium to examine with France and Great Britain the possibility of concluding a convention by which the signatories should bind themselves to lend the assistance of their aerial forces to any one of them who should be the object on the part of one of the contracting parties of an unprovoked attack by air. The aerial pact was to be more complete than the Treaty of Locarno in so far as it would stipulate for the immediate and automatic coming into force of sanctions against an unprovoked attack and the absolute reciprocity of guarantees for all the parties.

Germany, on February 16, consented to negotiate on this plan, while separating it from the two other pacts, the Eastern and the Danubian, whereas France, Italy, and the U.S.S.R. regarded them as interdependent. She claimed to make a choice **among** the signatories of the Treaty of Locarno, and in order to

enlighten herself further she sought for special conversations with England on the subject of the aerial convention.

On March 16 the Government of the Reich proclaimed the repudiation by Germany of the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, and the re-establishment of compulsory military service. France immediately took alarm, and on the request of M. Laval the President of the Council of the League of Nations summoned an extraordinary session of the Council on April 15 in order to examine the French complaint.

Prior to this there took place at Stresa (April 11-14) a conference between the three Powers, France, Great Britain, and Italy, France being represented by MM. Flandin and Laval. The joint resolution of April 14 laid down that the negotiations with regard to security in the East should be continued, that the Governments would remain faithful to the principle of Austrian independence, and that they would continue to defend the aerial pact, basing themselves on the principles of the London agreements. A common line was agreed upon to be adopted at Geneva in the discussion of the French Government's request. Finally, the three Powers were all equally determined to oppose every unilateral repudiation of treaties which might imperil the peace of Europe.

M. Laval went straight from Stresa to Geneva (April 15), and there the Council unanimously—save for the vote of Denmark—passed the resolution submitted by France. The first part of this laid down that the Reich had failed in its duty, and condemned every unilateral repudiation of engagements. The second recommended the continuation of the conversations begun at Stresa; the third recommended measures to be taken against any State which should unilaterally repudiate obligations touching the maintenance of peace in Europe.

The month of April was devoted by French and Russian diplomacy to the drafting of a bilateral pact the terms of which should come wholly within the framework of the League of Nations. France and Russia undertook, in case either of them was attacked, to submit the conflict to the consideration of the Council of the League of Nations. They would regain freedom of movement only if the League failed within twenty-four hours to give a unanimous recommendation. It was thought that the Franco-Soviet Pact would be signed on April 20. M. Litvinoff, however, returned to Moscow without passing through Paris, certain obstacles having supervened. However, the Franco-Russian Pact for mutual assistance was at length initialled at Paris on May 2 [for the text of the Pact, see under Public Documents]; and in order to discuss its application, M. Laval left a few days later for Moscow. He stopped on the way at Warsaw, where his conversations with Polish statesmen did not produce any appreciable results. On the other hand, his stay at Moscow,

from May 13 to 15, in the course of which he had a conversation of several hours duration with M. Stalin, was crowned with success. In the *communiqué* which was subsequently issued, M. Stalin was significantly made to declare that "he understood and completely approved of France's policy of national defence, and its efforts for maintaining its armed force at the level required for its security." Thus neither France nor the U.S.S.R. was minded to risk its means of protection !

The Ethiopian affair, which had engaged European and French attention from the beginning of the year, became more grave from day to day. In July Signor Mussolini despatched to Erythrea and SomaUland fresh divisions. From this moment the affair developed on three fronts, viz. (1) a fighting front, the Italian and Abyssinian troops having come to blows in December, 1934, at Wal-wal, and subsequently at various spots on the borders of Italian Somaliland and Ogaden ; (2) a diplomatic front, as the conflict caused anxiety to all States through its bearing on European equilibrium ; (3) a moral front, if one may say so, namely, the part played at Geneva, within the framework of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The Italian spokesmen and those who represented the Negus met in Holland, but as they were unable to reach a friendly settlement of the incident at Wal-wal, the regular procedure was begun at Geneva on July 29.

During the whole of the spring France had taken upon herself the role of the benevolent mediator. It was obvious that M. Laval, who had become in June Prime Minister and retained in his own Cabinet the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs, was anxious not to offend Italian susceptibilities while at the same time maintaining intact the British friendship. This policy was dubbed by some, in accordance with an old French saying, that of "the oak and the cabbage." A tripartite conference was held at Paris on August 9 which produced no result, and MM. Laval and Eden and Baron Aloisi met again on September 3 at Geneva. On September 13 M. Laval made a notable declaration, which contained the following points : (1) France remained faithful to the terms of the Covenant; (2) she accepted with satisfaction the declaration of Sir Samuel Hoare, which implied that England was determined on maintaining the Charter of Geneva in all conditions of time and place ; (3) she fully appreciated the value of Italian friendship ; (4) she would do her duty in respect of the Covenant and in respect of Italy.

The French Government finally requested the Cabinet at London to be so good as to state precisely how far Great Britain was disposed to act up to its obligations under the Covenant. France wished to know whether in all cases England would stand at her side to prevent and oppose every modification of frontiers and of the political status of countries, notably in Central Europe.

The Foreign Office replied with a Note which confirmed the declarations of Sir Samuel Hoare, but did not go beyond them, and which the French Press unanimously characterised as vague and unsatisfactory.

On September 18 the Committee of Five adopted proposals which were to serve as a basis of negotiation between Italy and Abyssinia. It was known that the offers of this Committee were inspired by the addresses made by France and Britain to Italy after the tripartite conference, and which had been rejected.

When hostilities commenced, on October 3, Great Britain appeared ready, in French eyes, to engage herself materially and morally in the affair. It cannot be denied that French opinion was a little critical, and that it considered the intervention of Britain as due in part to moral considerations, but also to Britain's anxiety to protect its Imperial routes and interests.

At the beginning of October the Prince of Wales visited M. Lebrun, the President of the Republic. The English leaders insisted in their interviews with M. Laval that France should give a favourable reply to the questions put by London. They declared themselves ready to consider ways and means for joint action with France to create security. But of all the consequences to which the Abyssinian affair gave rise, the most unforeseen and the most dangerous was a crisis which in October affected Franco-British relations. No act was complained of on either side. Both sides had remained completely loyal to the agreement. All the same, it was clear that British opinion imagined that France was turning its back on its principles. French opinion, on its side, was astonished to see the English abandon their traditional sangfroid. France was at one with England in holding that the Rome Government had broken the Covenant, but the responsibility having been recognised, the mechanism of Geneva had come into play. France therefore did not cease to call on England to remain in close accord with her and to seek for a pacific solution of the conflict, all the more so as the Rome Government, which had, contrary to all predictions, remained at Geneva, did not refuse to take up negotiation.

On October 18 a *detente* became noticeable. It resulted from conversations which had taken place at Paris, London, and Rome, as also from the attempts made at Geneva to avoid all haste in the imposition of sanctions. At Geneva, it is true, fifty nations had declared for the application of sanctions. Nevertheless, the abruptness with which the application of sanctions was proceeded to was strongly criticised by a part of French opinion, which regretted that the transition had not been made more gradual.

Sir Samuel Hoare stayed at Paris on December 7 and 8. He had important conversations with M. Laval. The embargo on oil was then in everybody's mind. But Mussolini let it be understood that he would regard such an embargo as an act of hostility,

and that he would reply to it with acts of war. It was in these difficult circumstances that the two Ministers, the French and the British, agreed upon a plan very favourable to Italy in Abyssinia, which opened up prospects of peace and cemented the good understanding between Great Britain and France.

Contrary to all expectation, however, Mussolini rejected the Laval-Hoare plan, and Sir Samuel, in consequence of the wave of indignation aroused by the blow to the moral authority of the League of Nations which this transaction was thought to involve, had to resign.

While the Franco-British-Italian conversations were going on in this way, due note had been taken at Paris of the soundings made by German diplomacy. On his return from Moscow, M. Laval had had conversations at Warsaw with General Goering, at the funeral of Marshal Pilsudski. About November 15 the secretary of Herr Ribbentrop, the confidential adviser of Hitler, had come to Paris. The fact that at the same time M. A. Francois-Poncet, the French Ambassador at Berlin, was staying in the French capital, gave rise to numerous comments. France certainly did not refuse to converse with Berlin, but only in the spirit and in the framework of the League of Nations. At the end of this same month of November, a conversation took place between Hitler and M. Francois-Poncet which did not seem to bring any nearer negotiations between France and Germany. It could not be forgotten that in consequence of the arrangements made at the beginning of the year, both at Rome, at London, and at Stresa, the Western Powers were filling to revise the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, while still condemning the unilateral policy of the Reich. These arrangements envisaged a general agreement for North-Eastern Europe, which would have been joined by France, Russia, Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Baltic States ; and another agreement which would have assured the independence of Austria; in addition, an aerial pact which would have completed Locarno. But they looked with anxiety on any attempt at bilateral Franco-German negotiations.

In the domain of internal politics, France was chiefly pre-occupied, after the rearmament of Germany had been officially announced, with its own military security. This was the chief burden of the speech made by M. Flandin, the Prime Minister, in the Chamber on April 2.

The question of the prolongation of the term of military service was raised alike by the rearmament of Germany and the decrease in effectives between 1935 and 1940, due to the classes of the "lean years." The Government had secured from the Chamber the approval of its plan for prolonging by decree the term of military service in order to make up for the decrease in a half-contingent. This provisional prolongation was to last six

months for the class which should terminate one year of service in April, 1936, and a year for the succeeding classes, up to 1939 inclusive. It was remarked in France that the two great democratic nations laid least stress on measures of national defence. In particular, the policy of effectives adopted by France does not fill up the gap which will exist between the German and French total of permanent forces.

The French Government accordingly decided to keep with the colours up to July 14, 1935, the half contingent which should have been released on April 15. The law of the organic statute of the Air arm and of that of aerial defence were adopted by parliament in May.

In addition, the Minister of Marine had secured the passing by the Chamber of the Bill authorising the laying down of ships according to the latest section of the naval programme. This section comprises, among other things, a battleship of 35,000 tons, the construction of which is due to that of two Italian battleships and the laying down of the large German units.

The mercantile marine scored a great triumph with the inauguration of the steamship *Normandie*, of 79,000 tons, and its first voyage, on May 29, from Havre to New York.

The elections for the municipal councils (May 5 and 12) and their swing to the Left, were not without effect on the crisis which was now about to cause the downfall of the Flandin Cabinet. In the suburbs of Paris, the Communists had gained about a dozen seats, so that in Paris the number held by the Front Commun was larger by about a quarter than it had been in 1929. Naturally, the indication thus provided by universal suffrage was not lost on the parliamentarians. From this moment, however, the financial situation called for far-reaching reforms, and was not without anxiety for the Government.

M. P. E. Flandin, who had defined his financial policy as "the reduction of interest rates and the taxing of accumulated capital," had not succeeded in attaining this object. He desired, accordingly, to obtain emergency powers for imposing economies for which it would be very difficult to secure acceptance, both from those who would feel the effects of them, and from their representatives in the Chamber and the Senate. No one, in fact, could forget that the parliamentary elections would take place in the spring of 1936, and that the electors would visit on the heads of the members of 1935 the responsibility for necessarily unpopular measures.

The franc became an object of speculation, and the reserves of the Bank of France underwent a sudden and violent attack. On May 7 the Minister of Finance, M. Germain-Martin, again made reassuring declarations on the situation of the Treasury. But the export of gold rose to 1500 millions on May 28, although the Bank rate had been raised to 6 per cent. In spite of the

resignation of the Minister of Finance, which was announced at the sitting, M. Flandin fell in the night of May 30-31.

M. Lebrun called upon M. Bouisson, President of the Chamber, to form a new Cabinet. The task was accomplished on the 31st at midnight. M. Laval remained at the Foreign Office ; M. Caillaux took charge of finance; MM. Lafont, Mandel, Rollin, Roustau, and Ptetri, and General Denain returned to office. Marshal Pétain also was included. In spite of this effort at national union, the Bouisson Cabinet was overthrown on the very first day on which it presented itself before the Chamber (June 4), by 264 votes to 262, for having shown itself too insistent in the matter of emergency powers, and too much inclined to the Right. M. Laval then formed a Cabinet which did not differ essentially from that of M. Bouisson, who was immediately re-elected President of the Chamber.

In the new Cabinet, finance was in charge of M. Regnier, who favoured budgetary deflation. M. Laval demanded only " exceptional " powers, limited to the defence of the franc and the re-establishment of financial equilibrium. Under these conditions, he obtained from parliament a vote of confidence (364 votes to 160), and hastened to close the session, on June 28. M. Yvon Delbos, the leader of the Radical group, called this a " conditional vote of resignation."

M. Laval found an empty Treasury, and a Budget facing a huge deficit. His "exceptional" powers enabled him to cut down expenditure drastically, his first acts being to issue railway bonds and to suspend advances against gold by the Bank of France.

The 14th of July, being a public holiday, gave occasion for large public demonstrations, especially in Paris, where processions took place of the Croix de Feu and of the Front populaire. The mass meeting organised by the latter obtained a special importance from the fact that in it several leaders of the Radical-Socialists were found side by side with M. Léon Blum, leader of the Socialists, and M. Cachin, leader of the Communists. Thanks to the measures taken by the Government, which had conferred with the leaders of the Left and with Colonel de la Rocque, President of the Croix de Feu, each of the processions took care to confine itself to the district which had been assigned to it by the Prefect of Police.

The public eagerly awaited the decrees which the Government was preparing. On July 29 it adopted twenty-nine, which were expected to effect a saving of almost 11 milliards. These decrees were variously judged, but they were everywhere accepted calmly. Certainly in seven years the national expenditure had grown enormously. In 1928 it bordered on 80 milliards, while in 1935 it exceeded 100 milliards.

The first twenty decrees realised savings of 7,063 millions

on the Budget, 195 millions in the Caisse autonome, 1,085 millions in the local accounts, 2,316 millions in the railways. The chief source of saving was a cut of 10 per cent, in all State salaries.

Necessary as were these measures, they really amounted to nothing more than reduction of salaries, a general tightening up, and lowering of the standard of living. Accordingly, on August 8, the Government adopted another series of measures, aiming at the resumption of economic activity and at the safeguarding of savings. This was effected by eighty-three new decrees, which granted compensation to persons with small incomes above the age of 65, reduced the legal rate of interest, took various steps for the protection of savings, emended the programme of public works for combating unemployment, made a reduction of 10 per cent, in agricultural mortgages and a corresponding reduction in mortgage interest, simplified criminal procedure, and repressed usury.

These decrees provoked, on August 6 and 8, sanguinary disorders at Brest and at Toulon (three dead, two hundred wounded), but order was soon re-established. About the same time the Deputy Lamoureux, a former Minister of Finance, published an open letter in which he sought to prove that in future every Government, to whatever party it belonged, would be forced to maintain the economies effected by the decrees.

One of the most striking phenomena of French political life since the month of February, 1934, has been the increased activity and the continuous growth in numbers of the various leagues, groups, and fronts to which allusion has been made in connexion with the demonstrations of July 14. This partisan unrest has been ascribed to disaffection with Parliament. But the country, in its heart of hearts, did not undervalue the regime which has lasted for sixty-five years, which won the Great War, and which has restored so many liberties previously abolished.

The one among the Leagues which, in virtue of its wide ramifications and the large number of its active members, attracted to itself above all others the attention of the public authorities and of the man in the street, is the Association of the Croix de Feu. The political object of this body is to defend the existing order. It aims at blocking the way against any attempt at revolution, and at forcibly opposing any fomenter of disorder, even of disorder which may not be specifically revolutionary and confined to the street. The Croix de Feu stands for economic and political stability.

The success of the Croix de Feu instigated the parties of the Left to unite. The Left front, called by its founder Bergery the Front Commun, became, after some changes, the Front simply, and then the Front populaire. It united the left-wing parties—the Radical-Socialists, the Socialists, and the Communists—and seems to follow the lead of the last-named, the marching wing of

the Left. Its chief object is to combat Fascism, with which it identifies the Croix de Feu. The union of these forces of the Left was brought about through the threat to democratic liberties which the Left discerns in the campaign of the Leagues of the Right. The Communist Party and the Socialists have adopted a common plan of action. They demand the repeal of the decrees-laws and the abandonment of the policy of deflation ; a forty-hour week ; large public works financed by a tax on large fortunes ; the dissolution of the " Fascist Leagues " ; the resignation of the Governing Board of the Banque de France ; and the nationalisation of heavy industry. At the same time, discussions took place between the C.G.T. (Confederation Generale de Travail) and the unified Confederation at a joint Congress, with a view to re-establishing the syndicalist front, which had been broken in 1920. It was, in fact, re-established on September 2, 1935.

Partial Senatorial elections were held on October 20. Altogether, 107 seats had to be filled. The changes which resulted were insignificant. M. Laval stood both in the Seine and in the Puy-de-Dome, and he was elected in both Departments. The Congress of the Radical-Socialist Party also celebrated the victory of its moderate and " herriotiste " federations over the Parisians, who had been stirred up by the Front populaire.

The weeks which preceded the reassembling of Parliament in the autumn (which was delayed as long as possible) were marked by the cry, " disarmament of the Leagues," raised by the partisans of the Left and by those who were afraid that Frenchmen might come to blows with one another.

The Budget for 1936 barely reached 40 milliards, instead of the 48 of the previous year. An extraordinary Budget was to be appended to the ordinary Budget, of about 6 milliards 6 millions, of which the 6 milliards were to be for military expenditure apart from upkeep.

On October 31, the last date at which the Cabinet could still pass decrees, 370 new ones appeared in *L'Officiel*, affecting the life of the people at every point.

The Chambers met on November 28, and on the very first day M. Laval had to undergo an attack from his adversaries, but the vote of confidence which he demanded was granted by a majority of 120. The chief ground of complaint against M. Laval was in his foreign policy—his lukewarm adhesion to the principles of Geneva. He was reproached with his meanderings between friendship with Italy, an entente with Britain, and the principles of the League of Nations ; with his opportunism, and with having made approaches to Berlin, which seemed to the advocates of a Franco-Soviet pact to be incompatible with such a pact.

His internal policy furnished two grounds of complaint: the decrees, and his handling of the question of the Leagues. The decrees had affected the interests of a large number of electors in

all districts. The events, of which mention has already been made, at Brest and Toulon, and more recent happenings at Limoges, where the Croix de Feu and the Front populaire had come to blows, showed that if proper measures were not taken, public order would be at the mercy of any trivial incident.

M. Laval maintained that the discussion on his financial policy should be postponed for the sake of the debate on the Leagues, and insisted on being judged first of all by the manner in which he had acquitted himself of his mission to defend the franc and to re-establish budgetary equilibrium. The Chamber fell in with this view.

On December 6 a dramatic scene ensued. The debate on the Leagues having at last arrived, M. Ybernéguray, a deputy and a member of the Croix de Feu, proposed at the tribune of the Chamber "almost officially" the disarmament of all the Leagues and of all individuals. M. Leon Blum, on his side, declared that the Front populaire was ready to dissolve its organisations in so far as they were of a para-military nature. M. Laval was not slow to take advantage of this agreement between adversaries: that same night three Bills, which the pressure of the Left rendered more stringent, were passed for the purpose of dissolving the associations.

On December 17 M. Laval, being released for the time being from financial discussions, defended his foreign policy in the Chamber and obtained this time a majority of 52. M. Herriot, however, who represented the Radical-Socialist Party in the Cabinet, soon after handed in his resignation as President of the Radical-Socialist Party, where criticism of M. Laval became more and more pronounced. He was accused of paying only lip service to the principles of Geneva and of having violated the spirit of the Covenant by accepting the Hoare-Laval plan for a settlement of the Ethiopian question. The resignation of M. Herriot was a severe blow to the Laval Government.

On December 27 the discussion of interpellations on foreign policy was reopened in the Chamber. After the eloquent speeches of M. Yvon Delbos, who defended the policy of collective security, and then of M. Paul Reynaud, who said that France had to choose between an Italy which violated the Covenant and an England which upheld it, every one thought that the Government was doomed. But on the next day a speech of M. Laval regained for him once more a relative and perhaps precarious confidence, which left it highly uncertain whether M. Laval or some one else would be in power at the time of the parliamentary elections in 1936.

Mention should not be omitted of the Imperial Conference, officially denominated the Economic Conference of Metropolitan and Oversea France, which carried on its labours at Paris from December, 1934, to April, 1935. It was comparable in some

ways to the Ottawa Conference, and made a thoroughgoing study of the resources and requirements of the French colonial empire.

ITALY.

If 1934 was for Italy the year of the Corporations, 1935 was dominated by the preparations for and the first operations of the war with Ethiopia. The Franco-Italian *rapprochement* and the conclusion of the Rome agreements (January 7), and the Conference of Stresa (April 11-14), which, during the earlier months of the year, seemed to affirm the desire of the Fascist regime for peace, appeared later, in the light of subsequent events, as precautions taken to assure the friendly neutrality of the two countries in regard to the African expedition, and to prevent Germany from making any sudden attack on Austria.

After two days' conversations (January 5 and 6) between Signor Mussolini and M. Laval, an agreement was reached relating to a certain number of questions which had been left pending between France and Italy since the end of the war. The agreement was signed on the evening of the 7th. It dealt first and foremost with the interests of the two countries in Africa. France ceded territories of an area of 114,000 kilometres to the Italian colony of Libya. The frontier separating Libya from French West Africa and from French Equatorial Africa was also fixed by a line starting from Tumno, the last point on the line fixed by the Franco-Italian agreement of September 12, 1919, and rejoining the western frontier of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan at the intersection of the 24th meridian east of Greenwich with the 18-45 degree of latitude north.

This new frontier failed to satisfy Italian claims in so far as it did not carry Libya up to Lake Chad. This renunciation on Italy's part was compensated by a cession of French territory in Somaliland. The frontier between Erythrea and the French coast of Somaliland was rectified by a line drawn between Der Elona, on the coast of the Red Sea, and Daadato, on the Weirna torrent. This rectification gave Italy a coast-line facing the strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, that is to say, a front on the Indian Ocean. In addition, France recognised Italian sovereignty over the island of Dumerrah. Finally, France granted Italy a share in the Jibouti-Addis Ababa railway line (20 per cent, of the shares).

The question of the nationality of the Italians of Tunis was also settled. Up to 1965 all Italians born in Tunis will remain Italians. After 1965 the Italians born in Tunis will be Tunisians, and in consequence liable for French military service. Between 1945 and 1965 Italians born in Tunis will be able to opt on reaching the age of 20 for French nationality. From 1955 the Italian schools in Tunis will become private schools, subject to the French educational regulations.

The treaty of January 7 confirmed the agreement of the two countries in the matter of maintaining the independence of Austria, and contained a general declaration affirming " the intention of the two Governments to develop the traditional friendship which unites their two nations and to collaborate in a spirit of mutual confidence in the work of European reconstruction, on behalf of which it is established that the two Governments will proceed to all the consultations with one another which circumstances may require."

During the months which followed the agreement of January 7 numerous manifestations of Franco-Italian friendship took place. Among them were the visit of the French Minister of Commerce and the conclusion of a commercial agreement (April 17) ; the journey of General Denain, the French Air Minister, to Rome and the signing of an air convention with Signor Mussolini relating to commercial aviation (May 13) ; the journey to Italy of French ex-soldiers ; performances by the French Comedie Francaise and the Opera ; the visit of a French squadron to Naples ; the visit of French industrial groups ; finally, and above all, the exhibition of Italian art at Paris, opened by Conte Ciano, the Minister of Propaganda, and son-in-law of Signor Mussolini.

At the Conference of Stresa, which opened on April 11, Italy was represented by Signor Mussolini and Signor Suvich. On the 14th the following " joint decisions " were made public : (1) a common line of action in the discussion of the French protest before the League of Nations against German rearmament ; (2) continuation of negotiations for security in Eastern Europe ; (3) affirmation of the necessity of maintaining the independence of Austria and effecting an agreement for this purpose between all the countries interested ; (4) further study of the question of aerial pacts ; (5) declaration in favour of an international agreement on armaments ; (6) possible revision of Austrian and Hungarian armaments. Further, Italy and the United Kingdom solemnly confirmed the engagements undertaken at Locarno. A final declaration put on record the complete agreement of the three Powers in opposing with all suitable means any unilateral repudiation of treaties calculated to endanger the peace of Europe, and in acting for this purpose with close and cordial co-operation.

We now turn to the Italo-Abyssinian conflict. On December 1, 1934, King Victor Emanuel returned to Rome, after an official visit to Somaliland (in the preceding year he had officially visited Erythrea). On December 8 an official *communiqué* published the incident of Wal-wal, on the undefined and contested frontier between Italian Somaliland and Ogaden. On December 5 Ethiopian troops, which had been in touch with an Italian frontier garrison since November 23, attacked the Italians, who withdrew. On the next day Italian reinforcements, supported by aeroplanes

and tanks, repulsed the Abyssinians with severe loss. The Italian Government forwarded to Addis Ababa a Note of protest, while the Abyssinian Government, on its side, demanded arbitration in accordance with Article 5 of the Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of August 2, 1928. On the refusal of the Rome Government, Abyssinia submitted the dispute to the League of Nations.

On January 15, 1935, General de Bono, Minister of Colonies, was appointed High Commissioner of the colonies of Eastern Africa (Erythrea and Somaliland), and Signor Mussolini assumed himself the Ministry of the Colonies. When this double appointment was published, General de Bono had already left Italy ten days before for Massowah. On January 24 there was a Ministerial reconstruction : Senator Thaon di Revel became Minister of Justice ; Signor de Vecchi (ex-Governor of Somaliland and ex-quadrivir of the march on Rome) became Minister of National Education ; and Signor Luigi Razza became Minister of Public Works.

On January 29 a sanguinary encounter took place between Italian and Abyssinian patrols at Afdub, south of Wal-wal, in which five Italians were killed. The Italian Government protested to Addis Ababa, and mobilised between the 5th and the 11th of February two divisions, the Peloritana of Messina and the Gavinata of Florence, the first intended for Somaliland, the second for Erythrea. General Graziani was appointed commander of the Somaliland troops. At the same time, enrolments took place of Blackshirt volunteers. On February 22 the first detachments embarked for Africa. The *cgmmuniqui* announcing the mobilisation of the Peloritana and Gavinata divisions bore the number 1, and was the first " war " *communiqué*.

Further incidents took place on the Ethiopian frontiers. On February 21, in Ogaden, armed groups raided a hundred camels from tribes under Italian protection. On the 24th, at the frontier of Setit, in Erythrea, an Italian patrol was attacked.

On January 19 Italy had consented to submit the incident of Wal-wal to arbitration, as provided in Article 5 of the Italo-Ethiopian Treaty. But the Government of Addis Ababa, in face of the Italian mobilisation, in March demanded of the League of Nations the application of Article 15 of the Covenant, and Italy, in a Note of March 22, protested against the Abyssinian appeal to Geneva.

In April fresh complaints were raised by Italy on account of attacks on its subjects in Erythrea and Abyssinia, and the Sabanda division of Cagliari and two divisions of Blackshirts, the " 23rd of March " and the " 28th of October," were mobilised, as well as Blackshirt battalions of Palermo, Cuneo, Ravenna, and Foli. The 1911, 1913, and 1914 classes were completely mobilised in Italy. In Erythrea, the mobilisation took place of the second native division,

On May 7, in the Chamber, and on May 14, in the Senate, Signor Lessona, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, affirmed "the necessity of assuring the security of our possessions in Eastern Africa." On May 14, in the Senate, Signor Mussolini himself emphasised the urgency and the necessity of the measures taken. On May 25, in the Chamber, Signor Mussolini spoke of the dangers threatening Somaliland and Erythrea, "real and active dangers, growing more serious every day, and of such a kind as to present the Italo-Ethiopian problem in the crudest and sharpest terms." In closing, the Duce declared that Italy was ready to assume every responsibility, "even the supreme responsibility."

This speech was delivered on the day after the Council of the League of Nations had taken its decision (May 24). Postponing the examination of the Ethiopian appeal to Article 15 of the Covenant, the Council adopted two resolutions, which were accepted by both Italy and Abyssinia. The first was to the effect that the Wal-wal affair and the succeeding incidents would be submitted to a Commission which should terminate its labours before August 25. This Commission, composed of two Italian and two Ethiopian members, was to co-opt a neutral member by July 25 at latest. The Commission was not empowered to examine the question of frontiers. The Commission met on June 6, at Milan, then on June 26, at The Hague.

On May 31 a new division, the Gran Sasso de Chieta, and two divisions of Blackshirts ("21 April" and "3 January") were mobilised, in reply to fresh incidents which had happened in Abyssinia—the arrest of an official Italian courier between Adowa and Gondar on May 12, and attacks on small posts in Danakil and Somaliland.

On June 23 a Royal decree accorded full powers to the Government for "the defence and the reorganisation of the colonies of Eastern Africa."

The attitude of British public opinion, which was overwhelmingly hostile to an Italian expedition against Abyssinia, aroused in Italy, from the middle of May, both apprehensions and strong irritation. The compromise proposed by Mr. Eden to Signor Mussolini during his visit to Rome—a rectification of frontiers to the advantage of Italy, and the annexation of Ogaden, the right to construct a railway between Somaliland and Erythrea, and the cession by Britain to Italy of a passage giving access to the sea and of the port of Zeila—was rejected by Italy as wholly inadequate.

On July 9 the Arbitration Tribunal, being unable to agree, suspended its labours at The Hague. The 15th witnessed the mobilisation of the Sila division and of a division of Blackshirts ("1st of February"), and the creation of a commissariat for war manufactures. On July 14 and 23 the Italian Government

informed Addis Ababa that it would consent to the resumption of the labours of the Commission. This was confirmed on July 25 **and** 27 to the secretariat of the League of Nations. On August 3 the Council of the League issued a resolution by which, "reckoning that the proceedings would have terminated by September 1 in the settlement of the dispute, it invited the two Governments to inform it of the results at latest by September 4."

On July 7 an aeroplane, containing Signor Razza, the Minister of Public Works, and Baron Franchetti, and which was going to Massowah, crashed in Egypt, all the occupants being killed.

From August 15 to 18 a tripartite conference took place at Paris, in the course of which Mr. Eden, M. Laval, and Baron Aloisi sought for a new compromise. Italy, however, rejected the Franco-British proposals.

On August 25 manoeuvres on a grand scale, in which 100,000 men took part, were commenced in the Upper Adige. At the close of the manoeuvres, Signor Mussolini passed the troops in review, and announced in an address that in the course of September the number of Italian troops under arms would amount to a million men.

On September 4 the Italo-Ethiopian Arbitration Commission, which had co-opted M. Politis as neutral member, announced its findings with regard to the Wal-wal incident. It attached no blame to either side. Baron Aloisi, however, in the name of Italy, deposited with the bureau of the Council of the League of Nations a memorandum the purport of which was to demand the exclusion from the League of Nations of Abyssinia as a country barbarous, disunited, and countenancing slavery. He justified the use of force in order to reply to Abyssinian aggression, and to establish peace and civilisation in Abyssinia, and refused to discuss the memorandum with the Abyssinian delegates. The speech delivered by Sir Samuel Hoare on September 11, and above all the concentration of the Home Fleet in the Mediterranean, as a reply to the concentration of three Italian divisions on the frontier of Egypt, provoked in Italy no less sorrow than irritation. The Italo-Ethiopian conflict seemed to be enlarging itself into an Italo-British conflict, and at the same time into a conflict between Italy and the League of Nations. All the same, the Committee of Thirteen, which meant the Council of the League without Italy, appointed a Committee of Five to draw up new proposals for submission to Italy. The plan worked out by the Five—territorial rectifications in favour of Italy, grant of a port to Ethiopia, formation of a Council emanating from the League of Nations and of an international police force to organise Abyssinia—was accepted by Addis Ababa but rejected by Rome (September 25), which demanded that Abyssinia should be deprived of its domination over various subject populations which were living on the frontiers of the Empire, "under inhuman conditions."

On the 26th the visit to Signor Mussolini of Sir Eric Drummond, British Ambassador at Rome, with a message from Sir Samuel Hoare, brought about a slight relaxation of the Italo-British tension. The Council of Ministers, on the 28th, declared that Italy had no anti-British designs, that Italy would not for the time being abandon the League of Nations, and finally that the hostilities which were about to open would be confined to Africa. On October 2 the general gathering of the forces of the regime took place all over Italy, and Signor Mussolini delivered a speech which was broadcast. On October 3 the Italian troops in Eastern Africa crossed the Ethiopian frontier.

On October 4, at Geneva, the Committee of Thirteen discussed and approved the report of its sub-committee of Five on the Italian memorandum. On the 5th the Council of the League appointed a Committee to examine the situation created by the opening of hostilities. On the 6th the Committee of Six came to the conclusion that Italy had committed an act of aggression. On the 7th the Council of the League declared Italy the aggressor. On the 9th the Assembly of the League took note without voting of the conclusions of the Council, which automatically imposed on each individual member State of the League the obligation to apply the sanctions laid down in Article 16 (Austria and Hungary refused to join in the sanctions). On the 10th the Assembly invited the member States to form a Committee for co-ordinating sanctions. On the 11th this Committee, composed of fifty-two members, appointed a Control Committee of eighteen members, which decided immediately to raise the embargo on arms and munitions destined for Abyssinia, and *per contra* to impose it on the export of arms, munitions and war material to Italy. Between the 12th and the 19th, the Committee of Eighteen specified the following sanctions : (a) the suspension of all financial dealings, public or private, with Italy ; (b) an embargo on the export to Italy of certain key materials ; (c) a boycott of Italian imports. November 18 was fixed as the date on which the sanctions should come into force.

Italy addressed to all the member States a Note of protest against the economic and financial sanctions, and decided on its side to resort to counter sanctions, by refusing to import from all the sanctionist countries, as from November 5. On November 18 the coming into force of sanctions was celebrated by a beflagged Italy, and tablets were affixed to the walls of municipal buildings to commemorate the " iniquity " of which Italy was the victim.

On December 7 and 8 Sir Samuel Hoare and M. Laval elaborated in Paris a new project for settling the Italo-Abyssinian dispute, by which Italy was to receive Tigre without Aksum, and the country of the Danakils and Ogaden, while Abyssinia was to obtain an outlet to the sea, in full ownership ; further, a zone for economic expansion and settlement was offered to Italy, to the

north of Kenya in the region of the lakes, between the 8th parallel north and the 35th west, with international control by the League of Nations of this zone, which should remain nominally under the sovereignty of the Negus. Up to December 18 Italy made no reply to this. On that day Signor Mussolini delivered at Pontinia a speech in which he rejected it. At Geneva on the same day the Council of the League refused to consider the Franco-British plan, and instructed the Committee of Thirteen to watch the situation. The question of extending sanctions by an embargo on oil was adjourned to the January meeting of the Council.

The preparations made in the military and diplomatic fields for the Abyssinian expedition were accompanied by corresponding preparations in the financial and economic fields. During the period from January to October, 1935, numerous measures were taken with the object of safeguarding the material requirements of the country and of the expeditionary force.

As early as December 8, 1934, a decree was issued ordering all Italian subjects to give up to the Institute controlling foreign exchange all their foreign credits and to declare all their holdings abroad. The Exchange Institute received a monopoly for making all payments outside of Italy. On February 16 import quotas were established with the view of combating the growing deficit in the trade balance, and virtually suppressing liberty of trade.

A *communiqui* issued on February 21 by the Supreme Council of National Defence gave a resumé of the efforts made and the results obtained in the matter of securing agricultural and industrial "autarky," claiming that total independence had been attained in regard to cereals, clothing, and lubricants, and progress had been made in the domain of fuels and nitrates.

On May 17 there was created a supervision of exchange for the purpose of "regulating the distribution of securities agreeably to the rules in force for foreign exchange, co-ordinating the services dealing with import and export, and controlling the foreign purchases of State Departments." On May 22 a milliard of Treasury bonds were issued. On June 15 the "Fascist Saturday" was introduced, for shortening the working week, and also for subjecting workers and employees to military training on Saturday afternoons. On July 22 a decree was issued abolishing the obligation of the Bank of Italy to keep a metallic reserve equivalent to at least 40 per cent, of the notes in circulation. On July 31 the State was granted a monopoly for the purchase abroad of certain primary materials, especially coal, copper, tin, and nickel. On September 18 a National 5 per cent, loan at 95 was issued, certificates of the Unified 3½ per cent, loan being accepted at a value of 80 lire. Subscription for the loan was opened on October 2, and by the 30th had produced a sum of

2 milliards in cash. No further figures for the total were published up to the end of the year.

Soon after the opening of hostilities, the "gold crusade" commenced. Individuals were asked to present to the State any gold which they possessed. This campaign reached its culmination on the two days of the "Fede" (December 18 and 22), when Italian women gave up their wedding rings for their country. On November 20, in addition to the gifts of precious metals, the State established gold deposits at the Exchange Institute, carrying interest at 5 per cent., the Institute undertaking to return at the end of a year a quantity of fine gold equal to that of the objects deposited.

The military operations which had been commenced on October 3 on the Tigre front had by October 10 resulted almost without fighting in the establishing of three army corps (these were, from east to west, the First Metropolitan Army Corps Santini, the Native Army Corps Pirzio Biroli, and the Second Metropolitan Army Corps Maravigna) on the positions Aksum-Adowa-Adigrat. After a month employed in organising the rear, all the active forces advanced on November 4, and on the 11th reached a line marked from east to west by Makale, the bed of the Gheva stream, and the river Takazze. From November 11 to December 15 was taken up with clearing the mountainous regions of Tembien and of Gheralta. After December 15 partial Abyssinian offensives took place, causing the Italian troops to fall back on Aksum and Adowa. At the end of December the Italian front passed through Selaklaka-Aksum-Abbis Addi-Makale. On November 18 General de Bono, after being promoted Marshal, was relieved of his command, and replaced by Marshal Badoglio—according to common report, because it was said, his progress had not been satisfactory.

On the Somaliland front, under the command of General Graziani, three mobile columns were thrown forward, one into the valley of Fafan, which occupied and advanced beyond Gorahai, a second into the valley of Webi Shebeli, and a third—from Dolo—into the valleys of the Juba and of Gual Doria. At the end of December, these columns had returned to their point of departure with the exception of the first, which still retained Gorahai. The threat of an Ethiopian offensive against Dolo led to a concentration of the mass of the Italian troops in this region.

Among the other measures taken by the Fascist regime in 1935 may be mentioned the introduction of compulsory pre- and post-military instruction from the ages of 8 to 32 (January 21), which involved a reorganisation of the youth bands. 17,000 officers of the militia were charged with the task of military instruction; 10,000 have already taken the oath.

On April 27 the experimental town of Italian aeronautics Guidonia (so-called after General Guidoni, who was killed while

experimenting with a parachute) was inaugurated. On April 29 a school of aerial warfare, with headquarters at Rome, was established.

On May 16 it was decided to grant marriage and birth bonuses to officers and Civil servants. The value of the bonuses ranges from 1,500 to 5,000 lire. The population of Italy amounted, at this date, to 43,182,000 souls.

The accounts for the year June, 1934 to June, 1935, closed with a deficit of 2 milliards 30 millions. The deficit was attributed to the expenditure in Eastern Africa (975 millions up to the 30th of June) and to the loss on the railways (840 millions). The expenditure on Eastern Africa since June 30 can also be approximately calculated ; it is reckoned at about 1 milliard a month. The Budget for the year June, 1935, to June, 1936 (not including war expenditure) was fixed by the Council of Ministers on December 30 as follows : total expenditure, 20,291,542,712 lire ; total receipts, 20,311,985,389 lire ; leaving a surplus of 20,442,677 lire.

CHAPTER III.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

GERMANY.

FOR National-Socialist Germany the year 1935 proved to be in the domain of internal politics on the whole a period of relative calm, without serious crises. In external relations, in spite of the introduction of compulsory military service, the tension, nevertheless, relaxed. On the other hand, the economic position of Germany steadily became worse, and towards the end of the year serious difficulties arose in the provision of foodstuffs.

The developments in Germany during 1935 for the first time made it apparent how important the events of June 30, 1934, had been. On that day the Left Socialist wing of the National-Socialist Party in conjunction with the Radical leaders of the S.A. was so completely defeated that since then no attempt was made to reverse the result then achieved. Certain it is that the memory of Roehm, Heines, and the other murdered leaders of the S.A. has not yet been forgotten, but at no time during the whole twelvemonth did the Radical S.A. members attempt any direct attack against the Government. The Strasser Group, which represents the anti-capitalist wing of the N.S.D.A.P. (the Nazi Party), did indeed endeavour, from abroad and by means of illegal propaganda, to regain some of its former influence in Germany, but without success. Thus the victors of June 30 remained in undisturbed enjoyment of power.

The compromise by which Germany is governed gives the

N.S.D.A.P. the complete monopoly of political power. In return the party leaders respect capitalist private property, the rights of the big landed proprietors and of the Officers' Corps. Differences of opinion within the ranks of the leaders became apparent from time to time during the year. A natural antipathy was bound to exist between the men who, coming from the former upper classes, represented "Big Capital" and the old authority on the one side, and on the other the upstarts of the National-Socialist Party movement. The representatives of the old order were satisfied if property and authority were safeguarded. But the party members were at pains to introduce a specifically National-Socialist colouring into the otherwise Conservative horizon, thereby continually demonstrating their own right of existence. This species of party politics was most closely embodied in the persons of the Minister for Propaganda, Herr Goebbels, and of Herr Streicher, the District Leader for Franconia, and editor of the notorious *Stuerner*. The purely capitalist standpoint was publicly presented principally by Dr. Schacht, the President of the Reichsbank and Minister for Economic Affairs. Thus while for the party politicians of the N.S.D.A.P. the persecution of the Jews is a necessary means of indicating to the masses that the party has kept its promises, the Capitalist Party considers the intensified attacks both on the Jews and the Church as harmful and as a hindrance.

The contrast in these attitudes was clearly shown from time to time in the speeches and official pronouncements of the leaders. Whenever Dr. Goebbels and Herr Streicher bitterly attacked not only the Marxists and the Jews but also what they termed "Reactionaries," Dr. Schacht thereupon as emphatically denounced the anti-Jewish excesses as going to unnecessary extremes. But these differences of opinion had no serious political consequences; the exponents of both continued to remain in office and in public esteem. For on points of fundamental policy both groups were unanimous. Both had on June 30 been in the victor's camp, and had aided Hitler in his fight against Roehm and Strasser. Dr. Schacht never dreamt of questioning the political authority of Hitler, while Dr. Goebbels and Herr Streicher were just as disinclined to launch any attack on private property. Through this fortunate concomitance of circumstances, Hitler, aided by his deputy, Herr Hess, by the Prussian Prime Minister, Herr Goering, and by the head of the S.S. (party police) Herr Himmler, was at all times able to make incipient quarrels within the party abortive and to maintain homogeneity in the policy both of the party and the country.

In the domain of internal affairs the outstanding event of 1935 was the re-introduction of universal compulsory military service, on March 16 [see under Public Documents]. The National-Socialist Government primarily used the strengthening and the

development of the German Army for the purpose of internal propaganda. Hitler's Government was unable to enter upon war, or to attain any success in foreign politics. The N.S.D.A.P. had, however, promised its followers before their rise to power an inevitable magnificent National Renaissance. Accordingly the party propaganda declared that the unilateral breach of the military conditions of the Treaty of Versailles and the restoration of the German Army to its former glory was a most notable national achievement. Now Germany had once more regained her freedom and her honour and was again regarded as one of the Great Powers. It is true that not a single German Government since 1919 had felt itself morally bound by the military terms of the Versailles Treaty and secret rearmament went on uninterruptedly from year to year. Since 1935 German rearmament has been carried on openly instead of secretly, with the natural result that the Army obtained greater freedom of movement. Moreover, the introduction of compulsory military service gave the Army authorities, for the first time since 1918, unimpeded authority to deal with the man-power of the nation of military age. Prior to this it had to content itself with the more or less successful organisation of voluntary organisations.

On November 1 the 1914 recruits, *i.e.*, all those aged 21 and fit for military service, were called up. The period of active service was limited to one year, but volunteers are permitted to serve longer. The Navy and the Air Service are to be recruited exclusively of volunteers. The strength of the new German Army was fixed at 36 Divisions, with total effectives of 550,000. All categories of weapons, of which the Treaty of Versailles had deprived Germany, such as heavy artillery, aeroplanes, submarine, tanks, etc., suddenly appeared in large quantities in March, 1935. The details of the German rearmament on land, on sea, and in the air, were willingly broadcast by the Government to the public without any considerations of secrecy usually associated in regard to intelligence concerning defence. The purpose of this was not so much to impress foreign countries as to prove to the people at home the magnitude of the achievements of Hitler.

In regard to authority, the organisation of the Army resulted from a political compromise. In military affairs the old Officers' Corps remained the final arbiters. But as for the symbolic and emotional trappings, the self-importance of the N.S.D.A.P. was indulged. It is especially worthy of note that the personnel of the old Officers' Corps remained unchanged. There was no question, for instance, of promoting members of the party to the rank of General above the heads of the professional soldiers. In precisely the same way, the training of the young officers was carried out by the old staff. Care was thus taken to maintain the organisation and the spirit of the new Army on as independent a

basis as that of the old Reichswehr. Hitler himself assumed the supreme command of the Defence Forces. At the same time he nominated General von Blomberg, the former Minister for the Reichswehr, as Secretary for War and Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Forces. Under Blomberg stand General von Fritsch, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Admiral Raeder, the head of the Navy, and General Goering, the Chief of the Air Arm. Thus in military matters Herr Goering is subordinate to the War Minister.

On one particular point of the new Army regulations, the Army officers scored a distinct success. The prohibition forbidding soldiers on active service to participate in party politics applied also to the N.S.D.A.P. During their year of service all National-Socialists called to the colours are subject only to military discipline and not to the orders of the party. As a *quid pro quo* the Army met the National-Socialists half-way on the Jewish question : Jews were excluded from active service. For those of mixed descent exceptions in certain instances were provided. Another moral victory of the N.S.D.A.P. was the law determining the national flag, which was passed by the Reichstag at its Session in Nuremberg in November. The swastika-flag was recognised as the only official flag of the Reich. The military standard also now shows the swastika. A compromise with tradition was effected inasmuch as the flag uses the old Imperial colours, black, white, and red.

The party politicians of the National-Socialists achieved further successes in the liquidation of all such organisations as they considered obstacles in their path. Among these the Stahlhelm was reckoned as the most important. Although this Conservative organisation of German ex-service men had since 1933 adapted itself, on the surface at any rate, to the framework of National-Socialism, it yet conserved its own identity. This led to continual conflict and unpleasant incidents. As soon as the Corps of Officers had made its peace with National-Socialism, and as a Conservative Opposition no longer existed, the Stahlhelm had lost its *raison d'être*. The ex-service men organised in their Regimental Associations, were all incorporated in the so-called Kyffhaeuser Union. These Soldiers' Unions were recognised by the Hitler Government and have in no way been interfered with. But the Stahlhelm always had a distinct political colouring away from that of the National-Socialists. As the Army showed no inclination to come to the aid of the Stahlhelm, the latter was disbanded on November 8. The reason given was that owing to the development of Germany since 1933, the Stahlhelm had become superfluous. It is significant that its actual founder and leader, Herr Seldte, continued to remain a minister in the Hitler Government. Similarly, the National-Socialists succeeded in disbanding the historic German Student Corps which were absorbed by the National-Socialist Student organisations.

The party members of the N.S.D.A.P. were also the driving force in the continued struggle of the State against the two Christian Churches. The persecution of Catholics continually increased in intensity throughout the year. The Catholic Societies were constantly hindered in their activities, numerous Catholic priests were arrested, ostensibly for having insulted the Government or for having shown opposition to the National-Socialist laws. The main attack against the Catholic Church was launched by the Government by means of the laws regulating the export of money. The German Catholic Orders are many of them in closest financial contact with their branches in foreign countries. The German police discovered that this contact was a contravention of the existing money-export laws. All over Germany mass-arrests took place of monks and nuns, who were accused of having conspired to smuggle German money out of the country. Many of the defendants were condemned to long periods of hard labour, and in addition had imposed upon them excessively heavy fines, for the payment of which the Orders were made responsible. In effect this denoted the virtual confiscation of a large part of Catholic Church property in Germany. In the conflict with the Catholic Church, the Government and the N.S.D.A.P. throughout the year took the offensive. The Catholic Church was assailed by fresh blows. Official propaganda seized upon the money-smuggling trials as a peg on which, by means of the Press, the wireless, etc., to hang their most virulent criticism of the Catholic Church for the purpose of its degradation. There were no signs of a systematic counter-offensive on the part of the Catholic bishops, who did not react even when the Bishop of Meissen himself was kept in custody for several months under the pretext of having exported money.

Much stronger opposition was offered to the N.S.D.A.P. by the Protestant community. Three distinct tendencies continued to be noticeable among the German Protestants. Firstly, there was the union of the Opposition-Pastors, who were supported by the intense sympathy of the members of Protestant congregations. This section, while ready to recognise the authority of Hitler in all political questions, refused to allow the State any interference in Church Dogma or in matters of internal Church organisation. The Opposition Clerics would not permit the new theories of Race and State as promulgated by the N.S.D.A.P. to take the place of the Christianity of the Bible. Old Conservative and Democratic elements were strangely intermingled in this Evangelical Opposition. At the other extreme stood the Radical Reformers, who desired to adopt a so-called German Christianity within the framework of the new Race-theory, or to restore the ancient Germanic heathenism in one form or another. Between these two groups stand the trusty followers of the Government whose aim it is to effect a compromise between the adherents of the Bible and the champions of the heathen Race-theory.

At the beginning of 1935 Reichsbishop Mueller, Hitler's henchman for the Protestant Church, lost every tittle of authority. The Church Opposition stoutly maintained their ground and refused any compromise on questions of conscience. Thereupon the Government made yet a further attempt to settle the conflict within the Protestant ranks. On July 19 the former Prussian Minister of Justice, Herr Kerrl, was specially appointed Minister, with the task of dealing with the settlement of Church matters. Herr Kerrl assumed supreme authority over the Evangelical Church and nominated in the different "states" of Germany new Church Committees composed of members with the most colourless views. The Minister demanded that the existing schools of thought should completely submit to the new Church authorities. But the Opposition Pastors remained firm in their attitude. This Opposition also had to suffer persecution. Several pastors were arrested and sent to concentration camps, and other methods were not lacking whereby the police sought to nullify the activities of the Protestant movement. Taken as a whole, however, the Protestant Opposition was as yet unbroken at the end of the year, and continued to stand in the Germany of Hitler as the unique example of a great movement which has dared openly to defy the Government. The Protestant Opposition was the sole representative movement in Germany which expressed open dissent to the will of the Government at its services and conferences, and in public pronouncements. For reasons which were effective in 1933 and 1934, Hitler could not make up his mind in 1935 to use those methods against the Protestant Opposition which had been utilised by the N.S.D.A.P. for the destruction of all its opponents. For the Protestant Church is such an integral part of traditional authority in Germany that to shatter it would be policy only when the Government simultaneously let loose a wave of extreme radical action. Such a course, however, would be entirely contrary to all that the Hitler regime stands for. Up to the present, therefore, Herr Kerrl has not been able with the means at his disposal to achieve more satisfactory results than Bishop Mueller.

With the anti-Jewish laws of September the persecution of the Jews entered on a new phase in the Third Reich. While the Session of the Annual Conference of the Nazi Party was being held in Nuremberg, Hitler summoned the Reichstag there, which at the instance of the Government passed three laws on September 15. The law relating to the official flag has already been mentioned. Next came the Reich Citizens' Law, which deprived the Jews of their citizen rights. They are now only "members of the State" in an entirely new sense of the term. This "membership," robbed as it is of rights, carries with it no vote, no possibility of serving the country as a soldier, nor of taking any part in the cultural life of Germany. The third Nuremberg law was the law "for the Protection of German Blood

and German Honour." This law forbade marriage as well as exter-marital relations between Jews and so-called Aryans. Many, who had even before the date of this measure contravened **the** statute, were sentenced by the German Courts to prison or hard labour. Intercourse between Jews and "Aryans" is called officially "Race-Debauchery." One strange result of this Nuremberg law affected the employment of Aryan maid-servants in Jewish houses. In future Jewish households which number among them adult males, may only employ female domestics over the age of 45, and by the end of the year no Jewish family was to have in its employ any Aryan maid over the age of 35.

The Nuremberg laws put the final touch to the complete exclusion of the Jews from the official, political, and cultural life of Germany, and thus also brought in its train their absolute elimination from all social and friendly intercourse. Special complicated decrees regulated the position of "half Jews" who were classified with minute exactitude as "Quarter, half, and three-quarter Jews." As a natural consequence the economic position of the Jews during 1935 became increasingly difficult and more and more hopeless. Through one form or another of the boycott Jews are directly or indirectly being pushed out of yet more occupations and places of residence. Proprietors of Jewish firms were compelled more and more frequently to dispose of their factories and businesses, which were then bought up by Aryans at ridiculous prices. If there should be no slackening of this policy, it cannot be long before the whole of the German Jewish community in Germany will be deprived of every means of subsistence.

The foreign policy of Germany continued throughout 1935 to be dictated above all other considerations by her enmity towards Bolshevism. This resulted in a permanently hostile attitude towards Soviet Russia and the cultivation of friendly relations with Poland. In the spring of the year Germany's declaration that she no longer felt herself bound by the military clauses of the Peace Treaty, caused consternation and alarm abroad. [For the actual wording and the abrogation, see under Public Documents.] The speeches of Hitler and of other leading German politicians stressing Germany's desire for the maintenance of peace did little to allay this anxiety. The apprehension roused by the renewed development of German military power was, as was to be expected, strongest in France. England, too, looked askance when Germany made preparations to expand her air arm so as to outdo that of Great Britain, and also openly announced her intention of building submarines. Italy's main mistrust was due to her doubt as to Germany's true intentions with regard to Austria.

When, however, in the autumn of 1935 the conflict with Abyssinia broke out, the political tension in Germany's foreign **policy** automatically slackened. Germany abstained from the

sanctions policy against Italy adopted by the League of Nations. While the relations between Italy and the three premier Powers within the League, viz., England, Russia, and France, became increasingly strained, those between Germany and Italy gradually improved. The Italians were also favourably impressed because the German Government during 1935 made no fresh attempts on Austria. Towards the end of the year, the German Press in discussing the Abyssinian conflict gave expression to active sympathy for Italy, but there was no evidence of a formal new treaty nor yet of any binding arrangement between Germany and Italy. On June 18 Germany signed a Naval Pact with England whereby she undertook to build ships only up to 35 per cent, of England's fleet. A special clause for submarines was added, and this pact also brought in its train a considerable improvement in Germany's foreign situation.

In January, 1935, the impending Plebiscite in the Saar gave rise to much agitation. According to the Peace Treaty the inhabitants of the Saar had the right to decide whether they wished to be under German or French rule, or whether they preferred the *status quo*, i.e., under the rule of the League of Nations. A group of the opponents of National-Socialism made propaganda for the League of Nations in order to prevent the Saar falling under Hitler's sway. The Saarlanders, however, who are overwhelmingly German, considered the choice only from the point of view of either for or against Germany. The votes on January 13 showed that over nine-tenths of those recorded had been polled for Germany. In consequence the Saar returned to the German Empire on March 1. During the second half of the year the German public took an active interest in what was going on in the locally autonomous territory of Memel. Here trouble broke out between the Lithuanian authorities and the German inhabitants. The Memel Parliament was dissolved by the Lithuanian Government, but the new elections of September 29 once more returned a German majority. Thereupon the Lithuanian Government permitted the formation of a new Council for the autonomous district, which was in accordance with the expressed wish of the parliamentary majority. Since then there has been a distinct diminution in the hostility between Germany and Lithuania.

Improved foreign relations in no wise brought with them a similar betterment in conditions at home. In 1935 Germany failed to obtain any large foreign credits nor any appreciable increase in her export trade. The gold and foreign currency reserve of Germany dwindled still further; towards the end of the year money in circulation amounted to 6*1 milliard marks, including 4.6 milliards bank-notes and 1.5 milliard token coins. This currency was covered by gold and foreign exchange of only 88 million marks. The gold cover for the currency circulation was thus approximately hardly more than 1 per cent. Under these

circumstances the gold standard of the German Reichsmark has become nothing more than a fiction. It is only being maintained because, on pain of the most severe punishments, the Government prevents the export of German notes. Regarded from the economic point of view, the export trade of Germany during the last year was just barter pure and simple; *i.e.*, Germany bought abroad neither more nor less than she could pay for with the foreign currency she obtained for her own exports. The total value of German export was, however, too low to pay for the whole amount of raw material and foodstuffs required by the German people.

The larger portion of the foreign currency available was earmarked for rearmament purposes, and the essential imports of food and cattle-fodder suffered accordingly. From the summer onwards there was a noticeable scarcity of pork and fats in Germany, later on also of eggs, and this continued to the end of the year. Immediately the normal food market became affected the same phenomena as during the war-period made their appearance. Producers and retailers in many cases tried to keep back their goods and to evade the fixed prices officially laid down. Those consumers who were in the position to do so began to hoard. The Government avoided the introduction of ration-cards, as this savoured too strongly of war-time, but the retailers were obliged to keep lists of customers, according to which the public received a weekly minimum of fats. Towards the end of the year the Government was compelled to sacrifice some of its scanty store of foreign currency in order to buy meat, fats, and fodder abroad. German markets had by this time become so disorganised that no visible improvement appeared in consequence of this action.

There was no actual food-famine in Germany at the end of 1935, for supplies of meat, other than pork, as well as potatoes and vegetables, were available. But the lack of fat had a disturbing and deleterious effect on the general atmosphere among the people. Being compelled to spend some of their foreign currency for food meant that in consequence there was a dearth of raw materials for industrial purposes. Towards the end of the year the number of those completely out of work rose, according to official figures, to two and a half million. Widespread dissatisfaction with the National-Socialist Government was noticeable. The Opposition parties and currents had, however, been so completely crushed in 1933 and 1934 that there was no revival of political unrest on a large scale. The Socialist Labour Parties continued their illegal propaganda. The Government retaliated by mass arrests. Concentration camps for political opponents continued to flourish. The so-called People's Courts, *i.e.*, the extraordinary Political Courts, sentenced many people to death who had agitated against the National-Socialists. The public at large was kept informed in the minutest detail of each case of the arrest or

condemnation of a Communist, while on the other hand most cases of arrests of Social Democrats or other representatives of the Opposition were carefully kept secret. In this way it was hoped to keep the German nation alive to the magnitude of the Bolshevik danger.

As the party in power during 1935 had no important falling out among itself, and as the Opposition was powerless to develop any counter-attack, the year passed on the whole without any internal crisis for Germany. It is significant, however, that despite this apparent calm, Hitler's Government during the whole twelve-month abstained from once more testing the wish of the people by a Referendum.

AUSTRIA.

Compared with the preceding year, which saw two civil wars (against Social Democrats and Nazis respectively), 1935 was outwardly a year of stagnation in Austria. The Clerical-Fascist regime established under Italian influence in 1934 maintained itself by virtue of its hold on the armed forces of the country, despite the vigorous underground agitation of the Socialists ("illegals," as they proudly christened themselves), the much feebler underground operations of the Nazis, and the resentment of the majority of the general population. Throughout the year the regime of heavy prison sentences and concentration camps for political opponents was maintained, and though the Nazis seemed dispirited, there were always Socialist and Communist volunteers enough to fill up promptly all gaps created in the ranks of the "illegals." But the weakening of the Italian protector through the Abyssinian adventure caused the Clerical-Fascist regime in Vienna much anxiety, which was intensified by Austria's unpopularity in the League after her refusal to participate in sanctions. Towards the end of the year there were some uncertain indications that the possibilities of finding a new protector against Germany in the Little Entente were to be explored, even though this would involve modifications in the Fascist terrorisation of the Left.

The first indication that the Government would continue its intransigent policy towards the Social Democrats was the decision to put on trial Major Alexander Eifler, Chief of Staff to the former Socialist military organisation, the Republican Defence Corps, and twenty district commanders of the force. They had been in prison for fourteen months awaiting trial, and in view of the fact that they had been arrested as part of the Fascist plans to paralyse the Socialist defence over a month before the fighting began on February 12, 1934, which developed into the counter-revolution, there had been some hopes that they would be released without trial. The Heimwehr, however, were implacable, and the trial began on April 2, all the accused being charged with high

treason in connexion with the fighting that began long after they were imprisoned. The defence took the line that it was not the Schutzbund (Republican Defence Corps) leaders who were guilty of high treason, but the Heimwehr and Clericals, who by arming to overthrow the legal Constitution of the Democratic Republic, forced the Schutzbund to prepare measures of defence. The trial ended on April 19, the principal evidence for the Government having been provided at the preliminary examinations before the police by a renegade Socialist named Korbel, though at the main trial he retracted most of his statements. Nevertheless, all but one of the accused were pronounced guilty, and sentences totalling over 129 years rigorous imprisonment were imposed. Major Eifler received eighteen years, and Captain Loew, his assistant, fifteen years. These severe sentences naturally caused great indignation in Socialist Vienna, and even many anti-Socialists expressed doubts as to the expediency of passing such severe sentences, which everyone realised could not be carried out. The immediate effect was a temporary increase in strength for the Nazis, the supporters of the Republican Defence Corps feeling that there was more prospect of getting help for violent demonstrations in that quarter than from the Socialists. Within a few months, however, these people returned to their Socialist allegiance. Not only the former leaders of the Parliamentary Social Democratic Party, but also those of the underground movements, which had replaced Social Democracy, continued to oppose among the rank and file of their followers any idea of even a temporary alliance with the Nazis, to obtain limited objectives. This despite the fact that most of them believed that the first effect of the overthrow of the Clerical-Fascist regime which they had in view was likely to be at least a temporary Nazi triumph. The risk of this they prepared reluctantly to take, knowing that it would mean increased persecution for themselves, but considering that it could not be of long duration. It was at all times difficult, however, to prevent the personal friendships formed by rank and file members of the Left parties and the Nazis, while comrades in misfortune in the prisons and concentration camps of the Government, from developing on release from prison into co-operation in anti-Government activities. On May 1 there was a small amnesty, but as 400 criminals and only 195 political prisoners, including both Nazis and Socialists, were set free, it failed to win support for the Government in any quarter. On July 1, on the insistence of the Heimwehr, the Government finally dropped the scheme to use the moderate Clerical Vice-Burgomaster of Vienna, Dr. Ernst Karl Winter, to win over Socialists from their party allegiance in order to co-operate with the Government. The Heimwehr had always complained that at his meetings and in his newspaper, he had made far too many concessions to Socialism, and on July 1, his newspaper was finally suppressed. **In July**

Socialists and Communists proved their ability to maintain communication with their imprisoned comrades by organising a hunger strike for better treatment in practically all the prisons and concentration camps in Austria, which was successful to a limited extent. Throughout the year the imprisonment of small groups of soldiers on charges of Communist and revolutionary Socialist activity showed that the army was not quite so free from political influences as the Government wished. The Socialists throughout the year lost no opportunity of demonstrating that they still retained the support of the masses. Shortly before February 12, the first anniversary of the counter-revolution, over 500 Socialists were arrested (in an endeavour to prevent any commemoration of the day), including a number of alleged members of a central committee for the purpose of organising such celebrations. The alleged members of this committee were still in prison, untried, at the end of the year. Despite this, mourning was observed in the working-class districts by the turning out of all lights in the houses for three hours in the evening. Police and troops stood by expecting trouble, but there were no serious incidents. The Vienna forest was utilised for a number of protest meetings, guarded by outposts who gave warning on the approach of the police. One man was shot dead by the police in the evening while carrying a red flag through the streets. The term Social Democrat was finally abandoned by the Socialists during the year, and the new underground Socialist organisation adopted the title of Austrian Revolutionary Socialists, thus indicating that they placed in the forefront of their programme the overthrow of the Clerical-Fascist counter-revolutionaries, postponing a return to full democracy until such time as a new democratic republic would not be in danger of a Fascist rising, such as had brought the first Republic to an end in 1934. Although a complete united front with the Communists was not established, negotiations to that end went on throughout the year. A considerable measure of co-operation was effected, and reciprocal attacks abandoned. In addition to the Socialists and Communists the illegal Republican Defence Corps and the illegal Trades Unions continued underground work on behalf of the Left during the year, with new leaders who were unknown to the authorities and largely with new members. The Socialists particularly worked on a step-by-step programme consisting of four points : Complete amnesty for all those arrested in connexion with the February fighting ; release of the " illegals " arrested subsequently for propagandist activities ; restoration of Trade Unions to the real control of the workers ; restoration of the workers' control of social insurance administration. On December 24 they practically achieved the first point, when the Chancellor, Dr. Schuschnigg, released all the " February prisoners," including Major Eifler and the twenty other Schutzbund leaders, with the exception of sixteen men, most of

whom were proved in court to have actually **killed or wounded members of** the opposing forces in February.

Although, during the year, there was frequent contact between friends of Nazi Germany and the Austrian Nazis on the one hand, and members or friends of members of the Government on the other, nothing definite was achieved in the way of a *rapprochement*. The principal Nazi case before the courts was that of Dr. Anton Rintelen, whom the Nazi rebels of July 25, 1934, had proclaimed Chancellor, and who was arrested on that day. The former Governor of Styria limped into court—he was partially paralysed by his attempted suicide on the day of his arrest—on March 2, to stand his trial. His defence was that his name had throughout been misused by the Nazi rebels, and that he had had no knowledge of their plans. The general public anticipated that Dr. Rintelen would make revelations at his trial which would have proved embarrassing to many highly placed personages, including certain members of the Government. But, as his relatives subsequently asserted, he had been persuaded that silence would be rewarded with a light sentence. If so, he was deceived, for he received the maximum sentence of imprisonment for life on a charge of "distant complicity in high treason." On January 12 another military court sentenced Dr. Walter Ott to life imprisonment, and his brother, Robert Ott, to ten years for having plotted (unsuccessfully) the kidnapping of President Miklas on the day of the Nazi putsch. Following Germany's success in the Saar plebiscite, there was a revival of Nazi activity in Austria, but of a pacific nature. Commemorative coins were struck and secretly distributed, and swastikas scattered and displayed, but there was no revival of bomb-throwing activities or other open violence. January 30, the anniversary of Herr Hitler's accession to power, was one of the many anxious days in the year for the Austrian police, but the display of force in Vienna and elsewhere prevented the Nazis from attempting any demonstrations. On February 13 a leading Viennese industrialist, Fritz Hamburger, was sentenced to imprisonment for life on charges for having been the intermediary between the Brown House in Munich and the illegal Nazis in Austria for supplies of money and arms. In April there were several cases of shooting on the Austro-German frontier, the victims being generally disillusioned Austrian Nazi legionaries who were fired on by Heimwehr patrols as they were trying to get back from Germany to Austria. On April 10 Rudolf Mandl, a police and Heimwehr spy in the ranks of the Nazis, was murdered in Carinthia by Nazis. May Day was marked by minor Nazi demonstrations, the chief among which was the hoisting of a swastika banner on the spire of the Votive Church in the heart of Vienna under the eyes of a big force of police. Herr Hitler's references to Austrian affairs in his Reichstag speech in May **were** hotly resented in Austrian official circles, and sharply replied

to by Dr. Schuschnigg and others. In August another Feme murder of a police spy, Eugene Leitermoser, was carried out by Tyrolese Nazis. Throughout the year the German Minister to Austria, Herr von Papen, was constantly working to improve relations between Germany and Austria, while at the same time strengthening the position of Austrian friends of Nazism. In the former aim he met with moderate success, but in the latter with very little.

Despite the complete indifference or hostility of the mass of the population, the Government continued to encourage propaganda for a Habsburg restoration, so far as it dared, in view of the determined opposition of the Little Entente, the hostility of Germany, and the indifference or disapproval of Great Britain, France, and Italy. On July 4 the Government put through a nominated Council of State an enactment abolishing the anti-Habsburg laws of the Austrian Republic, restoring their property and abrogating the law which exiled all members of the former Imperial house who had declined to take an oath of loyalty to the State. But, owing to the storms in the Little Entente Press, and to the warnings given through Little Entente diplomatic channels of the consequences of any further moves in this direction, the Austrian Government intimated to ex-Empress Zita and Archduke Otto that, despite the removal of legal disabilities, their presence in Austria was not desired for the time being. In view of the strained relations between Clericals and Fascists, and between Dr. Schuschnigg's armed Catholic force, the Oesterreichische Sturmscharen, and the Heimwehr, the tragic death of Frau Schuschnigg and injuring of her husband in a motor-car accident on July 13, threatened to have political consequences. But the danger passed. Prince Starhemberg, who was paying one of his frequent visits to Italy, was hastily recalled to take the helm of State until Dr. Schuschnigg had recovered from the shock ; his existing desire to resign office was naturally intensified by the tragedy. In the autumn it became known that Herr von Papen, German Minister to Austria, was having direct or indirect conversations with many prominent Clericals in the hope of arranging a *modus vivendi* between Germany and Austria, and Colonel Adam, the Government Commissary for Propaganda, felt obliged to refer to these reports in a broadcast and to assert that any such conversations were entirely unofficial. On October 12 a move against the foreign Press was made by the arrest of M. Ladislaus Benes, editor of the American-European Press Service, which served most English and American correspondents in Vienna. His offence consisted in having communicated to them reports current in Nazi circles, and after serving a brief term of imprisonment he was expelled. The vigilance which his colleagues showed in reporting the case and its implications resulted in the Government giving subsequently private assurances through diplomatic

channels that there was no intention of putting foreign correspondents under a more severe regime.

On October 17 the Government carried out a " bloodless *coup d'etat* " against a number of its internal enemies, at the head of whom was Major Emil Fey, Minister of the Interior. Major Fey had been used by Dr. Dollfuss for the most bloodthirsty part of the scheme for the suppression of the Social-Democratic regime in Vienna—the artillery bombardment of the workers' houses, and he was left with all the odium for this severity. The strange role which he played at the time of the Nazi putsch of July 25, 1934, gave fresh reasons to his colleagues to jettison him as soon as possible. They had, however, to wait some time, as Fey made no secret of his intention to use the Vienna Heimwehr, of which he was Commandant, to defend his position. Fey had been gradually pushed into the background for several months, and it was known that he was in communication with friends of the Nazis. On the night of October 7, the *coup* was carried out. Prince Starhemberg having brought big detachments of his own provincial Heimwehr into Vienna, and special police and military precautions having been taken, the Cabinet was suddenly summoned to a meeting at which Major Fey was told that his services would be dispensed with. The Government resigned *pro forma* and Dr. Schuschnigg immediately formed a new Cabinet, dropping Fey and a number of his friends. For a few days of tension it looked as though Fey intended to show fight, but eventually he accepted a high decoration and a well-paid civil post as the price of peace. In the new situation thus created, the power of Prince Starhemberg was greatly increased. Although virtually dictator of Austria, it suited him to have the methodical and diligent Dr. Schuschnigg remain Chancellor, thus retaining freedom for himself from the heavier burdens of office.

A feature of life in Austria during the year was the growth of secret printing presses, circulation of enormous quantities of underground political newspapers by the so-called " illegals," despite the vigilance of the authorities and the severity of the sentences imposed—up to five years' hard labour—for any connexion with these activities.

CHAPTER IV.

SOVIET RUSSIA — ESTONIA — LATVIA — LITHUANIA — POLAND —
DANZIG — CZECHOSLOVAKIA — HUNGARY — RUMANIA —
YUGOSLAVIA — TURKEY — GREECE — BULGARIA — ALBANIA.

SOVIET RUSSIA.

THE foreign policy of Soviet Russia in 1935 was dominated, even more than in the previous year, by fear of an attack from two sides—from the West by Germany, and from the East by Japan. In the previous year she had sought to make herself secure against Germany by means of a pact of non-aggression between herself and all her neighbours. This attempt having been frustrated through the opposition of Germany and Poland, she now came to rely to an increasing extent on the machinery of the League of Nations and the principle of collective security. For protection against Japan she relied solely upon her armed forces, which now numbered nearly a million men.

Russia's nervousness in regard to Germany was increased by the announcement made in March that Sir John Simon, the British Foreign Minister, was about to visit Berlin, together with Mr. Eden. She therefore welcomed with alacrity a suggestion that one of these Ministers should go on from Berlin to Moscow. Mr. Eden arrived in Moscow on March 28, and was received and entertained with the utmost cordiality. He himself made no secret of the fact that he found the atmosphere in Moscow more congenial than in Berlin, and he entirely dispelled any fears Russia might have entertained that Britain was likely to view with favour German designs on Russia. On the other hand, he could hold out no hope that Britain would come to Russia's assistance if she were attacked by Germany, and Russia therefore sought a more active ally in France, which like herself required security against the German menace.

As the result of negotiations conducted by the Russian Ambassador in Paris, a Draft Agreement was concluded on April 9 providing for a system of mutual guarantees and assistance between Russia and France within the framework of the League of Nations. When the French Government came to examine this more closely, it found that one of the clauses might involve a breach by France of the Treaty of Locarno, or the sending by Russia of troops through Poland. When M. Laval pointed out this objection to M. Litvinoff, the latter took umbrage, and instead of going to Paris to sign the agreement, as had been intended, returned to Moscow. M. Laval, in consequence, did not pay his intended visit to Moscow on April 25. However, the Russian Government, on further consideration, finally consented

to the modifications in the draft required by France, and the Agreement as amended was signed on May 2. [For the text of the Agreement, see under Public Documents.] On May 13 M. Laval paid his deferred visit to Moscow, where he was given an effusive welcome. Before his departure from Moscow on May 15, an official *communique* was issued expressing the complete satisfaction of MM. Stalin, Molotov, Laval, and Litvinoff with the Agreement of May 2, and recording "the spirit of friendly confidence engendered between them by this Agreement." The *communique* concluded with the statement that the Agreement in no way diminished the two Governments' intentions to continue their associated efforts for the realisation of the East European Pact, "on the basis of non-aggression, consultation, and non-assistance to an aggressor." Nevertheless, by the end of the year the Agreement had not yet been ratified by the French Chamber. Significantly enough, the conference of the Communist International in August fell in with the new policy of the Soviet Government in its relation to the Western Powers, and instructed all the Communist Parties (British, French, Belgian) to stop anti-militarist propaganda in their respective countries, and not to oppose any measures their Governments might take to increase their armed forces.

On May 16 an almost identical treaty was signed with Czechoslovakia, accompanied by a protocol connecting the treaty with the Franco-Russian Agreement, and thus bringing into operation a portion of the system of collective security envisaged in the protocol of the Franco-Russian Treaty.

Russia's fears of Germany were greatly aggravated by the Anglo-German Naval Agreement concluded on June 18 (*vide* England), as Germany immediately began preparations for making herself mistress of the Baltic and openly proclaimed it to be her own sea. Russia, in common with all the Baltic States, viewed these steps with profound misgiving.

The agreement for the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway to Japan was finally signed at Tokio on March 23. The price settled upon was 140,000,000 yen at par, of which 46,000,000 yen was to be in cash. One half of this was handed over immediately; the other half took the form of Manchukuo Government bonds, redeemable by instalments within three years. An additional 30,000,000 yen was to be paid as compensation to dismissed Soviet employees. The remaining 93,000,000 yen was to be paid in goods delivered to the Soviet Government by Japanese and Manchukuo firms within three years. The transfer of the railway was begun immediately.

Russian policy in the Far East was chiefly directed to combating Japanese designs on Outer Mongolia. For this purpose the Soviet Government kept an army of about 250,000 men on the borders of that country. The Japanese also kept a large force in

the neighbourhood, and in the course of the summer the Russian Government had occasion to protest against repeated incursions of Japanese troops into Mongolian territory. Attempts to establish a frontier commission broke down, owing to the insistence of Japan on having a military mission in the capital of Mongolia, and further friction occurred in December. Russia was deeply disappointed at Japan's refusal to conclude a pact of non-aggression, and became more convinced than ever that a war with Japan was "inevitable" in the near future; and she made preparations by erecting forts on the frontier and constructing railway lines across Siberia.

In making her Agreements with France and Czechoslovakia, Russia was careful to emphasise the fact that she was not in any way aiming at the "encirclement" of Germany, nor did her fear of the political designs of that country prevent her from entering into somewhat closer economic relations with it. On April 9 a new Trade Agreement was concluded with Germany by which that country granted Russia a five-year credit of 200,000,000 marks, at an interest of 2 per cent, above the official Reichsbank rate and part payment of which was to be effected by the export of Russian goods to Germany.

Russia's relations with other countries steadily improved during the year. On August 29 a Commercial Treaty was signed with Iran by which Russia not only regulated her trading relations with Persia, but also undertook to build a number of factories for the Persian Government. On September 6 the Soviet Union signed a provisional Commercial Treaty with the Belgo-Luxemburg Economic Union. The Czechoslovak Government guaranteed a Soviet five-year loan in that country for the amount of 250,000,000 kronen issued in June at 6 per cent, per annum. The treaty of friendship with Turkey was renewed for a further period of ten years, and at the conferences at Geneva Russia warmly supported the Turkish demands for the refortification of the Dardanelles.

The only failure experienced by Soviet Russia in her economic relations with other countries was her attempt, early in the year, to settle her indebtedness to America. However, on July 13, a provisional Trade Agreement was concluded with the U.S.A. for one year. By this Agreement Soviet Russia was granted all the tariff concessions enjoyed by other countries, while on her side, Russia undertook substantially to increase her purchases in the U.S.A. At the very end of the year Uruguay broke off diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia on the ground that Russia had been supporting Communist propaganda in the country (*vide* Uruguay).

In the internal development of the country, the year registered no small progress in certain directions. While the acreage for the spring sowing (93·7 million hectares) was little more than in

1934, and considerably less than in 1932, the number of tractors put into the fields increased to 230,000, as against 72,000 in 1930, and the share of corn of the average kolkhoz family (according to a report of the Chairman of the Council of the People's Commissars) increased from 5.5 cwt. in 1932, to 1039 cwt. at the beginning of 1935.

One of the chief tasks which occupied the Government during this year was the reform of the currency, with the object of giving the rouble a uniform value for all classes of citizens. One of the first steps was the abolition of the Torgsin shop—the shop for trading with foreigners or with people possessing foreign currency. Instead of being allowed to tender foreign currency, foreigners were empowered to obtain from the State Bank Russian roubles at a rate four times lower than the official rate of the Russian tchevroutz before the reform, *i.e.*, 25 roubles. Even this, however, is far above the purchasing value of the Russian rouble, *viz.*, 3-4 kopecks. Attempts were also made by means of more stringent tax collection, internal loans, utilising the deposits in the savings banks and so forth, to withdraw part of the note circulation, which had increased from 2,773 million roubles in 1930, to 7,300 million at the beginning of 1935.

The economic position of Russia in relation to foreign countries continued to improve. The debts in connexion with foreign trade which, in 1931, amounted to nearly 140,000,000l., towards the end of 1935 were no more than about 13,000,000l., and Soviet Russia received her latest loans in Germany and Czechoslovakia at an almost normal rate of interest. One source of this financial improvement was the greatly increased output of the gold-mining industry, which reached 160 metric tons—an increase over 1933 of nearly 79 per cent., and over 1934 of nearly 25 per cent. Considerable improvement was registered by official statistics in the working of the railways, for many years one of the weakest points in the Soviet industrial system. In January the daily loadings were just over 50,000 trucks. In October the average amounted to over 75,000, and November 7, the eighteenth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, was celebrated by the Russian railway men by loading 86,742 trucks. This effort was symptomatic of what seems to be a new spirit in Russian industry, embodied in what is called the Stakhanov movement, after its originator. This is a movement for increasing the output in every industry beyond the technical norms of the official plans, which are inevitably bound to be more or less conservative, by means of more intensive work, better use of mechanical appliances, and greater punctuality in working. Naturally, it is greatly encouraged by the authorities.

Among the achievements in the economic development of Russia in 1935 must be mentioned the completion of the underground railway in Moscow—the pride of the whole city. The

average daily number of passengers during the first six months of its working was 175,000. A second important achievement was the double journey in the summer over the so-called North-Eastern Passage from Vladivostok to Archangel and London, and from Archangel to Vladivostok. This passage opens up new and great possibilities for the development of the whole of the northern region of European Russia and of Siberia, and an air route is planned over these regions to begin operations in 1936. Already about 100 wireless stations have been established in connexion with this sea route, and a fleet of 140 aeroplanes maintains a continuous service to guide the ships and facilitate communication between various points in the Soviet Arctic region. Much valuable observation and research work was carried out by all these stations in the extreme north.

At the beginning of the year the terrorist reaction which had followed the murder of Zirov (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 213) was in full force. Heresy hunting was reintroduced, and a large number of Communists and non-Communists were either imprisoned, or deported, or driven out of the party or deprived of their posts. Zinoviev and Kamenev were sentenced to death, but were in the end saved from execution by the intervention of some of the old Bolsheviks, including the widow of Lenin himself. A more energetic purge of the Communist Party from suspicious elements was carried on all through the year, and the results of the searching investigations showed to the satisfaction of the leaders that a purge was necessary, as many criminals, and even spies, had succeeded in becoming members, and in all sorts of ways either obstructed the work of the party, or damaged its prestige among the general population. However, the acute stage of the terror did not last long, and on February 6 the Seventh Congress of the Soviets decided to reform the electoral law of the Soviet Constitution by making the elections in future more democratic, by instituting a secret ballot, by giving the peasants a representation more in proportion to their number, and by abolishing the indirect elections. In his speech introducing the reform, M. Molotov, the Chairman of the Council of Commissars, emphasised the fact that, while the bourgeois countries had largely suppressed their Parliaments and adopted terrorism as the method of their government, Soviet Russia was becoming democratic. A Committee was appointed to work out the details of the new electoral law. By the end of 1935 the Committee had not yet completed its work, and it seemed likely that for two or three years the old system would still remain in force.

Patriotic propaganda was carried on with great fervour, and ardent appeals to prepare for the defence of "our Bolshevik Fatherland" were heard at every conference, irrespective of whether it was political, economic, or scientific, or was called for the discussion of art, the theatre, or sport.

With the opening of the shops the external appearance of the citizens, especially of the ladies, changed greatly ; the so-called " cult of beauty " was pursued with touching devotion. There have already appeared journals for men's and ladies' fashions. The cost of a lady's evening frock is still in the neighbourhood of 1,000 roubles, and an afternoon frock costs 600 roubles. Even soft hats are becoming fashionable. Well-dressed foreigners are looked at with envy and admiration.

Housing conditions continue unsatisfactory, and the prevalent overcrowding created a new kind of domestic nuisance—a hooliganism which seriously interferes with the family life of those couples, still the majority, who occupy only part of a flat. A special campaign was undertaken to suppress this hooliganism, and a number of other measures are contemplated to strengthen family life and the authority of parents and teachers. One-sided divorce is now abolished.

A sign of the times is that many of the narrow, winding streets of Moscow are being widened, straightened and generally rebuilt. Large numbers of ancient churches, stated to be of no historic interest, were marked out during the year for demolition as part of a grandiose plan for rebuilding Moscow within a period of ten years, when the Volga-Don canal is expected to be completed, and the small river Moscow will have become sufficiently widened to be used as a navigable canal in order to convert the city in the heart of Russia into a great port. The demand for European forms of amusement, especially for cinemas, became so insistent during the year, that the Soviet Government adopted definite plans for establishing a Russian Hollywood in the Crimea, or further East, on the shores of the Caucasus, where the scenery and climatic conditions for cinematographic work are ideal. The tourist traffic to Russia increased considerably during 1935, but private citizens in Russia found it either impossible, or at best exceedingly difficult, to obtain permission to go abroad.

ESTONIA.

On June 12 the trial commenced of 39 members of the League of Liberators, or Estonian Fascists, who had been implicated in the abortive plot to make General Larka dictator fifteen months before (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934). Thirty-seven, including General Larka, were sentenced to short terms of imprisonment, in lieu of serving which, however, they were bound over to be of good behaviour for three years. The real leader, Dr. Sirk, had escaped to Finland. In December the Government got wind that a plot was being laid by members of the League of Liberators to seize President Pats, General Laidoner, and other Ministers when they were attending a special meeting on December 8 to discuss proposals for a new Estonian Constitution with a Parlia-

ment with two Chambers. On the night of December 7 the police surprised and arrested a number of the plotters at a clandestine meeting, and also seized some incriminating documents.

LATVIA.

Latvia remained under martial law during 1935. The trade of the country improved somewhat, but imports still considerably exceeded exports; in July certain import restrictions were introduced with a view to rendering the trade balance more favourable. In October Mr. W. N. Munters, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, went to London to discuss Latvian-British trade with the Foreign Office.

In October the Government organised a gigantic national "Harvest Festival" at Koknese, 60 miles from Riga, which was attended by 100,000 people from all parts of the country. On December 18, during the celebration of the seventeenth anniversary of Latvian independence, President Kvisieis unveiled a great monument to liberty, more than 135 feet high.

At the beginning of December the second six-monthly conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Baltic Entente was held at Riga. The decisions of the previous conference at Kovno with regard to collaboration in foreign policy and closer economic co-operation were reaffirmed.

LITHUANIA.

The great treason trial of 126 citizens of Klaipeda (Memel), which commenced before a military tribunal in December, 1934 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 216), did not conclude till March 25. The trial was conducted as fairly as possible, but the procedure was very unwieldy and not calculated to elicit all the facts or place them in a true light. Consequently the verdict did not give complete satisfaction outside Lithuania, and was thought to have been influenced by political considerations. Four of the accused were condemned to death, between eighty and ninety were sentenced to terms of imprisonment and penal servitude ranging from one to twelve years, and the rest were acquitted. Appeals against the sentences were heard in May, but were rejected, save in one or two minor details. President Smetona, however, without waiting to be appealed to, commuted the death sentences into imprisonment for life.

In April M. Novakas, the Governor of the Klaipeda Territory, resigned, and he was succeeded by M. Kurkauzkas. No attempt was made by the new Governor, any more than by his predecessor, to satisfy the grievances of the German population of Memel, and at the end of April, Britain, France, and Italy, as three of the Powers signatory to the Klaipeda Convention, after numerous

warnings, presented a joint Note to Lithuania calling for the re-establishment of normal conditions in the territory in conformity with the provisions of the Convention. An offer was made to the Germans in June to re-organise the Directory, but was not considered by them satisfactory and was refused.

About the same time the term of the Klaipeda Diet expired, and new elections were fixed by the Lithuanian Government for September 29. On August 16 a supplement to the Electoral Law was published which seemed designed to prevent the election of a German majority in Klaipeda, and led to vigorous protests from the German side. The election campaign was fought very strenuously, and aroused widespread attention both in Lithuania and in foreign countries. In answer to a German appeal, Britain, France, and Italy had expressed the opinion that the amendments to the Electoral Law did not violate the Memel Statute, but at the same time had urged the Government at Kaunas to observe the spirit of the Convention, so as not to prolong or aggravate the conflict. The Government gave heed to the warning and the election was conducted with conspicuous fairness, though with inadequate arrangements. Over 90 per cent, of the electors recorded their votes, and in the end the German Memellanders obtained 24 seats and the Lithuanians 5, the same proportion as in the previous Diet.

The Governor, M. Kurkauzkas, at first appointed a Lithuanian as head of the Directory, but as the Diet refused to accept him, he at length consented to the election of Herr Baldzus, the head of the German Party. The new Directorate at once dismissed a number of officials appointed by the previous Directorate, and reinstated a number of German-speaking officials who had been dismissed. They also cancelled a number of measures passed by the former Directory which favoured Lithuanians at the expense of Germans.

The treason trial and the electoral law amendments naturally did not tend to improve relations between Lithuania and Germany, and traffic between the two countries came to a standstill, while a number of frontier incidents occurred. The loss of German custom caused serious distress among the Lithuanian peasants, and some rioting ensued. Attempts were made to compensate for the loss of the German trade by providing a market for Lithuanian products in Russia, and in March the Soviet Union made a contract to purchase 130,000 pigs from Lithuania.

In June the Lithuanian Government gave permission to the relatives of the late Marshal Pilsudski to disinter the remains of the Marshal's mother, who was buried in a village churchyard in Lithuania, and convey them to Vilna, where they were buried with the Marshal's heart. This gesture, however, was not followed up, and relations between the two countries remained as strained as heretofore.

On October 1 a system of foreign exchange control was introduced, and Lithuanians travelling abroad were forbidden to take more than 200 lits out of the country. The purpose of the regulations, according to the Prime Minister, was to prevent the export of money not required for trade purposes, and to maintain the value of the lit.

In June Lithuania followed the example of Estonia and Latvia by making English instead of German the first compulsory foreign language in boys' schools.

A Baltic Entente conference was held at Kaunas on May 6-8. It was attended not only by the Foreign Ministers of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, but also by all the diplomatic envoys of the three States in the respective capitals and by the chief permanent officials of all the three Foreign Offices. The conference reaffirmed the political solidarity of the three members of the Entente, and the desirability of removing economic barriers which separated them. The solidarity referred to had shortly before been manifested in two ways—by a joint request made in February to the Secretariat of the League of Nations for representation on the League Council or Commissions, and by a joint refusal of a request from Russia to join an East European pact of mutual assistance, unless Germany and Poland should be included.

POLAND

On March 23 the Sejm, by 260 votes to 139, refused to reject the amendments which had been introduced by the Senate into the Constitution Bill. The Government vote was six short of the two-thirds majority which was required for altering the Constitution, and on this ground the Opposition contested the validity of the Bill. The Government, however, held that the new Constitution had already been virtually accepted by the passage of the Bill in the previous year, and that on this occasion a simple majority was sufficient ; and accordingly it declared the Bill to have become law. The new Constitution was finally signed by the President on April 23 at the Presidential Residence at Zamek in the presence of nearly all the members of the Government and to the accompaniment of a salute from 101 guns.

On March 28 M. Kozlowski was replaced as Premier by Colonel Slawek. On May 12 Marshal Pilsudski died, after having been practically dictator of the country for nine years [see under Obituaries]. One of his last acts before his death was to appoint General Rydz-Szmigly Inspector-General of the Forces, a post which carried with it the supreme control of the Army both in peace and war. Marshal Pilsudski was given a State funeral in Warsaw and also in Krakow, where he was laid to rest in the Wawel Castle, in the chapel of the Polish kings.

The new Constitution placed the Government party, the B.B. *bloc*, in an almost impregnable position, as the new electoral law practically disfranchised a large number of the Opposition parties, and the President had the right of nominating one-third of the members of the Senate, while the rest were chosen by indirect election. Soon after the death of Marshal Pilsudski, however, divergences began to show themselves in the governing party itself, a more liberal section asserting itself under the leadership of M. Koscialkowski, the Minister of the Interior. The Diet, which had existed for five years, was dissolved on July 10, and a General Election for the first Sejm under the new Constitution was held on September 8. The general public showed itself very apathetic ; out of 16,000,000 voters, only 7,500,000, or 46·51 per cent., went to the polls, as compared with 74·8 per cent, in 1930. The result of the election was a victory for the tendencies represented by M. Koscialkowski. On October 12 Colonel Slawek resigned, and the " Colonels' " group which had dominated Polish politics for some years receded for the time being into the background. M. Koscialkowski became Premier and formed a Cabinet of men of more moderate views. Colonel Beck, however, remained at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Colonel Rydz-Szmigly retained much of the dictatorial power which had been wielded by Marshal Pilsudski. On October 29 the B.B. *bloc* was dissolved by its leader, Colonel Slawek, on the ground that its work was accomplished.

The financial and economic condition of the country showed little sign of improvement during the year, the state of agriculture especially growing steadily worse. The accounts for 1934-35 closed in March with a deficit of 62,000,000 zloté, or 13,000,000 zloté over the Estimates, not counting 175,000,000 of national loan. Later in the year it was stated that, according to the taxation returns, the number of persons in Poland having incomes, earned or otherwise, of over £800 a year was only 15,000 in a population of 34,000,000. In a broadcast which he delivered on October 15, M. Kwiatkowski, the Minister of Finance in the Koscialkowski Cabinet, deplored the weakness and lack of vitality in the financial and economic situation, and pointed out that this prevented progress in the spheres of education and social services. The Army, however, he added, was " in excellent trim."

One of the first steps of the new Government was to summon extraordinary sessions of the Sejm and the Senate and ask them for the grant of special powers in order to deal with the economic crisis. These were granted on November 6, and the Government immediately passed a series of emergency measures increasing income tax, relieving the poorer classes, especially agricultural debtors, and simplifying municipal finances, which had fallen **into** great disorder through mismanagement.

On December 5 M. Kwiatkowski, the Minister of Finance,

reviewed the financial and economic situation of the country at some length in the Diet. He observed that the succession of Budget deficits which had increased the internal public debt from 300,000,000 zloté in 1928 to 1,350,000,000 zloté in 1935 could not be allowed to continue. Consequently in the new Budget the clause in previous Budgets permitting the Government to meet any deficits by means of financial operations had been dropped. The Government, he said, intended to keep the economic structure of Poland on a capitalistic basis, they would restrict Government intervention in industry to a minimum, and abstain from much of the Etatist policy formerly adopted ; nor would they resort to inflation in any form. The Budget estimates for 1936-37 comprised an ordinary expenditure of 2,168,000,000 zloté and an extraordinary expenditure of 55,000,000 zloté, besides 14,000,000 zloté for State undertakings, making a total of 2,231,000,000 zloté, which would be covered by 1,979,000,000 zloté of ordinary revenue and 258,000,000 zloté of extraordinary revenue, in which was included the entire surplus of the Polish State railways for 1936-37. The Press described this expose as being not only a lesson but a revelation, and expressed relief that the economic experiments of the last few years were not to be continued, and that a return to normal financial methods could be expected.

On February 27 a Commercial Treaty with Great Britain was signed providing for tariff reductions on a large number of British goods exported to Poland. On November 4 a Polish-German Economic Agreement, which had been under consideration since 1932, was at length signed at Warsaw. It provided for mutual application of the most-favoured-nation clause, for a few Customs rebates, and for the settlement of all payments through clearing-houses.

On November 18 the trial was commenced at Warsaw of twelve Ukrainian Nationalists for participation in the murder of Colonel Pieracki, the Minister of the Interior, in 1934. The ages of the accused ranged from 21 to 31, and with the exception of the oldest who was an engineer, all described themselves as students or ex-students. The Government studiously forbore from trying to make political capital out of the trial, either against the Ukrainians or against neighbouring countries.

In foreign affairs, Poland, throughout 1935, succeeded, with increasing difficulty, in maintaining her friendship with Germany without further estranging France. M. Laval visited Warsaw on his way to Moscow early in May, and again on his return from Moscow, in order to be present at Marshal Pilsudski's funeral. He discussed with Colonel Beck, the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, the question of the proposed Eastern Pact, but was not able to overcome Poland's objections to joining it. While he was in Poland, Colonel Beck succeeded in bringing about an interview between him and General Goering, who had also come

to **Marshal** Pilsudski's funeral. The correct behaviour of **the** German Government after the funeral made a good impression in Poland, and in July M. Beck visited Berlin and had several interviews with Herr Hitler, as a result of which he obtained a promise of a free hand for Poland in Danzig.

Partly as a result of her friendship with Germany, Poland's relations with both Czechoslovakia and Rumania deteriorated during the year. Nevertheless, Poland did not denounce the Polish-Rumanian alliance, and it was renewed automatically for five years when it expired in October.

At the end of March Mr. Eden also, the British Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, at the invitation of the Polish Government, visited Warsaw and learnt from Colonel Beck at first hand the Polish objections to the proposed Eastern Pact, the chief of which was that in case of conflict between Russia and Germany, such a Pact would give the Soviet the right to send an army through Poland to attack Germany. The subsequent conversations at Stresa between Great Britain, France, and Italy only served to accentuate this view. Poland at first was very critical of British action in the Italo-Abyssinian conflict, but after the speech of Sir S. Hoare at Geneva, it adopted a more friendly tone towards England.

FREE CITY OF DANZIG.

On April 7 a General Election was held. It had been preceded by intensive propaganda from the side of the German Nazi organisations, culminating in the visits of General Goering and other important personages from Germany. The result did not answer the Nazi expectations ; they obtained only 44 seats out of 72, which was less than the two-thirds majority required for effecting a change in the Constitution.

Serious trouble arose with Poland in the summer over the currency question. On May 2, owing to increasing financial stringency, the Free City Administration decided upon the devaluation of the Danzig gulden to a parity of one zloty instead of the one zloty seventy-two which had hitherto been its value. This action was caused mainly by the withdrawal of Germaji credits, the freezing up of large sums of money in Germany, the deficit in the Free City's Budgets, and the high cost of living **as** compared with Poland. At the end of May a panic ensued, and there was a wild run on the exchange offices for several days, in the course of which gulden were sold at 30 Polish grosz, or less than a third of their nominal value. On June 11 the Danzig Senate imposed stringent currency restrictions in order to save the situation. The Polish Government objected to this step, as being contrary to the Polish-Danzig agreement of 1920. At the same time, however, it offered assistance, but on terms which the **Free**

City would not accept. The Polish Post Office refused to obey the orders prohibiting the transfer of currency, and the Polish banks in Danzig declined to accept payments in gulden for transfer to zloté. In July the Polish Ministry of Finance forbade the importation through Danzig of goods for Polish consumption, on account of the loss in Customs dues which this would occasion. The Danzig authorities retaliated by throwing open the Danzig frontiers to the importation free of duty of a number of articles of which there was a shortage. At this point the Polish Ambassador in Berlin and the High Commissioner of Danzig, Mr. Lester, intervened, and through their representations, Danzig was induced to withdraw this order, which would have spelt the ruin of the city, and to allow Customs and railway payments to be made in Polish currency ; while both parties agreed to set up a joint Committee for clearing up the matter. As a result of the efforts of the Committee, two agreements were published on October 11. The first settled the currency difficulty to the satisfaction of Poland and provided for the renewal of economic connexions between the two parties ; the second extended the Protocol of September 18, 1933, dealing with the use of the port of Danzig by Poland, till September 30, 1936.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

At the beginning of the year it was generally expected that a General Election would take place in the autumn, and parties were already commencing to make their preparations. In an address to Press representatives on January 11, M. Malypetr, the Prime Minister, outlined a wide programme of legislation, dealing with local finance, motor taxation, unemployment and the coal industry, which he hoped to carry through in the interval. Parliament met on March 5, and it was soon found that the measures proposed by the Government on these subjects were of too controversial a character to be carried through in so short a period. Parliament therefore was dissolved on April 17, and the date of the General Election was fixed for May 19.

The result of the election was to give the six parties constituting the Government Coalition between them 149 seats in a Chamber of 300. The outstanding feature of the election was the sweeping success of the Sudetic German Party, led by Herr Konrad Henlein, which polled 70 per cent, of the German votes and obtained 44 seats, thus becoming the second largest party in the Chamber, after the Czech Agrarians. The other German parties came back with only 22 seats instead of 44. Herr Henlein's party had strong affinities with the Nazi party in Germany, but it professed unquestioning allegiance to the Czechoslovak State. Its success was largely due to discontent caused by economic distress among the German element in Northern Bohemia.

The Government resigned on May 28, but M. Malypetr was asked by President Masaryk to take office again. After approaching without success the Slovak Clerical Party, led by Father Hlinka, he induced the Czech Small Traders' Party, commanding 17 votes, to join the Government Coalition, and thus secured a majority. The new Ministry, in which Dr. Benesh remained Minister of Foreign Affairs and Dr. Trapl Minister of Finance, contained 5 Agrarians, 4 Social Democrats, 2 National Socialists, 2 Clericals, and 1 Small Trader. In spite of this diversity, the Cabinet worked without friction and was able to win the confidence of Parliament. Sharp differences of opinion arose between the Agrarian and the Socialist elements over the question of the grain monopoly, but after prolonged discussions a compromise was arrived at, and a Bill extending the scope of the monopoly and fixing the prices of all kinds of grain from the year's harvest was duly passed.

In the summer the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister more than once emphasised the fact that a balanced Budget was essential for safeguarding the economic position of the country, and an indispensable preliminary for further measures of social reform. For attaining this end, an Economy Commission was appointed by Parliament to assist the Government. Their combined efforts were so far successful that the Budget for 1936 showed a revenue of 8,033 million crowns (66,874,700l.) against an expenditure of 8,032 million crowns (66,866,300l.), thus leaving a small surplus.

Early in November M. Bradec, the Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies, died. M. Malypetr, the Premier, was appointed to the post, and he was succeeded as Prime Minister by the Minister of Agriculture, Dr. Milan Hodza, a Slovak. Dr. Hodza still retained the portfolio of Agriculture.

In foreign affairs the year 1935 witnessed a great strengthening of Czechoslovakia's ties with Russia. In January a large party of Czechoslovak journalists visited Moscow, where they were very cordially received and entertained by the Soviet authorities. On March 25 a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the two countries was signed at Prague to take the place of the Commercial Treaty of 1922. Unlike this, it was based on the most-favoured-nation principle, and it secured for Czechoslovakia valuable transit facilities for her exports to the Far East. Czechoslovakia, on her side, undertook to furnish Russia with a credit for 250 million crowns, the terms of which were definitely settled in Prague on June 3. The *rapprochement* between the two countries was crowned on May 16 by the signing of a Pact of Mutual Assistance, on the same lines as that shortly before concluded between Russia and France. It provided for mutual assistance in the event of aggression on either party, provided the victim of the aggression was assisted by France.

The Pact was to remain in force for five years, and to be submitted to the League of Nations for registration. It was accompanied by an Air Convention, and a regular service between Prague and Moscow began in the autumn. On June 8 M. Benesh visited Moscow to exchange ratifications.

Relations with Poland, already somewhat strained, grew if anything worse in the course of the year. Claims put forward in Polish quarters to the district of Teschen formed a constant source of irritation to Czechoslovakia, and on October 18 the Prague Government withdrew the *exequatur* granted to M. Klotz, the Polish Consul at Moravska-Ostrava (Mährisch-Ostrau), on the ground that he had been assisting a separatist agitation. The Polish Government retorted by withdrawing the *exequaturs* of the Czechoslovak Consuls at Poznan and Cracow. The Czechoslovak Government proposed to submit the dispute to a joint commission or to Geneva, or to arbitration under the Polish-Czechoslovak Convention of 1925, but all three offers were rejected by the Polish Government. In consequence of the friction with Poland, the air route between Prague and Moscow instituted in the autumn passed through Uzhorod in Ruthenia and Kishineff in Rumania, instead of through Warsaw, which would have been more direct.

Czechoslovak suspicions of Germany were heightened by the kidnapping on April 27 of a German emigre, Herr Lampersbeyer, by German Nazis, although he was subsequently released. Throughout the year, Czechoslovakia continued to work in close conjunction with the other members of the Little Entente, and out of consideration for Yugoslavia took a stronger line against a Habsburg restoration in Austria than she otherwise would have done. When Mr. Eden visited Prague on April 4, Dr. Benesh took occasion to emphasise Czechoslovakia's attachment to the League of Nations, which was demonstrated later in the year when the question of applying sanctions against Italy was discussed.

In the summer Dr. Masaryk, the President, expressed his desire to retire from office on account of his advancing years, and to be succeeded by his former pupil and collaborator, Dr. Benesh. The Czech People's Party (Clericals) were opposed to Dr. Benesh, and Dr. Masaryk deferred his resignation in the hope that they might be induced to withdraw their objections and allow Dr. Benesh to be elected unanimously. However, on December 14, he announced his resignation, feeling no longer equal to the duties of his office. An opponent to Dr. Benesh was found in Professor Namec. On December 18 the former was elected President for seven years at a joint sitting of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies in the Castle of Prague by 340 votes out of 440. Dr. Namec received 24 votes, and 78 blank papers were handed in, presumably by the German Heimatsfront and the Czechoslovak

Fascists. Dr. Hodza, the Premier, took over for the time being the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs vacated by Dr. Benesh. Parliament unanimously passed a Bill granting to Dr. Masaryk for his lifetime his emoluments as President and the use of Lany Castle.

In August the Pope appointed Mgr. Ritter, Counsellor of the Nunciature at Berne, as Nuncio at Prague. This appointment marked the end of the strained relations between Czechoslovakia and the Vatican which had existed since the departure from Prague of the Nuncio Mgr. Cerriacci, in October, 1933.

HUNGARY.

General Goemboes remained Premier throughout the year with semi-dictatorial powers. Parliament made little or no attempt to exercise control, but the Premier had to reckon with a good deal of outspoken criticism in the Press and on the platform, and to shape his policy accordingly. Personal rivalries were able to assert themselves, and to provide a strong check on his ambitions.

Early in the year, the ex-Premier, Count Bethlen, though like the Premier a strong Conservative, began to intrigue against him within the Government party, the so-called Party of National Unity. The Premier at first attempted to strengthen his position by making certain Cabinet changes. Finding that this was not sufficient, on March 6 he suddenly dissolved Parliament. Count Bethlen immediately resigned from the Party of National Unity, though he declined a suggestion made by some of his followers to set up a rival party. On March 17, speaking at Nagy Kanisza, where he was a candidate, he launched a bitter attack on the Premier. For two years, he said, he had kept silence, though he was dissatisfied with the Premier's unwarranted assumption of the title of Fuhrer, with his irregular auxiliaries, with the suppression of the freedom of the Press, and with the system of espionage under the *Cabinet Noir*. He also declared that the return to public life of the old race fanatics and the anti-Semites was very dangerous, and protested against the importation of alien ideas such as National Socialism, Totalitarianism, S.S., S.A., planned economy and corporations.

Meanwhile, the Premier in a broadcast address on March 9 had summed up his home policy under the heads of an extension of the Regent's powers, electoral reform, a new Press law, colonisation, reform of entail, and measures against the spread of the "one child system." The main objects of his foreign policy he stated to be European peace, loyalty to friends, revision, the rights of the Hungarian minorities, and equality of status. Commenting on this, Count Bethlen declared that the Government had no real economic programme, and he defined his own policy

as aiming at a close Customs union with Italy and Austria, supplemented by preferential agreements with Germany, Switzerland, and Czechoslovakia.

On March 20 a serious clash occurred between peasants and gendarmerie at Endrod, seven persons being killed and seven wounded. Apart from this, there was less violence than usual in the electoral campaign, though the Opposition complained strongly of unfair Government pressure. The result of the election showed that the Government could hardly be said to enjoy the confidence of the country. In constituencies with open voting—*i.e.*, all but 46—the Government polled 738,000 votes and the Opposition parties 683,000, while the total poll was 1,041,000 for the Opposition against 908,000 for the Government. In the allocation of seats, however, the Government received 170 in a House of 245, the next largest group being the Small Holders Party led by M. Eckhardt, which obtained 23.

General Goemboes's watchword continued to be "progressive Conservatism," but the conservatism in his policy was much more in evidence than the progress. Though he now had a free hand, he did practically nothing to put his programme into operation. In May he declared that the open ballot was no longer an urgent question, adding that he would always be prepared to throw his pledges overboard if he saw that they conflicted with the national interests. Nor did he show himself any more eager to break up the big estates, another reform to which he had pledged himself, and for which the country was anxiously waiting. In August he announced his intention to bring in a Bill, not for abolishing entails, as had been expected, but only for restricting certain existing entails belonging to 62 noble families to a maximum of 3,000 acres, the balance being divided as freehold among other members of the families concerned. The existing Press Law the Premier described, to the general astonishment, as one of the most liberal in Europe.

One effect of the reactionary attitude of the Premier was to bring closer together the highly discordant elements of the Opposition, which showed a disposition to rally round the figure of the ex-Premier Count Bethlen. The end of the year found that ultra-Conservative statesman co-operating not only with the Agrarian leader, Dr. Eckhardt, but also with Dr. Rassay, the head of the Radical group. Speaking at Csurgo on November 6 Count Bethlen said that out of its programme of 95 points the Goemboes Government had not yet carried out one, and that under their Bill for the reform of entail about 30 years would elapse before anyone obtained any land. On November 16, in a newspaper interview, he declared that dictatorship could quite well be combined with a mock-Parliamentarism, and that Hungary was moving with giant strides in that direction. The Premier's reply was to declare that "he regarded the position

of Hungary as so serious that progress could only be attained through unity and a single political leadership." He did not, however, explain in what the seriousness consisted.

In foreign as in home policy, General Goemboes's views underwent a certain hardening after his success at the polls. Previous to that date he had shown a certain willingness to modify his revisionist demands for the sake of co-operation with the Little Entente, but when the question of a Danubian Pact was discussed in May, he made it a condition of Hungary's adherence that she should obtain the right to introduce universal military service on a two years' basis. That in this he had in mind the example recently set by Germany was shown by a remark which he made in a speech on May 28, that much more was thought of that country since its national rebirth. In the same speech he put forward some rather extravagant territorial claims which were ridiculed by Count Bethlen ; and an acrimonious exchange of criticisms took place between the two leaders which all but led to a duel.

General Goemboes further showed his partiality for Germany by paying a sudden visit on September 30 to Berlin, where he was the guest of General Goering. In Berlin he saw numerous leading personages, besides the Italian and Polish Ambassadors, and the Austrian Minister. His activities led to the circulation of rumours that Hungary was about to join a combination against Russia, but he declared that there was no truth in them, and that there was no reason to change Hungary's policy of concluding no policy of alliance against anyone at all. He also reminded his questioners that while his own standpoint was definitely one of the Right, he had to govern under different conditions from those in Germany, since Hungary had a Parliament, an Opposition Press, and political parties.

On January 18 M. Eckhardt, on behalf of the Hungarian Government, laid before the Council of the League of Nations a memorandum containing the results of the inquiry which they had been asked by the Council in December to undertake into the activities of Croat refugees in Hungary. According to this document, which ran to 130 pages, a full inquiry had established that there was no connexion between the Hungarian authorities and the murder of King Alexander, though the admission was made that certain subordinates " had not watched the Croat emigres as carefully as might have been wished." An announcement was also made that more stringent regulations had been introduced regarding the grant and control of passports. The document was not well received in Belgrade, where it was held that much of the incriminating evidence had been merely negatived, not refuted. The Yugoslav Government, however, did not press their objections. On May 25, at a meeting of the Council of the League of Nations, M. Velics on behalf of the

Hungarian Government gave an assurance that it would continue to take necessary measures against Yugoslav terrorists and emigres. His statement was commented upon with satisfaction by M. Fotics, the Yugoslavian representative, who spoke appreciatively of the spirit of conciliation and goodwill shown by Hungary, and announced that his Government did not wish to pursue the matter further.

In the dispute between Italy and Abyssinia, Hungary showed from the first a marked disposition to side with the former. When the question of sanctions was raised at the meeting of the League Assembly on October 9, M. Velics, the Hungarian delegate, spoke of Hungary's "extraordinarily delicate and difficult position" in being asked to apply sanctions against a country which was one of her best friends, and also customers. While emphasising her adherence to the League, she refused to take this step on the ground that it would upset her whole economic and financial equilibrium.

In the Budget for 1935-36 expenditure amounted to 1,176 million pengft—an increase over the previous year of 25,300,000 penggo. The chief items were 766,500,000 for administration; 409,500,000 for State monopolies, and other concerns; and 147,300,000 for the Ministry of the Interior (gendarmerie, police, etc.). The deficit was 75,800,000 penggo, compared with 66,100,000 in 1934.

RUMANIA.

On March 15 the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies voted the further prolongation of martial law and of the censorship for a period of six months, in spite of vehement protests from the Opposition parties, which maintained that there was nothing in the state of the country to justify such a measure. The Government, however, thought otherwise, and decided on September 12 to renew martial law and the censorship for yet another six months. Thus during the whole year Rumania was without proper Parliamentary government.

The financial position continued to be a source of anxiety. At the beginning of the year M. Auboin, the French financial adviser to the National Bank, presented his final report on the termination of his mission, which he had taken up three years before. He stated that the Budget equilibrium outlined in the Stabilisation programme of 1929 had been maintained only for the first year, and that from 1932 onwards there had been an annual deficit of from 3,000 to 4,000 million lei, in spite of the fact that the service on the foreign debts had, owing to concessions made by the bondholders, fallen from 6,000 million lei to 1,500 million. Expenditure which in 1932 and 1933 had been kept below 18,000 million lei had in 1934 risen to 19,200 million lei, largely owing to an

increase in the number of public officials. M. Auboin recommended that expenditure should be drastically reduced so as to fall below 18,000 million lei and that, by means of stricter collection, revenue should be increased by 2,000 to 3,000 million lei.

In view of the critical position M. Slevescu, the Minister of Finance, sought to make reductions of 1,900 million lei in the Budget expenditure, which was much in excess of the estimated revenue. He was not successful, and on January 31 he resigned. He was succeeded by M. Victor Antonescu, the Minister of Justice, whose place was taken by M. Valerien Pop. The Budget for 1935-36, which was approved by the Cabinet on March 19, fixed ordinary expenditure at 20,600 million lei (about £41,200,000), and contained in addition a Budget of 2,000 million lei (about £4,000,000), called the National Defence Fund, which was to be used wholly for armaments, and a Budget for the settlement of arrears. The armaments Budget was to be raised by taxing sugar and houses. Owing to more careful collection, the receipts from taxation were substantially higher in 1935 than in 1934, and as the liabilities from former years had been almost wholly liquidated from the proceeds of the 1934 Internal Loan (which produced 2,900 million lei net), the fiscal situation was much improved at the end of the year.

The trade balance also promised to be much more favourable in 1935 than in the preceding year. This was due chiefly to the great increase in the export of oil and oil products to Italy. Towards the end of the year, oil represented more than a half of Rumania's total export trade. The exchange regulations were altered in May, and again in November, with the object of giving the National Bank greater control of foreign currency.

On February 8 a new debt agreement was concluded with Great Britain for the progressive liquidation of the trade debts of Rumania. The Rumanian Government was to pay into the Bank of England 400,000l. before February 28 and 60,000l. at monthly intervals as from April 15. On November 1, 1934, the outstanding debts amounted to about 2,500,000l. In July the Rumanian Government found itself forced to ask for a modification of this agreement, and after prolonged negotiations a new short-term agreement came into force on August 15 by which Rumania paid only 37,000l in cash, but consented to a levy on the sterling proceeds of her imports into England.

On December 8 grave anti-Semitic disturbances took place at Bucharest. A group of some 300 Nationalist lawyers and students armed with heavy sticks stormed the Law Courts, where the elections for the Bar Council were being held, and brutally attacked a number of prominent Jewish lawyers. Rioting afterwards took place in the streets, and many Jews were roughly handled. Anti-Semitic demonstrations also occurred at Rumanian Universities.

In foreign affairs Rumania continued to work in close conjunction with the other members of the Little Entente. Besides attending a meeting of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente at Ljubljana (Laibach) on January 11 (*vide* Yugoslavia), M. Titulescu, the Foreign Minister, visited Belgrade on March 25 and Prague on March 27. On July 12 Prince Paul of Yugoslavia paid a visit to King Carol at Sinaia, as a result of which, according to M. Titulescu, the unity of the Little Entente was more closely cemented than ever. As a member of the Entente, M. Titulescu declared that Rumania was opposed to a Habsburg restoration in Austria, and would mobilise automatically if the Dynasty were to be established in Vienna.

The Conference of States that had concluded the Balkan Pact was held in Bucharest on May 10 to 13. A *communique* issued on May 13 stated that the Permanent Council welcomed the conclusion of the Franco-Soviet Pact, and that in regard to the Rome Pact, the Balkan Entente was prepared to contribute to the realisation of its objects " in collaboration with all the countries mentioned in the Laval-Mussolini Protocol of January 7," if its legitimate interests were respected. Much attention was devoted to economic questions, and the Permanent Council approved measures designed to promote the interchange of goods between the States of the Balkan Entente.

As a result of the non-aggression Pact concluded between the U.S.S.R. and Rumania in 1934, an agreement was reached between the two countries early in the year to open a direct railway route between Bucharest and Moscow. The railway bridge across the Dniester which had been destroyed during the war was reconstructed after twenty years and was formally opened on October 18, when a train carrying a number of high officials ran across it on a journey from Kishineff to Tiraspol. Towards the end of the year M. Titulescu, the Foreign Minister, hinted that negotiations might soon take place with Russia regarding a Pact of Mutual Assistance, and he declared that the friendship of Russia was necessary to Rumania for historical and political reasons.

YUGOSLAVIA.

During his first year as chief Regent, Prince Paul showed himself a much milder ruler than King Alexander had been. The dictatorship was maintained, but considerable latitude was allowed to its opponents, and the way was paved for a return to constitutional government.

The political attitude of M. Yevtitch, who was Prime Minister when the year opened, was equivocal, and was variously interpreted. On January 13 M. Uzunovitch, the late Premier and leader of the reactionary " Yugoslav National Party," challenged

the Government to declare itself openly in favour of loyal adherence to the principles of January 6, 1929 (*i.e.*, King Alexander's proclamation of a dictatorship), and of maintaining unchanged the Constitution of 1930 and the prohibition to establish new parties or revive the old ones. M. Yevtitch refrained from declaring himself one way or the other. Student demonstrations thereupon took place at Belgrade, and the Government put them down with some severity.

On February 6 M. Yevtitch dissolved the Skuptschina and ordered new elections for May 5. The electoral campaign presented certain features which the Opposition regarded as encouraging. The Premier's election statement, which was couched in general terms, spoke of the need for sacrificing the past for the sake of the future. The leading Zagreb paper, *Obzor*, was allowed to write that presumably there would not be a return to old methods, and that obstacles would not be placed in the path of political parties and new formations. Further, the official Yugoslav National Party, which alone took part on the so-called "elections" of 1931, did not put forward any candidates, and M. Yevtitch had no party behind him but only lists containing his own personal adherents. Taking heart from these signs, the Opposition parties threw themselves into the campaign with some vigour. The Serbian Democrats and Agrarians invited Dr. Matchek, the Croat leader, to head a joint Opposition list, and Dr. Matchek consented, thus abandoning the policy of Croat abstention.

The campaign was conducted by the Opposition under all the handicaps created by the electoral law of 1930—open ballot, muzzling of the Press, and State interference. The victory of the Government was therefore a foregone conclusion, but it proved far less complete than might have been expected in the circumstances. It was announced at first that the Government had obtained 1,738,000 votes (62 per cent.) against 983,000 (35 per cent.) given to the Opposition, but a recount increased the latter's poll to 1,063,000. In view of the many difficulties under which they had laboured, the result was in many ways a "moral victory" for the Opposition. They were not permitted, however, to reap the benefit of it, as under the artificial franchise provisions of the Constitution, only 67 seats in a House of 305 were allotted to them. In consequence, they decided to boycott Parliament.

Nor did they accept their defeat passively. The Opposition Deputies in a private session at Zagreb passed a resolution strongly condemning the Government's methods of terrorism. Also the Catholic Archbishop of Zagreb, Mgr. Bauer, accompanied by the Uniate Bishop, Dr. Nyarady, paid a special visit to Belgrade in order to lay before the Regents a memorandum of protest against the acts of illegality committed in his diocese during the election, and to warn them that Croat confidence was being under-

mined. They found Prince Paul sympathetic, and he withdrew his confidence from M. Yevtitch. A crisis arose soon after when one of M. Yevtitch's Croat nominees, M. Banitch, made a gross attack on Dr. Matchek and his colleagues, charging them with sympathising with the Marseilles crime. The three Croat Ministers at once resigned in protest, and they were joined by General Zivkovitch, the Minister for War, and M. Stoyadinovitch, the Minister of Finance. Prince Paul thereupon took the dramatic step of inviting Dr. Matchek to see him, and discussed with him the possibility of a working agreement.

As a result of these and other conversations, the Regents on June 23 invited Dr. Stoyadinovitch to form a Cabinet which, without for the present altering the Constitution, should introduce a somewhat more liberal regime. M. Stoyadinovitch, who was a member of the former Serb Radical Party, formed a Cabinet from which M. Yevtitch and his friends were excluded, while the three Croats whose resignation had precipitated the crisis were retained. General Zivkovitch remained at the War Office, Father Korosetch, the Slovene Clerical leader, became Minister of the Interior, Dr. Spaho, the Moslem leader, became Minister of Communications, and M. Stoyadinovitch retained in his own hands the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The servile Skuptschina had no hesitation in transferring its allegiance from M. Yevtitch to the new Premier, and he obtained from it without difficulty authority to amend by decree the Press law, the franchise law, and the law on association and assembly. The Skuptschina was then adjourned indefinitely. One of the Government's first acts was to relax the censorship considerably. To consolidate its position, it formed a new party entitled "Yugoslav Radical Union," and comprising the Serbian Radicals, Slovene Clericals, and Bosnian Moslems; its executive consisted of MM. Aca Stanoyevitch, the veteran Radical leader, Stoyadinovitch, Korosetch, and Spaho, and it stood for constitutional and parliamentary government in a unified State. The Opposition adopted an attitude of reserve to the new Government, waiting to see how it would act.

On the seventeenth anniversary of National Unity, a political amnesty was proclaimed by which over 10,000 persons benefited in the country. By this time the whole country was preoccupied with the conflict between the League of Nations and Italy, and the Government hesitated to take any further step until the situation should develop. It was also waiting to see what revelations would be produced by the trial in France of the three Croats charged with being accomplices in the murder of King Alexander.

In foreign affairs Yugoslavia, while acting in close conjunction with the other members of the Little Entente, showed herself more strongly opposed than her partners to a Habsburg restoration in Austria, and it was chiefly at her instigation that the Little

Entente declared so strongly against such a step. This feeling was shared by all parties in the State, and caused Yugoslavia to incline somewhat to Germany and to receive with suspicion, approaches which were made by Italy. Relations with Bulgaria continued to improve. A Congress of Sokols held in Sofia in the middle of July was attended by 7,000 Sokols from Yugoslavia, who were received with great enthusiasm and fraternised everywhere with the Bulgarian public.

On July 25 after long delays, a Concordat was at length signed in Rome between the Vatican and Yugoslavia. Among its more notable features were the restoration of the See of Split (Spalato) to the archiepiscopal rank which it had enjoyed in the eleventh century; the elevation of the Prince Bishop of Ljubljana to archiepiscopal rank; the creation of new Catholic sees in Nish, the Bashka, and the Banat; the concession to Catholic clergy of the Right to give instruction in schools to Catholic children; and the recognition of religious marriage by the State. The Church on its side undertook to discourage its clergy from becoming active members of political parties. The conclusion of the Concordat made a very good impression on the Croats, who had long chafed at the absence of State recognition of the Catholics, similar to that accorded to the Orthodox, the Moslems, and even the Protestants.

TURKEY.

Although no event of outstanding importance served to make 1935 in any way particularly memorable for Turkey, the year may be said to have advanced the country a definite stage along its planned route of progress. The President and his Government lost no opportunity of insisting upon their devotion to peace, the maintenance of which is, indeed, needed for the further consolidation of the country and the successful development of its resources. While, however, the influence of Turkey can thus be relied upon to be exercised in the cause of peace, her rulers are under no illusion in regard to the necessity for a strong Turkey, which shall be able to play in international affairs a part commensurate with its geographical position and its interests. It was within these limits that the Turkish Republic pursued its realist policy during 1935. In June the Prime Minister announced that steps would be taken to increase the strength of the Air Fleet to 500 aircraft. The funds for this purpose, Estimated at 60,000,000l.T., were to be raised by voluntary contributions; but in December it was found necessary to make the contributions compulsory. At the same time the Government was empowered by the Grand National Assembly to enter into financial engagements for the purchase of aircraft for a total amount) of 21,500,000l.T. (3,440,000l.).

The programme for the modernisation of the country entailed

the prohibition of the wearing of clerical garb and the compulsory adoption of family names (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 237). In both cases the regulations, which, enacted six months earlier, came into force in June, were modified in their application to Turkey's Greek-speaking subjects, to meet Greek susceptibilities, as a concession to the cause of Greco-Turkish harmony. Relations between Turkey and Bulgaria were clouded by uneasiness on the part of the latter in regard to the strengthening of the Turkish garrisons in Thrace. For a short space of time Turkey and her partners in the Balkan Entente may have been suspicious of Bulgaria's action in moving troops to the Greek frontier on the outbreak of the Venizelist rising in Greece, and the Bulgarian Government in turn became alarmed over Turkey's military movements (*vide* Bulgaria, p. 238). The outcome was a Memorandum on the subject from Bulgaria to the League of Nations ; it was withdrawn two days later, and the Sofia Government was reassured by the Turkish explanation. Turkey, however, made it clear at the same time that she remained steadily opposed to any revision of the Peace Treaties, and Bulgaria, taking the reference to heart, subsequently informed the Turkish Government that it had no intention of denouncing the military clauses of the Treaty of Neuilly. The re-establishment of correct relations between the two Governments was not reflected in the Press of the two countries, and towards the end of the year the Turkish Government undertook at Bulgaria's instance to see that the comments of Turkish newspapers on Bulgarian affairs should be moderated.

In July the Minister for National Economy visited Russia in connexion with the further development of the Turkish plan of industrialisation and the continuance of Soviet technical and financial support. The main object of the second Five-year Plan on which Turkey is thus to be enabled to embark is the electrification of the country with a view to the more adequate exploitation of its mineral resources. On November 7 a Protocol was signed in Ankara, extending for ten years the Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality with the U.S.S.R. (concluded in 1925), together with the Protocol of 1929 and the Naval Agreement of 1931. Earlier in the year the Turkish President had found occasion to refer to the cordial relations with Soviet Russia, and to Soviet support of Turkey's case in the matter of the Straits, which Turkey had raised at the Council of the League of Nations in April. The subject had also been mentioned at the conference of the Balkan Entente States held in Bucharest during May (10-13), when the Turkish delegate announced that, if the Austrian, Bulgarian, and Hungarian Peace Treaties were revised, Turkey would demand a revision of the Straits Convention of 1923 and the right to fortify the Dardanelles.

In connexion with the Italo-Abyssinian War Turkey declared her acceptance of the principle of sanctions, and on November 13

the Grand National Assembly authorised the Government to apply financial and economic sanctions against Italy as from November 18. At a later date Turkey, as a Mediterranean Power, agreed to give her support to Great Britain in connexion with any development in the Mediterranean arising from the application of sanctions.

At the beginning of the year trade relations between Turkey and Great Britain were on a provisional basis pending a new commercial convention between the two countries, rendered necessary by the denunciation by Turkey of the Treaty of March 1, 1930. On February 14 the Turkish Government cancelled the privileges extended to British exporters to Turkey under the so-called Free List, on the ground that in the absence of a Convention, Turkey was not able to furnish the foreign exchange required to pay for British imports. On June 4 an Anglo-Turkish Commercial Agreement was signed in Ankara, to remain in force for nine months. It comprised a renewal of the 1930 Agreement, with certain reservations and modifications, including the omission of the most-favoured-nation clause. Seventy per cent, of the sterling accruing from Turkish exports to the United Kingdom was to be made available for the payment of Turkish imports from the United Kingdom ; facilities were given for the import of a considerable range of British goods, and quotas were to be allocated in respect of certain goods. Great Britain on her part was to reduce the duty on figs and fig-cakes ; no duty was to be placed on raw mohair, and the existing duty on valonia and hazel-nuts (not in shell) was not to be increased. The Agreement was ratified by the Grand National Assembly on June 19, and came into force the next day.

A settlement of a matter left outstanding with the United States of America since the Agreement at Lausanne on December 24, 1923, was effected at the beginning of 1935 by an undertaking on Turkey's part to pay 1,300,000 dollars (in thirteen annuities of 100,000 dollars as from June 1, 1936) for the losses sustained by American citizens during the Great War.

In the-sphers of domestic politics the General Election on February 7 was notable for the fact that it was the first to be held since the Grand National Assembly had adopted (December 5, 1934) the proposal to extend the franchise to women. Seventeen women were elected deputies, and the number of Independents for whose candidature provision had been made was increased from six to sixteen. The total number of deputies elected was 399, of whom 383 belonged to the official People's Party. The new Assembly (the fifth) met on March 1, when Marshal Kamal Atatürk was elected President of the Republic for a fourth term of office. All the retiring Ministers were re-elected, with the exception of the Minister for National Defence, Bay Apaydin, who was succeeded by General Kazim Özalp, a former President

of the Assembly. Ismet Inonu remained Prime Minister and Bay Rushtu Aras Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The Budget for 1935, presented in May, estimated Ordinary Expenditure at 195,011,520l.T. (approximately 32,000,000l.), an increase of close upon 11,000,000l.T. over that of 1934, with Extraordinary Expenditure on Public Works and National Defence estimated at 14,700,000l.T. The cost of National Defence, including the gendarmerie, amounted to 35.2 per cent, of the total., On April 27 the Grand National Assembly voted a credit of 10,000,000l.T. (1,660,0002.) for the purchase of new vessels for the State Shipping Line, over a period of ten years. During the year the Government concluded (May 2) an agreement with the British Company concerned to purchase the Smyrna-Aidin Railway for 1,825,840l. in forty annual instalments, with interest at 7½ per cent., and another agreement with the Istanbul Telephone Company (July) to take over the service for the payment of twenty yearly instalments of 40,0002. each. A Bill was approved by the Assembly for the modernisation of the equipment and for the extension of the quays of Istanbul port.

Earthquake shocks were experienced in Turkey on January 4, when considerable damage was done in the Marmora Archipelago (the shock being felt also in Istanbul), and again in the neighbourhood of Kars during May, when 630 houses out of 990 in the region affected were reported to have collapsed.

A census was taken on October 20, which showed that the population of Turkey was 16,188,767—7,974,925 men and 8,213,842 women.

GREECE.

For Greece 1935 may well provide a landmark for all time as the year of the Restoration of the Monarchy. Towards the end of 1934 a measure of reconciliation had been achieved between the political parties, divided for over nineteen years into two bitterly hostile camps. The Opposition had returned to the Chamber, from which it had withdrawn in June, and on January 16, 1935, a joint meeting of party leaders was able to agree upon a six-year programme of expansion, including plans for the reorganisation of the country's defences. A sum of from six to seven thousand million drachmae (about 13,000,000l.) was to be allocated for defence up to 1940, covering the construction of eight destroyers, a 10,000-ton cruiser, and several submarines. M. Venizelos remained in Crete, refusing to return to Athens to take his seat in the Chamber, on the ground that the Government was not prepared to guarantee his personal safety. His abstention from Parliament was also intended, no doubt, to be in the nature of a protest against the continued postponement of the trial of those who were charged with being implicated in the attempt on

his life on June 6, 1933. After a further postponement in January, this trial ultimately opened on February 21. A week later, however, the proceedings were interrupted by the outbreak of civil war, as a direct result of which all the accused, except the former brigand Karathanassis, were subsequently acquitted.

On March 1 a number of retired officers seized the Arsenal at Salamis, while another party of insurgents occupied the Military College and the barracks of the Evzones in Athens. The cruiser *Averoff* was seized and with six smaller units of the Greek Navy put out to sea, under Admiral Demestichas and Captain Kolialaxis. Wireless messages were broadcast from this fleet calling upon provincial garrisons to assist the movement for the overthrow of the Government. The only support that came from the mainland was centred in Greek Macedonia, where General Kamenos had placed himself at the head of an insurgent force. An outbreak in Salonika had been planned to take place on the same day as the rising in Athens, but had been forestalled by the Corps Commander, who arrested the officers suspected of being implicated. In Athens the two isolated groups of insurgents were attacked on March 2 by Government troops and were quickly overpowered. In Macedonia General Kondylis, Minister of War, took the field within a few days against the rebel forces, who were holding Seres, Demirhissar, Drama, and Kavalla. His advance began on March 9, and in two days the insurrection had collapsed. Most of the units involved surrendered without serious fighting, and on March 11 General Kamenos with about a dozen rebel officers crossed the Greco-Bulgarian frontier and surrendered to the Bulgarian authorities. Without aeroplanes and cavalry and with inferior artillery, the insurgents could have put up no fight against General Kondylis's army. The total losses incurred by the Government troops in suppressing the rising were stated to have been eleven killed and twenty-eight wounded.

In the meantime the insurgent warships, after leaving Salamis, had made their way first of all to Crete, where M. Venizelos announced that he accepted leadership of the revolt. On the arrival of the fleet in Suda Bay, the Governor-General of Crete and the loyal authorities were superseded, and the island under M. Venizelos formally joined the rising. The ships, however, found themselves exposed to attacks from the Greek Air Force, which had remained entirely loyal to the Government, and proceeded northwards. They seized Samos, Chios, and Mytilene, and, if they had been able to maintain themselves at sea, would have presented a serious problem to the Government, which possessed no warship capable of dealing with the *Averoff*. The fate of the rising, however, had already been sealed, and the first concern of the leaders became the question of making good their escape. On March 11 M. Venizelos left Crete and two days later, after a preliminary landing at the Italian island of Kasos, arrived with

some fifty rebel officers and officials at Rhodes. The various warships were left to make their surrender to the Government. M. Venizelos subsequently withdrew to France.

As the event proved, the rising had been badly organised and was lacking in leadership. Yet it had been in preparation for some time, for in a statement made in Rhodes M. Venizelos disclosed the fact that two months earlier he had told those who were advocating the movement that he was with them in spirit, but not as its leader. Republican circles, it would seem, had decided that monarchical sympathies were gaining ground in Greece. Although the Prime Minister, M. Tsaldaris, had repeatedly given assurances that the republican system was not in danger, the more ardent Republicans resented the anomaly that an avowed Monarchist Party should hold the reins of power in a Republic. Extremists in the Army and Navy, satisfied that they must lose their positions in the event of a monarchical restoration, decided that the best way to make sure of retaining their posts would be to oust the Monarchist Government. They failed to carry public opinion in Greece with them, and the speedy collapse of the movement followed.

The task before the Government in dealing with the situation created by the rising was not an easy one. M. Tsaldaris announced that exemplary punishment would have to be meted out to those who had been responsible for the insurrection, and that there would be a purge of the armed forces in regard to officers not devoted to their duties and of the public services in regard to officials who had proved themselves incapable or too devoted to party politics. The first court martial to pass sentences (March 31) imposed no death penalty ; a few days later sentence of death was passed on a Major by the Salonika court martial and was carried out the next day. Another court martial sentenced to death General Kamenos and nine other officers who had taken refuge in Bulgaria, and a similar sentence was passed on eight officers who had escaped to Turkey. On April 22 General Papoulas, President of the Republican Defence League, and two other Generals were condemned to death, the sentences in the case of General Papoulas and General Koimissis being carried out within forty-eight hours. Other fugitive officers were also condemned to death *in absentia*, together with M. Venizelos, General Plastiras (who would seem to have been selected to lead the rising, but failed to take effective action), Major Kakis (of Canea) and M. Koundouros, Minister of Public Safety in the first Cabinet under the Republic. Sentence of ten years' imprisonment was passed on M. Kyriakos Venizelos and of five years on General Gonatas. Although a case could be made out for dealing severely with rebels in the armed forces, public opinion was not prepared for the extent to which the purge of the public services was carried out, involving, as it did, the dismissal of a considerable number of

University professors and lecturers and teachers in schools, in addition to officials of all ranks in State employment. The severe measures adopted caused the Government to lose some of the sympathy that the insurrection had won for it, and the situation tended to become so strained that the Governments of Great Britain, France, and the United States instructed their Ministers in Athens to commend to the Greek President and the Prime Minister a policy of clemency towards the rebels. Towards the end of June it was announced that, inclusive of officers who had been court martialled, 377 Army officers had been retired, 497 cashiered, and 43 suspended.

During March various changes were made in the Cabinet. General Kondylis, whose vigorous action was largely responsible for the speedy suppression of the rebel movement, became Deputy Prime Minister. The Chamber on March 27 recorded its approval of the extra-constitutional measures adopted by the Government for the suppression of the rising, and on April 1 three Acts were promulgated dissolving the Chamber and abolishing the Senate, suspending the permanency of the Judiciary, and suspending the permanency of Civil servants and of banking and economic officials in institutions contracting with the State. A General Election was fixed for June 9. Until the new National Assembly should meet, legislative authority was invested in the President of the Republic on the Cabinet's responsibility.

As the rising had been represented by those responsible for it as a desperate effort to preserve the Republican system for Greece, it was almost inevitable that its complete failure should give rise to reports of the possible restoration of the Monarchy. In view of these reports General Kondylis made a public statement before the end of April to the effect that the Republican regime had been recognised by all political parties, but that the Government would not hesitate to submit the question of the regime to the nation, if any considerable portion of the latter gave evidence of a desire that it should do so. Subsequently the Prime Minister undertook that, if the new National Assembly favoured a revision of the constitutional regime, the Government would enable the electorate to express its wishes by making provision for a plebiscite in the new Constitution. As a protest against what they regarded as the Government's equivocal attitude towards the Republican system, the leaders of the old Republican camp—comprising Liberals, Progressives, Liberal Agrarians, Agrarians, and Conservatives—decided to abstain from the General Election, which resulted in the return of 243 Populists (M. Tsaldaris's Party), 37 followers of General Kondylis, 7 Metaxists, and 6 Independents.

During the next four months Greece found herself in the throes of a heated controversy regarding the future regime. The fifth Constitutional National Assembly met on July 1, and on July 10 the Plebiscite Bill was voted, the Government being empowered

to fix the date of the plebiscite. A week later General Kondylis, at the instance of some of his fellow-Ministers who were concerned at the persistence of reports that the plebiscite was to be indefinitely postponed, called upon M. Tsaldaris to dispel the bad impression created by declaring his own personal preference in regard to the regime. In the face of the Prime Minister's reluctance to take this step, General Kondylis resigned. M. Tsaldaris thereupon handed in the resignation of the Government and proceeded to form a new Cabinet, in which General Kondylis retained the portfolio of War, while five former Ministers, including M. Theotokis, retired. The controversy over the regime continued, and on September 10 M. Tsaldaris, confronted once more with the threatened resignation of General Kondylis, following a clash between Republican and Monarchist officers outside the room where a Cabinet meeting was being held, issued a proclamation recommending the nation to vote for the restoration of the Monarchy at the plebiscite. A week later the date of the plebiscite was fixed for November 3.

The more ardent Monarchists in the fighting services, however, remained dissatisfied with the Prime Minister's attitude, and on October 10 M. Tsaldaris was called upon to withdraw and to hand over the control of the Government to General Kondylis. On the same day the latter became Prime Minister, with M. Theotokis as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs. One of the first acts of the new Cabinet was to obtain from the National Assembly a vote for the proclamation of Greece as once more a Kingdom, on the understanding that the return of the Monarch would not take place until after the plebiscite of November 3. On October 28 the Cabinet issued a decree declaring the inviolability of the monarchical and social regimes, and enacting severe penalties against the Press for incitement to revolt, to disobey the authorities or to shake confidence in the fighting services. At the same time discussion in the Press of events immediately preceding the abolition of the Republic was prohibited. On the proclamation of the Monarchy M. Zaimis ceased to be President of the Republic, and the Regency was vested in General Kondylis.

King George, eldest son of the late King Constantine, had been called to occupy the throne of Greece on September 28, 1922, when the Revolutionary Committee formed after the Greek defeat in Asia Minor compelled his father to abdicate. After less than fifteen months on the throne King George was "advised" by his Prime Minister, General Gonatas, to go abroad, and he left Greece on December 19, 1923. The greater part of his nearly twelve years of exile was spent in Great Britain, and it was in London that he awaited developments in Greece during 1934-35. The decisive victory of the Populist (Monarchist) Party at the General Election on June 9, 1934, suggested that it was only a question of time before King George would be restored to the Greek throne,

but he found opportunity to make it clear that he had no desire to return as the head of a victorious party, but only in response to a summons from an overwhelming majority of the nation. His attitude on this point added to the difficulties of the situation in Greece, as the Monarchists themselves were by no means certain that the entirely free plebiscite for which M. Tsaldaris, Prime Minister, stipulated would give the majority that the King desired. Failure to move King George from his resolve was probably responsible for the course that events subsequently took in Greece. M. Tsaldaris made way for General Kondylis, and the Monarchy was proclaimed. The formality of a plebiscite was retained, but nothing was left to chance in the matter of ensuring a suitable majority in favour of the Restoration.

The voting at the plebiscite on November 3 gave, according to the official return, a majority of over 97 per cent. The Regent and the members of the Cabinet took the oath of allegiance to King George II., and a few days later a delegation representing the National Assembly, the Government and the Armed Forces, left for London to request His Majesty to return to Greece and to assume once more the exercise of his royal duties. The King left London on November 14, and after paying visits to Paris and in Italy, arrived on November 25 in Greece, where a great welcome was accorded to him.

The first few days of the new reign were troubled by a controversy between the King and his Ministers. General Kondylis had handed to the King on his arrival the resignation of the Government, and had been requested to carry on the administration pending the appointment of a new Cabinet. King George had stipulated for an amnesty for all political offenders in order that the country might bury the past. General Kondylis considered that he ought to continue to lead the Government, but was unwilling to sign the amnesty in the form desired by the King. The latter, however, refused to accept any further modification of the unconditional amnesty that he had asked for beyond the reservation that officers should receive a pardon without reinstatement in their posts. By standing his ground firmly, the King rallied to himself a country that had previously been divided. A Service Cabinet was formed under M. Demerdjis ; the Ministers had no party ties and undertook not to stand at the General Election which it would be the duty of the Government to hold. A general amnesty was proclaimed, and on December 17 the King by proclamation dissolved the National Assembly and fixed a General Election for January 26. The new Chamber is to meet on March 12. The King in his work of political appeasement was, undoubtedly, helped by the action of M. Venizelos, who was included in the general amnesty. After a preliminary recommendation to the Liberal Party that the Monarchy should be accorded a probationary period of tolerance, M. Venizelos an-

nounced his intention to return to Crete and declared that, if the King continued on the good path on which he had begun, he would not only consolidate his throne, but would also renew the national unity that had been broken twenty years previously.

Admiral Koundouriotis, the first President of the Greek Republic, died on August 22. During May and June three Greek prelates achieved notoriety by staging an ecclesiastical "revolt" for the return of the Greek Orthodox Church to the Julian Calendar. They were Bishop Germanos of Dimitrias (Volo), Bishop Chrysostomos of Zante, and Bishop Chrysostomos, formerly of Fiorina. The sentence passed upon them by the ecclesiastical authorities was degradation to the status of monks and five years' confinement in monasteries.

BULGARIA.

Some time before the end of 1934 the regime established by the *coup d'état* of May 19 of that year had proved itself unable to live up to the expectations raised by its earlier achievements. It had suspended Parliament and swept away the political parties whose rivalries and self-seeking had contributed so largely to Bulgaria's plight; it had suppressed the Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation and had improved the administration, while holding out hopes that it would evolve a successful programme for the economic reconstruction of the country. As the months passed, however, it became evident that its economic policy did not go beyond the State regulation of trade activities, which not only failed to produce the required revenue, but also gravely prejudiced the business community and threatened the financial structure of the country. At the same time it was made clear that the Government was mainly preoccupied with its own position and with the elaboration of changes in the Constitution which would legalise and perpetuate the exceptional powers that it had exercised since May. In particular it was credited with the intention, at the prompting of Colonel Damian Veltcheff, the power behind all its actions, of increasing the authority of the Government at the expense of the King's prerogatives. To this end supreme power, it was reported, was to be vested in a Council of State, of which Colonel Veltcheff would be President. Differences of opinion within the Cabinet were reflected in the Officers' League, from which the Cabinet had sprung, and on January 22 the Gheorghieff Ministry resigned.

A new Cabinet was formed by General Zlateff, who retained the portfolio for War, which he had held under Colonel Gheorghieff. From the welter of charges and counter-charges it emerged that a considerable body of opinion in the Officers' League resented the slights that had been placed on King Boris by the former Cabinet, and was opposed to Colonel Veltcheff's scheme for an

"authoritative" State, which would have encroached still further on the royal prerogatives. It also sympathised with the growing dissatisfaction with Colonel Gheorghieff's financial and economic measures. The question of a reform of the Constitution had still to be faced by the new Government, and the scheme that it was supposed to favour would provide for a Parliament based on professional organisations, but would not exclude representation of political elements. The Zlateff Ministry, however, did not remain in office long enough to propound any definite measure of constitutional reform.

During the month of March the Bulgarian Government was preoccupied with the situation created by the Greek rising of March 1. Precautionary measures taken to cope with the possibility of Greek rebels crossing the frontier into Bulgaria acquired an exaggerated importance in Greece and especially in Turkey, but were held in Bulgaria to be no justification for the mobilisation of Turkish reservists in Thrace and the reinforcement from Istanbul of the Thracian contingent. These military activities on the part of Turkey coincided with a vigorous anti-Bulgarian propaganda in the Turkish Press, and the Bulgarian Government found itself obliged (March 7) to draw, through its representative in Geneva, the attention of the League to the concentration of Turkish troops on the Bulgarian frontier, and to the increase of Turkish forces in Eastern Thrace which had been in progress during the previous year. Friendly conversations between Ankara and Sofia and the explanation given to the League Secretariat by the Turkish delegate that the measures taken for the preservation of the Balkan Covenant (the Agreement between Rumania, Yugoslavia, Turkey, and Greece) were "purely protective measures" eased the situation. The Bulgarian Government withdrew (March 9) its Memorandum on the subject of Turkish troop movements and recalled its representative in Geneva on the ground that he had exceeded his instructions. Relations between Bulgaria and Turkey were also helped by the assurance given (March 27) by the Bulgarian Government that it did not contemplate the denouncing of the military clauses of the Treaty of Neuilly.

Experience since the *coup* (*Vdtat* of May, 1934, tended to bring home to the King and the nation the fact that, however necessary the intervention of the Army may have been in order to put a curb on the excesses of party politicians, the nominees of the Officers' League, in spite of good intentions, proved to be inadequate administrators. General Zlateff's Cabinet showed itself even more ineffective for promoting progress in the country than had the Gheorghieff Ministry during the final stages of its eight months' tenure of office. The Government's troubles came to a head on April 18 when the Minister of the Interior, Colonel Krum Koleff, ordered the arrest of Colonel Gheorghieff,

Dr. Tzankoff, who had been Prime Minister for the three years following the *coup d'état* of June 1923, M. Natcheff, a former Chief of Police in Sofia, and other officers and officials. Colonel Koleff justified his action on the ground that Dr. Tzankoff was scheming against the regime, but he was unable to carry the Cabinet with him. Three Ministers resigned and General Zlateff was forced to hand to the King the resignation of the whole Government.

On April 21 a new Cabinet was formed by M. Andrea Tosheff, with Dr. Kiosseivanoff, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and General Radeff retaining his portfolio for Education, and on April 26 Dr. Tzankoff, Colonel Gheorghieff, and other interneers were set at liberty. The new Prime Minister had held diplomatic posts, but had not been identified prominently with Bulgarian politics. The aim of the new Government was to be to achieve legality, social justice, and the rallying of all good citizens round the King ; in foreign affairs it would remain loyal to the League of Nations, and would maintain the friendliest relations with all States, particularly with Bulgaria's neighbours.

The political situation in the country, however, continued to be troubled. In spite of the suppression of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation in the previous year, echoes of its influence were still to be heard. One of the charges brought against the Gheorghieff-Veltcheff regime had been that, while eliminating the Mihailoff section of the Organisation, it had shown a certain tenderness towards the Protogueroffists. Accordingly, one of the first acts of the Zlateff Cabinet was to arrest and intern two leaders of the latter section. On March 14 Mihailoff, the head of the Organisation, who had escaped to Turkey, was condemned to death *in contumaciam*, with three of his followers, on the charge of being implicated in the murder of seven councillors of Krupnik in 1933. An early announcement made by the Tosheff Government was to the effect that any attempts to re-establish the Revolutionary Organisation would be strenuously opposed. In July numerous arrests were reported of persons accused of agitation against the Government, as well as of the third member of the central committee of the Protogueroffist faction of the Organisation. Eighty Macedonians were arrested in September, on the charge that they had formed a revolutionary council to raise a revolution in Petritch (the former headquarters of the Revolutionary Organisation in south-west Bulgaria), and to establish a Soviet Republic.

On October 1 the Government announced the discovery of a conspiracy having for its object the overthrow of the regime ; it was also alleged that a list of people to be killed had been prepared by the conspirators, and that it included the names of the King and Queen and of most of the Ministers. Colonel Veltcheff, who had left the country in July when he had come

under the suspicion of the Government, was arrested as he crossed the frontier from Yugoslavia, and in all more than two hundred arrests were made, including the principal members of Zveno (the organisation that had helped to bring about the *coup d'etat* of May, 1934), and the former Ministers, Colonel Gheorghieff, Colonel Basil Karakoulakoff, and M. Stoyanoff. Martial law was proclaimed throughout the country. Subsequent investigation seemed to point to the movement having been of a less serious character than was at first supposed. Colonel Gheorghieff and many others of those arrested during the first stage of the alarm were liberated ; but Colonel Veltcheff and twenty-six others were detained and were brought to trial on December 17. The trial was still in progress *{in camera}* at the end of the year.

On November 17 M. Riaskoff, Minister of Finance, whose health had been failing for some time, resigned. His resignation was immediately followed by that of the Minister of Railways, at the instigation, it was believed, of Dr. Tzankoff, whose followers had previously been urging that the only solution of Bulgaria's *malaise* was the accession to power of Dr. Tzankoff. M. Tosheff at once handed in the resignation of the whole Cabinet, and a new Government was formed under M. Kiosseivanoff, who retained the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. While adhering to the general lines of policy in force since May, 1934, the new Cabinet was to give early attention to the drafting of a new Constitution and a new electoral law. No announcements, however, had been made before the close of the year regarding its intentions in this matter.

During the year the position in regard to Bulgaria's League and pre-war loans was the subject of conversations between the Bulgarian Government and the foreign interests concerned (the League Loans Committee, London, the Council of Foreign Bondholders, and others). In April the Government decided, on the ground that insufficient foreign exchange was available, to transfer only 15 per cent, of the service of the League loans and of the pre-war loans up to September 30, 1935, instead of the 32£ per cent, of the interest as provided under the agreement of April, 1934, the balance (17\ per cent.) remaining blocked on special deposit accounts at the Bulgarian National Bank. Subsequent discussions led at the end of October to an undertaking on the part of the Bulgarian Government to maintain the arrangement of 1934 for the duration of that agreement, while not transferring more than 15 per cent, of the service of the loans. At the same time it agreed to discuss further arrangements for the service of its external loans not later than the end of the second week in March, 1936. While remaining convinced that Bulgaria could safely transfer a higher percentage of interest, the Bondholders' organisations did not recommend the rejection of the Bulgarian offer.

ALBANIA.

Towards the end of 1934, rumours were disseminated from Greece that there had been a serious insurrection in Albania, in which officers of high rank were involved. It was officially announced in Tirana on December 23 that there was no truth in these rumours and that absolute tranquillity prevailed in Albania ; and a further statement issued a few weeks later declared that the untrue reports were being spread from Athens with the object of discrediting Albania at the moment when the dispute between Albania and Greece over the schools question was about to come before the Council of the League of Nations.

In August, 1935, a serious attempt at insurrection was made, and General Ghillardi, the King's right-hand man, was shot. The rising was soon quelled, and over 500 persons were arrested. Of these, over 200 were convicted and 50 were sentenced to death, but, with one exception, all the sentences were commuted to terms of imprisonment.

On behalf of the Greek minority in Albania, the Greek Government protested to the League of Nations in 1934 against the action of the Albanian Government in closing the Greek schools, under the article of the new Constitution abolishing all private schools in the country. On April 6 the Court of International Justice decided by 8 votes to 3 that the Albanian Government was not justified in doing so, and in June the Albanian Government informed Greece that she would conform with the ruling of The Hague Tribunal.

Early in February the Italian Government spontaneously placed at the disposal of the Albanian Government a sum of 3,000,000 gold francs (200,000l.) as a token of the sincere friendship existing between the two States. King Zog expressed to Signor Mussolini the warm thanks of the Albanian people for his generosity. In March the Albanian Government signed a convention granting to an Italian company, the "Ala Littoria," the monopoly of all the air services in Albania for ten years.

CHAPTER V.

**LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE : BELGIUM
—NETHERLANDS — SWITZERLAND — SPAIN — PORTUGAL —
DENMARK—SWEDEN—NORWAY—FINLAND.**

BELGIUM.

AT the beginning of the year there was a great deal of Labour unrest in the country, due to the prevalence of unemployment, the low rate of unemployment benefit, and the general restrictions imposed by the Government, and there was some talk of

a general strike. A demonstration of the unemployed took place when the Chamber reassembled on January 29, and a deputation of three of their representatives, accompanied by M. Vandervelde and other Socialist leaders, went to the Royal Palace to lay their grievances before the King. His Majesty expressed his sympathy with the unemployed and his confidence that the Government would do everything in their power to help, but pointed out that the difficulties were largely caused by the world crisis. A little later M. Theunis, the Prime Minister, announced in the Chamber that the Cabinet proposed to set up a committee to inquire into the means of reviving national trade and stimulating employment. The Socialists were not satisfied with this, and demanded the rescinding of the decree restricting unemployment allowances, but M. Theunis refused, and on appealing to the Chamber obtained a vote of confidence by a considerable majority.

In the middle of February the Cabinet and the Burgomaster of Brussels decided to prohibit a Socialist street demonstration which had been planned for the 24th of the month. M. Vandervelde challenged the action of the Government in the Chamber on February 19, and after a long and somewhat stormy debate the Government obtained a vote of confidence by a somewhat narrow majority, 89 voting for them and 73 against. The Socialists thereupon decided to appoint a Committee of Action and Defence to consider the situation, but made no attempt to hold the demonstration planned for February 24.

One suggested remedy for the economic crisis which the Government obstinately refused to consider was the devaluation of the belga. On March 7 M. Theunis declared in the Chamber that the Government would energetically pursue their policy of maintaining the Belgian franc at its existing gold parity. A week later the Government asked for, and obtained from Parliament, a prolongation of its special powers for three months, for the express purpose of defending the franc. On March 17 M. Theunis, accompanied by M. Hymans, the Foreign Minister, M. Gutt, the Minister of Finance, and M. Franqui, Minister without portfolio, went to Paris to concert measures for defending the currencies of the gold *bloc* against speculation. On their return they drafted two measures, one for creating a National Exchange Fund, and the other for placing in the hands of the National Bank the control of the sale of gold. Finding, however, that he lacked public support for his policy, M. Theunis quite unexpectedly handed in his resignation on March 19.

After a few days of negotiation, the task of forming a new Cabinet was successfully accomplished by M. Van Zeeland, Vice-Governor of the National Bank, who had been Minister without portfolio in the de Broqueville Government of 1934, and who, although only 41 years of age, had already won **a reputation** as an economist and financier. M. Van Zeeland formed a

Government of National Unity, containing members of all the three great political parties, and in which the Socialists M. Vandervelde and M. de Man found themselves side by side with the Liberal, M. Deveze and the Catholic, M. Hymans.

The Government immediately suspended the obligation of the National Bank to pay notes in gold, at the same time creating an Exchange Equalisation Fund, to control exchange rates. The consequence was a fall in the gold value of the franc from 14 centimes to 10*8—a devaluation of about 28 per cent., corresponding to the difference in purchasing power between the pound sterling and the Belgian franc. The reduction of the gold value of the belga brought into the National Bank a profit of about 3,500 million fr.

The devaluation of the currency caused a rise in the cost of living of about 10 per cent., but this was more than compensated by a marked improvement in trade and employment. By August unemployment had dropped from 216,000 to 146,000, and exports were 30 per cent, higher than they had been a year before. Credit rates were reduced, and small savings increased. At the end of the year, M. Van Zeeland predicted that there would be 25 per cent, greater economic activity during the coming year, and without increasing taxes, he budgeted for an increase in revenue of 340,000,000 fr. Coupled with economies in expenditure, this enabled him to balance the Budget for 1936 at 10,327,000,000 fr. It was announced in August that the profit accruing to the National Bank from the devaluation of the belga would be applied to the relief of unemployment by means of great public works, including road improvements throughout the country, the building of cheap houses for workers and of new schools, the encouragement of depressed industries, the purifying of polluted rivers, and the building of a thousand all-steel railway coaches.

The Belgian Socialist Party celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation in the middle of August, and took occasion to affirm its intention of participating in the present Government as long as they strove to restore the national economy and to improve employment. This decision was reaffirmed in September by the General Council of the Party, which declared that for seven years no Government had accomplished so much in so short a time. On the other hand, the agricultural interests were not satisfied with the Government's agricultural policy, and at a meeting of the section of the Catholic Party representing these interests in Parliament, at the end of November, a resolution was brought forward to withdraw its support from the Government. This, however, was defeated by 17 votes to 14.

At the general Congress of the Socialist Party held at Brussels in the first week of November, a vote of confidence in the Socialist Ministers and of approval of their continued collaboration with the Government was carried by a huge majority. A further

resolution was passed in favour of an intensified campaign **on behalf of** a Socialistic " Plan de Travail " presented by M. de Man, though it was obvious that this might cause some embarrassment to the Government. At a meeting of the Federation of Catholic Associations held about the same time, one of the younger members, M. Degrelle, caused an uproar by a bitter attack on the old party leaders, for consenting to work with the Socialists.

On July 12 the Belgian Government announced its decision to enter into normal diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government, " in the interests of European peace and in order to develop good relations between the two countries." Later, in supporting the action of the League of Nations against Italy, the Government had the approval of the people as a whole, but there was some pro-Italian feeling which manifested itself in anti-English demonstrations.

The whole Belgian people, and many nations with it, were plunged into profound grief by the untimely death on August 29 of their beloved Queen Astrid in a motor accident, in a car driven by her own husband near Lucerne [see under Obituaries]. King Leopold also received injuries. The funeral took place on September 3 at Brussels amid impressive demonstrations of public and private sorrow.

On April 27 the King opened an international exhibition at Brussels amid scenes of great enthusiasm. The exhibition was a great success, and drew thousands of foreign visitors to Belgium.

On February 27 a Trade Treaty was signed between the United States and Belgium providing for mutual concessions on certain specified products.

THE NETHERLANDS.

As in the previous year, economic and financial questions claimed the first place in the attention of the Government and the public. To combat the depression, which continued to weigh heavily on the country, the Catholics and Social Democrats favoured a devaluation of the guilder, but the Premier, Dr. Colijn, strongly set his face against this, maintaining that, so far as their share in the world's trade went, the countries of the gold *bloc* were as well off as those which had abandoned the gold standard. In April the devaluation of the belga placed a great strain on the Dutch currency, and the Minister of Economic Affairs, Dr. P. Steenberge, strongly recommended a measure of devaluation. He was unable, however, to bring his colleagues round to his point of view, and accordingly resigned. His place was taken by Professor H. C. J. H. Gelissen, well known as a writer on commercial subjects.

The Government announced its intention of " saving the guilder " by a policy of vigorous retrenchment. Before it could

give effect to this policy, the outflow of gold from the Bank of the Netherlands, chiefly to France and the United States, brought about a critical situation which the raising of the Bank rate failed to remedy. Accordingly, on July 26, the Cabinet resigned. After other party leaders had unsuccessfully tried to form a Government, Dr. Colijn, on July 30, at the request of the Queen, resumed office with almost the same Cabinet as before. The chief change consisted in the addition of Dr. Slingenberg, a Radical member of the First Chamber, as Minister for Social Affairs.

During the five days of the Ministerial crisis, it was estimated that some fl. 130,000,000 had left the country. On August 2 Dr. Colijn broadcast an address in which he begged the Dutch people to keep calm and disciplined in face of the difficulties confronting them, and announced that the Government would defend the gold parity of the guilder to the utmost. The public now rallied to his support, and a spirit of greater confidence began to prevail.

The Budget for 1936, which was published on September 17, showed estimated expenditure at fl. 711,000,000 and revenue at fl. 602,000,000—an estimated deficit of fl. 109,000,000. To cover the deficit, a Retrenchment Bill was introduced. Its chief feature was a cut of 5 per cent, in the salaries of all officials, which was expected to save fl. 77,000,000. Further economies were to be effected through a decrease in the expenditure on State insurance and other social institutions, and changes in the scales of promotions and pensions, and in subsidy scales for unemployment. At the same time fl. 20,000,000 was to be raised by increases in taxation. The Bill was passed in the Second Chamber, on October 2, by 51 votes to 23, the Roman Catholics supporting the Government. In the debate on the Budget, the Social Democrats brought forward a "plan," which had been adopted at their Congress on October 26, for the relief of unemployment by means of public works to be financed by a loan of fl. 600,000,000, but the Premier strongly opposed this, declaring that the credit of fl. 60,000,000 already voted was far from exhausted.

A notable feature of the year in internal affairs was the growth in influence and numbers of the National Socialist Party. In the Provincial States elections in April it gained 44 seats, and in the elections for the First Chamber in July it obtained representation for the first time, gaining two seats at the expense of the Liberals and Liberal Democrats. At its Congress held at The Hague on October 12, its leader, Jhr. Mussert, claimed that it now had 54,000 members. The progress of the National Socialists gave great concern to the Social Democrats, who organised huge counter demonstrations both after the Congress and the earlier meetings of the National Socialists in April. Questions were frequently asked by them in the States-General with regard to the activities of the National Socialists, especially their attacks on

the League of Nations and the policy of sanctions. In reply the Minister of Justice stated that the Government was carefully watching the position, but so far there had been no reason to proscribe any section of the National Socialist movement.

The re-arming of Germany created great apprehension in Holland, and in December the Government introduced a Bill to provide for a special Defence Fund of fl. 53,400,000, to be expended during the next four years. The money was to be used for providing anti-aircraft batteries and modern aeroplanes, for further mechanisation of the Army, for fortifications near bridges, and for coastal defence equipment. Shortly before, a Committee which had been appointed to report on the Netherlands Indies Navy advised that it should consist of at least twelve destroyers, eighteen submarines, and fifty-four giant aeroplanes, in addition to 108 Army air cruisers.

Towards the end of the year, Jhr. de Graeff, the Foreign Minister, informed the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Second Chamber that no progress had yet been made in solving the problems connected with the revision of the Netherlands-Belgian Treaties of 1839, the differences being too wide to be bridged at present. In the middle of January, a Treaty of Arbitration and Conciliation was signed with Norway. The Government was urged from some quarters to follow the example of Belgium in recognising the U.S.S.R., but it was unwilling to do so until the results of that experiment should become more apparent.

SWITZERLAND.

The Federal President for 1935 was Herr Minger (Berne), and the Federal Vice-President Herr Meyer (Zurich). On February 15 the Head of the Economic Department, Bundesrat Schulthess, resigned from his office, which he had held since 1912. The non-German part of Switzerland, which since the election of Herr Etter (Zug) in succession to Herr Musy (Fribourg, *vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934) had had only two representatives in a Bundesrat of seven, as up to 1917, put in a claim for the vacant place. The claim was not contested, but as after a long search the non-German Switzerland was not able to present a candidate, the Joint Federal Assembly, consisting of the National Council (Nationalrat) and the Cantonal Council (Standerrat) on April 4 elected the German-Swiss Herr Hermann Obrecht (Solothurn) by 125 votes with a majority of 105. Herr Obrecht, like Herr Schulthess, belongs to the Liberal (Freisinnige) Party. Thus composed, the Bundesrat was on December 11 again elected by the newly chosen National Council and the Cantonal Council, sitting as Joint Federal Assembly, for the duration of the National Council (three years). Bundesrat Meyer was elected Federal President for 1936, and Bundesrat Motta Vice-President.

The year 1935 witnessed a number of important plebiscites. On February 23 the Swiss people by 507,434 votes to 429,520 adopted the Defence proposal (extension of the period for training recruits), against which the appeal to the people had been made in 1934 by the Communists and a section of the Socialists (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 252). The Swiss Social-Democratic Party, which hitherto had on principle rejected the policy of national defence had, at its Congress at Lucerne on January 27, accepted it under certain conditions, but had declared itself opposed to the actual Defence proposal. On May 5 the people rejected by 487,169 votes to 332,934 the Traffic Apportionment Bill which had been passed by both Chambers in 1934, and the object of which was to regulate the competition between the railways and motor traffic. The growing dislike of the constant extension of State control of industry was chiefly responsible for the size of the majority against the Bill. The most important popular vote was the one taken on June 1 on the so-called Crisis Initiative (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, pp. 253-4). After a strenuous campaign lasting for several months, during which a part of the middle class supported the efforts of the Socialists, the people rejected the Crisis Initiative by 564,858 votes against 425,369 for. As this proposal would have involved a change in the Constitution, it required for acceptance not only a majority of votes in the nation at large, but also a majority among the Cantons. In point of fact, 18 Cantons voted against and 4 for.

On September 7, in consequence of an Initiative which had been secured in the previous year, the people had to decide whether it desired a complete revision of the Federal Constitution or not. The decisive majority for rejection (511,578 votes to 196,135) was a signal defeat for the "Front movement" (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 235), and with it of the champions of the Corporative State with a Catholic leaning who had temporarily allied themselves with the Fronts.

On October 27 the elections for the National Council and in some Cantons also for the Cantonal Council took place. The results showed that in spite of the economic distress, conditions were stable in Switzerland.

On May 14 the trial concerning the so-called "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" was concluded at Berne. The Jewish community of Berne had brought a charge against the disseminators of the "Protocols" of violating the Bernese law against pernicious literature. Although the trial was held only before the Police Judge, it was followed with the greatest attention in nearly all countries. The experts who were called by both sides played the principal part, and National Socialist anti-Semitism sought to exploit the trial for propaganda purposes. Both of the defendants, Schnell and Fischer, were found guilty of offences against Art. 14 of the law on pernicious literature, and condemned

to small fines. The judge declared that the so-called " Protocols " were forgeries and must be regarded as pernicious literature.

The " Front movement " declined further in 1935. The " leadership principle " proved harmful to it, as it produced no outstanding personality. It also suffered from the suspicion that the movement was in reality transplanted from abroad into Switzerland and was supported from abroad. Such was the National Front, the leader of which was Dr. Henne. The same applied to the Swiss Fascists, who were more noticeable in the non-German part of Switzerland, and whose leader was ex-Colonel Fonjallaz. In the elections for the National Council, the National Front was able to win only one seat (Tobler, in Zurich).

In 1935 the trade balance of Switzerland was less adverse than in the previous year—Fr. 461.3 million compared with 590*2 million. This, however, was due only to a general shrinking in foreign trade. Imports amounted to 1283.3 million (1934, Fr. 1434.5 million). Exports amounted to Fr. 822 million (1934, Fr. 844.3 million). The imports from England were 77 (91) million, from the United States, 69 (76) million. Exports to England were 77 (84) and to the United States 48 (47) million. In December the effect of sanctions was very noticeable ; imports from Italy amounted to 6.7 million against 10.9 million in 1934, and exports to Italy were 4.4 million against 8.3 million in December, 1934.

In the spring, while an active propaganda campaign was being carried on in favour of the Crisis Initiative, strong attacks were launched from abroad on the Swiss franc. The gold reserve of the Swiss National Bank, which at the beginning of the year had amounted to 1909 million francs, sank to 1192.7 million francs, but commenced to rise again after the rejection of the Crisis Initiative by the people until on December 23 it reached the figure of 1391.2 millions. The gold cover of sight obligations (currency notes and deposit accounts) still stood at the very high figure of 82.82 per cent.

The outflow of capital led to higher rates of interest and so to a great depreciation of fixed interest-bearing securities. The 3½ per cent, bonds of the Swiss Federal Railways were quoted on December 26 at 82.50, against 94.40 in December, 1934.

Switzerland suffers not only from the decline in her exports, but also from the " freezing " of large capital sums abroad, especially in Germany, and from the falling off in the number of visitors to her hotels from abroad. This in turn affects numerous banks which have advanced loans to hotels.

The bond index of the Swiss National Bank, which on November 25, 1934, stood at 108.73, sank in 1935 to 88.45. The share index, which on November 25, 1934, was 109.96, stood on **December** 10, 1935, at 96.87. The decline was especially marked

in bank shares and in shares of financial institutions ; insurance shares also fell. In industrial shares, with the exception of those of power stations, a rise in the quotation level is to be recorded (166-29 against 146-15). The number of wholly unemployed, which was 76,000 at the end of 1934, rose to 95,740 at the end of 1935, in a population of 4 million.

In consequence of the unsatisfactory state of the export trade, voices were again raised in the course of the year advocating the recognition of the Soviet Union *de jure*, so that it might be possible to conclude a commercial treaty with it. As the year went on the public became increasingly doubtful as to the wisdom of State interference in and support for business. Subventions from the Federal purse, it was said, should be curtailed, and they actually were curtailed considerably in some directions, without however, restoring equilibrium to the Budget. Bundesrat Obrecht soon after his entry into office drafted a Bill for the protection of business, in which were comprised the most important measures hitherto taken by the State for combating the economic crisis. It proposed that very wide emergency powers should be given to the Bundesrat. This proposal, however, met with so much opposition from the public and from the Committee of the Cantonal Council that the Bundesrat dropped it. The people would sooner have no protection of business at all than one which depends on the uncertain will of a bureaucracy. Similarly the efforts made during the last few years to remove gradually the foundations of economic liberalism have somewhat cooled off. The idea of limiting freedom of industry by a change in the Constitution has failed to materialise in any way, and similarly the idea of organising the people according to vocations is no longer pressed.

While in the Federal Legislature preliminary steps only were taken to balance the Budgets of the State and of the railways (which showed a deficit of 130 millions), in the Canton of Berne the people on June 30 approved a law for restoring Budget equilibrium by means of economies and new taxes.

The Socialist majority in the Government of the Canton of Geneva {*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 236; 1934, p. 254} refused on March 6 to carry out the Federal instructions regarding the protection of the population from air attack. The Bundesrat thereupon appointed a Federal Commission which carried out the regulations independently of the Geneva Government.

Although the German Foreign Office and the German Embassy in Berne outwardly exerted themselves to cultivate good relations with Switzerland, these were frequently disturbed by the aggressiveness and interference of other authorities of the Third Reich. The endeavour to shut off the German people culturally from the outside world led to further prohibitions of Swiss news-

papers (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 255), as for instance, the *Basler Nachrichten*, so that only unimportant Swiss papers are allowed in Germany. The Bundesrat retorted with the prohibition of the anti-Semitic propaganda paper *Der Stttmer*, and of the *Der Reichsdeutsche*, a German Nazi paper published in Switzerland. The strict organisation of the Germans in Switzerland under National Socialist leadership made itself unpleasantly noticeable and in fact threatened the security of Switzerland. It also exercised a strong pressure on the Germans who were not followers of Hitler, to escape which a large number of Germans applied for naturalisation in Switzerland. The Government of the Canton of Berne called upon Dr. Porzig, a German professor at the University of Berne, either to give up his post of leader of the National Socialist group in Berne, as being incompatible with his Cantonal appointment, or to resign his professorship. Porzig soon after left Switzerland, and Professor Debrunner, a Swiss who had been deprived of his professorship in Germany, was invited to take his place. Repeated demands were made by the Press for the expulsion of the supreme head of the National Socialists in Switzerland, Gauleiter Gustloff in Davos, but the Bundesrat could not bring itself to take such a step.

A great stir was caused by the Jacob incident. Berthold Jacob (properly B. J. Salomon) was a German journalist who had emigrated. He was inveigled by German agents from Strasburg to Basle, and from there on March 9 he was forcibly carried off to Germany, where he was arrested. As soon as the Bundesrat had collected sufficient information, it protested in a sharp Note on April 1 to the German Government against the violation of Swiss territorial sovereignty by German officials, and demanded the return of Jacob. On April 13 the German Government refused to return him on the ground that no German officials had been directly or indirectly concerned in the affair. Public opinion in Switzerland, already excited enough, was still further agitated, and in the districts bordering on Germany new abductions were constantly feared. However, no untoward incidents occurred. On April 27 the Bundesrat informed the German Government that it would lay the Jacob case before a neutral tribunal, as provided in the Swiss-German Arbitration Agreement of 1921. The German Government consented, and both sides named their arbitrators. Soon, however, after the Swiss side had submitted its pleadings to the German arbitrators, the German Government decided to comply with the Swiss demand of April 1. On September 17 Jacob was conducted by the German authorities to the Basle frontier and handed over to the Swiss authorities. With this the incident was closed to the satisfaction of Switzerland. Jacob was expelled to France two days later for having entered Switzerland with a false passport.

The trial of one of the persons implicated in the abduction, who was arrested in Switzerland, was fixed for 1936.

In the Swiss Federation, every Canton has its own criminal code. Most of them have no provisions under which spies and similar agents can be prosecuted. The Federal criminal code, which comprises only a few articles, is similarly deficient, so that up to now spies and agitators could only be expelled from the country by administrative action, and could not be punished. The Jacob incident provided a stimulus for remedying this defect, which was making itself felt very seriously. The Bundesrat brought in the so-called Agitators Bill, which was passed by both Chambers and came into force on June 21.

In August the Bundesrat took proceedings against the small irredentist group in the Canton of Ticino. On August 6 the further publication of its organ, the *Adula*, which did not derive its support from Swiss sources, was prohibited, and on August 8, its directors, Emilio Colombi and Teresa Bontempi, were arrested. Finally a Federal police service was created, and attached to the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office. Its numbers are still very small, but it went some way towards meeting a demand which had long been put forward in the interest of national security (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 254), and which till then had been opposed by the extreme Federalists.

As a member of the League of Nations, Switzerland took part in the sanctions against Italy. In order to protect its military neutrality, which had been confirmed to it by the London Declaration of the Council of the League on February 13, 1920, before its entry into the League, the Bundesrat proclaimed an embargo on munitions for both combatants. This immediately caused an attack in the Committee of Eighteen, led by France, on Swiss neutrality, which was answered by the Swiss delegates. The full application of the economic sanctions would have meant far greater hardship for Switzerland than for any other member of the League, since its southern districts carry on an active trade with Italy, and about 10 per cent, of the total exports of Switzerland—as against 2½ per cent, of British—go to Italy. In order to prevent too great harm accruing to Swiss business, the Bundesrat decided to participate in the economic sanctions with the proviso that payment for Italian exports to Switzerland should be made only through the Swiss National Bank, and that the accumulation of foreign exchange resulting from the difference between imports and exports should be used for exclusively Swiss interests. In this way Italy was prevented from obtaining any Swiss currency through her trade with Switzerland, and the object of the embargo on Italian exports was attained. Further, by restricting the trade with Italy to the dimensions of 1934, the Bundesrat made clear the desire of Switzerland not to derive any profit from the sacrifices made by other nations on

account of sanctions. The attitude of Switzerland was frequently-misunderstood ; in fact, she has, during a severe economic crisis, done her best to fulfil her duties as a member of the League of Nations.

SPAIN.

The year was marked by the dissolution of the Radical Party and the disappearance with it of the veteran Republican element in Spanish politics. The Revolutionary Left, which had been beaten at the polls in November, 1933, and in the street in October, 1934, found support in 1935 in the moderating power of the President of the Republic, and from that unexpected quarter the Parliamentary *bloc* met with increasing resistance, which came to a head with the suspension of the Cortes at the end of the year. In the few months that a Parliamentary majority was in power some useful legislative work was done, but all attempts to solve major problems, such as Budget Reform, broke down in the welter of political intrigue. The year witnessed six total Cabinet crises, and the formation of three extra-Parliamentary Governments.

The Government in power at the beginning of the year was a Coalition under the Radical leader, Senor Lerroux, with three members of the C.E.D.A. or party of the Autonomous Right. On January 5 the secession of the Agrarian leader, Seior Martinez Velasco, produced a rift leading up to the first total crisis, which ended, however, in a stalemate on January 21, with the mere addition of another Radical member. The political deadlock was reflected outside Parliament in the systematic opposition of the President of the Republic to the clamour for exemplary punishment of the men responsible for the recent rebellion. Voicing the opinion of the extremer Republicans and Revolutionaries, the President availed himself of his prerogative to condone the death sentences imposed by court martial on all the ringleaders. In the Cortes, although the question of electoral reform was tackled, only one important measure, the law of rural rents, was passed on March 14. On March 20 Seior Azana endeavoured in a four hours' speech to clear himself of all complicity in the smuggling of arms into Asturias; and on March 28 the second prolongation of the Budget was voted. The way was now clear for the second total crisis, which broke out on March 29 over the reprieve of the notorious rebel generalissimo, Gonzalez Peiia.

The modest minority Cabinet which was formed on April 3 contained no member of the Right, but was composed mainly of Radicals, with two members of the Progressive Party and Seior Portela Valladares as Minister of the Interior. Protected by a temporary suspension of Parliament, it lived a precarious life for a month.

A fresh crisis on May 3 led to what, in spite of Presidential opposition, had now become inevitable—the formation on May 6 of a majority Government with Senor Lerroux as Prime Minister, and Senor Gil Robles, the leader of the C.E.D.A. Party, as Minister of War. This Cabinet was composed of five members of the C.E.D.A., three Radicals, two Agrarians, one Liberal Democrat, and two Independents, Senoi; Portela Valladares and Senor Chapaprieta, who was specially called upon to undertake the urgent task of financial reform. With the exception of the two leading posts of Premier and/ Minister of War, this Government fairly represented the composition of the Cortes, and, counting upon a large majority, could settle down to the task of national reconstruction.

This was begun by Seficir Gil Robles in the planning of national defence, and on May 29 Senor Chapaprieta published his programme for gradually reducing the annual deficits and achieving a balanced Budget by the end of 1937. Meanwhile the Left, baulked of opposition in (Parliament, gave expression to its sentiments at a first mass meeting held by Senor Azafia on May 26 at Mestalla, near Valencia. Though discontent was responsible for the shocking incident at Novallas (Province of Saragossa), for later acts of violence at Madrid and for daily outrages at Barcelona, June was a month of fruitful legislative and financial labour, the latter culminating, apart from a reduction of current expenditure, and an increase of revenue, in the approval on June 28 of Estimates for the coming half-year. That labour was continued in July with the approval of Bills concerning Labour Tribunals, the law of Agrarian Reform, and the Conversion of Public Debt, to pick out but a few of a total of 128 legislative measures.

Two clouds appeared on the horizon. When a motion was brought in the Cortes for the impeachment of Seior Azafia and Senor Casares Quiroga, who were alleged to have intervened as Ministers of War and the Interior in the smuggling of arms at Bilbao for the assistance of the Portuguese revolutionaries, only 189 votes out of the 222 required could be mustered. On July 26 a scandal over irregular payments for colonial lands, which was later to become notorious as the " Nombela *affaire*"^o first cropped up in Parliament.

The summer passed in unwonted calm, troubled only by gangster and syndicalist outrages of ever greater violence, and by the increasing gravity of the wheat problem. The difficulties in this connexion may have induced the Minister of Agriculture to follow the action of the Minister of Marine, Senor Royo Villanova, in resigning, ostensibly over the transfer of Public Works to the Generalidad of Catalonia, thereby producing the fourth Cabinet crisis of the year. Slight in its origin, this crisis, which began on September 17, and lasted for five days, was to

have far-reaching consequences, inasmuch as it unseated Senor Lerroux and initiated the downfall of the Radical Party. Although the *bloc* remained in power and even gained in numbers by the entry of the Lliga, or Catalan Right, Senor Lerroux was now merely Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the leadership of the Cabinet, now reduced to ten Departments in accordance with the measures of retrenchment, was entrusted to Senor Chapaprieta. He lost no time in bringing out, on September 27, his seventeen decrees of financial restrictions, which were followed on October 14 by twenty-six Bills of financial reform, and by the unwonted feature of a real Budget for 1936. At the same time Parliament, in which the C.E.D.A. and the Radicals had recently reaffirmed their amity, was busy with various legislative measures.

Into this atmosphere of peace fell like a bomb-shell, on October 18, the note of the President of the Republic publishing the complaint he had received on September 20 from M. Strauss in connexion with a gambling business the latter had sought to set up in Spain in the summer of 1934. Strauss accused certain members of the Radical Party of having, in return for payment, promised him permits to establish his "Straperlo" tables in Spain. The affair created an enormous sensation. The Right and Left called for a public inquiry and Senor Gil Robles was forced to abandon the Radicals, who had been his confederates in moderation. A Parliamentary Commission was at once appointed and brought in a true Bill against a number of prominent Radicals, which was approved in the Cortes on October 28, with the exception of the charge against the ex-Minister of the Interior, Senor Salazar Alonso. The crisis produced by the resignation of Senor Lerroux and Senor Rocha on the following day was rapidly solved, and Senor Chapaprieta remained in power.

Hardly had the excitement over this *affaire* died down when a fresh scandal cropped up in the accusation of illicit dealings brought by a high official of the Colonial Office, Senor Nombela, against the former Radical Under-Secretary of the Prime Minister's Department. This *affaire* was also energetically dealt with and disposed of in an all-night sitting of the Cortes on December 7. But the *bloc* formed of the C.E.D.A., Lliga, Agrarians, and Independents under Senor Chapaprieta could hold out no longer. The Premier's measures of financial reform had latterly been meeting with growing resistance which came to a head against his Bill for a drastic increase in the death and stamp duties. These were lengths to which Ambers even of the moderate Right were unprepared to go, and, upon the opposition of the C.E.D.A. Party, Senor Chapaprieta fell, and with his fall all prospect of the completion of his Work of financial reform was lost.

The sixth total crisis, which came on December 8, lasted for six days. On December 14 Senor Prieto y Valladares managed

to group around him the remains of the former *bloc*, with the C.E.D.A. in opposition. This Cabinet, though still including Senor Chapaprieta as Minister of Finance, was short-lived. Under the opposition of the Right it broke down on December 30, and gave way on the same day to a fresh Portela Government, which was frankly extra-Parliamentary and intended as a stop-gap.

However unsatisfactory the year proved to be politically, particularly by the collapse of the moderate element represented by the Radical Party, law and order had been restored, as is witnessed by the celebration in their old-time splendour of the Easter Processions at Seville and other cities, including Oviedo. Budget and financial reform, though left incomplete, had been seriously tackled, and the rebirth of confidence was shown in the rise of Spain's premier stock, the Internal Loan, to the record height of 80. The rise in securities was general, and was the direct result of large and successful conversions of public debt. The cloud still remaining over the financial horizon at the end of the year was the accumulation, running into several hundred million pesetas, of commercial debts owing to traders in foreign countries, such as Great Britain, France, and the United States, for the payment of which no foreign currency was available, nor the Government willing to use its stock of gold. In addition, trade with France was paralysed during the latter half of the year by a tariff war, which lasted from July 8 to December 20. A wheat harvest of 42,000,000 quintals, or slightly more than the average, added to the difficulty of over-production in this main branch of Spain's premier industry.

PORTUGAL.

On April 15 the President's term of office, which he had held for seven years, expired, and on February 17 he was, by an almost unanimous vote, re-elected President of the Portuguese Republic for a further period of seven years.

He should have taken the oath on April 16, but owing to indisposition the date was postponed to the 26th. In the meantime the Prime Minister, Dr. Oliviera Salazar, acted as President in conformity with the new Constitution.

Through the untiring efforts of the British Consul, Mr. A. H. W. King, ably assisted by Mr. R. G. Jayne, President of the Chamber of Commerce in Lisbon and Professor West, Professor of English at Coimbra University, a British Institution was opened at Coimbra. The opening took place on March 23 with an exhibition of British Reviews and Periodicals which numbered nearly 800. There were exhibitions of the same periodicals in Lisbon and Oporto and they were much appreciated by the many Portuguese who visited them.

On November 30 a British Institute was inaugurated at the Lisbon Technical University by President Carmona. The British Ambassador, Sir Charles Wingfield, read a message from the Prince of Wales as patron of the British Council for relation with other countries expressing his heartfelt good wishes for the success of the new English Room. Sir Josiah Stamp gave the inaugural address on the present position of economic science in England.

On May 20 an extremist attempt at revolution was frustrated by the action of the Government, who had all the threads of the plot in their hands. On September 10 another attempt at revolution was made but, like the other, was prevented almost before the public knew anything untoward was happening.

A decree of May 6 altered the financial year which for a long time had been reckoned from July to June, to coincide with the calendar year. The Budget for 1936 was the first to come under the new law, it having been necessary to increase the economic year 1934-5 by another six months. On the last day of 1935 the figures for the Budget for 1936 were published. They showed a surplus of 19,000[^] Provision was made for the expenditure during the next five years of 5,000,000l. for military rearmament, 1,500,000l. of which will be expended during the first year. 440,000². will be spent on the Navy and will consist of payments of 240,000l. for instalments still to fall due in respect of ships already ordered. 100,000². for the continuance of the plan of re-organisation of naval aviation and 100,000². for a naval base for submarines.

On July 2 a decree was published to the effect that all merchandise entering Portugal from any country not having an agreement with Portugal and which by legislative measures or other means intend to impose on Portugal an unfavourable commercial balance or to render difficult the importation of Portuguese merchandise, will be dependent on the previous sanction of the "Inspeccao do Comercio Bancario," in quantities to be fixed by the Government.

DENMARK.

For Denmark, as for most countries, economic problems occupied a prominent place in foreign affairs during 1935, the most important being Denmark's relation to her two main markets: the English and the German.

As far as England is concerned, the past year witnessed no fundamental changes in the condition of affairs resulting from events of the previous years. Not that certain changes were not contemplated, for the suggestion was made by England that the quota system for bacon imports should be replaced by a combination of quota and import-levy. There was a preparatory

discussion on the matter last July in London between representatives of the two countries. But by the end of the year the question had not proceeded any nearer a settlement. The trade between the two countries in 1935 proceeded along the same lines as in the preceding years : declining British purchases in Denmark, growing Danish purchases in England. Denmark sought contact with Australia and New Zealand for the purpose of devising a plan of creating better conditions on the butter market whereby the interests of all would be safeguarded ; but so far these endeavours did not advance beyond the purely introductory stages.

On January 24 a new one-year barter exchange agreement was concluded with Germany, and on its expiry was renewed for 1936. Commercial agreements were concluded or renewed with Iceland, Belgium-Luxemburg, Portugal, Spain, Norway, and several other countries.

In Denmark's foreign policy her relations with Germany, the only country with which it shares a frontier, have always occupied a leading position. In pursuance of repeated declarations by leading German statesmen, that the Third Reich desires only good and amicable relations with her neighbour on the north, the official relations between the two countries were satisfactory throughout 1935. Certain difficulties appeared, however, in respect of the national Minorities on both sides of the 1920 border. It was, for instance, a burden for the Danish Minority south of the border, that its young men not only come under the compulsory military service regulations in Germany, but were also subject to the compulsory labour service, the aim of which is to train the young in national socialist ideology. Again, the German Minority north of the frontier, despite the peaceful protestations in Berlin, carried out an aggressive policy, in favour of Pan-Germanism and of a modified frontier. The efficacy of its action, however, was weakened by internal schisms. Some measure of unanimity was, however, attained before the Danish Folketing elections in October, and this resulted in a slight gain for the Minority, without, however, mobilising more than 15·3 per cent, of the votes given, a result worse than that secured at a previous election. Shortly after the elections the internal dissension broke out again, and when the year came to a close, warnings were heard that serious steps would be taken to bring the policy of the German Minority more into accord with the official German attitude towards Denmark.

The close relationship between the Scandinavian countries was further consolidated during the year by the new family ties between two of the royal houses : the marriage of the Danish Crown Prince Frederik on May 24 with the Swedish Princess Ingrid. Politically, too, the year strengthened the ties between the Scandinavian countries. Joint committees of officials and trade representatives worked for the development of the practical

communications between the countries. Twice in the course of the year—on April 2 and on August 28—the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Scandinavian countries met for political discussions, the Finnish Foreign Minister being also present on the second occasion. Besides discussing internal Scandinavian affairs and certain common commercial interests, the Scandinavian Ministers at their conferences also directed their attention to League of Nations affairs. At the meetings of the Council of the League, Denmark through her Foreign Minister, whole-heartedly supported what may be termed the League attitude both as regards German rearmament as in the Italian conflict with Abyssinia.

In Home affairs, the principal problems in 1935, as in the immediately preceding years, arose from the difficulties imposed on the country by the general policy of trade restriction, which had an adverse effect on her agriculture. The burdens of the farmers became acute; on August 29 the so-called "Farmers' Procession" was held, prompted by the desire to inform the King of their great difficulties. The Government made energetic efforts to introduce measures for the amelioration of the farmers' grievances. These measures led to the dissolution of the Lower House, and the General Election which took place on October 22 gave the Government a considerably increased majority. After certain changes had been made in the Cabinet, the work was recommenced, and a Bill to consolidate the foundation of the Government's economic policy (Exchange Regulation) was quickly carried. The movement of which the "Farmers' Procession" was an expression quietly dissolved, and its leaders seem disposed to confer with the Government in the normal way.

SWEDEN.

The Social Democratic Government formed by Mr. P. A. Hansson in September, 1932, remained in office during 1935, and had thus already enjoyed a longer life than any Government since pre-war times.

During the interval which preceded the opening of the 1935 session of the Riksdag, certain minor changes took place in the position of parties. As a consequence of the coalition which had taken place in 1934 (ANNUAL REGISTER, p. 266) between the two Liberal organisations, their Riksdag groups united into one, which adopted the name of the People's Party. Three members of the Right had further formed an independent group, the so-called National group. At the end of the Riksdag session the leader of the Conservative Party, Admiral Lindman, resigned on account of age, and was succeeded by Professor Bagge. Mr. Lindman was Prime Minister 1906-11 and 1928-30 and Foreign Minister in 1917.

In the King's Speech it was stated that the economic improvement had continued during 1934, and that while foreign trade had grown, the recovery had been most marked in the domestic market. As a consequence, unemployment had greatly diminished. Nevertheless it was still quite considerable, and further grants were necessary for combating it. In a statement made at the turn of the year the Prime Minister declared that the economic policy of the Government would on the whole continue along the same lines, though it would be adapted to the improved situation. No added burdens either in the form of loans or increased taxation would be necessary. The Budget estimates therefore marked a first step towards more normal conditions in so far as the issuing of big loans for unproductive purposes would be discontinued. The opening debate in the Riksdag was largely taken up by a general discussion on the policy of the Government. Mr. Andersson, the leader of the united People's Party, declared on its behalf that the new party had confidence in the Government and would readily give its support whenever they acted as a real National Government. On the other hand, the party entertained a decided distrust of the political ideals which the Government represented and would refuse its co-operation if they acted as a party Government or as the instrument of private group interests.

The scope of the inquiry demanded by the 1934 Riksdag regarding measures for furthering industrial peace and for the protection of third party in labour conflicts, had been widened by the Government to embrace the question of an extension of State control of economic and industrial life. Some of these proposed measures, as for instance the investigation ordered regarding the possibility of instituting a monopoly of the retail trade in oil and coffee, was characterised by the Opposition as attempts to put in practice Socialist theories of planned economy.

On one question the Government and the Riksdag were practically unanimous, *viz.*, the population question, which was broached not only by the leader of the Conservative Party, who submitted a far-reaching motion dealing with the matter, but also by the Prime Minister and the leader of the People's Party. All parties were obviously agreed that the decreasing birth-rate constituted a great danger to the country, and that measures to check the decline were urgent. A commission was consequently appointed, and was instructed to go into the whole range of questions and proposals connected with this problem.

The proposals for a continued support of agriculture were also adopted with practical unanimity, only the extreme Left Wing groups taking up a critical attitude.

Since the World War the export of all kinds of war material has been prohibited in Sweden, the Government having had the sole power to grant licences. This system of licences has gradually been adjusted to the Geneva Convention of 1925 concerning the

international trade in arms. This year the Government submitted to the Riksdag a Bill for the control also of the manufacture of war materials, for which special permission would in the future have to be obtained, while the manufacture itself was to be subjected to control by a special Government office. The Government desired in this way to make a positive contribution to the efforts to bring about international regulation of the manufacture of war material. The Bill was in its main provisions adopted by the Riksdag. In respect of already existing factories for the production of war material, the obligation to apply for licences will, however, not enter into force before 1938.

Great importance was attached to the Government's proposal to reform the old-age pension scheme. It met with lively opposition, but a measure of reform was finally adopted by the Riksdag, though not of the same scope as that proposed by the Government. This was estimated to cause an immediate increase of State expenditure of 35 million kronor, with further gradual increases in succeeding years. The Minister of Finance suggested that the necessary means should be provided by establishing a State monopoly on fuel oils and coffee. The Opposition objected strongly to this method of financing the scheme, and protested against the great increase contemplated. By discarding the proposal to graduate pensions according to the variations in cost of living in different districts, the cost of the reform was brought down by about 50 per cent. This made it possible to finance the scheme by increasing the tax on the retail trade in spirits and the duty on coffee.

The long-drawn political struggle over the question of third party in economic conflicts ended in a rather surprising way. The Bill submitted by the Government had been revised in order to meet the demands of the bourgeois Opposition in the competent Riksdag Committee. The Conservatives, however, intimated that they would demand the rejection of the proposal, as in their opinion many important requirements had not been fulfilled. There was, however, a majority in the Riksdag for the Bill, and its passage was therefore supposed to be assured. Nevertheless, the Government in the end declared that they themselves did not think the proposal acceptable in the form finally decided upon by the Committee. As a result the Bill was rejected in both Chambers. The attitude of the Government seemed to have been determined by the dissatisfaction which the various proposals in this matter had provoked within the trade union movement. In these circumstances it seemed better to wait until the general agitation in these circles had subsided. A certain tension between the Government and the representatives of the Peasants' Party was, however, observable as the result of this withdrawal by the Government.

On May 27-30 the 500th anniversary of the Swedish Riksdag—

next to the British the oldest representative popular assembly in Europe—was celebrated with great ceremony. As the guests of the Swedish Riksdag, representatives of the Danish, Norwegian, Finnish, and Icelandic Parliaments attended these celebrations. These were introduced with great solemnity in the little town of Arboga, where the first Swedish Riksdag was held in 1435. The climax was formed by the celebrations in Stockholm, where, among other things, representatives of all the communes of the country, paid their tribute to the Riksdag. The ceremonies, in which members of the Royal Family took an active part, assumed the character of a tribute to the free government of the people and democratic self-determination not only in Sweden but in the northern countries as a whole. In connexion with the jubilee a learned work was published describing the history of the Swedish Riksdag in twenty volumes. Most of the leading historians in Sweden had co-operated in this work, and the editor was the County Governor, Professor Nils Eden, Prime Minister in 1917-20.

At the end of August the great Commission of Defence, consisting of members of Parliament and experts, which had been appointed in 1930, handed in their report to the Government. This report had been awaited with the greatest interest because of the predominant place which the question of defence had come to occupy owing to the international developments. It stated that the increased international tension had made further reductions of the defence services, and, still more, disarmament, impossible on the part of Sweden. The proposal which was submitted as that of the Commission, because it was supported by a majority of the members, recommended the strengthening of the national defence, entailing an increase in cost from 114 million kronor to 148 millions. The main part of this increase was to go to the Air Force. The period of compulsory military training was to be extended from 140 to 175 days, and in addition there were to be 5 days' training of the reserves. The report had a good reception among the public. The proposal will probably be the basis of a Government Bill to be submitted to the Riksdag in 1936.

In the middle of February a meeting was held in Stockholm of delegates from Denmark, Norway, Finland, and Sweden to discuss measures for the furtherance of northern economic co-operation. A representative from Iceland also took part in the negotiations. The meeting, which was the first of its kind, had been brought about on Swedish initiative, and the most important question concerned co-operation in matters of trade policy with regard to outside countries. It was decided to recommend to the five Governments closer continuous contact and co-operation in matters of trade policy.

An important event from the point of view of Swedish trade policy was the signing in Washington, on May 25, of the Trade Agreement between Sweden and the United States. This was

the first trade treaty of this scope which the United States during the present administration had concluded with any State outside the American Continent. The treaty, which is intended to form a stable foundation for a further development of the important trade relations between the two countries, rests in principle on most-favoured-nation treatment.

As a member of the League of Nations, Sweden, which has always tried conscientiously to fulfil her obligations under the Covenant, pursued the same course in the Italo-Abyssinian conflict. She subscribed loyally to the decision about collective sanctions and has carried out all the measures connected therewith, and intended to give effect to the obligations imposed by the Covenant to re-establish peace and place it on a firm footing. In a speech on December 18, Mr. Sandler defined the attitude of Sweden. He pointed out that the League was confronted with a test case of collective action. It was therefore essential that the resultant settlement should satisfy the demands of a just and honourable peace and restore confidence in the international order. By his remarkable declaration in Geneva Sir Samuel Hoare had, he went on, made it clear that Great Britain was not acting in this as a separate case, but according to a general principle, that of collective security. Great Britain should consequently apply the same principle in future conflicts. The League of Nations had not been necessary in the past to carry through a dismemberment of independent states, nor was it necessary for that purpose now. A collective action, started to maintain the Covenant, could not end with a collective acceptance of its violation. The Swedish Government in this matter has the unanimous support of public opinion.

On the initiative of the Swedish Red Cross, an ambulance unit was equipped for Abyssinia, the means having been provided by public subscription. On the last day of the year the tragic information was received that the ambulance had been the victim of a bombing attack by an Italian Air Force. The incident cast a gloom over the whole country, resulting as it did in the death and wounding of many patients and sortie of the personnel of the ambulance, among whom were two Swedes.

The declaration made on December 5 by the Finnish Prime Minister, in which he emphasised the advantages of a Scandinavian orientation, was received with great satisfaction in Sweden (*vide* Finland). A not less remarkable manifestation of the "concord of the North" was given about the same time at a visit to Helsingfors of the three Scandinavian Prime Ministers, who attended an inter-northern conference of leaders of the Social Democratic parties. Invited by the Head of the Finnish Government, which is not Social Democratic, they seized the opportunity of testifying, in statements over the wireless, to their attachment to the cause of Northern co-operation.

" We in Sweden have always been greatly interested in Finland's participation in Northern co-operation and greeted every new contact, official or private, with special satisfaction," stated the Swedish Prime Minister. " Those in our Northern countries who do not regard Northern co-operation as axiomatic can be soon counted. We are situated close to each other, we have a common history and similar culture, and in the course of development towards a richer life within each one of our countries the bonds which unite us have been made ever stronger. In times of anxiety and danger the feeling of solidarity has been especially apparent. The declaration of a full acceptance of the Scandinavian peace policy by the Government of Finland has been greeted with sincere pleasure in the whole of Sweden. The peace union, which is constituted by the relations of the Northern countries to each other, has nothing to do with the old policy of alliance. We stand as free peoples at each other's side in the League of Nations, with the inherent obligations common to members, but our unity gives added power to our contributions, dictated both by idealism and self-interest, to the safeguarding of peace and liberty."

NORWAY.

When the Storting assembled at the beginning of January the Executive Committee of the Conservative Party approached the Liberal Premier, Mr. Mowinckel, and the Parliamentary leaders of the three bourgeois parties with a view to the formation of a Coalition. The Executive Committee were careful to point out that their proposal to replace Party Government by a National Government did not imply want of confidence in the members of the Mowinckel Cabinet. But they were of opinion that the bourgeois parties should co-operate in order to establish a Government with a majority in Parliament. The Premier replied that in his opinion the Cabinet owed the country the duty of remaining in power until it was defeated in the Storting.

The Coalition efforts of the Right having failed, a new initiative in the same direction was taken by the Farmers' Party a few days later. The Parliamentary group of the party sent a letter to the Premier, urging the necessity of forming a Coalition Government commanding a majority in the Storting, with the following programme : to uphold democracy and the rights of the majority, to combat unemployment efficiently by encouraging private enterprise, to support the industries that have been most severely hit by the economic crisis, particularly agriculture, forestry, and the fishing trade, to simplify administration, to reduce the rates of interest, and to work energetically for a juster distribution of the burdens as well as of the advantages of the community. The Premier replied that this programme did not in any essential

point differ from the views of the Government, but he again, as previously, rejected the idea of a Coalition as impracticable.

Having received the Premier's reply, the Executive Committee of the Farmers' Party sent him a new letter, stating that they intended to have the question settled in Parliament. The Premier then made a statement, accusing the Farmers' Party of desiring to force on a Cabinet crisis, although it was clear that there was no possibility of forming a bourgeois Coalition Government and although there were good prospects of a continued fruitful collaboration between the Government and Parliament. Replying to the Premier, the leader of the Farmers' Party, Mr. Hundseid, made a statement to the Press, putting the blame for an eventual crisis on the Government itself. He maintained it had been proved by the correspondence between the Premier and the Farmers' Party that a bourgeois Coalition would be of great advantage to the country.

In order to avert the crisis which now threatened, Mr. Hambro, the leader of the Conservative Party, on January 18, invited the leaders of two other bourgeois parties to a private conference with a view to establishing a closer co-operation between the Government and Parliament. During these negotiations, which attracted great attention in the Press, Mr. Hambro proposed the formation of a Committee representing the three parties, which the Government might consult when it desired. This proposal was accepted by the Government and by the Conservative and Liberal groups in Parliament, but rejected by the Farmers' Party.

A Cabinet crisis was now considered unavoidable, and when the debate on the Speech from the Throne began in the Storting on January 23, public excitement was intense. The Leader of the Labour Party, Mr. Nygaardsvold, proposed a vote of censure, declaring that the Government had not sufficiently realised the necessity of a new political and economic orientation. Mr. Hundseid, the Agrarian leader, submitted a resolution emphasising the necessity of forming a majority Government. The Premier said that he did not consider Mr. Hundseid's resolution a vote of censure. The Government intended to remain in power unless a clear motion of no confidence was passed by the Storting. The vote of censure of the Labour Party was rejected by 78 votes to 67, and the motion of the Farmers' Party by 122 votes to 23. The Government was thus saved for the time being, but the relations between the Cabinet and the Farmers' Party having become exceedingly strained, it was generally anticipated that a critical situation would again arise very soon.

During the debate in the Storting on the Estimates, on March 14, the Premier strongly criticised various proposals of the Labour Party and the Farmers' Party, involving an increase of expenditure by about 17,000,000 kroner. He submitted the following motion : " The Storting pronounces against any increase of the

Cabinet's Estimates which will necessitate new loans or increased taxes."

Mr. Hundseid said that the Farmers' Party could not vote for the Premier's motion, which really was a vote of confidence. Serious divergencies had arisen between the Government and the Farmers' Party. The Agrarians did not want bourgeois co-operation to continue under the leadership of the present Cabinet. The Government had done nothing for agriculture and the other fundamental industries of the country. The Premier, in reply, declared that Mr. Hundseid's speech indicated a new orientation in the policy of the Farmers' Party.

As expected, the Premier's motion was rejected by a large majority, 94 votes to 55, the majority consisting of the Labour Party, the Farmers' Party and two Independents, the minority of the Liberal Party and the Conservative Party.

On the following day Mr. Mowinckel's Cabinet resigned, and the King summoned the Labour leader, Mr. Johan Nygaardsvold, who accepted the task of forming a new Government.

The second Labour Cabinet in Norway was appointed on March 20, being composed as follows : Johan Nygaardsvold, Premier and Minister of Works ; Dr. Halvdan Koht, Minister of Foreign Affairs ; Adolf Indrebø, Minister of Finance ; Alfred Madsen, Minister of Commerce ; K. Bergsvik, Minister of Social Affairs ; N. Hjeltnet, Minister of Church and Education ; F. Monsen, Minister of Defence ; L. Ystgaard, Minister of Agriculture. Mr. Nygaardsvold, Mr. Madsen, and Mr. Monsen had been members of the short-lived Labour Government of 1928, which lasted only 18 days. The other Ministers had never held office before. With the exception of Mr. Koht, Mr. Indrebø, and Mr. Ystgaard, all Ministers were members of the Storting.

The new Premier, Mr. Nygaardsvold, was born in 1879, and is a warehouse worker at Hommelvik in Northern Norway. In his youth he spent five years in the United States as a navvy. After his return from America he took an active part in the trades union movement, was elected President of the Municipal Council at Hommelvik, and has been a member of the Storting since 1916. He was elected Parliamentary leader of the Labour Party in 1932, and President of the Storting in 1934. The new Foreign Minister, Mr. Koht, is a historian of international reputation, and has for many years been Professor at the University of Oslo.

On March 21 Mr. Nygaardsvold read a declaration in the Storting, stating that the new Government represented the Labour Party, and therefore could not claim to have a majority in the Storting. The chief object of the Cabinet was, in co-operation with Parliament, to combat the economic crisis and reduce unemployment. The Government would carry out its policy on a basis of sound finance, and as far as was in its power

protect the economic life of the country from disturbances due to fluctuations of the Exchange.

The declaration as well as the composition of the new Government made a good impression, the bourgeois Press pointing out that the declaration was much more moderate than the rather aggressive statement which caused the downfall of the Hornsrud Cabinet in 1928. The declaration was followed by only a very short debate in the Storting, the leaders of the bourgeois parties proclaiming a policy of "wait and see" towards the Government.

In the place of the Premier, Mr. Hambro, the Conservative leader, was elected President of the Storting.

The Government, in April, submitted to the Storting various measures with a view to mitigating the effects of the economic crisis. The total Estimates for the financial year 1935-36 were thereby increased to 435,000,000 kroner, 26,000,000 more than those of the Mowinckel Cabinet. In order to cover the increase in expenditure the Government proposed a provisional tax on the turn-over of the retail trade, and increased taxes on fortunes and incomes.

These "crisis-measures," as they were called, were adopted by the Storting on June 6 by 90 votes to 51, the Farmers' Party voting with the Government. The measures included various undertakings to reduce unemployment and financial support of the fishing trade and agriculture.

A new whaling law took effect on June 14, replacing the law of 1929. The new law increases the power of the Government to regulate the whaling trade by limiting production and in other ways.

The final Estimates for 1935-36, amounting to 437,000,000 kroner, were adopted by the Storting on June 25.

The most important event during the year in foreign politics was the dispute between Norway and Great Britain regarding the Norwegian maritime boundaries.

The question of the limits of the Norwegian fisheries zone became acute in the beginning of the century, when British, German, and other vessels started fishing with trawls off the shores of Northern Norway. By a law of June 2, 1906, fishing by foreigners was prohibited in Norwegian territorial waters, and a by-law of May 13, 1908, all trawling was forbidden in the same waters. But the enforcement of these laws met with many difficulties because the exact limits of the Norwegian maritime belt were not laid down, and they have been the subject of many negotiations, in particular with the British Government.

On June 17, 1935, the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Storting presented a report recommending that the Government should take steps to fix by a Royal Decree the various points of the base lines from which the limits of the Norwegian fisheries zone should be reckoned as regards the coast from Varangerfjorden

to Traena in the county of Nordland. This report was based on proposals submitted by the Government in 1931 and 1934, and it was with the concurrence of Mr. Koht, the Foreign Minister, that it confined itself to the above-mentioned part of the coast and dealt only with the delimitation of the fisheries zone, not touching upon the question of the neutrality limit in times of war. It was understood that in case of war the King would make special regulations as regards this limit.

The report was unanimously adopted by the Storting on June 24, 1935, and in the same sitting the Foreign Minister, Mr. Koht, announced that the Government accepted it. In his speech Mr. Koht characterised the policy recommended by the Committee as a moderate one. " This moderation gives strength. We have by it declared that we do not interfere with old rights in the usual maritime passage in our fjords and sounds. We do not propose to take up questions which might lead to controversy. We confine ourselves to laying down in detail what is old national right, this being at the same time a vital necessity for the people in an important part of our country. Here we are strong, and on this point there should be no controversy."

In accordance with the decision of the Storting, a Royal Decree was issued on July 12, establishing lines of delimitation towards the high seas of the Norwegian fisheries zone as regards the part of Norway which is situated north of 66° 28-8' North latitude. These lines of delimitation run parallel with straight base lines drawn between fixed points on the mainland, on islands, or on rocks.

Mr. Koht's hope that the Royal Decree would not give rise to controversy with foreign powers was not fulfilled. Shortly afterwards the British Government informed the Norwegian Foreign Minister that Great Britain could not accept the new fisheries limit. The negotiations between the two Governments were still proceeding at the end of the year.

Economically the year showed general improvement, and the labour situation was very calm, no strikes or lockouts occurring. In December the General Federation of Trade Unions by a large majority decided to join the Trade Union International, the so-called Amsterdam International.

FINLAND.

In view of the improvement in trade and commerce which had taken place in 1934, the Government considered itself justified in relaxing somewhat the rigorous economy which it had practised for some years, and budgeted for an expenditure for 1935 of Fm. 3,355 million, which was nearly Fm. 350 million more than the estimates for the previous year. It was anticipated that the increased yield from Customs would cover the whole of the

additional expenditure, and no new taxes were imposed. The Government proposed to spend more money on social services, and also on defence, in view of the troubled conditions prevailing on all sides.

On January 21 the Finnish-speaking students of Helsingfors University organised a strike as a protest against the Cabinet's Bill for legalising the use of the Swedish language as the language of the minority in University instruction. They demanded that Swedish should be entirely banished from the Finnish Universities as a medium of instruction, and demonstrated against Hr. Mantere, the Minister of Instruction, and other supporters of the Language Bill. A special session of the Diet had been called to deal with this and one or two other questions on January 17, but owing to the organised obstruction of the Agrarian Party, the Right Party and the "People's Patriotic Movement," the session closed on January 28 without the Bill having been passed. On February 3 a meeting of 700 representatives from all parts of the country at Helsingfors demanded a referendum on the question. In reply to a deputation from the meeting, Hr. Kivimaki, the Prime Minister, insisted that the Swedish population had a constitutional right to instruction in their own language, and that it was necessary that they should continue to feel at home in Finland. This reply failed to satisfy the Nationalists, and the agitation continued. In the middle of February, a Committee of two, composed of Professor H. Brotherus, the Director of the University, and Professor E. Ltfnnroth, were requested to draft proposals for converting Helsingfors University into a purely Finnish institution, while providing facilities for the Swedish-speaking students to receive instruction in their own language.

On February 20 began the celebration of the centenary of the publication of "Kalevala," Finland's national epic, compiled by Elias LCnnroth from Finnish folk songs. A public holiday was proclaimed, and the towns were hung with flags and illuminated. Representatives of twenty-five foreign nations participated in the celebrations.

A minor Government crisis took place when the Diet met in November. Earlier in the year the Government, in consequence of disturbances at Socialist meetings at Tammerfors, had issued a decree restricting the use of flags by private persons. The Socialists protested, and on November 19 brought forward a motion in the Diet declaring the decree to be unconstitutional. The Government made the question one of confidence. The voting turned out to be exactly even—93 for and against the motion,—and the position of the Government was left in doubt, until it was finally decided to draw lots, and fortune favoured the Government.

The "People's Patriotic Movement," the Nazi organisation of Finland, caused some concern to the Government in the autumn

by the violence of its propaganda, in which not only Socialists and Communists, but also the League of Nations and foreign countries were frequently attacked. On November 19 Colonel Somersalo, a member of the Diet and one of the leaders of the movement, was sentenced to four months' imprisonment for writing an article offensive to Estonia.

In a debate on foreign affairs in the Diet on December 5, Hr. Hackzell, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, paid tribute to the League of Nations, and said that Finland had no desire for alliances of any character or commitments other than those involved in her membership of the League. He emphasised the desire of Finland to co-operate with the three Scandinavian countries, especially with Sweden, to whom she was attached by geographical, historical, political, and cultural ties, and friendship with whom was essential in case of a threat of war.

Early in December the Finnish Socialist Party held a conference at Helsingfors which was attended by the Prime Ministers of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden (*vide* Sweden), who had conferences with Hr. Kivimaki, the Prime Minister. Among the subjects discussed at the conference were the forty-hour week, the League of Nations, the forthcoming elections in Finland, Sweden, and Norway, and the establishment of a Nordic Socialist Bureau.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MIDDLE EAST : IRAN (PERSIA)—AFGHANISTAN—IRAQ— PALESTINE—SYRIA—ARABIA.

IRAN (PERSIA).

ON January 28 the Persian Government announced that from the next New Year's day, March 21, the official name of Persia would be changed to Iran, and foreign Ambassadors and Legations were advised to take note of the alteration. Shortly after, they informed the Universal Postal Union of their desire that Persia should henceforth be known as Iran, and intimated that correspondence should be addressed accordingly. Objection was taken to the name Persia on the ground that, being derived from Fars, which was only a province, it did not properly represent the country as a whole. The fact that "Iran" was no less applicable to Afghanistan than to Persia did not seem to weigh with the Government.

A new Mejliss was opened by the Shah on June 6, and by his Majesty's express desire the whole of the assembled company, contrary to usual custom, received him bareheaded. In his Speech

from the Throne, the Shah expressed his pleasure that from June 8 all Ministers, Deputies, and officials should discard the Pahlevi cap, which had been in use for the last seven years, and adopt European headgear, and with it the European custom of removing the hat for making salutation or on entering a house. In August, by command of the Shah, the Cabinet issued an order that in everyday talk and in correspondence simple forms of address were to be used instead of the ornate styles at present usual, which were declared to be insincere and a waste of time. An acquaintance was to be greeted simply as Agha (Mr.). For Ministers the simple Junab 'Ali, hitherto a title of no great dignity, was to be sufficient; while the Shah's style was to be " 'Ala Hazrat."

Throughout 1935 Iran, as in the previous year, exerted herself to obtain sovereign rights over the waters on the left side of the Shatt-el-Arab, the estuary of the Euphrates and Tigris which flows between Iran and Iraq. By the Treaty of Erzerum, concluded in 1847, the Turkish Government was accorded sovereignty over all the waters of the Shatt, and this was reaffirmed by a protocol drawn up in 1914. After the war, Iraq, as the succession State, took over Turkish rights, and both claimed and exercised sovereign rights over the whole of the Shatt. In practice, however, she made no objection to a Persian flotilla being stationed at Mohammerah, where the Persian boundary joined the Shatt, and she recognised generally Persian interests in the navigation of the Shatt. Persia, however, was not satisfied with this arrangement, which she regarded as an infringement of her sovereignty, and in the course of 1934, Persian agents began to take liberties which were resented by the Iraqi Government. The Persian Government, thereupon, in the middle of 1934, thought of bringing the dispute before the League of Nations, but on the advice of Baron Aloisi, first tried the effect of direct negotiations with Iraq. These proved ineffective, and towards the end of 1934 Iraq brought the matter to the attention to the League of Nations.

On December 11, 1934, the Persian Government circulated to the Council and the members of the League a memorandum setting forth its views on the question at issue. The memorandum denied that Persian agents had violated the Iraqi frontier, and brought a counter charge that there had been numerous encroachments by Iraqi agents and tribes, which had caused damage and loss of life. The memorandum further rejected the Iraqi contention that the delimitation of the frontier in 1914, by a Commission composed of representatives of Persia, the Ottoman Empire, Great Britain, and Russia, was final, and described the agreements on which Iraq based her claim as " obsolete documents . . . relating to a period when the Persian and Ottoman Empires were under the aggressive influence of foreign Powers, and, moreover, contrary to the interests of the present time ; titles devoid

of all kinds of legal force and entirely without equitable foundation," Persia then proceeded to put forward her claim that the boundary should be drawn through the middle of the waterway, in accordance with the usual custom in such cases.

At the meeting of the League Council, the Italian representative was commissioned to act as mediator and draw up a report, and the two parties undertook meanwhile to do nothing which might exacerbate the dispute—an undertaking which was honourably kept on both sides. The report, which was issued on May 25, did not bring matters much further, and direct negotiation between the two parties was resumed. In the early summer, an Iraqi delegation visited Teheran for the purpose of securing an amicable solution of the dispute. Negotiations were conducted in a friendly spirit, and a number of misunderstandings were cleared away, but the delegation left Teheran on August 26 without having secured agreement on the main subject. Discussions, however, were soon resumed, and with such good prospect of success that when the Council of the League met on September 28 it saw no necessity to consider the matter at that session.

Animated by the same spirit of nationalism, the Persian Government, in this year, sought to obtain control of the buoys and lights in the Persian Gulf on the Persian foreshore, which hitherto had been maintained by the British authorities. After some negotiation, the Persian Government agreed to purchase all of them with the exception of one lightship, for which the money could not be found at the moment. It was understood that the Basra Port Directorate should continue to work and maintain the buoys and lights on behalf of the Persian Government until that body could provide a properly trained personnel.

AFGHANISTAN.

The country remained peaceful throughout 1935, although there was trouble among the Mohmands just across the frontier. King Zahir Shah, with the assistance of his uncle, the Prime Minister, continued the policy of his father, and strengthened the defences of the State while introducing reforms very gradually. In the summer Dr. W. Baldow, a German civil servant, was engaged by the Afghan Government to survey the entire country, as a preliminary to improving the posts, telegraphs, telephones, and road transport generally.

In October celebrations were held in Kabul in honour of the twenty-first birthday of King Zahir Shah, as also of the anniversary of the restoration of the dynasty by Nadir Shah. The King gave a dinner to the Diplomatic Corps and the Prime Minister, and entertained leading local residents and foreigners.

IRAQ

, Of tribal revolts which are not rare in Iraq there were two in the course of the year 1935, neither, however, very serious or of long duration. Both occurred in the same neighbourhood, about half-way between Baghdad and Basra, and the second may in a sense be considered a continuation of the first. The earlier occurred in March when two prominent sheikhs revolted, it is said as a protest against the manner in which the elections to the Chamber of Deputies had been conducted among or on behalf of their tribesmen. This revolt was of very brief duration. Two months later, however, it broke out again and on a more serious scale. Much damage was done to Government and other property before the outbreak was suppressed, partly with the assistance of gunboats whose movements were facilitated by the floods, and of aeroplanes. Within three weeks this outbreak also had been suppressed.

The casualties of these revolts were not only those who were killed on the battlefield, or were executed for their part in the outbreaks. Two Cabinets and a Parliament were also among the victims. The trouble began with the resignation on February 24 of the Cabinet of Ali Jaudat Beg whose position had been rendered impossible by a strike of senators, influenced by the tribal leaders who subsequently revolted, and whose ostensible grievance was the composition of the Chamber and the manner in which the representation of the tribes therein had been arranged for them. After a fortnight's interval a new Cabinet was appointed under Jamil Beg al Midfai. This lasted only twelve days. The tribal revolt that had in the meanwhile broken out had caused such dissensions in the Cabinet that it was impossible for it to continue, and General Yasin Pasha el Hashimi, who had been Prime Minister ten years previously and King Faisal's last Minister of Finance, was induced to accept office. On the previous occasion he had asked to be excused. His Cabinet which was generally welcomed contained four previous holders of the office of Prime Minister, and was in a sense a National Government. The unsatisfactoriness of the previous Parliamentary elections was admitted and Parliament dissolved. In the elections which were completed on August 6 the Government secured 88 seats out of 107.

Military conscription, long threatened, was introduced in the course of the year. The Arabs on the whole welcomed the measure, but among the Minorities it was not so popular. The Yezidis, popularly known as Devil Worshipers, went so far as to rise in revolt, but they were quickly suppressed with heavy losses.

The whole of the year was occupied, desultorily, with a dispute between Iraq and its Iranian neighbour over the Shatt-el-Arab,

the river that separates the two kingdoms. According to the Treaty of Erzeroum of the middle of last century, the sovereignty of the river rested with Turkey to whose rights Iraq succeeded. Persia or Iran, however, was allowed in practice ample privileges in the river and had no practical grievance. The *amour propre* of the newly enfranchised Iranian kingdom was however affected, and she claimed with Iraq equal rights in the river which is the mutual boundary. The dispute was considered by the Council of the League of Nations in January. A further attempt was made to secure a settlement by negotiation between the two parties, but this failed, and at the end of the year the dispute was still unsettled.

The Iraq-Mediterranean pipe-line was formally inaugurated on January 14, and oil from Kirkuk has since regularly reached the appointed Lebanese and Palestinian ports. An agreement was reached with the British Government early in October for the transfer to the Iraqi Government of the railways, including a reserve fund of 315,000l., for the nominal payment of 400,000l. The railways were built during the war for military purposes at an estimated cost of 12,000,000l.

The question of the settlement of the Assyrian Christians made a considerable move towards a conclusion during the year. The British Guiana proposal was considered and abandoned as unsuitable. A number of the refugees had already been settled in Syria and the French Government was willing to receive others there, provided that the Government was involved in no expenditure. The offer of the French was accepted, the cost of the transfer and re-settlement being defrayed by the British and Iraqi Governments in equal shares, the smaller balance being contributed by the League of Nations. The refugees had not been transferred at the end of the year, but by this agreement the matter, it is believed, may be considered settled.

PALESTINE.

The year 1935 in Palestine was marked in the first place by the largest Jewish immigration yet recorded ; secondly, by a continuation of the country's rapid economic development, though from this aspect there was some slackening towards the end of the year, and finally, from the political point of view, by the increasing intransigence of certain sections of the Arab population towards the Government.

The economic and financial situation, though still prosperous at the end of 1935, showed some deterioration in the later months of that year as a result of the Italo-Abyssinian War. Thus, while the year opened not merely without unemployment amongst the Jews, but with an actual scarcity of labour, it closed with a number

of unemployed which, while not large according to European standards, nevertheless gave rise to some anxiety. The outbreak of the war in October led to a run on the smaller banks in Palestine, many of which are held to be unsound. The larger banks, and later the Government, had to come to their assistance, and, while none of them closed, an inevitable restriction of credit followed. This affected primarily the building industry, a principal source of employment for Jewish labour, and the boom in this industry accordingly showed signs of slackening. While citrus exports—oranges represent by far the greater part of the exports of Palestine—increased from 5,500,000 cases in 1933-34 to 7,300,000 cases in 1934-35, prices during the latter season were in general unsatisfactory, though still in all probability providing a profit for the majority of the growers. There was very little planting of new orange-groves by Jews during the year.

One result of the continuance of high wages in industry and building was a tendency for hired Jewish labour to migrate to the towns from the land. Moreover, the continuing demand for labour in the towns, which remained unsatisfied throughout the greater part of the year, resulted in most of the newcomers being attracted to those centres, with a consequent increase in the proportion of the urban, as compared with the rural, Jewish population. This tendency to leave the land, however, did not apply to the settlements of smallholders, or the communal settlements, which succeeded in absorbing into agricultural work a considerable number of further settlers, including, in particular, an important proportion of the younger immigrants from Germany. In connexion with the immigration from Germany, there was an increase in the entry of professional men, which caused the Government to take steps to limit the grant of licences to practise, to physicians and lawyers coming from abroad. Apart from invisible imports, for the most part immigrants' capital, the balance of trade against Palestine in 1934 was 12,000,000/. (imports, 15,150,000l. ; exports, 3,220,000l.). A new Customs agreement with Egypt brought slight benefits to Palestine trade. A loud agitation for reprisals against Japanese dumping led, however, to no result, a British Commercial Treaty being in the way. German imports also largely increased, in consequence mainly of the transfer of German immigrants' capital in the form of merchandise. The Government was able, out of its considerable accrued surplus, to grant much-needed loans to the poverty-stricken agriculturists of the hill-country—for the most part Arabs. The Iraq oil pipe-line was formally opened at Haifa on January 22.

The persistent propaganda of the Italian Government in Palestine attracted attention in the course of the year, both in England and in Palestine, and led to representations by the British Government. This propaganda is of long standing, but

with the approach of the attack on Abyssinia, became more persistent. One or two prominent Arabs were strongly suspected of unduly favouring Italy—an allegation also made against the Zionists-Revisionists—but Italian influence in Palestine remained very small.

As regards the relations of the Government with the Arabs, there was a tendency for the younger Arabs, especially those educated abroad, to become more vocal and extreme in their demands, and indeed, to get out of the control of the older leaders of the people. An instance of this was shown in November, when the suggestion was made that the High Commissioner, on his return from England, should be received with a universal suspension of work and closing of shops as a protest against his and the Government's policy generally, and in particular against allegedly pro-Zionist speeches made by him and the Secretary of State at a Jewish meeting in London. A week or two earlier, there had already been a similar anti-Government demonstration in another connexion. The chosen Arab leaders considered this proposal for a second *hartal*, but decided against it. Despite this, the party of the younger Arabs determined to bring about such a strike, which, in the result, however, was only very partially successful.

A consequence of pressure on the part of the people was the co-operation, unprecedented in Palestine for more than a few weeks, of the five principal Arab parties, whose differences are for the most part personal, and all the more bitter on that account. This co-operation, which was still in being at the end of the year, had then already lasted three months. The "United Front" and the pressure for a more active policy were undoubtedly influenced by the apparent success of similar tactics in the neighbouring Egypt.

The earlier Arab protest was a protest against the alleged smuggling of arms into the Jewish centres, which resulted from the discovery in October of a large consignment of arms and ammunition which was stopped at the port. Smuggling on a small scale was long known to be rife and the confiscation of an occasional rifle or revolver from an Arab or a Jew was frequent, but it was argued that the size of the consignment in question was such that this was not a matter of individuals, but of an organisation. The Arabs at once foisted responsibility on the Jews, and blamed the alleged laxity of the Government. For a time agitation in the Arab Press was at fever-heat. It was to some extent allayed by the assurance quickly given by the Government that the matter would be probed to the furthest, but the source and real destination of the arms were still a mystery at the end of the year. One consequence of this discovery, and of the agitation that followed it, was a serious affray in the north of Palestine between the police and an Arab terrorist gang whose

existence there had long been suspected. The Government treated the incident as one of ordinary brigandage, but if it were brigandage, it was brigandage of a political character. There was no motive of robbery ; the participants proclaimed that they had come out for the redemption of their people. The participants were, moreover, not the ordinary type of criminal, but had at their head a spiritual leader of the community in Haifa. One British constable, and some four or five of the brigands, were killed, and at the funeral of the latter there was a riot, in the course of which some police officers were injured.

At the end of the year, on December 21, the High Commissioner disclosed to the Arab and Jewish leaders the Government plans for the constitution of the long-deferred Legislative Council. The Government of Palestine was, in effect, to remain with the High Commissioner and the Colonial Office, but the opportunity would be given to the representatives of the people to criticise Government proposals and also to suggest legislation. The Arab representatives were to be twice the number of those of the Jews, but a further quarter of the membership was to consist of nominated officials. Thus the Arabs will equal in number the Jews and the officials together, but in cases of difference a casting vote will rest with the senior British official. The Jews of Palestine, under the leadership of Dr. Weizmann, rejected the proposal on the spot. They argued that the proposals were contrary to the Mandate, that they would fix a minority status on the Jews in the land of the Jewish national home, and that they were likely generally to impede the progress and the development of the country. The Arab leaders asked for time to consider the proposals, and had not given their decision at the end of the year.

The usual two-yearly Zionist Congress was held in Lucerne in August, and resulted in the return of Dr. Weizmann to the official leadership of the movement from which he had been absent for four years. He was supported by a coalition executive, representative of most of the parties in the Zionist movement. The faction of the Zionists-Revisionists, however, whose undisguised policy is a Jewish majority and a Jewish State, had previously formally seceded from the Zionist organisation.

A long, but not complete, move forward was taken towards the election of an Orthodox Patriarch in place of His Beatitude Monsignor Damianos, who died in August, 1931. The long deadlock was due to the irreconcilability of the Arab laity and lower clergy and the Greek higher clergy, without the consent of both of whom an election was impossible. On May 27 the Government, by ordinance, amended in a few details the electoral law, and that laying down the government of the community. The laity, however, were not satisfied, and when on July 22, Monsignor Timotheos, the Archbishop of the Jordan, who incidentally (unlike his predecessor) speaks English well, was elected, the laity refused

to participate in the elections. There were later communications between the Patriarch-elect and representatives of the laity, and at one time a *modus vivendi* seemed possible, but in the end the laity presented a petition to the High Court contesting the validity of the election. The election of His Beatitude had not yet been confirmed at the end of the year.

SYRIA.

The year 1935 in Syria and the Lebanon was a quiet one. There were protests, although not so many as usual, against the Mandatory Power and its nominated Governments, but there were no outbreaks of any consequence. In August it was decided to grant an amnesty to political exiles living in neighbouring countries. Secret societies with political objects, however, continued active, and it can never be said that the situation either in Syria or in the neighbouring countries is stable. In March representatives of Syrian nationalists were in Mecca, inviting Kang Ibn Saud to accept the leadership of all the Arab peoples : in November a secret society was unveiled in Beirout whose purpose was the union and independence of Syria, the Lebanon, and Palestine. In December it was reported that the High Commissioner was considering yet another reorganisation of the Constitution of Syria, a federated United States of Syria, comprising all of the mandated territory outside of the Lebanon being the suggestion on this occasion. This was proposed as a compromise between the views of the French and the Syrian Nationalists, but was not very enthusiastically received by the latter.

ARABIA.

Arabia was fortunate in being practically without a history in the year 1935. On March 15 there was an attempt to murder the Wahabi King while he was engaged at his devotions in the Mosque at Mecca. The would-be assassins had come from the Yemen which kingdom had a few months earlier been defeated in battle by Ibn Saud's forces, and representations were made to the Imam Yehia of the Yemen asking for an inquiry regarding the alleged connexion between them and one of his officials. This attempted assassination occurred at a time when Ibn Saud was receiving a Syrian Nationalist delegation which was pressing him to take the leadership in a movement for an Arab Federal Union, embracing all the Arab lands, of which he was to be the head. He, however, gave no encouragement to the scheme which he judged impracticable, and recommended his visitors to press upon their Governments improvements in cultural and commercial relations. It was on lines such as these that the agreement of

February 12 with the Government of Iraq followed. Under this agreement a desert motor route was opened between Iraq and Mecca, whereby much time is saved and the comfort of the pilgrims greatly increased. The first omnibus from Iraq reached Mecca on March 5.

At the beginning of April the Indian Government announced the transfer of the British naval stations from Hanjam and Basidu on the Persian shore of the Straits of Ormuz to Bahrein, a British Protectorate on the Arabian coast.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FAR EAST : CHINA—JAPAN.

CHINA.

THE year 1935 witnessed further encroachments on the integrity of China from the side of Japan. While the Chinese Government was still claiming authority over Manchuria and refusing to recognise the Japanese occupation of that province, it lost effective control of a considerable stretch of territory south of the Great Wall, which also was brought under Japanese domination.

In the early part of the year there was much talk of a *rapprochement* between the two countries. On January 30 the Japanese Minister was received in Nanking by Mr. Wang Ching-wei, the President of the Executive Yuan, and at the same time the Japanese Military Attache was received by Chiang Kai-shek, this being the first time for some years that the latter had met Japanese officers. According to the Japanese Press, Mr. Wang told the Japanese Minister that the Chinese Government desired a relaxation of the state of tension between the two countries and an assurance that would remove fears of aggression ; and the Japanese Minister was stated to have given such an assurance. Chiang Kai-shek, on his side, disclaimed any anti-Japanese feeling.

On February 20 Mr. Wang Ching-wei made a statement in which he foreshadowed the early restoration of normal relations between China and Japan under conditions of "equality and mutual assistance." He spoke frankly of the necessity of friendly and peaceable relations with so close a neighbour as Japan, and further alluded to what he termed the "olive-branch" speech of the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Diet on January 22 (*vide* Japan), declaring that "it agreed in spirit with what China had always advocated." At about the same time, Wang Chung-hui, the Chinese member of The Hague Court, paid an unofficial visit to Tokio, where he discussed Sino-Japanese rela-

tions with various Ministers. He informed a Press correspondent that his conversations had shown that in Japan as well as in China there existed a strong desire to restore normal relations.

As a condition for bringing this about, Japan insisted on the suppression in China of the anti-Japanese boycott and Press propaganda. The Government went so far as to instruct all Kuomintang newspapers and public bodies to abstain from further anti-Japanese activities. Whether from lack of power or lack of will, they took no further steps in the same direction. Accordingly the Japanese military authorities in North China towards the end of May took the law into their own hands and presented to the Nanking Government a number of demands which included the abolition of all Kuomintang organisations in North China and the dismissal of Yu Hsueh-chung, the Governor of Hopei province. A little later, they demanded the withdrawal of Sung Cheh-yuan, the Governor of Chahar province, and his troops from Chahar. The Chinese Government complied in both cases, with the result that Japanese influence became predominant in Hopei and Chahar, and the demilitarised zone south of the Great Wall was extended about seventy miles westward (*vide* Japan).

After a period of quiescence, the Japanese military authorities again began to harry the Chinese Government at the beginning of November, when they issued a warning calling for the immediate suppression of all anti-Japanese and anti-Manchukuo activities in the North. They also arrested several minor Chinese officials on the ground that they were intriguing against Japan, though these were later handed over to their own authorities. About the same time rumours became current that the Japanese were actively supporting an autonomy movement in the five northern provinces of Hopei, Chahar, Shantung, Shansi, and Suiyuan. In fact, on November 20, the military authorities in Mukden stated that should any Chinese attempt be made to suppress the autonomy movement, Japanese troops would be drafted south of Great Wall in force.

In face of this difficult situation, negotiations were opened by Sung Cheh-yuan, the Governor of Chahar, with General Doihara, the head of the Japanese Army Staff in Kwantung, and a little later by Chiang Kai-shek with Mr. Ariyosha, the Japanese Ambassador in Nanking. The Chinese representations, though not wholly successful, were far from being ineffective. On November 24 a declaration of the autonomy of the demilitarised zone was issued by Yin Ju-keng, the chief official of that area, and at the same time an organisation called the East Hopei anti-Communist Autonomous Council was set up under the chairmanship of Yin, with the ostensible object of resisting communism and the new currency measures. Shortly after, Japanese troops occupied strategic points on the Peking-Tientsin railway. The provinces of Shantung, Shansi, and Suiyuan, however, remained

unaffected, and the new movement did not spread even to the rest of Hopei and Chahar,

The Chinese Government did not accept this development passively. Orders for the arrest of Yin Ju-keng were issued by Nanking, and Ho Ying-chen, the Minister for War, was sent to Peking to remonstrate with the Japanese. The attention of the British and French Foreign Offices was also called to the military activities of the Japanese in North China, which, it was alleged, threatened a violation of the Washington Nine-Power Treaty. As a result of Ho Ying-chen's efforts, it was decided on December 8 to set up a Political Council for Hopei and Chahar under the chairmanship of Sung Cheh-yuan, and composed of past and present Chinese officials in the North. The status of the Council was left rather vague; the Nanking Government claimed full authority over it in the matter both of foreign policy and of the remission of Customs receipts, but this was not admitted by Japan; and Yin Ju-keng's organisation still continued in existence. The announcement of the settlement was followed by student demonstrations in Peking, Tientsin, Nanking, Shanghai, and Hankow; in the last three they were so serious that martial law had to be proclaimed.

The energies of the Central Government during the year were mostly taken up with operations against the Communist forces which were still at large in the western provinces. At the beginning of the year, the chief band was in the province of Kweichow. Forces were sent against them there by both the Nanking and the Canton Governments. The former arrived in Kweichow first, and Chiang Kai-shek ordered the southern troops to withdraw into Kiangsi for further pacification of that province,—an order which was obeyed with some reluctance. Chiang Kai-shek thus brought Kweichow within the sphere of his own influence, appointing as Governor Hsieh Yoh, a Cantonese general who was loyal to Nanking.

The Communists in Kweichow at first retired to southern Szechuan, but they returned at the beginning of March, and after defeating the Government troops at Tsunyi, advanced to within fifty miles of Kweiyang, the provincial capital. Chiang Kai-shek regarded the threat to this town as so serious that he countermanded his previous orders to the Canton Expeditionary Force, and called upon them to return to Kweichow. The Communists advanced to within ten miles of Kweiyang, and were then severely defeated in a pitched battle lasting two days.

Being unable to maintain themselves in Kweichow, the Communists, to the number, it was said, of 10,000 to 20,000, made their way into Yunnan, where for a time they threatened the provincial capital, Yunnanfu, from which all foreign women and children were evacuated on May 1. Being held up by the provincial troops and pursued by the Government troops from

Kweichow, they withdrew northwards into Szechuan. Here towards the end of June they joined hands to the south-west of Chengtu, the provincial capital, with another band of Communists which had been in Szechuan for some time. Their combined forces were reported to number 30,000 and 40,000 men. Further pressure by the Government forces compelled them to withdraw during September further northwards, into southern Kansu.

One result of the campaign against the Communists had been to strengthen considerably the control of the Central Government over the four provinces of Kiangsi, Kweichow, Yunnan, and Szechuan, which had previously owed it only nominal allegiance. Another result was to endanger all the foreign missions which lay along the route of the Communist march. Numerous mission stations had to be abandoned, and some missionaries were taken captive. On November 24, after prolonged negotiations, Mr. Hayman, a British missionary who had been captured in October, 1934, was at length released, though his Swiss colleague, Mr. Bosshardt, was still kept captive.

On January 29 the Chinese Navigation Company's steamer *Tungchow*, carrying seventy-three British and American children back to their school at Chefoo, was attacked and seized by pirates when nine hours out from Shanghai. Some British war-boats were sent in pursuit, and after holding the ship for some days the pirates abandoned it, without having done any harm to the children. On June 17 General Tsai Teng-hui, the commander of the anti-piracy troops at Bias Bay, and his Chief of Staff, Yang Chih-yuan, were suddenly executed at Canton, on the ground that they had assisted instead of suppressing the pirates.

The currency crisis, caused by America's persistent buying of silver, became more acute as the year wore on. An attempt to parry it was made early in the year by the closer co-ordination of the three leading Chinese banks with a measure of Government control. Mr. T. V. Soong became Chairman of the Bank of China and head of the consortium. At the beginning of June, in order to avert a crisis, the Ministry of Finance advanced 25,000,000 dollars worth of Government bonds to firms which were solvent but temporarily embarrassed. Towards the end of June, 600,000 silver dollars were brought from Shanghai to Peking to alleviate the financial crisis among the local Chinese banks. The crisis was directly due to the outflow of silver, which the export tax only partially checked. In his report on the year ending June 30, 1934, made in May, Dr. H. H. Kung, the Minister of Finance, stated that the net silver export in 1934 had been 257,000,000 dollars, of which five-sixths took place in about the first four months after the passing of the American Silver Purchase Act. The largest previous export in any one year had been 48,000,000 dollars in 1907. Numerous banking failures took place in the summer, culminating in the suspension of business at the beginning of

September by the Bank of Canton, and the failure on September 16 of the Chinese National and Commercial Bank.

The financial and economic condition of China was watched with no small anxiety in Great Britain, which had vast interests in the country. In March the British Government called the attention of the American, French, and Japanese Governments to the difficulties under which China was labouring, and all three Governments expressed their readiness to consider any practical proposals to safeguard Chinese currency in the interests of international trade. The situation in China was the subject of a debate in the House of Lords on April 3, in which the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs stated that China had recently inquired whether they would support a loan, but they had come to the conclusion that this would not have been of real value to China. On June 9 the British Government arranged that Sir F. Leith-Ross, the Chief Economic Adviser to the Government, should visit China for the purpose of discussing with the Chinese Government and the other Governments concerned the problems to which the present situation gave rise. Sir F. Leith-Ross arrived in Shanghai on September 21.

Without waiting for Sir F. Leith-Ross's report or even advice, the Government on November 3 announced new financial measures of a wide scope. The use of silver as a medium of payment was made illegal, legal tender being confined to notes issued by the Central Bank of China ; note issues of other banks were to be gradually withdrawn from circulation, and replaced by notes of the Central Bank. A Currency Reserve Board was to be set up to take over banknote reserves and to control currency policy. These regulations were greatly resented in Japan, and the Japanese banks refused to surrender their silver reserves, an example which was followed by most of the banks, both native and foreign, in the autonomous area.

The accounts for the financial year ending June 30 closed with a large deficit, to meet which the issue of a Customs Revenue Loan to the amount of 100,000,000 dollars was authorised by the National Government. The unsatisfactory state of the national finances was put down by the Minister of Finance chiefly to heavy military expenditure.

A political crisis took place on August 9, when Wang Ching-wei resigned his posts of President of the Executive Yuan and Minister for Foreign Affairs, nominally on account of ill-health, but really because of differences with his colleagues over the question of relations with Japan. His resignation was accompanied by those of two of his followers, Ku Weng-yu and Chen Kung-po, Ministers of Railways and Industry. On August 19 Chiang Kai-shek returned suddenly to Peking by air from Chengtu, and induced Wang Ching-wei to withdraw his resignation, at least until the meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang,

which was due in September. At the opening of the meeting, which did not take place till November 1, Wang Ching-wei was shot at and seriously wounded by Chinese assailants who resented his attempts to conciliate Japan. His recovery was so slow that he found himself compelled to resign on December 1. His place as Chairman of the Executive Yuan was taken by Chiang Kai-shek, and as Minister for Foreign Affairs by General Chang Ch'un.

The year 1935 had its full share of natural calamities, which accentuated the economic distress of the country. In May the Yellow River burst through its dykes in many places, flooding hundreds of square miles of countryside. It was estimated that 50,000 persons were drowned in the floods. In July the Yangtze overflowed, with results no less disastrous; the city of Hankow was saved only by superhuman efforts. Further inundations took place in the autumn. The National Agricultural Research Bureau estimated that a total of 2,685,263,000 piculs of main winter crops had been destroyed in the twenty-one provinces of China by flood, typhoon, insect pests, pathological diseases, and other natural calamities, floods being responsible for the destruction of 1,428,112,000 piculs.

JAPAN.

Japan in 1935 directed her principal energies to the task of strengthening and extending her influence in China. Her earlier efforts in this direction were made by the Foreign Office through the method of peaceful persuasion, but when these failed to produce the desired effect, the military took matters into their own hands, and applied forcible methods which proved more effective, though not so effective as they could have wished.

On January 22 Mr. Hirota, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in a review of foreign relations in the Diet, expressed a hope that China would not only soon recover her stability, but would also awake to a realisation of the whole situation in Eastern Asia, and undertake to meet Japan's genuine aspirations. As China's neighbour and the stabilising force in that part of the world, it was Japan's policy to try to help in the attainment of that goal, and the Japanese Government gladly acknowledged the fact, already indicated by the solution of long-pending questions, that there was an increasing tendency among the Chinese people to appreciate Japan's true motives. Everything would be done, Mr. Hirota concluded, to encourage this tendency, and it was hoped that China would collaborate in the same direction.

China made a favourable response to this appeal (*vide* China), and for a time the two Governments did seem to draw somewhat nearer to one another. Weeks, however, went by, and practically nothing was done by the Chinese Government to satisfy the two

most urgent requirements of Japan—the suppression of the anti-Japanese boycott and Press propaganda. In March, Japanese suspicions were aroused by talk of a European loan to China. The Japanese Government let it be known that it regarded the loan as both undesirable, since it was likely to introduce international control over China, and unnecessary, as the financial condition of China did not require it. On April 5 the spokesman of the Foreign Office criticised the tone of a debate on China which had just taken place in the British House of Lords, and which he stigmatised as "patronising." And the general tone of the Press made it clear that Japan was resolved to have the dominant voice in matters relating to China.

Meanwhile the Japanese military authorities were complaining that the Chinese were not observing the Tangku truce, by which the district south of the Great Wall had been demilitarised, and towards the end of May they determined to assert their authority in this district also. They accordingly presented to the Chinese Government certain demands which included the abolition of all Kuomintang organisations in North China, the dismissal of Yu Hsueh-chung, the Governor of the Province of Hopei, and the cessation of all anti-Japanese activities. The Chinese immediately complied, and thus Hopei was brought within the sphere of Japanese influence.

The military authorities had acted in this matter on their own initiative, on the ground that the matter in question was a purely local one affecting them alone and not calling for diplomatic negotiations. This view was endorsed by the Ministry of War in Tokio, and accepted with some hesitation by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs also. Mr. Hirota pointed out in defence of the action of the Army that China's failure to reciprocate the friendly advances recently made to her had seriously embarrassed Japan, and as evidence of this unwillingness on China's part he cited a number of points—the encouragement given to disaffected Koreans ; the failure of the Chinese Government to control the Press ; its rejection of the Japanese proposal for joint telephone and air services ; the recent increases in the Chinese tariff; the continued hostility of the Chinese delegation at Geneva ; the secret assistance given to brigands in Manchuria ; the encouragement given to the activities of irregular troops in Manchuria ; and the tolerance of anti-Japanese agitation in North China.

The military authorities in, North China followed up their *coup* in Hopei with a similar one in Chahar. On the ground that four Japanese had been detained north of Kalgan by Sung Cheh-yuan, the Governor of Chahar Province, they presented fresh demands, which included the withdrawal of Sung Cheh-yuan and his troops from Chahar. The Chinese again submitted. On June 27 an agreement was signed which provided for an expression of regret on China's part for the incident of June 6, the punishment

of the officials responsible, and a promise to prevent a recurrence. The agreement also provided for the demilitarisation of Eastern Chahar by the removal of Chinese troops to the area south of Changpei and their replacement by members of the Peace Preservation Corps. As a result of this settlement, the demilitarised zone in North China was extended 70 miles westward towards Kalgan, where the Japanese were building an aerodrome, and Japan became as dominant in Chahar as in Hopei, thus obtaining access to the Shansi coal and iron mines.

Up to this point the Japanese military authorities in China had acted more or less in harmony with the desires of the authorities at home. From this point, however, a serious divergence began to show itself. The military authorities made no secret of the fact that they would like to wrest the whole of the five northern provinces of China from the Nanking Government, and bring them directly under Japanese influence. The home Government was averse to such a proceeding, partly on account of the unfavourable effect which it would have on foreign opinion, partly of the strain which it would place on Japan's already overburdened finances. Accordingly it took steps to curb the impetuosity of the military elements. On July 16 General Masaki, one of the most influential of the " young officers " who were advocating a free hand for the Army on the Asiatic Continent, and a close associate of the ex-War Minister, General Araki, was relieved of his appointment as Inspector General of Military Education, and further changes affecting 4,700 officers were announced on August 1. The feeling aroused by these steps in the Army culminated in the assassination of Major-General Nagata, Director-General of Military Affairs, in his room at the War Office by a member of his staff on August 12. On August 26 General Hayashi, the Minister of War, summoned divisional and garrison commanders to Tokio, and after expatiating on the evils of independent action, obtained from them assurances of their collaboration in restoring unity. Nevertheless, General Hayashi on September 5 found it advisable to resign. He was succeeded at the War Office by General Kawashima, a member of the Supreme Military Council and an officer of moderate views.

The military authorities in China took little heed of the wishes of the Government. In September, an unofficial statement was issued which set forth the main objects of the Army policy as being (1) the complete eradication of all anti-Japanese movements in North China ; (2) economic co-operation between North China and Manchukuo, which might entail the conversion of the Five Northern Provinces into a special area politically and financially independent of Nanking; (3) the prevention of the spread of Communism in regions adjacent to Manchuria. This statement was attributed to Major-General Tada, Commander of the Japanese troops in North China, and even if he was not directly responsible for it, it undoubtedly represented his views.

The Government in Tokio were seriously perturbed by the issue of this statement, which they at once repudiated. A delegation headed by Major-General Okamura, and containing the heads of the China Departments of the Foreign Office and the Admiralty, was sent to the mainland to confer with the military leaders there, and impress upon them the inadvisability of publishing unauthorised statements and pursuing a policy in advance of that of the home Government. In spite of these representations, the military leaders continued to go their own way, and in November they made a determined effort to detach the five Northern provinces of China from the Nanking Government. General Doihara, the head of the Kwantung Army Staff, peremptorily forbade Sung Cheh-yuan, the Governor of Chahar, from interfering with the autonomy movement which Japan was fostering in that region. He was, however, not supported by the home Government, and in the end Japan obtained little more from the autonomy movement—for the time being—than a certain strengthening of her influence in the demilitarised zone (*vide* China).

The question of naval limitation was much discussed in Japan in 1935. On January 22 the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in his speech in the Diet, said that the Japanese Government sincerely hoped for, and were devoting their best efforts to bring about an early resumption of the negotiations for the achievement of a new and equitable agreement which would embody the principles of non-aggression and non-menace, and would effect an actual and sweeping reduction of armaments. Admiral Yamamoto, however, who had been Japanese Naval delegate at the conversations held in London, declared on his return to Japan in February that there was in his opinion no prospect of a successful naval conference unless the differences between Japan and the United States were first settled. As time went on Japan chafed more and more at the position of inferiority imposed upon her by the ratios established at the Washington and London Naval Conferences, and she now evolved the formula of the "common upper limit" as the guiding principle of her naval policy. When sounded by Great Britain in the summer as to whether she would be willing to take part in a new naval conference, Japan made it clear that she had not abandoned her demand for parity and the abolition of the ratio system, but declared herself willing to discuss these demands at a conference. Delegates were in fact sent by Japan to the Conference which was opened in London in December (*v. English History*).

In extending her influence over China, Japan was careful to disclaim any designs against Russia. In a speech made on January 27, Mr. Hirota declared that as long as he was Minister of Foreign Affairs, there would be no war with Russia. Nevertheless, Japan rejected the proposal made by Russia for a pact

of non-aggression. The reason given was that pledges of non-aggression were useless unless outstanding difficulties were first settled. Japan on her side was seriously perturbed by the military works constructed by Russia along the Manchurian frontier, and she made representations on this matter which, however, produced no effect. On February 8 the Minister of War declared in the Diet that Russia had not abandoned her warlike activities in Siberia, and Japan therefore could not slacken her own precautions. Two days later, the Japanese Ambassador in Washington, speaking before the Council of Foreign Relations, declared that for the last six years Russia had been fomenting revolution in China, and that Japan's intervention in Manchuria and her present activity in China were intended to curtail these influences. Soviet aggression was, he said, Japan's greatest fear.

The transfer to Manchukuo of the Chinese Eastern Railway, which finally took place in March (*vide* Russia), did not improve relations between the two countries. In the course of the year numerous "incidents" took place on the Russo-Manchurian frontier, where Japanese troops on various occasions violated Russian territory. When their attention was called to the fact, the Japanese authorities disclaimed responsibility, and suggested the appointment of a Commission to deal with the incidents. Russia agreed to this, but differences arose with regard to the composition of the Commission, and it had not in fact been nominated by the end of the year.

In the field of internal affairs the year was marked by a good deal of friction between the Government and the Diet. When the Diet closed on March 26, no less than eleven measures of importance—among them Bills for the control of rice, for the reduction of the tariff on iron and steel, and for strengthening the law against political violence—still remained to be passed. To compensate for its weakness in Parliament, the Cabinet obtained powers to create a National Policy Council to assist and advise it on important questions. The Council was formed soon after with the Prime Minister as President and Mr. Takahashi, Minister of Finance, as Vice-President. Admiral Viscount Saito, a former Prime Minister, also joined the Council, and the Minseito Party appointed three of its members to represent it on the board. The other great political party, however, the Seiyukai, refused to co-operate. An Investigation Bureau of fifteen high officials was also appointed to give assistance.

The Government in 1935 experienced increasing difficulty in financing the military operations in Manchuria and North China. The Budget for 1935-36, which received the approval of the Diet on March 8, amounted in its final form to 2,190,644,938 yen, the total estimates for the two fighting forces being 1,021,470,000 yen. Early in the year, the Minister of Finance

pointed out to the Cabinet that the continued military expenditure in Manchuria had increased Japan's adverse balance, unfavourably affected exchanges, and weakened the country's capacity to absorb Government loans. In July, in preparation for the Budget for the coming fiscal year, he published a similar warning, emphasising the dangers of huge annual issues of deficit bonds, and pointing out that the National Debt had increased by 2,900,000,000 yen during the past three years.

Throughout the whole of the autumn a bitter struggle was waged between the Ministry of Finance and the fighting services over the question of military expenditure. At a meeting of the Cabinet held shortly before Christmas, Mr. Takahashi spoke his mind with great frankness, warning the Army chiefs that the country could not stand a further succession of unbalanced Budgets, and pointing out that it was impossible for Japan to become self-supplying in all respects and that she had not a friend in the world. At this meeting a compromise was reached by which total expenditure for the coming year was fixed at 2,272,000,000 yen, a record figure, but one which, owing to continued trade improvement, it would not be impossible to meet without resorting to further borrowing. No less than 47 per cent, of this sum was appropriated to the fighting services, an increase of 38,000,000 yen over the figure of the current year.

In the summer, General Hayashi, the Minister for War, made a tour of inspection in Manchuria, and on his return stated his conviction that the continuance of an enormous expenditure on national defence was inevitable. An army was required in Manchuria for two purposes. One was to put down the brigandage which was still rife in that country. The other was to push Japanese interests in Outer Mongolia. On July 24 the "spokesman" of the Tokio Foreign Office stated that the Manchukuo Government was determined to obtain recognition of the right to station agents in Outer Mongolia and to construct telegraph lines to enable contact with them to be maintained. In October a Manchurian representative declared that unless the Manchurian proposals for the establishment of six Manchurian observation posts in Outer Mongolia, and for the exchange of official representatives were accepted, Manchukuo would be compelled to "adopt other measures." It was the Japanese insistence on this point which more than anything else caused friction between Japan and Russia.

Japan strengthened her economic hold on Manchuria by the establishment on July 15 of a joint Japan-Manchukuo Economic Commission, which was to be an advisory organ to be consulted by either Government on important questions affecting the economic relations between the two countries. The Japanese Press welcomed the agreement as an event of great importance, supplementing the Japan-Manchukuo Protocol of 1932, which provided

only for the political and military co-operation of the two States. The Emperor of Manchuria paid a visit to the Emperor of Japan in April.

On March 20 an Ordinance was published stating that the Oil Monopoly Law would come into force on April 10. In reply to a protest from Great Britain that the monopoly conflicted not only with existing treaties, providing for equality of opportunity in China, but also with the voluntary assurance given by the new State, that the "open door" would be maintained in Manchuria, the Japanese Government admitted that Manchuria did in fact make such a promise, but it contended that Powers refusing recognition were not entitled to benefit by the promise. The Monopoly Law duly became effective on April 10. On July 20 the Manchukuo Government issued a statement in which satisfaction was expressed at the way in which the oil monopoly was functioning; the price of oil products had been reduced, negotiations for the purchase of foreign equipment were proceeding satisfactorily, and oil deliveries were being received from various companies.

The Japanese Government protested in the spring against the action of the Canadian Government in imposing a special "dumping" duty on Japanese goods. Negotiations were opened between the two countries, but as they produced no result, the Japanese Government on July 20 published an Ordinance bringing into force as from that date the provisions of Article 1 of the Law for the Adjustment of Trade and Protection of Commerce passed in the previous year, and imposed an import duty of 50 per cent. *ad valorem* in addition to existing duties on certain imports from Canada. The Government stated that it took this step with regret, and that negotiations would continue. A settlement was in fact reached by the end of the year in accordance with which the surtaxes on both sides were removed.

As the result of an agitation among ultra-patriotic and reactionary elements, the Government in the spring banned the works of Dr. Minobe, a distinguished authority on constitutional law and a life member of the Upper House, whose books had for thirty years been the standard works of reference on that subject in Japanese universities. The complaint now brought against him was that he maintained the theory that the Throne was constitutionally an organ of the State. His opponents clamoured for his prosecution on a charge of *Use-majestd*. After a long controversy, the Government issued a declaration in which, without specifically mentioning Dr. Minobe's name, it repudiated his theory, and this was followed by a further declaration that the fundamental basis of the national polity and sovereignty reposed solely in the Emperor, to whom the Army and Navy were responsible and who was wholly independent of the Cabinet and the Diet. Steps were also taken to examine the mental attitude of

professors with a view to securing the "sound development of national thought." An aftermath of the agitation was the resignation towards the end of the year of Baron Ikki, President of the Privy Council, and Count Makino, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, both men of moderate views and great influence, who had long been the targets of the reactionary elements and military extremists. Count Makino was succeeded, however, by Viscount Saito, an ex-Premier and Governor of Korea, who was also credited with being a moderate.

CHAPTER VIII.

MOROCCO AND EGYPT.

MOROCCO.

THE question whether steps should be taken to revise the Statute of Tangier seriously engaged the attention of both the British, Spanish, and French Governments in the course of the year. The Spanish Government was at one time credited with a strong desire to include Tangier in the Spanish zone. Rumours that a change was contemplated led to an attempt being made towards the end of May to organise a petition against any alteration among the natives, but the Shereefian authorities set their face against the movement and it came to nothing. Later in the year, an exchange of views took place between Great Britain and the other signatory Powers on the question of revision, and the view of Great Britain finally prevailed, that the moment was not suitable for any drastic interference with the Statute, and that it should be renewed without any serious modification.

On October 29 the ashes of Marshal Lyautey were, in fulfilment of his last wishes, brought by the cruiser *Dupleix* to Casablanca, where a memorial service was held over them in the Cathedral. Tributes were afterwards paid to the late Governor by M. Pietri, the French Minister of Marine, and others, and the gratitude of the people of Morocco was expressed by the Grand Vizier, Haj Mohamed el Mokri, on behalf of the Sultan. The ashes were then taken to Rabat and interred in a mausoleum there, amid scenes of deep popular emotion.

EGYPT.

The Government of Egypt remained throughout the year in the hands of the Kang and his Cabinet. Parliament had been dissolved in November, 1930, and no steps had been taken to elect a successor. When Nessim Pasha formed his Cabinet in

November, 1934, and chose only officials as its members, the opinion was general that his Government was merely a stepping-stone to the return to power of the Wafd, the largest and best organised political party in Egypt. The Wafd themselves shared that view, and apparently began to make preparations to take over responsibility. But as time passed and the Prime Minister made no move, confidence in his intentions began to wane, and the Wafd showed signs of uneasiness. Within less than two months of Nessim's accession to power the Wafd held a Congress in Cairo of some 25,000 members. At this Congress the attitude adopted was one of moderate friendliness towards the Government coupled with a more or less unconcealed demand for General Elections and return to the Constitution of 1923. In elections conducted under this Constitution the Wafd were sure of success. The Congress also pressed for the resumption and conclusion of negotiations with England. There were several differences between this and previous Congresses of the Wafd Party. The majority of those present, instead of being drawn from the rabble, were men of some responsibility in the community. There was no disorder or violence. The usual praise of the King as the source of all the blessings the country enjoyed or could enjoy was omitted. Above all, the greatest departure from Egyptian practice was the addresses to this great gathering of men by two women, feminist leaders.

Events reached a crisis in April. On the 18th of that month, after a long Cabinet Council, the Prime Minister saw the King to whom he made representations to the effect that he was not receiving the support to which he considered himself entitled. There was, on the one hand, his inability to secure the removal of certain officials, for instance the Rector of Al Azhar University, whose retention in office against the wish of the Government had led to a strike of the students and the closing of the University. On the other, a campaign against the British officials in the service of the Government and in particular against the appointment of Sir Geoffrey Corbett as Commercial Adviser had arisen. The British High Commissioner saw the King immediately afterwards, and is understood to have supported the Prime Minister's protest. The King hesitated for a few days and then gave way. Sheikh Ahmed el Zawahry, the unpopular Rector of the University, resigned. Still more important was the resignation of Mohamed Zaki Pasha el Ibrashi, a highly placed palace official, the King's favourite and, in fact, the power behind the throne. The King agreed to these steps most unwillingly, and to show his feelings let it be known that he desired the re-enactment of the Constitution of 1923, which he had himself destroyed, and to which his Prime Minister was not committed. The re-enactment of this Constitution was the keystone of the policy of the Wafd, which was correspondingly jubilant. The understanding or friendliness between

the Palace and the Wafd at this period was not only anti-government but also anti-British. Resentment was caused among both parties by the intervention of the High Commissioner in the crisis, and in the agitation that ensued not only was the appointment or promotion of certain British officials criticised, but hostility was shown even to the sending of a commercial delegation to London to discuss matters of mutual British and Egyptian interest and to the invitation of the British Government to that of Egypt to participate in an air mail service in which both should have been interested. Even Sidky Pasha, the ruthless political enemy of the Wafd, and whose resignation as Prime Minister had been forced by the King, came out with a warning to the British people, whose friend he declared himself, against interference in Egyptian affairs. The position of the Government had become somewhat precarious, supported, however, somewhat a little by the hesitation of the Wafd at a change of Government which might quite possibly have resulted in a still less friendly Prime Minister.

This uneasy state of affairs did not last for long. A meeting was held on June 1 between the Prime Minister and four of his principal Ministers on the one hand, and the principal leaders of the Wafd on the other. As a result of a full discussion the Wafd leaders accepted the Prime Minister's reasons why he could not effect an immediate revival of the Constitution and undertook not to hamper him in his work of Government. Four weeks later Nahas Pasha persuaded with some difficulty the Wafd Executive to confirm this agreement. The life of the Government was thereby in the meanwhile assured. The manifesto issued by the Wafd on June 27 while very friendly to the Government was very hostile to the British Government which it accused of unwarrantable interference with Egyptian independence by preventing the restoration of the Constitution.

Affairs seemed to have settled down and there was little prospect of any noticeable change for some months ahead, when suddenly, at the beginning of the winter, event followed event with dramatic suddenness. The war between Italy and Ethiopia, accompanied by an almost open threat to Egypt from Italy, had its inevitable reaction on Egyptian history. The first result was a drawing closer of British and Egyptian sympathies. Sympathy with the Abyssinians was general among the Egyptians, despite an intensive Italian propaganda which had for long been active in Egypt. The Italian threat led to an increase of the British forces in Egypt in September, and although the power of the Egyptian Army against an invader was small, the British were careful to consult the Egyptian Government on all military measures in order to satisfy public opinion, a portion of which saw in the crisis an opportunity for regulating the position of the British in Egypt to the advantage of Egyptian nationalism, and placing the two countries on a more equal footing. An outward

manifestation of this closer co-operation between the two Governments was the march through Alexandria of a composite Anglo-Egyptian force on October 11 on which occasion the troops of both armies had a rapturous reception from the populace. Another step in the direction of co-operation was taken in November, when in response to an inquiry by the League of Nations, the Egyptian Government having satisfied themselves that there was no juridical obstacle, announced their intention to participate in the sanctions that were being imposed on Italy. The generous response of many influential Egyptians to the invitation to subscribe to the King George Memorial Funds in June also showed a growing friendliness to Britain.

In the midst of this friendly atmosphere, with estrangement between the British and Egyptian peoples becoming apparently every day less possible, a few almost casual remarks by the British Foreign Minister, Sir Samuel Hoare, at the Lord Mayor's Banquet on November 9, started a blaze that was still burning at the end of the year. The 1923 Constitution had been suspended on three occasions, and it was widely held that without amendment it was unworkable. The Wafd regarded it as a matter of principle, and as has already been mentioned it had during the course of the year obtained some other temporary supporters. Nevertheless, Sir Samuel Hoare's passing criticism of it voiced the views of a very large number of students of politics. Yet his remarks would have brought the Egyptian Government to an end if they in common with all other parties had not quickly ranged themselves by the side of the Wafd as whole-hearted advocates of the restoration of the Constitution. There had for some months been some contention between the more moderate and more extreme members of the Wafd over support of Nessim Pasha's Government which Nahas Pasha, the leader of the Wafd, and the moderate party advocated. For the time being the Moderates gained control after one or two critical periods, although pressure, heavy or light, was always being brought to bear on the Government to urge the British to agree to the restoration of the Constitution, the convening of a Parliament and the negotiation of a treaty. The British Government, however, showed itself disinclined to any change in the juncture then existing. Nessim Pasha's Government became still more identified with the alleged unfriendliness of the British to the realisation of Egypt's just aspirations, and when Mohamed Pasha Mahmud, the most influential politician in Egypt outside of the Wafd and a known friend of the British connexion, on November 7 came out in criticism of the Government, it seemed that its fate was sealed. Then came Sir Samuel Hoare's remarks. The Wafd definitely decided to withdraw its support from the Government: anti-British rioting broke out in Cairo and other cities : the Wafd declared war on the British for hindering the restoration of the Constitution and

attacking the independence of the country. The Wafd considering itself the legitimate representative of the Egyptian people also arraigned Britain before the League of Nations for its treatment of Egypt. Despite the general expectation Nessim Pasha did not resign. Dissensions began to develop among the opposition : the riots continued. Then after a month of rioting, in the course of which several students were killed, an united front embracing all parties and approved by the King was formed amidst the enthusiasm of the people. The policy accepted by all was the immediate restoration of the Constitution of 1923, the election as early as possible of a Parliament, and the acceptance of the treaty offered by the Labour Government in 1930, but then rejected. This agreement was unquestionably imposed by public opinion, and not arranged by the politicians, a new phase in Egyptian political history. The agreement was formally made on December 10. But the last day of the year still saw violent demonstrations in Cairo, demonstrations against the British, but also to some extent against the Wafd and the Government, and, surprisingly, in favour of Sidki Pasha, the former Prime Minister.

The earlier half of the year saw a struggle between the Wafd and Prince Abbas Halim to gain control of the relatively strong trade unions which had come into existence mainly through the Prince's agency during the past five years. The tendency was to keep the unions outside of politics. As a consequence of the Economic Mission that visited England earlier in the year, steps were taken by means of Customs adjustments to improve trade relations between the two countries. A part of these adjustments was the denunciation of the commercial agreement with Japan and the subsequent considerable increase of duties on Japanese goods, an increase to which the Japanese Government took strong exception to the extent of threatening retaliation. A decision by the Mixed Court of Appeal on the question of the vehicle of payment of the Egyptian Public Debt was adjourned indefinitely with the agreement of the principal European powers concerned. At the same time the Cabinet decreed that private debts nominally payable in gold should be paid in Egyptian paper.

In the Sudan the year showed a continuation of the tendency towards economic and financial recovery which had shown itself for the first time in 1933.

CHAPTER IX.

AMERICA : THE UNITED STATES—ARGENTINA—BOLIVA AND PARAGUAY—BRAZIL—CHILE—CUBA—ECUADOR—MEXICO—PERU—URUGUAY—VENEZUELA.

THE UNITED STATES.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S third year in office was chiefly remarkable for the succession of defeats which the Administration sustained in the Federal Courts covering many of the most important features of the "New Deal" programme.

From May 27 onwards the President was more than half-buried in the wreckage of the cherished legislation of 1933 and 1934. Nevertheless (or, as his business-men critics contended, because of it), business activity began immediately to pick up. Many lines of manufacturing revived, and the various indices, which had been going down from January to June, turned and started steadily upwards. The President, gradually adjusting himself to the situation, ended the year by putting "recovery" rather than "reform" to the forefront of his policy.

However, it was the "reformer" in the President rather than the apostle of "recovery" who addressed the Seventy-fourth Congress on January 4. The President stressed the necessity of using the national resources for life (as distinguished from profits), and urged that governmental provisions should be made to protect people from the major hazards of modern industry. Those hazards and their results were plain enough. After two years of effort along "New Deal" lines, unemployment was still colossal. Estimates ranged from 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 unemployed. In fact, the President's Budget message of January 7 asked for 4,000,000,000 dollars for relief work alone, out of total appropriations requested of 8,520,000,000 dollars; a year later the total officially stated to be on Federal, State, or Municipal relief was 16,400,000.

But on January 17, following his earlier plea to Congress on January 4 for "Social Security legislation," the President sent along a Bill embodying his ideas and providing, for the first time in American history, national encouragement for the establishment of unemployment insurance, old age pensions, health insurance, and similar measures. Congress wrangled over it a good deal and amended it considerably, but when the President on August 14 signed it under a battery of newsreel cameras (using more than 20 pens in signing his name!) he could claim with considerable justification that the occasion was "historic."

This was, in fact, possibly the most far-reaching achievement of his year.

But the Act is a very curious one. In order to avoid, if possible, the serious limitations in the Constitution upon the activities of the National Government, it is mainly oblique, not to say around-about, in its vital clauses.

To begin with it provides for Federal grants-in-aid to such States as establish, along lines broadly indicated, non-contributory old age pension schemes, pensions for the blind, mothers' pensions, health services, maternal and child welfare, and vocational rehabilitation. Some States, like New York and Massachusetts, have long been active in these directions, but most of them have not, and the Act provides that the Federal Government shall match, more or less equally, the State funds appropriated to these ends. As Congress's power to appropriate Federal funds for the "general welfare" has been repeatedly sustained in the Courts, this part of the Act is assumed to be safe.

But the core of the Act is considered by many to be vulnerable, and judging from the protests made against it by American business, it seems certain to be challenged. Briefly it establishes a compulsory system of contributory old age pensions on a nationwide scale, and alongside that, an ingenious scheme of Federal assistance for, and Federal control of, State-managed unemployment insurance systems, to be set up by the several States.

The contributory old age insurance plan applies to every worker in the country, from the salaried president of a bank to bricklayer, with the exception of agricultural workers, domestics in private homes, casual workers, ship crews, Government employees, and employees in non-profit making institutions. Equal contributions from workers and their employers will be made, amounting to 1 per cent, of wages in 1937, and increasing gradually until they amount to 3 per cent, for workers and 3 per cent, for employers in 1949. Although all employees, regardless of salary, are included in the scheme, the basis for contributions is set at a maximum of 3,000 dollars. Unlike most such schemes abroad, no contribution is made by the Federal Government.

Beginning in 1942, benefits will be paid at the age of 65 at the rate of one-half of 1 per cent, per month on the first 3,000 dollars of total wages received since December 31, 1936, plus one-twelfth of 1 per cent, for the next 42,000 dollars, and one-twenty-fourth of 1 per cent of total wages or salaries above 45,000 dollars. The maximum pension has been set at 85 dollars a month.

This has an egalitarian quality which is very striking, for, as remarked, the system includes the salaried president of a big New York bank equally with the clerks and the porters. Thus it tries to avoid the main difficulty confronting most schemes of social insurance, that of having a base too narrow to permit a sound and adequate structure. However, although the Act

was vigorously criticised by American industrialists on the grounds of the additional cost to industry, no particular stress was laid on the fact that it includes in its operations sections of the salaried classes not usually co-opted into such schemes.

And finally, the Act includes a very unpopular provision in the shape of an Excise tax to be collected by the Federal Government from all employers of eight or more workers and handed over, in effect, to those States which maintain approved systems of unemployment insurance. This Excise tax starts at 1 per cent, of the employer's total payroll in 1936 and rises to 2 per cent, in 1937, and to 3 per cent, thereafter. The existence of this fund is, of course, an inducement to the laggard States to set up unemployment insurance schemes. However, one very striking feature of the scheme is that a State must agree to hand over to the Federal Government all contributions received from employers and employees, so that the Federal Government may disburse it solely for actual benefits due. This is designed to prevent the more unscrupulous type of local politician from playing ducks and drakes with the unemployment insurance fund.

"This Social Security measure," said the President, when he signed the Bill, "will give at least some measure of protection to 30,000,000 of our citizens who will reap direct benefits through unemployment compensation, through old age pensions, and through increased services for the protection of children and the prevention of ill-health."

Quite apart from any benefits which may eventually flow from this legislation, it had a certain political importance in the year under review in that it represented a hastily dug, but apparently effective, trench thrown across the "advancing cohorts" of Dr. F. E. Townsend with their demands for old age pensions of 200 dollars a month for all over 60 years of age (*see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1934, p. 300*).

For the "Townsendites" were very active, and for a time considerable alarm was felt at the rapid spread of their propaganda. Dr. Townsend, an elderly physician at Long Beach, California, had hit upon the idea of a self-liquidating universal pensions scheme which seemed to appeal deeply to thousands. His theory was that the Government could distribute pensions of 200 dollars a month to everybody over 60, the only condition being that the entire pension must be spent during the month in which it is received. Obviously this would stimulate enormously the purchase of goods, and the Government, he contended, could get the money back by a Federal sales tax on the increased turnover of goods.

The simplicity of this was in marked contrast to the complexities of the "national dividend" as expounded across the border in Canada by the followers of Major Douglas, and probably explains why the "Douglas credit scheme" made no such

headway anywhere in the United States as it made, in similar soil, in the Canadian Province of Alberta.

But the actual passage of a law and the setting up of Federal machinery to establish old age pensions on what looked like a moderate and therefore practicable scale, apparently arrested definitely the growth of the Townsend movement. At any rate, a poll of 100,000 voters from all sections of the country conducted later in the year by the American Institute of Public Opinion showed that while 89 per cent, of those questioned voted in favour of old age pensions, only 3·8 per cent, voted in favour of the Townsend scheme. In this case, the sampling is too small to be more than suggestive, but Press opinion seemed agreed that the Townsend movement receded.

The "reformer" in the President not only accomplished this but also made an effective attack upon the big "holding companies" which control vast networks of gas and electric light and power companies over the country. One of these, the "Middle West Utilities Company," erected by the English-born Samuel Insull, had crashed during the depression inflicting heavy losses upon investors while several others, with inflated and over-intricate capital structures, had barely escaped disaster. The local operating companies came under the regulation of local or State authorities, but the "big holding companies" which controlled subsidiaries in several States, had thus far successfully resisted all proposals to bring them, like the inter-State railways, under the control of the Federal Government.

In June the President set about to change all that. In a vigorous message which infuriated the "utilities" he pressed for drastic legislation compelling the dissolution by 1942 of all "unnecessary" holding companies engaged in inter-State operations in the gas and electric light and power field, and setting up machinery for the supervision of those allowed to remain. The "holding companies" conducted a nation-wide campaign against the Bill, and almost succeeded in defeating it. But the President finally got his way, and the Bill became law on August 26.

The "holding companies" promptly attacked the constitutionality of the Act, and on November 7 a Federal District judge in Baltimore upheld their contention that the Act was unconstitutional. The Government appealed this case to the United States Supreme Court which, however, had not got around to hear the arguments on it before the year closed.

These two were the biggest single achievements of the President's year. In the main it seemed to be a year of defeats, with the Supreme Court—the third branch of the Government—successfully asserting itself over and over again.

This process of what the opposition Press called "educating **the** Administration" in the niceties of the American Constitution

began on January 7 when the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional a certain section of the National Industrial Recovery Act in which Congress had given the Executive rather large and undefined powers of prohibiting the transportation across State lines of crude oil produced in excess of the quota laid down by the State authorities. The Court took no exception to the powers themselves, but, by an 8 to 1 decision, laid down the rule that when such powers are granted, they must be closely defined and their operation prescribed in detail,—otherwise the Legislature is simply handing legislative functions over to the Executive, and in the American scheme of things, that is strictly forbidden.

It was an interesting decision, partly because the majority included both the " Liberals," and the " Conservatives " on the Supreme Court, but more because it closed the door to the growth of " administrative law," of law by administrative decree, which is such a striking feature in many modern States. Wall Street, although it had approved the idea of Federal action to curb the excessive production of oil which was demoralising the oil industry, cheered the decision from a somewhat juvenile relish for a body blow at the Administration. Except for oil shares, the whole stock market advanced.

On the next day, January 8, the Supreme Court began hearing arguments on the question whether Congress and the President had exceeded their powers in June, 1933, when they repudiated the " gold clause " in all obligations, both public and private. There were four suits before the Court; two of them related to railway bonds in which the borrower had solemnly agreed to pay interest and principal in dollars of the same gold value as those which he had borrowed, while a third suit related to similar pledges embodied in U.S. Government bonds, and the fourth to those embodied in the gold certificates issued by the Treasury.

The importance of the case was obvious, for upon the Court's decision rested the whole question of the devaluation of the dollar, and the stock and commodity markets went into a state of coma until the decision could be learned. The Court obviously had great difficulty with the points involved, and it was not until February 18 that it handed down its decision to a tightly-packed courtroom.

The Court held unanimously that Congress had no right to repudiate the gold clause in Governmental obligations but ruled, by a majority of five, that the plaintiffs should have brought an action for damages for breach of contract which, however, they had failed to do. In the gold certificate case the Court held that the plaintiffs had failed to show that they had sustained any damages for, although they could no longer receive gold dollars for their gold certificates, they could purchase the same amount of American goods and services with the paper money

they received as they could with gold. It was instantly recognised that this left the door open to claims for damages from foreign holders of American Government obligations, and Congress slammed it shut by a law passed on August 8 barring all claims against the Government under the "gold clause."

In the cases of the railroad bonds, the Court held that Congress had the right to abrogate the "gold clause" in all private contracts because such clauses infringed the Government's control over the currency.

There was widespread relief when it was realised that the Government would not have to revalue the dollar, but the decision nevertheless cost the Administration considerable prestige. The Supreme Court had held that the Government had violated the Constitution in repudiating its obligation to honour its debt in gold of a specific weight and fineness, and although there was no relief possible to those who had vainly relied upon the Government's promise, nevertheless the highest tribunal had held that the procedure was wrong. The Republicans were guardedly jubilant, and American business, which was getting more and more restive under the laws and administrative regulations which had been piled upon it, began to hope for further decisions of the same sort.

Business had not long to wait, for on May 27 the Supreme Court virtually demolished that part of the "New Deal" embodied in the National Industrial Recovery Act.

Specifically, the Court held that Section 3 of that Act, by virtue of which the Federal Government had undertaken to enforce various "codes" of fair competitive practice upon various industries and to enforce also agreements as to hours and wages, was clearly unconstitutional. It further held that Congress had again—as in the oil case mentioned above—delegated to the Executive powers which were essentially legislative, and that this procedure was unconstitutional. And finally it held that these powers had been applied to commerce within a State whereas the Federal Government had no authority to regulate in any way intra-State commerce.

This brought tumbling to the ground the larger part of the "New Deal" programme. It stripped the Administration of its powers to regulate industry, and the relations between industry and its workers. In the dark days of 1933 the President had carried American business with him in his proposal to stimulate recovery by introducing order instead of competitive anarchy into American business, thus making it possible to pay higher wages. "The Devil was sick, the Devil a monk would be." But as soon as the general banking and financial crisis was over, the whole attitude to N.I.R.A. changed, and the demotion of the Act was hailed with joy. The "codes" had been a vexation to men accustomed to their own hard-boiled ways, and the

incessant labour disputes which—they claimed—the National Industrial Recovery Act had encouraged were also exasperating. As remarked at the outset of this review, the indices of business began immediately to turn upward.

But the Supreme Court was not done. It also ruled that Frazier-Lemke Act providing for a five-year moratorium on farm mortgages was unconstitutional, on the old-fashioned grounds that it took from the plaintiff and gave to the defendant, without compensation, "rights in specific property which are of substantial value." It sounded very strange, after the heterodox progress made in 1933 and 1934. The Supreme Court likewise nullified the Railway Pensions Act, relieving the railroads of a burden which they protested they were quite unable to carry. And finally the Court curbed the President himself; it held that he had no right to remove from office, except for inefficiency or neglect of duty, a Federal Trade Commissioner whose sole fault was that he did not see eye to eye with the President on the latter's programme.

Some of the lower Federal Courts also took a hand, though their rulings had to be carried to the Supreme Court for final adjudication. On February 22 a Federal judge in Alabama decided that the Tennessee Valley Authority—set up by the National Government, largely as a work relief scheme, to complete a war-time electric power project—had no constitutional power to sell surplus electric current in competition with private companies. This decision was immensely gratifying to the electric power companies who had been denouncing the Tennessee Valley Authority, up and down the land, as "sheer Communism."

On July 16 and 17 came several decisions in lower Federal Courts declaring unconstitutional the Agricultural Adjustment Act and its attendant taxes; these were taxes levied upon manufacturers who "processed" or utilised agricultural products, and the proceeds were used to compensate the farmers for reducing their output of various stipulated agricultural products with the idea—in part successful—of raising farm prices.

Thus, in almost every direction he looked, the President could see the work of 1933 and 1934 either in ruins or rocking. What business clamoured for was an end to these economic experiments; it wanted an old-fashioned recovery based on "confidence," such a recovery, it was pointed out, as Britain had had ever since 1932. By September the clamour was unmistakable; it came not only from Wall Street but also from small men gathered in Middle Western business men's lunch clubs, and the President bowed to it. A prominent newspaper publisher wrote to Mr. Roosevelt in September and pleaded that business be given a "breathing spell" from Governmental interference. The President wrote back promptly that "the breathing spell is already here, very decidedly so," **and he added—apparently**

without a trace of conscious irony,—“ our legislative programme is completed.”

From that point on the recovery accelerated its pace. Nevertheless, the antagonism towards the President exhibited by most of the bigger industrialists was, if anything, sharpened. For example, most of the big industrialists refused to attend a conference in Washington to consider the problems raised by the invalidation of the National Industrial Recovery Act. As early as May the United States Chamber of Commerce had attacked the “ New Deal,” root and branch, and this attitude was subsequently reflected in resolutions of other important bodies. All this was in striking contrast to the enthusiasm for the President shown by these captains of industry in 1933 when he saved the banks from collapse and checked the panic sweeping the country.

The Government's entire financial policy came under severe criticism. It was prompted, of course, by the imperative necessity of finding work or relief for 10,000,000 or 11,000,000 unemployed.

The official theory was that this was a national emergency far more serious than the Great War. For financing the Great War, the National Debt had been multiplied 24 times, rising from 1,100,000,000 dollars in 1915 to 26,590,000,000 dollars in 1919. Since the country had supported this debt with equanimity and had reduced it substantially, why should so much alarm be expressed if, in the face of a far more critical domestic situation, the debt should be deUberately increased from 22,500,000,000 dollars in June, 1933, to 30,500,000,000 dollars at the end of 1935?

In fact, so the argument went, the country's taxable resources even in a depression were so great that it could support and eventually liquidate a debt far greater than 30,500,000,000 dollars,—one figure mentioned in Administration circles was 55,000,000,000 as being, probably, the maximum supportable. The actual maximum envisaged was about 34,600,000,000 dollars anticipated in June, 1936, after which the President suggested that the debt would diminish. It had been 20,936,000,000 dollars on the day he took office.

However, the critics retorted that the method was all wrong. The banks were being more and more loaded up with Government securities while their deposits were being steadily inflated by the huge Government credits advanced to farmers under the agricultural programme, to public works contractors, and to the several million people on relief works, or in direct receipt of relief. Admittedly the situation was not actually out of hand but credit inflation on a scale vastly surpassing that of 1928-29 the critics contended, was just “ around the corner,” and there **was** no one in the administration competent to check it.

Toward the end of the year the President rather yielded to the outcry and promised that greater efforts would be made to balance the Budget. He was applauded when on May 22 he vetoed successfully the Soldiers' Bonus Bill, which would have threatened the currency with downright inflation to the tune of about 2,000,000,000 dollars, and throughout the year he pressed for more orthodox financing.

Although not immediately relevant to the question of credit inflation, the Government's vacillating silver policy lent colour to the belief that the administration was lacking in financial skill, and capable of blundering disastrously into inflation. Under the Silver Purchase Act of 1934 the Treasury steadily purchased silver at home and abroad until it drove the price up from 55 cents an ounce in January to 81 cents in April, —the highest ever recorded except for a brief period during the war.

Then the Treasury ceased buying and the price collapsed to 65 cents where it was "pegged" until November, when buying again ceased, and it dropped to 53 cents an ounce, lower than it stood at the beginning of the year. In the meantime China had been forced off the Silver Standard, Mexico and other silver-using countries had been forced to retire their silver currency, and the United States stood alone with Ethiopia as the only countries officially supporting silver. The whole performance excited derision.

No definite overtures were made to other countries looking towards stabilisation of currencies during the year beyond a radio address by Mr. Morgenthau, Secretary of the Treasury, on May 13, in which he suggested general stabilisation, but added that the United States was prepared to protect itself against any further devaluation of important foreign currencies. A much criticised Trade Agreement with Canada was signed on November 15; similar Trade Agreements were signed with Brazil on February 2, Belgium on February 27, and with Sweden on May 25, as well as less important agreements with Colombia, Cuba, Haiti, and Honduras.

The Italian-Ethiopian War produced a crop of problems and controversies. On July 3 Ethiopia appealed to the United States for sympathy, and the next day asked the United States to declare that Italy was violating the Kellogg Pact forbidding its signatories to make war. On July 11 the Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, urged the two combatants to settle their differences peaceably, and on the 12th he so far conceded the Ethiopian request as to state, somewhat colourlessly, that the United States, for its own part, adhered to the Kellogg Pact, and believed that all the signatories should do likewise.

But Italy, having found its credit and sterling resources in Britain low, had in the meantime begun purchasing in the United

States, and on August 14 the first shipment of war materials left New Orleans for the Italian Somaliland.

This produced an uproar in the Press, and on August 24 Congress adopted a broad "neutrality resolution" providing that as soon as the President officially recognises a "state of war" to exist, it shall immediately become illegal to export to either belligerent "arms, ammunition, or munitions of war." On October 3 Italy invaded Ethiopia, and on October 5 the President officially declared a "state of war" to exist, and promptly set up machinery, under the neutrality resolution, to control the exports of munitions to either belligerents or to neutrals for trans-shipment to the belligerents. This system of export licenses came into effect on November 29.

However, this resolution left untouched the question of non-contraband exports to the belligerents, exports which were of substantial interest to the copper producers, the oil industry, and, to some extent, to the cotton growers. There was a widespread demand that these, too, be prohibited. In reply to a query from the League of Nations, the Government on October 26 pledged its "moral support" to all efforts to bring the war to a close which did not involve the country in any abhorred "entanglements." In the meantime Mr. Roper, the Secretary of Commerce, had issued a statement declaring that under the law shipments of non-contraband goods were not illegal. This drew a protest from both the President and Secretary Hull, who jointly urged a complete cessation of all exports to Italy,—a declaration which evoked a violent outcry from the numerous Italian-Americans in the United States.

Exports certainly tapered off sharply towards the end of the year, though whether this was due to general response to the President's appeal or to Italy's waning credit seems uncertain. But the whole question of "neutrality" grew in importance as the year wore to a close and various schools of opinion developed.

Relations with Japan remained correct throughout the year, though the belief that danger existed of an armed clash with Japan in the Pacific appeared to have much to do with the direction taken by naval and air rearmament during the year, especially in the rapid construction of air bases in Alaska. On April 16 the Government formally protested against the Manchukuoan oil monopoly which Japan had established on April 10. During the year the Government raised its legation in China to the status of an embassy, and on December 5 the State Department issued a studiously moderate statement reminding Japan of American interest in the preservation of Chinese autonomy in the North, and that the Government was interested in the observation of all treaty obligations assumed by the Powers, including both the United States and Japan. This Pacific situation was the basis of the firm refusal of the American delegation to the

London Naval Conference to consent to the Japanese demand for naval parity in place of the ratio of 5:5:3 between the British, American, and Japanese navies which had existed since the Washington Naval Treaty.

One interesting event of the year was the inauguration on November 14 of the New Commonwealth of the Philippines under the Tydings-McDuffie Act enacted by Congress on March 24, 1934. This provided, in effect, for a large measure of self-government for the Philippines for a period of ten years at the end of which period they become automatically free. In January, 1935, a Constitutional Convention in the Islands had drafted a Constitution which the President, on March 23, certified was in conformity with the terms of the Congressional Act. The Filipinos themselves, in a plebiscite in which for the first time women voted, ratified the new Constitution by a vote of 20 to 1, and on September 17 held elections at which Manuel Quezon was elected first President of the Commonwealth. At his inauguration on November 14, the Vice-President of the United States, the Secretary of War, and a large party of Congressmen and Senators were present. One of the first acts of the Commonwealth Government was to request President Roosevelt to lend Major-General Douglas MacArthur, Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army, to the new Government to reorganise its defence forces. This the President did in December.

While it was the fashion throughout the larger part of the year to say that the President lost ground politically, the evidence was not very impressive apart from the increased number of attacks made upon his policies by the Conservatives.

Much more impressive was the fact that ex-President Hoover, whose administration had been overwhelmingly repudiated by the country, refused to stay in decent retirement but persistently drew attention to himself as the spokesman for the Republican Party. He attacked the "New Deal" vigorously and denounced the President as a violator of the Constitution,—identifying himself with the points which the Republicans hoped to use in their campaign. As they had no intention of adopting him as their standard bearer, and as his every appearance in print reminded the country forcibly of the ineptitudes of his administration, he was a first-rate embarrassment.

Nor was he the only one, for the venerable Senator Borah, not content with being one of the "elder statesmen" in Washington, announced his candidacy for the Republican nomination. He was an avowed inflationist and "silverite," an unrepentant Prohibitionist, much too far to the Left to suit the Republicans and much too strong in the rural West and Middle West to be ignored. The party leaders did what they could to offset these two by encouraging the candidacies of Governor Alf M. Landon of Kansas, and Senator Vandenberg of

Michigan, but neither man is a national figure of the dimensions which the Republicans need if they are to win against the dramatic and forceful man in the White House.

Perhaps the most absorbing event of the year was the trial of a German-American carpenter named Bruno Hauptmann for the kidnapping and murder of the baby son of Colonel and Mrs. Charles R. Lindbergh on the evening of March 1, 1932. He had been arrested only after a long and exhaustive search by the authorities in which circumstantial evidence of overwhelming weight had been accumulated. But he was vigorously defended, and his trial, which took place at Flemington, N.J., filled whole pages of the newspapers, while his attorney, entering into the spirit of the occasion, broadcasted addresses to the nation on the case. The trial lasted from January 2 to February 13 when he was found guilty and sentenced to die in the electric chair on March 18. However, various delays intervened and the sentence had not been executed when the year closed. Late in December a fresh sensation was caused by the sudden departure for England of Colonel and Mrs. Lindbergh, with their second child, apparently because they could no longer endure the incessant publicity, and, it was suggested, the threatening letters which they received from unbalanced individuals.

ARGENTINA.

The year 1935 was marked by dissensions within the Cabinet and the groups supporting it, which threatened more than once to cause a serious split. The rival aspirations within the Democratic National Party—the one which had a majority in both Houses of Congress and to which most of the members of the Government belonged—came to a head on February 8, when a group of legislators and other partisans of the party marched to the Government House at La Plata and demanded the resignation of the Governor of the Province of Buenos Aires, Don Federico Martinez de Hoz. Finding himself unsupported by the local police, the Governor yielded to the demand, and his resignation was formally accepted the same evening by the Provincial Legislative Assembly. He immediately appealed, however, to the President, General Justo, who, after holding a Cabinet meeting, sent an Interventor into the Province. As a result of the intervention, Governor de Hoz was restored. His opponents, however, refused to accept his restoration, and on March 13 he was impeached by the Provincial Legislature on charges of maladministration, corruption, and political incapacity. The Provincial Senate meanwhile decreed his suspension. He again appealed to General Justo, who again appointed an Interventor. This time, however, Governor de Hoz was forced to abandon his office, and **the** Vice-Governor, Seior Diaz, was installed as Acting Governor.

Senor de Hoz's impeachment was proceeded with, and on May 18 he was found guilty by the Provincial Senate on eight counts out of thirteen, and dismissed from his office.

In the summer, friction arose within the Cabinet over the revelations made to the Committee investigating the meat trade, between Dr. Melo, the Minister of the Interior, on the one hand, and Dr. Pinedo, the Minister of Finance and Senor Duhau, the Minister of Agriculture, on the other. The consideration of the Committee's report in the Senate led to heated debates, and Dr. de la Torre, a Senator for the Province of Santa Fe, charged Senor Duhau, who was a stock breeder, with using his official position to obtain from the packing companies favourable prices for himself, and Dr. Pinedo with enabling the packing companies to evade payment of income tax. In the course of one of these debates, on July 23, an unknown person fired several revolver shots, wounding Senor Duhau and Senor Mancini, and mortally wounding another Senator, Senor Bordabehere, with a shot which, it was believed, was meant for Dr. de la Torre. Shortly afterwards, the last named fought a duel with Dr. Pinedo, in which neither was hurt, and on August 1, Dr. Melo, Dr. Pinedo, and Senor Duhau handed in their resignations. The President, however, refused to accept them, and persuaded all three Ministers to remain in the Cabinet for the time being. The truce lasted till the end of the year, when Dr. Pinedo and Senor Duhau resigned, and the Cabinet was reconstructed with a more Radical and Left Wing complexion.

At a Convention held at the beginning of the year, the Argentine Radical Party, by 98 votes to 49, approved the removal of the ban which it had imposed on itself at the end of 1933, against participation in any future elections, unless exceptional circumstances should warrant a renewal of the boycott. As the two sections of the Radical Party—the Personalistas and the Anti-Personalistas—had now to a certain extent united, this meant the re-entry into normal political life of the numerically largest party in the country, under the leadership of Dr. de Alvear, who had returned to the Argentine in the previous October. The effect of the new move was soon seen in substantial Radical victories in the elections held in the Entre Rios province on March 18. In November also the party gained a notable success in the elections in the Province of Cordoba, and it would probably have obtained a similar success in the Province of Buenos Aires—where it polled 171,134 votes against 278,526 polled by the Conservatives—had the election been conducted fairly.

On the ground that incorrect information was being transmitted abroad to foreign newspapers from Buenos Aires, the Government on July 21 issued a decree requiring news agencies and newspaper correspondents to register themselves at the Post Office, to deposit a guarantee sum varying from 5,000 to 50,000 pesos, and to keep copies of despatches in a specially

designed book, and imposing various other restrictions. A great outcry was immediately raised against the decree in the Argentine Press, and a combined protest was made by the foreign correspondents resident in Buenos Aires ; the *New York Times* threatened to remove its correspondent to Montevideo. The Government ultimately yielded to the protest, and on September 11 issued an Order withdrawing all the provisions of the decree save the obligation of newspapers to register.

The economic position of the country improved somewhat during the year, and the financial accounts closed with a surplus of 20,000,000 pesos (about £1,100,000). The floating debt also was reduced by 40,000,000 pesos.

In the summer of this year, the Committee which had been appointed early in 1934 to consider the position of the railways in the Argentine issued its report. It recommended that rail, road, and river traffic should be co-ordinated on the lines of a Bill which had already been drafted in 1932. In September accordingly the Government submitted to Congress a Bill authorising it to permit the transfer of railway concessions to other existing railways or to third parties, the fusion, consolidation or lease of lines belonging to various different companies, and other similar working agreements, provided they were not contrary to public interest; also the creation of combined services by forms of transport other than rail. The purpose of the measure was stated to be to improve the position of the privately owned companies without prejudicing the interests of the community. The Bill was passed by the Chamber of Deputies on September 26, but as the end of the session was at hand its consideration was deferred by the Senate to 1936. The Bill was unpopular with the masses, who were prejudiced against the railways as being foreign (*viz.* British) owned, and on September 25, four thousand taxi-cab drivers came out on strike in protest.

On March 21 the Senate* approved the Government's projects for banking and monetary reform comprising the establishment of a Central Bank, a general banking law, an institution to liquidate frozen assets, and the appointment of a committee to organise the Central Bank and the liquidating institution.

On February 12, in accordance with the Protocol of the Anglo-Argentine Convention of May 1, 1933, a joint committee was set up to inquire into the economic and financial structure and working of the meat trade. Sir George Schuster was appointed chairman, and the chief Argentine member was Senor Dr. Rodolfo Garcia Arias, the Economic and Commercial Counsellor to the Argentine Embassy.

On May 24 the anniversary of the founding of the Republic, a visit was paid to Buenos Aires by the President of Brazil, and **the** two events were celebrated by almost a week of festivities and four days' public holiday. During his stay Dr. Vargas signed

a treaty of friendship and commerce which established unconditional most-favoured-nation treatment between Argentina and Brazil and specified articles on which duties were reciprocally reduced.

In the course of the summer Congress voted 22,000,000 pesos for military aircraft, and 20,000,000 pesos for naval aircraft, on the ground that existing military and naval aircraft were obsolete. On October 25 the Government issued a decree imposing an embargo on the export of armaments to Italy and her possessions, and announced its intention of loyally fulfilling the country's obligations as a member of the League of Nations.

On the last day of November the body of General John Thomond O'Brien, one of the Irish heroes of the South American struggle for independence, reached Buenos Aires, whither it had been conveyed in a warship from Portugal, and was reburied with military honours, among those present at the ceremony being the President of the Republic, the Peruvian, Chilean, and Uruguayan Ambassadors, and descendants of O'Brien who had come from Chile.

BOLIVIA AND PARAGUAY.

On January 16 the Advisory Committee of the League of Nations Council which was dealing with the conflict between Bolivia and Paraguay decided that the answer sent by Paraguay on December 19 to the League's latest proposals (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934) constituted a refusal of mediation, and in consequence the League shortly afterwards lifted the embargo on the export of arms to BoUvia. This action, however, had little if any influence on the course of the war. The Paraguayans continued their advance, and on January 23 obtained an important success by capturing Port Carandaiti, and so opening the way to their ultimate objective, Villa Montes, the last stronghold of BoUvia in the Chaco, situated at the north-western extremity of the region near the Bolivian oil-fields. On April 6 the Paraguayans crossed the river Parapiti into the BoUvian Province of Santa Cruz, and soon after captured the township of Charagua. At this point, however, the tide of battle turned. The Paraguayans were now in open country which, unlike the Chaco, permitted the Bolivians to utiUse to the fuU their superiority in numbers and equipment. They took advantage of this fact to launch a vigorous counter-attack on April 18, which was entirely successful. After six days' fighting, Charagua was recovered, and the Paraguayans were forced to retire behind the Parapiti River with heavy loss.

This reverse, the most severe which they had suffered during the war, had a sobering effect on the Paraguayans, as it proved to them that they could not hope to take ViUa Montes with their

existing resources, and that they had consequently reached the limit of their advance. A new situation having thus been created, the leading American countries—the United States, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, and Uruguay—constituted themselves into a mediating committee early in May, and as a result of their approaches the two belligerents consented on May 14 to send their representatives to a conference in Buenos Aires. After prolonged negotiations, an agreement was reached in the early hours of June 9 between the two Ministers, by which an armistice was to be declared in order to permit of peace negotiations being conducted. The agreement was accepted by the respective Governments, and hostilities ceased on June 13. The event was marked by celebrations in Montevideo in which both the Bolivian and Paraguayan Foreign Ministers took part.

In accordance with the terms of the agreement, a military commission from neutral Powers was set up to assist in the negotiations. The Commission appointed General Justo, the President of the Argentine, as its head, and convoked a peace conference for July 1. After completing the demarcation of the zone separating the armies in the Chaco, the Commission fixed a term of ninety days for their demobilisation. The demobilisation on both sides was duly completed by the date fixed. Friction, however, subsequently arose between the two Governments over the question of the release of prisoners, of whom Paraguay had a much larger number than Bolivia.

BRAZIL.

The new Constitution which had come into force in Brazil in 1934 was preserved intact throughout 1935, but it did not save the country from a good deal of political unrest. Extremism as represented on the one side by a Communist and on the other by a Fascist movement gained ground, and at certain periods caused the Government no small anxiety. Strikes of seamen and postal workers took place early in the year, and at the end of January, a National Security Bill was introduced into the Chamber of Deputies making illegal attempts to subvert public order, to impede any Government official in carrying out his duties, to persuade workers to abandon their employment, or to violate the established Constitution. Press agitation for any of these objects was prohibited, as well as the use of wireless for the illegal dissemination of such material. All parties professing extreme Right or Left views were to be suppressed. In the course of the discussion of the Bill in Congress, an amendment was passed laying down that the authorities alone had the right to create military units of any nature. The Bill was finally passed on April 2.

The Bill had been strongly resented by the Fascists, though,

according to the Government spokesman, it was aimed more particularly at the Communists. In fact, at the end of March, twenty-four soldiers and sailors were arrested on suspicion of seditious activity, and senior officers were instructed to take measures against the spreading of Communist propaganda in the Navy. Later in the year also, steps were taken for the suppression of the Communist body, the *Alliança Libertadora*. Fascism, on the other hand, at the beginning of April, gained a notable recruit in the person of Dr. Marcos de Sousa Dantas, formerly director of exchange at the Bank of Brazil, and a member of the Brazil Financial Mission to North America and Europe, and Fascist activities were allowed to continue unchecked. This discrimination was disapproved by Congress, which in November petitioned the Government either for the dissolution of the Fascist *Acção Integralista* or, in fairness, the suspension of the measures taken against the Communist *Alliança Libertadora*.

Soon after the Communist unrest came to a head in open rebellion. Instigated by a certain Luis Carlos Prestes, a former captain in the Brazilian Army, and an exile since the Sao Paulo revolution of 1924, in which he had taken part, on November 25 a battalion of chasseurs at Natal, the capital of the State of Rio Grande do Norte, led by its non-commissioned officers, raised the standard of revolt, imprisoned its officers and took possession of the city. Another battalion at the same time attacked loyal troops in Recife, the capital of the other northern state of Pernambuco, and, though repulsed, captured a suburb, Olinda. Sporadic outbreaks also took place at various spots; the only serious one, however, was at the Vermelha barracks in the southern part of Rio de Janeiro, where a number of army cadets attacked and obtained command of the Aviation School and the barracks.

The Government took energetic measures to combat the revolt. On November 26 the whole of Brazil was placed under martial law. Lieutenant Fontoura, who was in charge of the training of Reserve officers, was put under arrest, as also about a hundred other extremists in various parts of the country, including the editor of a Communist newspaper, and the President of the Union of Bank Employees. Forces were sent both to the Northern capitals and to the Vermelha barracks, and some severe fighting took place in which the Government troops were completely successful. At Vermelha, when the loyal troops captured the barracks, they found in them 12 dead and 30 wounded, while 230 were taken prisoners. Before surrendering, however, the cadets burnt down the Aviation School and the aeroplane sheds on the field. By November 28 the Government troops were in possession of both Natal and Recife, and the rebels were in full flight, after having suffered heavy losses. On the evening of the same day, the Graf Zeppelin airship was at length able

to land at Pernambuco, after having been in the air for 119 hours. She had reached the coast of Brazil three days before, but had been afraid to come to earth so long as the landing-place at Pernambuco was in the hands of the rebels. Although the revolt was officially declared to be over, martial law was still retained, and further arrests were made.

The year 1935 closed with the arrest and imprisonment of about 10,000 people, including some 6,000 in Rio de Janeiro alone. Among the prisoners were University professors and many other distinguished Brazilians belonging to the best society. In such circumstances, however much it might be officially claimed that Communism was the sole cause of the insurrection, what appeared certain was that the Government feared adverse opinion, and that the basic causes of the insurrection itself went deeper than a few extremist ideas among some of the rank and file of the Army.

Earlier in the year, in April, there had been trouble in the State of Para, where the Interventor had tried to secure his election as Governor against the wishes of the inhabitants by cancelling the mandates of the Opposition deputies. His high-handed action led to conflicts in which three State Deputies were killed and several persons wounded. On April 11 the Government sent Major Carneiro Mendonca to assume the Interventionship. In the State of Sao Paulo, on the other hand, there was a return to the normal. The Constituent Assembly of the State, which had been in abeyance for nearly five years, was formally reopened in the second week of April, and the Federal Interventor, Dr. Amandes de Salles Oliviera, was elected Governor.

On February 3 a reciprocal tariff agreement was concluded between Brazil and the United States, on the basis of unconditional most-favoured-nation treatment. Brazil's concessions affected 23·8 per cent, of its American imports since 1933, and the United States' concessions 2·4 per cent, of its total imports from Brazil since the same year. At the same time the Brazilian Government addressed to the United States a Note in which it promised to provide sufficient exchange for future imports from the United States and to make available additional amounts of exchange for the liquidation of existing deferred commercial indebtedness. A further assurance was given that in no event would the Bank of Brazil refrain from "continuing the obligations assumed in 1933 with respect to the notes issued to refund commercial indebtedness existing at that time," and that Brazil was "definitely engaged" to reserve exchange sufficient "to assure continuance of the service on bonds issued in the United States and held by American bondholders in accordance with the plan of payment concluded in February, 1934."

On February 18 a Brazilian Financial Mission, headed by **the** Finance Minister, Dr. Arthur de Sousa Costa, arrived in London

to discuss with the Foreign Office problems of Brazilian commercial debts to England. On April 1 the terms were announced of an Exchange Agreement between the British and Brazilian Governments, by which the latter agreed to set aside annually 1,200,000l. out of the percentage of foreign exchange reserved for its requirements, as well as a lump sum immediately for the payment in cash of trading debts to England. It also undertook not to make a more favourable arrangement for the payment of commercial debts with any other country. A new Anglo-Brazilian Commercial Agreement was also concluded in the summer.

On May 15 the President signed a decree authorising the Minister of Communications to make a contract with Metropolitan-Vickers Ltd., for the electrification of part of the Central Railway of Brazil at a cost of 180,218 contos of reis (about 3,000,000l.).

Early in the year the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies rejected a proposal that Brazil should return to the League of Nations, which she left in 1926. On November 7 the Brazilian Government informed the Secretary-General of the League of Nations that Brazil, not being a member of the League, did not propose to take part in the application of sanctions against Italy, and that she "preserved her freedom to act in any future contingency as her interests, her international obligations, and the principles which had always guided her foreign policy should dictate." In April the Brazilian Government refused an invitation to collaborate with other South American Powers in an effort to settle the dispute in the Chaco, but it reversed this decision in May.

CHILE.

A report published by the British Department of Overseas Trade at the end of January bore witness to the remarkable economic improvement made by Chile in the previous two years. The country, it said, had emerged from a period of chaos almost unequalled in her history, so much so that it was now difficult to believe that such a state of affairs had ever existed. Shipping services had been restored, the Transandine railway reopened, the nitrate situation faced, production in the copper mines was again approaching capacity, and domestic industries had expanded. Revenue in 1934, according to a statement made by the President in May, had exceeded expenditure by over 68,000,000 pesos, while at the same time there had been a decrease in taxation of 60,000,000 pesos, which would be followed by a further decrease of 40,000,000 in 1935. In view of the improved financial situation, the President found himself able to increase the very meagre pay of Civil servants by 25 per cent. The officers in the fighting forces claimed a similar benefit, but the

President refused it on the ground that they had received an increase not long before. The Budget for 1936 showed an estimated revenue of 1,209,341,450 pesos and expenditure of 1,208,418,904 pesos.

In the course of the year, President Alessandri drifted considerably to the Right, thus estranging his supporters among the Socialists and Radicals. In August he caused general dissatisfaction by reconstructing his Ministry on a more Conservative basis. Seior Buschmann, a Radical, accepted the office of Minister of Agriculture against the wishes of the Party Executive, but he resigned after a few days in obedience to the instructions of the party.

On January 17 the Chamber of Deputies approved a Bill which had been submitted to Congress in September for the partial resumption of the service of Chile's external debt. In February a special mission proceeded to the United States and Europe to confer with bankers and others on the steps to be taken for putting this law into force.

CUBA.

In the first three months of the year, life in Havana, and to a certain extent in the rest of the island, was disorganised by a series of strikes, many of which had a political motive. On January 10, 150 doctors employed at the municipal hospital at Havana, together with the nurses and staff, went on strike on account of the Mayor's refusal to reinstate three medical students dismissed for alleged insubordination. They were later joined by the doctors and staff of the Calixto Garcia General Hospital. The beginning of the sugar harvest which was due at this season was marked by many cases of burning of cane fields, train wrecking, and other forms of sabotage, instigated by subversive elements. On January 15 the whole island was placed under martial law, and a Presidential decree was issued enacting the death penalty for persons guilty of firing cane or otherwise interrupting the sugar harvest. In February there was a strike of teachers and students who demanded increased Government grants or school maintenance, and agitators took the opportunity to try to start a General Strike in sympathy. Their efforts met with a good deal of success, and by March 6 many Government employees, railway workers, road transport workers, and printers had ceased work. The strike was accompanied by a number of bomb and shooting outrages.

The Government took energetic steps to deal with the situation. On March 9 Havana was placed under a military governorship and the constitutional statutes were temporarily suspended. Two days later a state of war was declared throughout Cuba and the Army was given virtually a free hand. Severe penalties were

laid down for causing disorder. As the Army remained loyal to the President, this show of firmness proved effective, and the attempt to overthrow the Government by means of a General Strike collapsed almost immediately. The ringleader of the movement, Dr. Antonio Guiteras, a former Secretary of the Interior during the Grau San Martin regime and leader of the Young Cuba Party, was tracked down by soldiers and shot dead at his country house on May 8.

Earlier in the year President Mendieta had announced his intention of holding a General Election in August, with himself as a candidate. Several members of his Cabinet took strong exception to this decision, and at the beginning of March resigned. Owing to the opposition of the National Democratic Party, the President did not hold an election in August, and finding that he was regarded by the party as a stumbling-block to a fair election, he resigned on December 14. Dr. Jose Barnet, formerly Secretary of State, was elected provisional President in his place, and the General Election was fixed for January 10.

Early in February the Commission on Cuban Affairs of the Foreign Policy Association of the United States, which had been organised some months before at the request of President Mendieta, issued its report. It stated that while the recent measures of the Roosevelt administration had saved the Cuban sugar industry from further decline, Cuba could not expect in future to market more than 3,000,000 tons of sugar, whereas its present economic system was equipped to produce more than 5,000,000 tons. The most important task before Cuba was therefore to produce non-sugar crops to take the place once held by sugar, to develop sustenance farming, and to create an agricultural middle class. The report deplored the antagonism with which recent acts of the American Government were regarded in Cuba, though at the same time it expressed the wish that "the ambiguous activities of American diplomats in influencing the eternal competition of Governments should come to an end."

ECUADOR.

On August 20 a part of the garrison of Quito proclaimed the President, Don Jose Velasco Ibarra, Dictator. The bulk of the Army, however, remained faithful to the Constitution, and the President was arrested and deposed. A new Provisional Government was formed with Don Antonio Pons, who had been Prime Minister, as President. The country remained quiet.

MEXICO.

Towards the end of 1934, the Mexican President charged the Catholic Church in Mexico with conspiring to overthrow the Government, and though the charge was indignantly denied, the

persecution of the clergy was intensified. In February the postal authorities were ordered to seize all matter which should seem to be in the nature of propaganda for any religious creed. On March 7 Archbishop Pascual Diaz, head of the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico, was arrested on a charge of having officiated outside the Federal District, and of having worn religious robes outside a church. After being subjected to various indignities, he was released after twenty-four hours on payment of a small fine. The incident aroused great indignation among Catholics. At the beginning of April a revolt thought to be instigated by priests took place in Puebla and two other States under the leadership of Don Miguel Ocampo, but it was suppressed almost immediately, and Senor Ocampo was killed. On June 16, on the occasion of an international convention of Rotarians in Mexico City, 15,000 Roman Catholics paraded with banners inscribed " We protest against religious persecution," In July peasant risings took place against Senor Lastra, the Governor of the State of Tabasco. The Federal Government sided with the peasants and forced Senor Lastra to resign; and his resignation involved the withdrawal from the Cabinet of two of the bitterest enemies of religion, Senor Garrido Canabal, the Minister of Agriculture, and Senor Garcia Tellez, the Minister of Education. They were replaced by General Cedillo and Seior Vasquez Vela, both of whom had a reputation for tolerance ; and the relations between the Church and the Government for a time became less strained. In October, however, the Chief of Military Operations in the State of Jalisco arrested thirty-one priests on a charge of sedition and of having celebrated religious ceremonies forbidden by law.

President Cardenas was strongly Labour in his sympathies, and in dealing with a number of strikes which took place in the early part of the year he showed a leniency which was much criticised. Foremost among the critics was the ex-President General Calles, who, in a statement issued in June, deplored the " Marathon of radicalism " which, he said, was carrying the country backwards. General Cardenas took up the challenge, and on June 17 formed a new Cabinet in which his own followers were predominant. General Calles thereupon left the country.

On December 13 General Calles returned suddenly to Mexico City, where his partisans immediately rallied round him. The Government took alarm and resorted to vigorous steps in self-defence. Five Senators and ten Deputies were expelled from Congress on a charge of " seditious and rebellious activities," General Joaquin Amaro, Director of the National Military School, and General Medina Veytia, Chief of the Military Zone of the Valley of Mexico, two prominent partisans of General Calles, were discharged, and the Governors of the States of Sonora, Sinaloa, Guanajuato, and Durango were dismissed on a charge of seditious activity on behalf of General Calles. The General himself, his

son-in-law, and a number of persons who had joined him, were expelled from the National Revolutionary Party, which he had founded in 1926. Popular demonstrations against him also took place, but he refused to leave the country. The Army showed a disposition to support the President.

On April 27, in order to safeguard the Mexican currency against the effects of the United States "dear silver" policy, the Government called in all silver coins and substituted a paper currency. By this means it was able to keep the peso stable at about 3-50 to the dollar.

On December 13 Senor Gomez, the Mexican delegate to the League of Nations, announced at Geneva that his country was willing to join in an embargo on oil exports to Italy.

PERU.

On January 15 the port-terminal at Callao, the "front door of Peru," built at a cost of 1,500,000l. was formally opened, and with this act were inaugurated the celebrations in honour of the fourth centenary of the establishment of Lima as the capital of Peru by the *conquistador*, Ferdinand Pizarro. The city was beflagged and brilliantly illuminated, and numerous processions took place. The celebrations drew an enormous influx of visitors, with which the means of transport were scarcely able to cope. On January 18 President Benavides unveiled an equestrian statue of Pizarro in front of the Cathedral, and the official key of Lima, which used to be kept by each successive Spanish Viceroy, was presented to the Municipality by the Lavalle family, to whose ancestor it had been given by the antepenultimate Viceroy, Don Jose Fernando Abascal y Sousa, Marques de Concordia (1806-16) as he was leaving for Spain.

URUGUAY.

At the end of January a band of 1,000 rebels under Basilio Munoz crossed into Uruguay from Brazil at Rivera, and at the same time rebel bands rose in other parts of the country. The Government placed the leaders of the Opposition under arrest on suspicion of being implicated in a plot to overthrow the Government, and sent troops and aeroplanes to combat the rebels at the frontier. The Government soon obtained the upper hand; numbers of the rebels surrendered, and on February 5 their main camp was heavily bombed by Government aeroplanes, and those who could, including their leader Munoz, escaped into Brazil. President Terra treated the rebels with great clemency, pardoning all except those who had made the outbreak an excuse for perpetrating acts of violence and those who though ordered to leave the country had remained; these he handed over to the civil courts.

On March 20 the Cabinet was reconstructed by the admission of four new members. Political feeling in the country continued to run high, and in the next few months led to two serious acts of violence. On April 10 in the antechamber of the Senate House, Senator Ghigliani, President Terra's right-hand man, shot at and seriously wounded Senator Demicheli, the leader of the more violent faction of the Opposition. On June 2 an attempt was made to assassinate President Terra himself by Senor Bernardo Garcia, formerly Vice-President of the Board of the State Railways and a member of the political Opposition. Dr. Terra was only slightly wounded, and was able to perform his evening's engagements in honour of the President of Brazil, who was then on a visit to the country. A great public demonstration in honour of the President took place a few days later, when he visited the Cathedral to give thanks for his escape from assassination.

A Uruguayan economic delegation proceeded to England in the spring, and on June 26 a Trade Agreement between the two countries was signed. Under it Uruguay undertook to liquidate the sterling assets "frozen" in the country in the manner prescribed by the Uruguayan law of November 9, 1934, *i.e.*, by the payment of 30 per cent, of each claim in cash and the issue of 3£ per cent. Five-Year Sterling Bonds in respect of the balance ; also to make available sufficient exchange to meet British requirements in the future. The agreement also provided for most-favoured-nation treatment on both sides. The agreement was ratified by the Uruguayan Chamber on December 12.

In the summer the Minister of Finance submitted to Parliament a scheme which he had drafted for reforming the currency. His project provided first for the revaluation of the gold of the Bank of the Republic on the basis of its present value, and then for the creation of an independent issuing department to issue and control currency. The surplus of the new currency over the present circulation was to be appropriated by the Government and used by it for cancelling outstanding Government debts to the Bank of the Republic and the Gold Bond Bureau, for expenditure on public works and similar purposes. The project was approved without amendment by the Senate on July 31 and by the Chamber of Deputies on August 14.

After the Communist outbreak in Brazil in November (*vide* Brazil), the Government professed to have discovered conclusive evidence that the Soviet Legation in Montevideo had helped to finance the movement, and in consequence, on December 27, it requested the Soviet Minister in Montevideo, M. Alexandra Minkin, and his Legation staff to leave Uruguay, and broke off diplomatic relations with Russia ; nor did it pay any attention to M. Minkin's denials or to the Soviet Government's threat to bring the matter before the League of Nations.

On December 31 President Terra signed a decree repealing

in toto the precautionary measures which had been in force since December, 1934, thus enabling about fifty Opposition leaders who were in exile in Brazil and Argentina to return to Uruguay.

In October a Bill was passed to provide 300,000l. for the purchase of aeroplanes and Army equipment by the issue of special air-mail stamps, but it was withdrawn later owing to the opposition of philatelists.

VENEZUELA.

On December 17 General Don Juan Vicente Gomez, President of Venezuela for the third time and virtual dictator of the country since 1908, died after a long illness at the age of 78. General Contreras, the Minister of War, became acting President, and with some difficulty succeeded in maintaining order till the end of the year. He issued several economic decrees, one of which was to appropriate 30,000,000 bolivars for the purchase of 6,000,000 bags of coffee to relieve the agricultural distress due to the low price of that commodity. On December 31 General Contreras was elected President for the remainder of his predecessor's term of office.

PAKT II.
CHRONICLE OF EVENTS
IN 1935.

JANUARY.

1. In the New Year Honours peerages were conferred on Sir Henry Betterton [Baron Rushcliffe of Blackfordby, in the County of Leicester]; Sir Thomas Fermor-Hesketh [Baron Hesketh of Hesketh, in the County Palatine of Lancaster]; and Sir Wyndham Portal [Baron Portal of Laverstoke, in the County of Southampton].

3. *The Times* announced that an anonymous donor had made a gift of 30,000£. to St. Mary's Hospital for the erection of a pay bed block for patients of moderate means.

— Mr Robert McDougall, of Manchester, made two gifts to the National Trust—one of about 30 acres in Derbyshire, below Beresford Dale, and the other in Staffordshire, adjoining Ham Hall.

14. The 1,200 mile oil-pipe lines from Kirkuk in Iraq to Haifa and Tripolis respectively were opened by the King of Iraq.

— The first passenger train crossed the Lower Zambezi Bridge, which, with its 12,064 feet, is the longest bridge in the world.

15. Under the will of Mrs. Annie Mira Cameron, widow of Lieut.-Col Lewis Cameron, of the Indian Medical Service, a bequest of over 100,000£. was made to the University of Edinburgh for the advancement of Medicine.

21. *The Times* announced that Mr. Clough Williams-Ellis had presented to the National Trust a piece of land near Snowdon, about 300 acres in extent, as a nucleus for the first British National Park.

22. The National Council for the Disposition of the Dead was constituted.

25. Mr. E. W. Meyerstein made another gift to Middlesex Hospital, bringing his total benefactions to that institution to over 200,000£.

30. Sir John Priestman gave 20,000£. for the erection of a new library at Sunderland Technical College.

FEBRUARY.

1. The new air-mail service between Liverpool and the Isle of Man was opened by the Lord Mayor of Liverpool.

12. Mr. Walter John Tapper, A.R.A., architect, was elected a Royal Academician.

14. *The Times* announced the acquisition by the National Trust of three properties—"Dora's Field," a wooded area at Rydal, presented by Mr. Gordon Wordsworth, of Ambleside; 19 acres of wood and heath, known as The Beacon, near Toy's Hill, Kent, presented by Mrs. Hastie Kennedy; and 7 acres of land near Haresfield Beacon in Gloucestershire, presented by the Gloucestershire County Council.

— Easter Island and the Island of Juan Fernandez, where Alexander Selkirk lived alone from 1704 to 1709, were declared national parks by decree of the Chilian Minister of Lands and Colonisation.

21. Mr. Leland Andrews, a pilot of the American Air Lines, established a flight record by crossing America from Los Angeles to New York in 11 hours 21 minutes 1 second.

23. Dr. A. B. Poynton was elected Master of University College, Oxford.

MARCH.

4. Lord Nuffield announced in Wellington that he was giving 60,000*l.* to help crippled children in New Zealand.

5. A L.N.E.R. train achieved a speed record by travelling between London and Newcastle, a distance of 268 miles, in 3 hours 57 minutes, returning in 3 hours 51 minutes. The train weighed 213 tons.

7. Sir Malcolm Campbell set up a new record at Daytona Beach, Florida, by driving his Bluebird car at a speed of 276·816 miles an hour.

15. The University of Glasgow received a further gift of 21,000*l.* from Sir Daniel M. Stevenson, its Chancellor, to found a French Exchange Scholarship scheme. Sir Daniel had already provided 21,000*l.* for a Spanish scheme, and 17,500*l.* for a German scheme, as well as 10,000*l.* to the General Purposes Fund of the Exchange Scholarships.

20. *The Times* announced the formation of the British Council for Relations with Other Countries.

28. Lord Bridgeman appointed Chairman of the B.B.C. in succession to the late Mr. J. H. Whitley.

30. Mr. H. L. Brook arrived at Lympne, after having flown alone from Darwin, Australia, in 7 days 19 hours 50 minutes, thus setting up a new record.

APRIL.

1. Mgr. Arthur Hinsley appointed Catholic Archbishop of Westminster.

— *The Times* announced a gift of 10,000l. to the University of Edinburgh made by Mr. J. Albert Thomson, for the purpose of establishing a Commercial Laboratory.

6. For the twelfth year in succession Cambridge won the Boat Race, beating Oxford by 1½ lengths in 19 minutes 48 seconds.

13. The first regular through air service for passengers between England and Australia left Croydon.

— Mr. A. E. Morgan, Principal of University College, Hull, was appointed Principal and Vice-Chancellor of McGill University, Montreal.

14. Summer time commenced at 2 A.M. [see under October 6].

24. The Duke of Kent created a Knight of the Thistle.

26. Mr. Ernest G. Gillick, sculptor, and Mr. James Bateman, painter, were elected Associates of the Royal Academy.

— Mrs. J. H. Keene, of Galleywood, near Chelmsford, made a gift of 20,000l. to Chelmsford Hospital for building extensions.

27. Colonel S. H. Browne, formerly of the Indian Medical Service, bequeathed 10,000l. to Queen's University, Belfast, for the purpose of providing medical research scholarships.

29. The new Catholic Archbishop of Westminster was enthroned at the Westminster Cathedral.

— Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell retired from the secretaryship of the Zoological Society of London after holding office for 32 years. His successor is Mr. Julian S. Huxley.

MAY.

4. Glencoyne Park and Farm, near Ullswater, 2,250 acres in extent, were purchased by Sir Samuel Scott, who intends to present the property to the National Trust.

7. In commemoration of the Silver Jubilee of King George V., the title of Lord Mayor was conferred on the Chief Magistrate of Plymouth.

8. Miss Emelia Earhart left Mexico City in the morning on a non-stop flight to New York, covering the distance of 2,100 miles in 14 hours 18 minutes.

13. King George V., accompanied by Queen Mary, opened the British Post-Graduate Medical School, at the L.C.C. Hospital, Ducane Road, Hammersmith.

15. Prof. J. B. Stopford, M.D., F.R.S., was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester.

16. Mr. John Buchan, Governor-General Designate of the Dominion of Canada, was created a Baron [Lord Tweedsmuir].

17. *The Times* announced that the Rockefeller Foundation had promised 120,000M. to the proposed Institute for the Teaching and Study of Neurology at the National Hospital for Nervous Diseases, Queen Square, Bloomsbury, one half of the amount to be for building and equipment, and the other for teaching and research.

19. Cardinal Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More (both executed in 1535) were canonised in Rome.

29. At the opening of the new Middlesex Hospital by the Duke of York it was announced that Mr. E. W. Meyerstein and Mr. W. H. Collins had each promised a gift of 50,000J. to the Hospital.

31. In honour of the Silver Jubilee of King George V., the Chairman of the London County Council, during his term of office, is to bear the title of " Right Honourable."

JUNE.

3. In the Birthday and Jubilee Honours list Lord Bledisloe was made a Viscount, and baronies were conferred on Sir Arthur Balfour [Baron Riverdale of Sheffield, in the County of York]; Mr. Edward Charles Grenfell [Baron St. Just of St. Just in Penwith, in the County of Cornwall]; Sir William Mason [Baron Blackford of Compton Pauncefoot, in the County of Somerset]; Sir George May [Baron May of Weybridge, in the County of Surrey]; Sir Frederick Ponsonby [Baron Sysonby of Womersley, in the County of Surrey]; and Sir Clive Wigram [Baron Wigram of Clewer, in the County of Berks].

— The French liner *Normandie* completed a record crossing of the Atlantic, her time between Southampton and the Ambrose Light being 107 hours 33 minutes; average speed, 29.68 knots.

4. *The Times* announced that the Rhodes Trustees had made a grant of 5,000J. to the Institute of Historical Research, University of London.

5. The Aga Khan's colt Bahrain, ridden by F. Fox, won the Derby at Epsom by two lengths.

6. Air Vice-Marshal Sir Philip Game was appointed Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis, in succession to Lord Trenchard, to take up his duties on November 1.

12. Alexandra Rose Day produced a gross sum of 41,795Z.

13. Mr. Alfred Thomas Roach was elected Town Clerk of the City of London in succession to Sir James Bell.

15. As the result of a serious railway accident at about **11.30** p.m. at Welwyn Garden City, 14 people were killed and 30 injured.

17. Captain W. E. Percival flew from Croydon to Oran, in North Africa and back in one day, covering the distance of 2,800 miles between 1.30 a.m. and 6*25 p.m.

— The celebration of the third centenary of the French Academy began in Paris.

26. Mr. E. W. Meyerstein made a gift of 10,000l. to the Medical School building of Westminster Hospital.

— The Soviet balloon, U.S.S.R., penetrated 15,900 metres (over 9 miles) into the stratosphere in an ascent which lasted about 2½ hours.

28. Miss Janet R. Bacon, M.A., was appointed Principal of the Royal Holloway College for Women, University of London.

JULY.

3. The new Museum of Practical Geology, South Kensington, was opened by the Duke of York.

4. A gift of 16,000i. was made by Lord Nuffield to the University of Oxford for equipping the Institute of Medical Research.

5. A Comet monoplane covered the distance between London and Paris in the record time of 50 minutes.

— A gift of 10,000l. was made by Sir John D. Siddeley to the University of Cambridge for helping development work in aeronautical research.

18. A Peerage was conferred on Sir Hilton Young [Baron Kennet of the Dene, in the County of Wilts].

25. *The Times* announced that Mr. T. B. Davis, of Jersey, had made a gift of 25,000/-. to the British Merchant Seamen's Benevolent Fund.

27. *The Times* announced a gift of 10,000l. by Lord Nuffield for the welfare of the blind.

30. *The Times* announced two gifts to hospitals from Mr. E. W. Meyerstein : 25 acres of land to the Princess Elizabeth of York Hospital for Children, and 12,000l. to the London Hospital to provide a swimming bath for the nurses.

AUGUST.

1. Mr. Robert McDougall, of Manchester, presented 52 acres **of land** in Biggin Dale, Upper Dovedale, to the National Trust.

19. Countess Buxton offered 150 acres of the South Downs at New* timber Hill to the National Trust.

22. The National Trust for Scotland purchased some 1,770 acres in Glencoe, the scene of the tragic massacre in 1692.

— Mr. Hadyn Taylor, a dentist, of Cleethorpes, swam the English Channel from Cap Griz Nez in 14 hours 48 minutes.

SEPTEMBER.

13. Major Hubert Peake, of Bawtry Hall, Doncaster, presented to the National Trust about 220 acres of moorland on Scarth Wood Moor, near Northallerton.

19. *The Times* reported that during the last 12 months 10,970,609 volumes had been distributed by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

21. The newly incorporated boroughs of Redcliffe in Lancashire, and Sale in Cheshire, received their Charters of incorporation.

26. The Lord Mayor of London presented to Sir Josiah Stamp, Charter Mayor of Beckenham, the charter of incorporation of Beckenham as a municipal borough.

28. Sir Percy Vincent was chosen Lord Mayor of London

OCTOBER.

1. Brigadier Charles Alfred Howard, D.S.O., appointed Sergeant-at-Arms in succession to Admiral Sir Colin Keppel, resigned.

4. Mr Ronald Collet Norman was appointed Chairman of the B.B.C. in succession to Lord Bridgeman, who died on August 14 [see Obituaries under that date].

6. Summer time ended at 3 A.M. [see under April 14].

7. *The Times* announced that by the will of Dr. John Stokes, of Sheffield, the University of Sheffield received a gift for the purpose of establishing a University Fellowship in any subject "tending to advance the science of medicine and alleviate the sum total of human suffering."

— Lord Wright appointed Master of the Rolls in succession to Lord Hanworth, resigned.

12. Quadruplets—all boys—were born at the Royal Free Hospital to Mrs. Victoria Harmsworth, the 34-year-old wife of a metal worker, of Stoke Newington. Two of the babies died within a few days.

19. Mr. William Hamilton Fyfe was appointed Principal of the University of Aberdeen.

24. The Nobel Prize for Medicine was awarded to Dr. Hans Spemann, Professor of Zoology in the University of Freiburg in Breisgau.

26. The Doon School, at Dehra Dun, the first public school in India to be run entirely on British lines, was opened by the Viceroy^a

30. Dr. Thomas Shirley Hele, M.D., was elected Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

31. The Edward Turner Sims Library and also the New Hall at University College, Southampton, were opened by the Duke of York.

NOVEMBER.

5. Mr. E. Guy Dawber, A.H.A., architect, and Mr. Francis Dodd, A.R.A., painter, were elected Royal Academicians.

14. The Nobel Prize for Physics was awarded to Prof. James Chadwick, of the University of Liverpool, and that for Chemistry to Prof. Joliot, of Paris, and his wife Mme. Irene Curie-Joliot.

15. Two gifts to the University of Glasgow were announced : 10,000l. from Mr. W. G. Gardiner, of Moraig, Stirling, for founding scholarships in Science ; and 2,000\$. from Mr. J. B. Douglas, of Glasgow, to establish and endow a lectureship in English Literature, to be called " The W. P. Ker Lectureship."

20. A Viscounty of the United Kingdom was conferred on Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister [Viscount Swinton of Masham, in the County of York], and on Sir Bolton Eyres-Monsell [Viscount Monsell of Evesham, in the County of Worcester].

25. Lord Tyrrell was elected President of the British Board of Film Censors, in succession to the late Edward Shortt, K.C.

28. Quadruplets—three boys and a girl—were born to Mrs. Walter Miles, of St. Neots, Huntingdonshire, the 33-year-old wife of a lorry driver.

DECEMBER.

10. Nuffield House, the new wing for paying patients added to Guy's Hospital, through the generosity of Lord Nuffield, was opened by the Prince of Wales.

12. Mr. Edgar John Forsdyke, M.A., F.S.A., was appointed Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum, in the room of Sir G. F. Hill, who is due to retire Midsummer, 1936.

13. The Golden Jubilee of Toynbee Hall was celebrated at a gathering over which the Archbishop of Canterbury presided. To mark the occasion the Pilgrim Trust voted 10,000l. to the institution.

19. A gift of 125,000J. from Lord Nuffield was announced, for research **and for treatment of crippled children.**

20. A Frans Hals picture, bought recently for *SL.*, was sold at Christie's for 2,940J.

28. Miss Mary Alice Leckie, of North Berwick, made The Queen's Own Royal West Kent Regiment the principal beneficiary in her will of 20,646?.

31. Total number of wireless licences in force 7,415,709, as compared with 6,779,311 at the end of 1934.

— A total of 1,172,980 people visited the British Museum during the year.

— The total rainfall during the year was 32*12 inches, the average during 1853-1934 being 2852 inches.

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE IN 1935.

LITERATURE.

(Books marked with an asterisk are specially noticed at the end of this section.)

THE year 1935 established a record by the issue of 16,110 books and pamphlets, the highest number in the history of British publishing. While it is perhaps unsafe to rely too much on statistics, increases were noticed in poetry and drama, in sociology, the fine arts, biography, and science, although there was a decline in religion, law, and military studies. A notable and successful experiment was the introduction by two publishers of series of paper-covered sixpenny reprints. Though this has been confined so far to fiction, it is to be hoped that the venture may be extended to include general literature. In quality the year maintained a middle course.

An unusually large number of volumes grouped themselves together by dealing with some aspect or other of what, for want of a better word, may be described as civilisation. In the dawn of mythology and history Sir Arthur Evans completed his monumental *Palace of Minos at Knossos* (Macmillan), Sir Leonard Woolley summarised the results of his inquiries at *Ur of the Chaldees* (Faber & Faber), Mr. W. K. C. Guthrie threw light on *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (Methuen), and Mr. O. Davies on *Roman Mines in Europe* (Oxford University Press). A title full of romance was B. Malinowski's *Coral Gardens and their Magic*, 2 vols. (Allen & Unwin), a study of the methods of tilling the soil and of agricultural rites in the Trobriand Islands. One of the most fascinating and delightfully readable books of the year was H. E. Jacob's *The Saga of Coffee* (Allen & Unwin), with its tapestry of social, economic, and political threads in a world-wide background. The chapter on "Napoleon and Chicory" was a masterpiece of vivid handling. A history of one mode of absorbing civilisation in Europe was *Grand Tour* (Faber & Faber), under the personal guidance of Mr. R. S. Lambert and a group of expert and urbane assistants. Max von Boehn's *Modes and Manners: The 17th Century and the 18th Century*, 2 vols. (Harrap), gave first-hand documentation of all the external trappings of men and women in those years. Dr. C. Willett Cunningham took a later period in *Feminine Attitudes in the 19th Century* (Heinemann). The habit of mind and the modes of thought in the

seventeenth century **were also** revealed in the fascinating *Diary of Robert Hooke (1672-1680)*, transcribed from the manuscript in the Guildhall Library, and edited by H. W. Robinson and Walter Adams (Taylor & Francis). A very modern aspect of art in the service of technology **was** shown in Le Corbusier's *Aircraft* (Studio). Neither time nor space, however, limit the activity of *The Fool*, whose social and literary history was traced by Miss Enid Welsford (Faber & Faber). Science and superstition stared at each other in Mr. Gregory Zilboorg's *The Medical Man and the Witch During the Renaissance* (Oxford University Press), and all the rigors of modern science and philosophy appeared in the almost saint-like calm of Dr. Sigmund Freud's **Autogeographical Study* (Hogarth Press). One of the most interesting glimpses of modern civilisation was to be found in the dignified and comprehensive *Making of the Times: The Thunderer in the Making (1785-1841)*. An aspect of English civilisation somewhat neglected in England was surveyed with salutary and instructive mastery in Henri Levy-Ullman's *The English Legal Tradition* (Macmillan), with a necessary corollary in Alwyn Solmes' *The English Policeman* (Allen & Unwin). Of considerable importance was the composite volume, *We Did Not Fight, 1914-18*, being the experiences of war-resisters collected by Mr. Julian Bell (Cobden Sanderson). A brilliant survey was R. Fulop Miiller's *Leaders, Dreamers and Rebels: An Account of the Great Mass Movements of History and of the Wish-dreams that Inspired Them* (Harrap). Some of the results of modern activity in this direction were shown in Sidney and Beatrice Webb's triumph of organised exposition in ** Soviet Communism*, 2 vols. (Longmans), and in *The White Sea Canal*, an account of an heroic experiment in social reform (Lane). The results of another social experiment were recorded in W. Langhofe's *Rubber Truncheon: Being an Account of Thirteen Months Spent in a German Concentration Camp* (Constable), and in S. Lorant's, *I was Hitler's Prisoner* (Gollancz). A vast survey of human activity was completed with the publication of Vols. XIV. and XV. of the impressive *Encyclopectia of the Social Sciences*, edited by R. A. Seligman (Macmillan).

Notable activity was shown in publications concerning the fine arts. The exhibition of Chinese Art at Burlington House called forth a number of informative and interesting volumes. Messrs. Leigh Ashton and Basil Gray wrote a comprehensive volume on *Chinese Art* (Faber & Faber), and Mr. Leigh Ashton edited a volume of specialist studies on *Chinese Art* (Kegan Paul). An admirable reinforcement was supplied in **Mr. Soames Jenyn's** *A Background to Chinese Painting* (Sidgwick & Jackson). A technical study of value was W. H. Wells' *Perspective in Early Chinese Painting* (Goldston). The native point of view was put forward in **Mr. Chiang Yee's** *The Chinese Eye* (Methuen), and of special significance **and beauty was** the translation of Kuo Hsi's *Essay on Landscape Painting (Murray)*, dating from the eleventh century. A point of view of special interest in Chinese Art was discussed by Amy Driscoll and Kenji Toda in *Chinese Calligraphy* (Cambridge University Press). The art of a tributary **country was** investigated by K. Toda in *Japanese Scroll Painting (Cambridge University Press)*. **Mr. Laurence Binyon gave of his rich stores of wisdom**

and experience in his Harvard lectures on *The Spirit of Man in Asian Art* (Oxford University Press). Some new and important material was discussed by Sir Leonard Woolley in *The Development of Sumerian Art* (Faber & Faber). *The Arts of West Africa* were examined under the editorship of Mr. M. E. Sadler (Oxford University Press), and under the editorship of Mr. J. J. Sweeney in *African Negro Art* (Allen & Unwin). European art and its ancestry received varied and important attention. Mr. D. T. Rice wrote on *Byzantine Art* (Oxford University Press), and Mr. Roger Hinks dealt in pioneer fashion with *Carolingian Art* (Sidgwick & Jackson). Mediaeval art was also examined in Mr. Arthur Gardner's *Handbook of English Mediaeval Sculpture* (Cambridge University Press), and in M. D. Anderson's *The Mediaeval Carver* (Cambridge University Press). The most distinguished piece of art scholarship of the year was, of course, the catalogue of *The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci* in the Royal Collection at Windsor (Cambridge University Press), by Mr. Kenneth Clark, the young director of the National Gallery. In the same period Mr. Eric Maclagan surveyed *Italian Sculpture of the Renaissance* (Oxford University Press), and Mr. C. H. Huntley gave an account of *Sansovino: Sculptor and Architect of the Italian Renaissance* (Oxford University Press). Two pleasant volumes were Mr. J. H. Thorpe's *English Illustration of the Nineties* (Faber & Faber), and Miss M. T. Ritchie's personal selection of *English Drawings* (Chatto & Windus). The life and art of John Nash, *Architect to King George IV.*, was presented in lively and readable fashion by Mr. J. Summerson (Allen & Unwin), and the Walpole Society continued its unobtrusive work of enlightened artistic patriotism in Messrs. C. F. Bell and Thomas Girtin's copiously illustrated study of *Drawings and Sketches by John Robert Cozens* (Oxford University Press). Recent continental art was surveyed in accomplished fashion by Mr. T. W. Earp in *Modern Movements in Painting* (*The Studio* Spring Number). An important and fully documented study of *Paul Cezanne*, including a startling appendix of poems, was written by Gerstle Mack (Cape), and *The Art of Renoir* was displayed by A. C. Barnes and Violette de Mazia (Putnam). *Tolstoi's Theory of Art* was discussed in a lecture by H. W. Garrod (Oxford University Press). A detailed study of unusual interest was Mr. D. C. Rich's *Seurat and the Evolution of "La Grande Jatte"* (Cambridge University Press). The very latest movement in art and literature received its first discussion in English in Mr. David Gascoyne's **Short Survey of Surrealism* (Cobden Sanderson). Some of the problems confronting *The Arts To-day* were examined in a lively symposium presided over by Mr. Geoffrey Grigson (Lane). The vigorous and influential standards of architecture emanating from recent Germany were brilliantly examined in *The New Architecture and the Bauhaus* (Faber & Faber), by Professor Walter Gropius, once director of that famous school of craftsmanship whose activities have been brought to a sudden close by recent events. Another set of artistic standards emerges from C. G. Holme's *Art in the U.S.S.R. (Studio)*, and *Painting, Sculpture, and Graphic Art in the U.S.S.R.* (Martin Lawrence). An interesting discussion by English writers of the principles underlying Russian and allied art was conducted in *Five on Revolutionary*

Art (Wishart). Those who remember Low's *Russian Picture Booh*, with its balanced comment, will welcome his revelation of his methods in *Ye Madde Designer (Studio)*. ^Esthetic criticism received a valuable and suggestive contribution in Charles Mauron's ^*Esthetics and Psychology*, translated by Roger Fry and Katherine John (Hogarth Press).

Poetry and drama were more than usually prominent in the year's publications, although the art of poetry seemed still to be marking time and looking about before embarking on new activity. A number of anthologies attempted to give guidance to the bewildered. Miss Janet Adam Smith, in *Poetry of To-morrow* (Chatto & Windus), gave a selection witnessing to the quality and modernity of the poems published in "The Listener," and accorded therefore the fullest publicity of the B.B.C. A selection taking a more central course and representing traditional as well as modernist activity was *The Year's Poetry, 1935*, edited by Messrs. D. Kilham Roberts, Gerald Gould, and John Lehmann (Lane). A very personal anthology, *The Poet's Tongue* (Bell), intended mainly for schools, was compiled on new and inclusive principles by W. H. Auden and J. Garrett. Mr. Thomas Moulton continued his search for *The Best Poems of 1935* (Cape), and enhanced the appearance of his volume with decorations by Miss Agnes Miller Parker, the most distinguished of our modern wood engravers. A valiant attempt to supplement the Oxford Book of English verse was made by Mr. Charles Williams in *The New Book of English Verse* (Gollancz). Among poets of the older generation, A. E.'s *Selected Poems* (Macmillan) reminded us of the peculiar loss sustained by reflective poetry, and the loss of a younger talent was recalled by Stella Benson's *Poems* (Macmillan). Mr. Walter de la Mare collected his *Poems, 1919-1934* (Constable). Mr. W. B. Yeats published *The King of the Great Clock Tower* (Cuala Press). In the middle generation Mr. Ezra Pound issued his stimulating *Draft of Cantos XXL-XLL* (Faber & Faber), and Mr. Richard Aldington his moving volume, *Lxfe Quest* (Chatto & Windus). A poet whose reputation is steadily rising by reason of the precision of his poetical notation and his detachment from contemporary poetical quarrels, Mr. Andrew Young, gave a new volume, *The White Blackbird* (Cape). Mr. Humbert Wolfe renewed his vigour in *Stings and Wings* (Nicholson & Watson), and in his sonnet sequence, *The Fourth of August* (Cape). Miss Marianne Moore's much-discussed verses were issued in *Selected Poems* (Faber & Faber), with an introduction by Mr. T. S. Eliot, and Mr. Frank Kendon published his agreeable *The Cherry Minder* (Dent). The newer generations were much in evidence, and accounted for the volumes of chief contemporary interest. Mr. Herbert Read gave us the opportunity of assessing his achievement and evolution in *Poems, 1914-1934* (Faber & Faber), and a very welcome volume of sensitive and contemporary poetry was provided by Mr. Archibald Macleish's *Poems* (Boriswood). Mr. Siegfried Sassoon published a thin but sensitive volume of *Vigils* (Heinemann), Mr. Hugh MacDiarmid a provocative tender-tough book in his *Second Hymn to Lenin* (Stanley Nott), and Mr. Edwin Muir a distinguished and thoughtful volume, *Variations on a Time Theme* (Dent). Of the youngest or newest poets, Mr. C. Day Lewis gave the

fullest material for the consideration of his position in his *Collected Poems* (Hogarth Press), and in his new volume, **A Time to Dance* (Hogarth Press). Mr. William Empson for the first time collected the poems which had been admired in scattered publications for their analytical intensity and subtle conjunctions in *Poems* (Chatto & Windus), and included a helpful appendix of notes explanatory of his sources and associations. Mr. Louis McNeice's *Poems* (Faber & Faber) found favour in many quarters, and among the newest claimants to fame and attention, material worth serious consideration was offered by Mr. Clifford Dymont in *First Day* (Dent), and Mr. Christopher Hassall in *Poems of Two Years* (Macmillan), by Mr. Bryan Guinness in *Under the Eyelid* (Heinemann), Mr. T. McGreevey in *Poems* (Heinemann), Mr. George Barker in *Poems* (Heinemann), and in an unusual form by Mr. Hugh Sykes Davies in *Petron* (Faber & Faber). A volume impressive in tone and presentation was the finely printed *Epithalamion* by Miss Ida Graves (Gemini Press).

Dramatic publication was of unusual interest. The most distinguished volume of the year was Mr. T. S. Eliot's **Murder in the Cathedral* (Faber & Faber), evidence of a renewal in poetic drama of high poetical value and great public importance. Mr. W. B. Yeats' *A Full Moon in March* (Macmillan) was also of special interest. Another volume necessary to be discussed as part of the same general movement, though in violent contrast of tone and purpose, was the lively play, **Tae Dog Beneath the Skin*, by Messrs. W. H. Auden and Christopher Isherwood (Faber & Faber). Among English plays of interest Mr. J. B. Priestley published *Three Plays and a Preface* (Heinemann), and Mr. Noel Coward, *Point Valaine* (Heinemann). From Scotland came Mr. James Bridie's *The Black Eye and Other Plays* (Constable), and *Colonel Wotherspoon* (Constable); from Ireland, Mr. Lennox Robinson's *More Plays* (Macmillan), and Mr. Denis Johnston's *Storm Song and a Bride for the Unicorn* (Cape). The text of the most popular of recent plays was published in Messrs. R. Gow and W. Greenwood's *Love on the Dole* (Cape). From France came Andre Obey's *Noah* (Heinemann), whose humanity and humour conquered London in its performance by the Compagnie des Quinze, whose work was studied by Miss Phyllis Aykroyd in *The Dramatic Art of La Compagnie des Quinze* (Partridge). From America came Mr. Elmer Rice's brilliant volume, *Other Plays and Not for Children* (Gollancz), in which the last-named play was a triumph of wit and satirical penetration into the nature of drama and theatre. Mr. Ernst Toller published *Seven Plays* (Lane), containing the whole of the production of that very significant post-war dramatist, and Mr. Leon Feuchtwanger issued his *Three Plays* (Seeker). The most exciting publication among foreign plays was *Six Soviet Plays*, edited by Eugene Lyons (Gollancz), giving for the first time a representative glimpse of the contemporary Russian repertory, and including Bulgakov's *Days of the Turbins*, Kataev's *Squaring the Circle*, and Afinogeniev's *Fear*. Of books about the theatre the most interesting was Mr. W. J. Lawrence's **Old Theatre Days and Ways* (Harrap), the gleanings of years of patient and accurate investigation into the history and life of earlier drama and theatre. Mr. T. Komisarjevsky's *The Theatre and a Changing Civilization*

(Lane) was full of challenging ideas. Mr. W. G. Fay and Mrs. Catherine Carswell's *The Fays of the Abbey Theatre* (Rich & Cowan) was a lively story of a great adventure. Nearer home Mr. A. E. W. Mason gave a pleasant account of *Sir George Alexander and the St. James's Theatre* (Macmillan), and Mr. Harcourt Williams a lively and personal history of his *Four Years at the Old Vic, 1929-1933* (Putnam). The allied art of the cinema provided some valuable works, chief of which was the brilliant volume, *Film Acting*, by V. I. Pudovkin (Newnes), based on lectures given at the State Institute of Cinematography at Moscow. From Russia also came an unusual book, a "Film Novel," *Benia Krik*, by that brilliant novelist, Isaac Babel (Collett's). A valuable glimpse into studio activity was provided by the scenario of *Jew Suss*, as directed by Lothar Mendes (Methuen).

Although we have no institution like the French Academy whose avowed business it is to watch over the destinies of our language, the University of Oxford makes its regular contribution. *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (Oxford University Press), edited by Mr. W. G. Smith, provided a much-needed work of reference, and lively interest was aroused by Mr. H. W. Horwells' *Dictionary of Modern American Usage* (Clarendon Press). The American language was also served by Mr. M. H. Wesen's *Dictionary of American Slang* (Harrap). Two interesting miscellanies were Mr. Eric Partridge's *Slang To-day and Yesterday* (Routledge), and Professor Ernest Weekley's *Something About Words* (Murray), with its particularly valuable chapter on Sir Walter Scott's contribution to the language. A serious contribution was Professor A. C. Baugh's *History of the English Language* (Appleton, Century). A very important aspect of English was brilliantly and comprehensively surveyed by Dr. M. S. Serjeantson's *History of Foreign Words in English* (Kegan Paul), with an exact study on a smaller scale by G. N. Clark of *The Dutch Influence on the English Vocabulary* (Oxford University Press). A lively and attractive work on an unhackneyed topic of English study was Heinrich Straumann's *Newspaper Headlines : A Study in Linguistic Method* (Allen & Unwin).

Some very notable and many Useful additions were made to the increasingly large body of work concerned with building up a true and balanced picture of literature, its growth and significance, in Europe and America. A work of more than academic interest was the brilliant translation of **The Odyssey*, by T. E. Shaw (Oxford University Press), the product of the leisure of that romantic figure better known as Colonel Lawrence of Arabia. An outstanding volume was *The Art of the Logos*, by Professor J. A. K. Thomson (Allen & Unwin), dealing in subtle and polished fashion with Herodotus and ancient story-telling. Mediaeval literature was represented by Mr. Gwyn Jones's translation of *Four Icelandic Sagas* (Allen & Unwin), and K. Jackson's *Studies in Early Celtic Poetry* (Cambridge University Press). A work of broad cultural implication was Mr. A. M. Boase's *The Fortunes of Montaigne: A History of the Essays in France, 1580-1669* (Methuen). Two approaches were made to modern Russian literature, Mr. G. Struve presented a view from the outside of *Soviet Russian Literature* (Routledge), and a symposium by Soviet writers and theorists discussed *Problems of Soviet Literature*

(Lawrence) from the inside. M. H. Stansbury presented a helpful survey of *French Novelists of To-day* (Oxford University Press), and the general problems of literary study were stimulatingly approached by Mr. R. D. Jameson in *A Comparison of Literatures* (Kegan Paul).

In the historical estimation of English literature the end is very far from being in sight. It would be a pardonable exaggeration to say that every author and every problem of English literary history presents an almost unexplored field to the scholar, and, above all, to the historical analyst. Despite the activities of thousands of research workers each year brings material for fundamental revision of the accepted pattern of literary growth. The year 1935 was no exception. New territories were thrown open, new documents discovered, familiar authors presented in complete and scholarly editions, and forgotten figures brought into new esteem. Our older literature is always in need of elucidation. Professor Sedgefield issued a new and up-to-date edition of *Beowulf* (Manchester University Press). Mr. Ritchie Girvan collected his suggestive and searching lectures on *Beowulf* (Methuen), and Miss E. E. Wardale restored perspective in her *Chapters on Old English Literature* (Kegan Paul). In the Middle Ages William Langland's *Vision of Piers Plowman* was brilliantly translated by Mr. H. W. Wells (Sheed & Ward), and Mr. R. L. Greene wrote on the little-known topic of *The Early English Carols* (Oxford University Press). The poem of *The Owl and the Nightingale* was edited by Messrs. J. H. G. Grattan and G. F. H. Sykes for the Early English Text Society (Oxford University Press), and Messrs. J. P. Oakden and E. R. Innes surveyed *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English* (Manchester University Press). Chaucer studies were few, but Mr. W. E. Martin's *Chaucer Bibliography* (Cambridge University Press), and Professor Carleton Brown's expert edition of *The Pardoner's Tale* (Oxford University Press) were valuable items. The canonisation of Thomas More was marked by the publication of Professor R. W. Chambers' long awaited and sympathetic life of * *Thomas More* (Cape), as well as an edition of William Roper's moving contemporary *Life of Sir Thomas More*, *KL*, edited by Miss E. V. Hitchcock (Oxford University Press).

The literature of the Renaissance received its customary serious attention. The standards of behaviour were examined by J. E. Mason in *Gentlefolk in the Making : English Courtesy Literature, 1531-1774* (Oxford University Press). The poetry was studied in *England's Helicon, 1600-1614*, edited by H. E. Rollins (Oxford University Press), in R. M. Sargent's *At the Court of Queen Elizabeth, Life and Lyrics of Sir Edward Dyer* (Oxford University Press), and in P. Janelle's impressive work on *Robert Southwell the Writer* (Sheed & Ward). A neglected aspect of a representative writer was examined by K. O. Meyrick in *Sir Philip Sidney as a Literary Craftsman* (Oxford University Press), and a much-debated problem of literary ethics was placed in historical perspective in H. O. White's *Plagiarism and Imitation During the English Renaissance* (Oxford University Press). The standard edition of Spenser added Vol. IV. of the *Faerie Queen* (Oxford University Press). The great drama of Elizabethan England received valuable attention in the suggestive survey by Miss M. C. Bradbrook of *Themes*

and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy (Cambridge University Press). An interesting aspect of Elizabethan theatre life was treated by R. B. Sharpe in *The Real War of the Theatres* (Oxford University Press), a study of Shakespeare's fellows in rivalry with the Admiral's men from 1594 to 1603. The inner life of the Elizabethan theatre was the subject of expert and lively treatment by Mr. W. J. Lawrence in *Those Nut-cracking Elizabethans* (Argonaut Press). Shakespeare was studied with the variety that his many-sided qualities demand. Mr. A. C. Sprague wrote of *Shakespeare and the Audience* (Oxford University Press), dealing with the technique of exposition on the part of the dramatist. Miss Caroline Spurgeon presented the findings of her card-indexing of **Shakespeare's Imagery* (Cambridge University Press). Professor T. M. Parrott provided a useful guide to study in his *William Shakespeare: A Handbook* (Oxford University Press). Mr. Richard David, in *The Janus of Poets* (Cambridge University Press), endeavoured to assess the dramatic value of Shakespeare's poetry. Separate plays were examined in detail. Professor Dover Wilson conjectured concerning *What Happens in Hamlet* (Cambridge University Press), Professor E. E. Stoll applied his realistic and searching method to *Hamlet the Man* (Oxford University Press), and Professor H. B. Charlton continued his stimulating survey of the plays in a study of *Falstaff* (Manchester University Press). Two of Shakespeare's fellows, early and late, were given special attention, *Thomas Lodge*, by E. A. Tenney (Oxford University Press), and *John Ford*, by M. John Sargeant (Blackwell). Bibliography, the new handmaiden of literary study, was valuably advanced by Mr. Percy Simpson's *Proof Reading in the 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries* (Oxford University Press).

For the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a number of valuable publications were issued. F. S. Oliver's study of Walpole and the art of politics he suggested was continued in his third volume of **Endless Adventure* (Macmillan). Mr. A. Harbage wrote the first study of *Sir William Davenant* (Oxford University Press), and Dean B. Lyman an up-to-date account of *The Great Tom Fuller* (Eyre & Spottiswoode). Mr. Robert G. Noyes devoted attention to *Ben Jonson on the English Stage, 1660-1776* (Oxford University Press), and Miss Ethel Seaton examined *The Literary Relations of England and Scandinavia in the 17th Century* (Oxford University Press). Samuel Pepys was further portrayed by Mr. Arthur Bryant during *The Years of Peril* (Cambridge University Press), and Miss Clara Marburg explored the relations of *Mr. Pepys and Mr. Evelyn* (Oxford University Press). The great edition of Milton added Vol. X., *The Art of Logic*, under the editorship of Professor F. A. Patterson (Oxford University Press), and Mr. Hilaire Belloc wrote a provocative and characteristic study of *Milton* (Cassell). The drama of the Restoration period received further study from Mr. Montague Summers in *The Theatre of Pepys* (Kegan Paul), and his *Bibliography of Restoration Drama* (Fortune Press) gave a useful working list of the plays of the period. A lively piece of social history arising out of stage jealousies was finally set in shape by Mr. A. S. Borgman in his *Life and Death of William Mountfort* (Oxford University Press). That enigmatical figure, the

" wicked Earl of Rochester," received the unusual honour of attention by two writers : Professor V. de S. Pinto's passionate advocacy in *Rochester* (Lane), and Mr. Charles Williams' lively picture, *Rochester* (Barker). The equally enigmatical figure of the author of " Pilgrim's Progress " was set against the background of his time in Mr. W. Y. Tindall's *John Bunyan, Mechanick Preacher* (Oxford University Press). The change in social standards was reflected in Mr. F. O. Nolte's *Early Middle Class Drama, 1696-1774* (Lancaster Press), and in emotional standards in M. K. Whelan's *Enthusiasm in English Poetry of the 18th Century, 1700-1774* (Washington). A valuable discussion of critical standards was given in Mr. C. C. Green's *The Neo-Classic Theory of Tragedy in England during the 18th Century* (Oxford University Press). Swift and his friends were illuminated in Professor Nichol Smith's brilliantly edited *Letters of Jonathan Swift to Charles Ford* (Oxford University Press), and Swift's *Drapier's Letters* were newly edited by Mr. H. Davis (Oxford University Press). Swift's friend was newly presented by Mr. L. M. Beattie in *John Arbuthnot, Mathematician and Satirist* (Oxford University Press). The Poet Gray at long last received full examination in Mr. R. Martin's *Essai sur Thomas Gray* (Oxford University Press), and in the three beautifully edited volumes of *The Correspondence of Gray* (Oxford University Press). Lord Chesterfield was again studied in Mr. S. Shellabarger's *Lord Chesterfield* (Macmillan), and a new study of *William Shenstone* (Cornish) was put forward by Miss Marjorie Williams as a chapter in eighteenth-century taste. The changing winds of doctrine and practice were charted in Professor F. C. Green's *Minuet: A Critical Survey of French and English Literary Ideas in the 18th Century* (Dent), in Mr. C. V. Deane's *Aspects of 18th Century Nature Poetry* (Oxford University Press), and in Mr. D. L. Durling's *Georgic Tradition in English Poetry* (Oxford University Press). Mr. H. R. S. Van der Veen's *Jewish Characters in 18th Century English Fiction and Drama* (Foyle) broke much new ground. The *Letters of Laurence Sterne* were re-edited by Mr. L. P. Curtis (Oxford University Press), and an interesting study by Mr. G. Thomas of *William Cowper and the 18th Century* (Nicholson & Watson), was a valuable essay in perspective. The dramatic world of the century was illuminated in Mr. Eugene R. Page's *George Colman the Elder: Essayist, Dramatist and Theatrical Manager, 1732-94* (Oxford University Press). Mr. Edmund Blunden in *Edward Gibbon and his Age* (Arrowsmith) gave a remarkable picture of that great man in very small compass.

The romantic period of English literature came in for much attention. A fascinating volume by M. H. Abrams, under the cryptic title of *The Milk of Paradise* (Oxford University Press), examined the effects of opium visions on the work of De Quincey, Crabbe, Francis Thompson, and Coleridge. Professor E. J. Morley threw much light on the period in his *Life and Times of Henry Crabb Robinson* (Dent), and a record of friendships enriched the magnificent new edition, complete for the first time, of **The Letters of Charles Lamb*, 3 vols. (Methuen and Dent). The great poets received attention in turn. *The Letters of John Keats*, in an enlarged version of Mr. M. B. Forman's edition (Oxford University Press) was made available in

an invaluable single volume. Shelley was studied specially in Mr. C. Grabo's *Prometheus Unbound* (Oxford University Press). Wordsworth's later career was investigated by Mr. W. L. Sperry in *Wordsworth's Anticlimax* (Oxford University Press), and his earlier years in Mr. E. de Selincourt's *Early Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth, 1787-1805* (Oxford University Press). Byron was explored by Mr. Peter Quennell in *Byron: The Years of Fame* (Faber & Faber), and Mr. W. J. Calvert in *Byron: Romantic Paradox* (Oxford University Press). The *Letters of Walter Scott* reached Vol. VIII. under the editorship of H. J. C. Grierson (Constable). The *Poems of John Clare* were edited in two imposing volumes by Mr. J. W. Tibbie (Dent). T. L. Beddoes, one of the most fascinating poets in the period, received his due after many years in Mr. H. W. Donner's *The Making of a Poet: T. i. Beddoes* (Blackwell), and the same author's edition of *The Browning Box* (Oxford University Press). A significant and revealing publication was Mr. Geoffrey Keynes's edition of *The Notebook of William Blake* (Nonsuch Press), the famous Rossetti manuscript which did so much for Blake's reputation in the nineteenth century. Less distinguished figures were presented in Miss Marjorie Bowen's *Peter Porcupine: A Study of William Cobbett* (Longmans), and M. K. Woodworth's *Literary Career of Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges* (Blackwell). An agreeable introduction to the study of the reading public was given in Miss Amy Cruse's *The Victorians and their Books* (Allen & Unwin), and a fascinating and authentic aid to biography was edited by Miss E. M. Delafield in *The Brontës: Their Lives Recorded by Their Contemporaries* (Hogarth Press).

The more recent world of literature with its cross-currents and indecisions received unusually large and varied study. One of the most valuable books, in the objectivity and richness of its documentation, was Mr. H. V. Marrot's **Life and Letters of John Galsworthy* (Heinemann). The life and character of D. H. Lawrence was lit up by cross-lights from two women, one, the "Miriam" of his "Sons and Lovers," in E. T.'s *D. H. Lawrence: A Personal Record* (Cape), and the other, his wife, in Frieda Lawrence's *Not I, but the Wind* (Heinemann). Miss Anne Treneer wrote *C. M. Doughty: A Study of the Prose and Verse* (Cape), and Mrs. Jessie Conrad revealed some details of *Joseph Conrad and his Circle* (Jarrolds). One of the most fascinating critical works was *The Art of the Novel*, being Henry James's prefaces edited by Mr. R. P. Blackmur (Scribners), and the deepest interest and critical attention was aroused by G. M. Hopkins's *Correspondence with Robert Bridges and Richard Watson Dixon*, 2 vols. (Oxford University Press). Living writers have in many instances received special study. Mr. E. G. Twitchett wrote an account of *Francis Brett Young* (Wishart), Mr. Richard H. Ward displayed *The Powys Bros.* (Lane), Mr. F. O. Matthieson estimated *The Achievement of T. S. Eliot* (Oxford University Press), and Mr. Alexander Henderson endeavoured, in mid career, to assert the position of *Aldous Huxley* (Chatto & Windus). Contemporary writers received detached, ironical, and witty comment in the fascinating *Georgian Literary Scene* of Mr. Frank Swinnerton (Heinemann), and Mr. John Eglinton's *Irish Literary Portraits* (Macmillan)

contained a fascinating memory of the early years of James Joyce in Dublin. A Marxian yardstick was used by Prince D. S. Mirsky to raise clouds of dust from *The Intelligentsia of Great Britain* (Gollancz). The valuable work of reference, *Contemporary British Authors*, was re-edited by Mr. F. B. Millett (Harrap). A new series, "The University Extension Library," began well by the inclusion of Mr. A. R. Reade's *Main Currents in Modern Literature* (Nicholson & Watson), and Dr. H. V. Routh's brilliant and penetrating *Money, Morals, and Manners as revealed in Modern Literature* (Nicholson & Watson). Among volumes of critical discussion Mr. Stephen Spender's *The Destructive Element* (Cape) attracted attention by its sincerity and modernity, as did Mr. Cecil Day Lewis's pamphlet on *Revolution in Writing* (Hogarth Press). Mr. William Empson, the most ruthlessly analytical of the younger critics aroused much discussion with his *Some Versions of Pastoral* (Chatto & Windus). Less strenuous approaches were made by Mr. C. P. Smith in his exploration of the habits of poets as shown in *Annals of the Poets* (Scribners), and by Mr. P. Gurney in a stimulating introduction to *The Appreciation of Poetry* (Oxford Press). American literature received important contributions in Mr. Edward Wagenknecht's *Mark Twain : The Man and His Work* (Oxford University Press), in Mr. O. W. Long's *Literary Pioneers : Early American Explorers of European Culture* (Oxford University Press), and in Mr. E. H. O'Neill's *History of American Biography, 1800-1935* (Oxford University Press). Two very interesting American movements were reflected in Mr. Robert Shafer's *Paul Elmer More and American Criticism* (Oxford University Press), and Mr. Malcolm Cowley's account of the "lost generation" of recent American writers in *Exiles Return* (Cape).

In history 1935 will be remembered as the year of Jubilee of King George V. Three works of outstanding merit, among the many which appeared to commemorate the event, were Mr. John Buchan's *The King's Grace* (Hodder & Stoughton), Mr. D. C. Somervell's *The Reign of King George V.* (Faber & Faber), and Mr. John Drinkwater's *The King's Reign* (Methuen). The contributions to ancient and modern historical study included a number of works of wide range and synthetic vision, as well as some of those smaller and more limited investigations which, nevertheless, provide materials of value for the larger synthesis. A new series on *European Civilization, Its Origin and Development*, begun in 1934 under the editorship of Mr. Edward Eyre (Oxford University Press), added Vols. II. and III., and the Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher's *History of Europe*, 3 vols. (Eyre & Spottiswoode), was a spacious, philosophical, and liberal interpretation of human experience. The ancient world was surveyed in Mr. H. H. Scullard's *History of the Roman World from 753-146 B.G.* (Methuen). Mr. F. H. Dudden's *Life and Times of St. Ambrose*, 2 vols. (Oxford University Press), recalled the spacious days of earlier historical biography, and Mr. H. St. L. B. Moss earned general praise for the compactness and precision of his *Birth of the Middle Ages, 395-814* (Oxford University Press). The earlier history of our islands was studied in Mr. V. G. Childe's *The Pre-History of Scotland* (Kegan Paul), and by Mr. R. A. S. Macalister in *Ancient Ireland: a Study in the Lessons of Archæology and*

History (Methuen). A valuable and recently constituted adjunct to history was provided by Mr. P. H. Reaney's *Place Names of Essex* (Cambridge University Press). A distinguished and comprehensive survey was Mr. R. H. Hodgkin's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 2 vols. (Oxford University Press). The earlier history of Parliament was examined in Mr. W. H. Dunham's edition of the important *Fane Fragment of the 1461 Lords Journals* (Oxford University Press). Henry V. was studied by Mr. J. D. G. Davies (Barker). Professor C. H. Williams issued a new edition of his firmly grounded *Making of the Tudor Despotism* (Nelson). Mr. Wilding wrote on *Thomas Cromwell* (Heinemann), and Mr. R. D. Edwards investigated *Church and State in Tudor Ireland* (Longmans), with a history of penal laws against Irish Catholics in the sixteenth century. A readable series of Royal letters (Cassell) included Dr. G. B. Harrison's *Letters of Queen Elizabeth*, Mr. C. Petrie's *Letters of Charles I*, Mr. A. Bryant's *Letters of Charles II*, Miss Beatrice Curtis Brown's *Letters of Queen Anne*, and Mr. Bonamy Dobree's *Letters of George III*. Historical biography included a study of *Strafford* by Mr. C. V. Wedgwood (Cape), and of *Buckingham, 1592-1628*, by Mr. M. A. Gibb (Cape). The Civil War was interestingly treated by Mr. F. J. Varley in his *Cambridge During the Civil War, 1642-46* (Heffer), and in his *Supplement to the Siege of Oxford* (Oxford University Press). The eighteenth century was examined in Mr. R. B. Powell's *English Country Life in the 18th Century* (Murray), in Messrs. Bonamy Dobree and G. E. Manwaring's *Floating Republic* (Bles), in Mr. A. M. Davison's *Warren Hastings, Maker of British India* (Nicholson & Watson), and in Mr. C. G. Oakes' *Sir Samuel Romilly, 1757-1818* (Allen & Unwin). An important work of reference was Mr. Henry Higgs's *Bibliography of Economies, 1751-1775* (Cambridge University Press), compiled for the British Academy. Two works of outstanding interest were Mr. E. R. Taylor's *Methodism and Politics, 1791-1851* (Cambridge University Press), and Mr. S. Maccoby's *English Radicalism, 1831-1852* (Allen & Unwin). The age of Victoria was treated biographically in *Queen Victoria*, by Mr. E. P. Benson (Longmans), and historically in Mr. Frank Hardie's *Political Influence of Queen Victoria, 1861-1901* (Oxford University Press).

Foreign history produced some remarkable works. On America Mr. A. C. McLaughlin's *Constitutional History of the United States* (Appleton) was outstanding, but the chief event in this field was the completion, by the publication of Vols. III. and IV. of Mr. D. S. Freeman's great biography of *Robert E. Lee* (Scribners). French history was illuminated in Mr. J. M. Thompson's massive study of *Robespierre*, 2 vols. (Blackwell), in Mr. W. H. Wickwar's *Baron D'Holbach: A Prelude to the French Revolution* (Allen & Unwin), in Mr. Donald Greer's *The Incidence of the Terror During the French Revolution* (Oxford University Press), and the *Memoirs of General de Caulaincourt, 1812-1815** (Cassell). German history was represented by Mr. W. H. Bruford's cultural study of *Germany in the 18th Century* (Cambridge University Press), and for more recent times by *Gustav Stresemann: His Diaries, Letters and Papers, Vol. I.* (Macmillan), and by Mr. R. T. Clark's brilliant political study of *The Fall of the German Republic* (Allen & Unwin). A richly informative study of *The Russian Revolution*,

1917-1921, was produced by Mr. W. H. Chamberlin, and a fully documented and expert study of *Mussolini's Italy* by Dr. H. Finer (Gollancz). For the ancient East Mr. C. P. Fitzgerald's **China: A Short Cultural History* (Cresset Press) was a welcome interpretation in time for the Chinese Exhibition.

An unusually interesting variety was to be found in the field of biography and memoir-writing. The great *Dictionary of American Biography*, edited by D. Malone (Oxford University Press), has reached its fifteenth volume of lives, public, private, and picturesque. A fascinating volume, dealing with a pioneer and classic of autobiography, was Mr. Marvin Lowenthal's *Montaigne: The Autobiography* (Routledge), piecing together in a new translation all the self-revelations of that first of the moderns. Among earlier figures brought to mind again was *Voltaire*, in a brilliant compression by Mr. H. N. Brailsford, for the Home University Library (Thornton Butterworth), and a contemporary in A. Neumann's *Life of Christina of Sweden* (Hutchinson). A world of exciting personal relations and public utility, from which emerged the Crystal Palace, was displayed in V. R. Markham's *Paxton and the Bachelor Duke* (Hodder & Stoughton). G. T. Garratt's *Lord Brougham* (Macmillan) and P. Frischauer's *Garibaldi* (Nicholson & Watson) both throw light on the politics of the nineteenth century, and J. T. Mills's *John Bright and the Quakers*, 2 vols. (Methuen), was a solid reminder of another social world. Three great thinkers received their due in H. P. Adams's *Life and Writings of Giambattista Vico* (Allen & Unwin), in Douglas McKie's *Antoine Lavoisier: The Father of Modern Chemistry* (Gollancz), and in the remarkable self-revelation of *Faraday's Diary, 1820-1862* (Bell). Recent history, military and civil, was illuminated on personal grounds in two books of Hindenburg, Major Gert von Hindenburg's life of his uncle, *Hindenburg, 1847-1934* (Hutchinson), and in a more detached and romantic rendering in E. Ludwig's *Hindenburg* (Heinemann). Studies of two English generals attracted attention in Mr. Duff-Cooper's *Haig* (Faber & Faber), and General Sir Charles Harington's study of *Plumer of Messines* (Murray). Sir Austen Chamberlain's *Down the Years* (Cassell) took one behind the scenes, as in its varied background did the Bishop of Chichester's life of *Randall Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 2 vols. (Oxford University Press). From the world of the theatre came Mr. Sacha Guitry's lively reminiscences, *If I Remember Right* (Methuen), Mr. James Agate's *Ego* (H. Hamilton), and Mr. C. W. Beaumont's account of *Michael Fokine and His Ballets* (Beaumont). Two picturesque careers were unrolled in the Earl of Birkenhead's *Frederick Edward, Earl of Birkenhead: The Ijast Phase* (Thornton Butterworth), and Parker Morell's *Diamond Jim: The Life and Times of James Buchanan Brady* (Hurst & Blackett). The personal life of our more immediate and less public age was revealed in Mr. Douglas Goldring's confessions in *Odd Man Out* (Chapman & Hall), and Mr. Herbert Palmer's *The Mistletoe Child: An Autobiography of Childhood* (Dent). Selma Lagerlof's *Memories of My Childhood* (T. W. Lawrie) was a work of tender and glowing beauty. A life of unusual interest was revealed in the Earl of Lytton's *Antony, Viscount Knebworth: A Record of Youth* (Peter Davies). Some very valuable

glimpses of struggle, success, and failure in a world of fundamental change were afforded by M. Beer's *Fifty Years of International Socialism* (Allen & Unwin), by R. H. Harvey's *Samuel Gompers, Champion of the Toiling Masses* (Oxford University Press), and J. D. Gregory's *Dollfuss and His Times* (Hutchinson), and information difficult to get at was provided in Henri Barbusse's *Stalin: A New World Seen Through One Man* (Lane), Stella D. Blagoyeva's *Dimitrov* (Lawrence), and Cecilia Bobrovskaya's *Twenty Years in Underground Russia: Memoirs of a Rank and File Bolshevik* (Lawrence).

The world of Music was unusually generous in works of a non-technical and readable kind. Charles Burney's *General History of Music*, which struggled so manfully against Sir John Hawkins's earlier survey in Dr. Johnson's time, has at last been re-edited by Frank Mercier in two volumes (Foulis), and can be compared with two modern works, T. M. Finney's *History of Music* (Harrap), and the comprehensive *History of Musical Thought*, by Donald N. Ferguson (Kegan Paul). D. F. Tovey's *Essays in Musical Analysis*, 5 vols. (Oxford University Press), were unusually serious studies in a field where impressionistic writing so often obscures understanding. A. Schweitzer's *J. S. Bach*, 2 vols. (Black), was an exciting reflection of its author's personality. The music lover of less strenuous calibre was generously served in *Lives of the Great Composers*, edited by A. L. Bacharach (Gollancz), and *The Music Lover's Miscellany*, edited by Eric Blom (Gollancz). The personal side of music was well represented in Clare Delius's *Frederick Delius: Memoirs of My Brother* (Nicholson & Watson), in H. P. Green's *Charles Vilhers Stanford* (E. Arnold), and in T. S. Wotton's *Hector Berlioz* (Oxford University Press). Harold Abraham's *Studies in Russian Music* (Reeves) was also of special interest.

In this changing world, which to us seems of greater complexity than has been visited upon any previous age, we are grateful for anything which will clear the tangle of thought or make a satisfactory synthesis or report of progress. The most fascinating and instructive volume of recent years was Mr. Gerald Heard's *Science in the Making* (Faber & Faber), with its clear account of problems and the degree of achievement. The foundation years of those same modern problems were brilliantly surveyed in A. Wolf's *History of Science, Technology, and Philosophy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Allen & Unwin), and more remote origins still in M. de Wulf's *History of Mediceval Philosophy, Vol. I.* (Longmans). Earlier philosophy was reflected in N. Robb's *Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance* (Allen & Unwin), and in the third volume of *Studies in the History of Ideas*, by members of the Department of Philosophy of Columbia University (Oxford University Press). A valuable survey of the history of an important modern science was T. K. Penniman's *A Hundred Years of Anthropology* (Duckworth), and J. G. Crowther's *British Scientists of the Nineteenth Century* (Kegan Paul) was of special interest. A valuable glimpse of the scientific temperament in the nineteenth century was given in T. H. Huxley's *Diary of the Voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake, edited from the unpublished manuscript by Julian Huxley* (Chatto & Windus). One of the most interesting features of the year was the revival of interest in the great

Danish philosopher, Soren Kierkegaard. Two books, of complementary value, gave the English reading public an introduction to his **work**, John A. Bain's *Soren Kierkegaard: His Life and Religious Teaching* (S.C.M.), and E. L. Allen's *Kierkegaard : His Life and Thought* (Nott). A valuable reflection of English thought was given in T. H. Muirhead's edition, *Bernard Bosanquet and his Friends* (Allen & Unwin), a collection of letters illustrating the sources and the development of his philosophical opinions. V. Pareto's great work, *The Mind and Society*, reached the fourth volume of its translation (Cape). Modern continental thinking was represented by a symposium on *Marxism and Modern Thought* (Boutledge), and W. Brock's *Introduction to Contemporary German Philosophy* (Norgate). Mr. E. F. Carritt published another of his useful surveys in *Morals and Politics : Theories of their Relation from Hobbes and Spinoza to Marx and Bosanquet* (Oxford University Press). Some distinguished individual contributions to modern discussion were made by Sir A. Eddington in *New Pathways in Scierwe* (Cambridge University Press), by A. Einstein in *The World as I See It* (Lane), by E. Schrodinger in *Science and the Human Temperament* (Allen & Unwin), and by J. S. Haldane in *The Philosophy of a Biologist* (Oxford University Press). Two outstanding works in psychology were the revised version of K. Koffka's *Principles of Gestalt Psychology* (Kegan Paul), and an unusually serious contribution in Dr. Charlotte Buhler's *From Birth to Maturity* (Kegan Paul), to the study of the psychological development of the child.

The year's crop of fiction was excellent, both in the quantity of good work as well as in the general level of achievement. Among new writers with only one or two novels to their credit, the harvest has been particularly distinguished. From America came Mr. Horace McCoy's brilliant *tour de force*, **They Shoot Horses, Don't They ?* (Barker), with its presentation of a nightmare dance-marathon and the tragedy that arose from it, and an unusually sensational volume of short stories in Mr. W. Saroyan's **Tae Daring Young Man on the Flying Trapeze* (Faber & Faber). English novels of grim actuality included Mr. G. Blake's *The Shipbuilders* (Faber & Faber), Mr. Jack Jones's *Black Parade* (Faber & Faber), and Mr. Harold Heslop's *Last Cage Down* (Wishart). Specially noticeable as studies of character and atmosphere were Miss Pamela Johnson's *This Bed Thy Centre* (Chapman & Hall), and Mr. Walmsley's *Foreigners* (Cape). Two novels of majestic and sweeping extent, as well as novel structure, were Mr. Frederic Prokosch's *The Asiatics* (Chatto & Windus), and Mr. Paul Horgan's **No Quarter Given* (Constable). Problems of Jewish life and environment of specially topical interest were treated in Mr. Simon Blumenfeld's *Jew Boy* (Lovat Dickson), and Mr. Louis Zara's *Blessed is the Man* (Constable). Two of the more promising of the younger women novelists gave fresh hostages to fortune in Romilly Cavan's *Tomorrow is Also a Day* (Dent), and Betty Miller's *Portrait of the Bride* (Gollancz). Mr. Herbert Read, distinguished already as a poet and critic, wrote a first novel of quality in *The Green Child* (Heinemann). Mr. J. L. Hodson's *God's in His Heaven* (Gollancz), Mr. F. C. Boden's *A Derbyshire Tragedy* (Dent), Mr. G. Buchanan's *A London Story* (Constable), and **Mr. James Cleugh's *Pale Guests* (Barker) also attracted attention.**

Among established novelists, recent or of long standing, nearly fifty volumes were contributed of more than average merit. Mr. Somerset Maugham wrote in his exquisitely accomplished style, not a novel, but an explanation of why he did not write a novel about Spain, **Don Fernando* (Heinemann), in which the spirit of Spain's golden age was captured with urbanity and subtlety. Miss Dorothy Eichardson, in **Clear Horizons* (Dent and Cresset Press), continued her exploration of Miriam's stream of consciousness. Mr. Alec Brown rewarded the readers of his earlier novels with a work in the grand style in *^Daughters of Albion* (Boriswood). Mr. William Faulkner published *As I Lay Dying* (Chatto & Windus), an earlier work, as well as his recent brilliant novel of the air, **Pylon* (Chatto & Windus). Mr. Graham Greene's novel of social comment, *England Made Me* (Heinemann), and his volume of short stories, *The Basement Room* (Cresset Press), were both of special interest. Among women novelists, Miss Helen Beauclerk wrote with profundity and power *The Mountain and the Tree* (Collins), Miss Elizabeth Sprigge a characteristic study in humanity in *Castle in Andalusia* (Heinemann), Miss I. Compton Burnett a subtle balance of character in *A House and its Head* (Heinemann), Miss Norah Hoult a powerful interpretation of *Holy Ireland* (Heinemann), Miss Elizabeth Jenkins a delicately written *Doubtful Joy* (Gollancz), and the late regretted Stella Benson her unfinished work *Mundos* (Macmillan). From America came Mr. Louis Bromfield's *Man Who Had Everything* (Cassell), Mr. Myron Brinig's *The Sun Sets in the West* (Cobden Sanderson), Mr. George Santayana's *The Last Puritan* (Constable), a memoir in the form of a novel, and Mr. Sinclair Lewis's *It Can't Happen Here* (Cape), a brilliant study of the dangers of Fascism in America. From America came also a tornado of a novel in the powerful **Of Time and the River*, by Thomas Wolfe (Heinemann), and Mr. Robert Nathan's poignant *Road of Ages* (Constable). In violent contrast were Mr. L. H. Myers's gentle and subtly modulated **The Root and the Flower* (Cape), and Mr. James Hanley's fierce and indignant *The Furys* (Chatto & Windus). Among the younger veterans, both Mr. Francis Brett Young in *My Brother Jonathan* (Heinemann) and Mr. J. D. Beresford in *On a Huge Hill* (Heinemann) contributed notable works, and Mr. T. F. Powys, a typically brilliant volume of twenty-one short stories, *Captain Patch* (Chatto & Windus). A group of brilliant younger writers strengthened their positions by new achievement, Mr. Rhys Davies wrote *Honey and Bread* (Putnam), Mr. Richard Church, *The Apple of Discord* (Dent), Mr. Arthur Calder Marshall, *Dead Centre* (Cape), Mr. Richard Blaker, *Here Lies a Most Beautiful Lady* (Heinemann). Mr. L. A. G. Strong issued a new volume of short stories, *Tuesday Afternoon* (Gollancz), and a novel, *Seven Arms* (Gollancz). Mr. Louis Golding opened up new territory in *The Camberwdl Beauty* (Gollancz), and notable work was done by Mr. John Hampson in *Man About the House* (Grayson), Mr. H. E. Bates, in *The Poacher* (Cape), Mr. John Brophy in */ Let Him Go* (Cape), and Mr. Francis Stuart in *In Search of Love* (Collins). Mr. H. A. Manhood's volume of short stories, *Fierce and Gentle* (Cape), was good, and Mr. E. J. O'Brien made his customary and expert selection of *The Best Short Stories, 1935* (Cape).

Among popular writers a number of volumes stood out. Miss Dorothy Sayers attracted most attention in the realm of the detective story with her brilliant **Gaudy Night* (Gollancz). Mr. John Masefield's *Victorious Troy* (Heinemann) and Mr. Hugh Walpole's *The Inquisition* (Macmillan) had a considerable sale. Miss Clemence Dane's nine tales, *Fate Cries Out* (Heinemann), and Mr. David Garrett's *Beany-Eye* (Chatto & Windus), were widely read, and other generally accepted works included Miss Hilda Vaughan's *The Curtain Rises* (Gollancz), Mr. Anthony Bertram's *Men Adrift* (Chapman & Hall), Mr. John Buchan's *The Adventures of Sir Edward Leithen* (Hodder & Stoughton), Miss Helen Ashton's *Dust Over the Ruins* (Gollancz), Miss Margaret Steen's *The Tavern* (Gollancz), Miss Margery Sharp's *Four Gardens* (Barker), and Mr. Ronald Fraser's *Surprising Results* (Cape).

Foreign novels were not so plentiful, but included some important works. From France came Andre Chamson's *Barren Harvest* (W. Laurie) and Andre Malraux's *The Royal Way* (Methuen), both brilliant works by younger writers of quality, G. Mazeline's impressive *The Wolves* (Lovat Dickson) and H. de Montherlant's *Lament for the Death of an Upper Class* (Miles). From Germany a brilliant small group, including Herman Broch's *The Unknown Quantity* (Collins), Leo Lania's *Pilgrims Without Shrine* (Lovat Dickson), Manfred Hausmann's *Abel with his Mouth Organ* (Muller), Joseph Roth's *Tarabas*, as well as the work of that most brilliant of younger German minds, Ernst von Salomon's *It Cannot be Stormed* (Cape). Among more popular works were Hans Fallada's *Once We Had a Child* (Putnam) and Lion Feuchtwanger's *The Jew of Rome* (Hutchinson). Spanish novels included Eustasio Rivera's *The Vortex* (Putnam) and B. Traven's *Government* (Chatto & Windus). A welcome volume was the issue between two covers of the vast Japanese story, *The Tale of Genji*, by the Lady Murasaki, in Mr. Arthur Waley's translation (Allen & Unwin). Jewish writers in Yiddish or Hebrew provided an interesting group. Sholem Asch's *Mottke the Thief* (Gollancz) was a work of grim realism. I. J. Singers' *Blood Harvest* (Low) was a powerful work, and M. Smilansky, in *Palestine Caravan* (Methuen), introduced a new *milieu*, Mr. Leo W. Schwartz selected from twenty-five centuries of Jewish writing for his representative *Jewish Caravan* (Barker). From the Czech came K. Capek's *Meteor* (Allen & Unwin), and from Russia a representative batch of novels, showing the new literary development and achievement. Most impressive was M. Sholokhov's *Virgin Soil Upturned* (Putnam). An historical novel of great power and distinction was A. Vinogradov's *Blade Consul* (Gollancz). An older master was represented in I. Bunin's *Grammar of Love* (Hogarth Press). A flood of humour was released in V. Krymov's *Out for a Million* (Allen & Unwin), and a grimmer flood was exhibited in L. Soboleff's *Stormy Warning* (Lovat Dickson) and A. Serafimovitch's *The Iron Flood* (Lawrence).

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.

An Autobiographical Study, by Sigmund Freud (Hogarth Press).—It is a happy tendency of modern science and scholarship that the great pioneers, either of their own volition or by special request, should give an account of their personal struggles and mental evolution. No such confession could be more interesting or more important than that of the founder of the science which has added a new realm to human experience, "the science of unconscious mental processes." Freud's doctrine of psycho-analysis has profoundly changed the whole course of modern thinking about character and behaviour, and this autobiographical study is an honest and frank account of the way in which the science came into being. His earlier history of the psycho-analytical movement gave a vivid account of the human factors, the jealousies and deeply rooted prejudices and resistances which chequered its career. Freud's progress from medicine and neurology to psychiatry, from psycho-analysis to analytical studies in anthropology, sociology, art, and religion in this present study is told with a modesty and calm objectivity that carries its fullest conviction. His studies of Leonardo da Vinci, of the interpretation of dreams, of the nature of wit, of primitive society, and of the origins of creative art have shown how widely the methods of psycho-analysis have spread from purely medical treatment. We are fortunate in having, after so many prejudiced and distorted accounts, this authentic story of a long life devoted, as Freud himself describes it with characteristically modest under-statement, to "serious scientific work carried on at a high level."

Soviet Communism: A New Civilisation, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, 2 vols. (Longmans).—The Communist Society established in Russia is one of the most remarkable social experiments of the century. It will rank in history with the great upheavals which changed the face of Europe, with, say, the Reformation, or the French Revolution. A movement of such magnitude, the consequences of which may become epoch-making, needs to be adequately described in order to be properly appreciated. Hundreds of books are already in existence, illustrating the whole or some part of the great Communist adventure. But none can compare for completeness, for grasp, for clarity with the two volumes written by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb. The work is not only outstanding in the year's literary output; it is a masterpiece of social and economic writing which is destined to live long. The authors are at pains to make clear the political basis of the new society, from the village Soviet to the AU-Union Congress of Soviets. They point out, so that all may read who run, the relationship between the political machine and the Communist Party. They gave a picture of man as producer and man as consumer. For in the Communist ideology man is more than a mere political animal. All this governing, **all** this business of party, all this leadership—what is its end in view? Human happiness. So the authors consider the attempted solution by the Soviet State of the many problems that mould life—housing, education, health, leisure; its dislike of religion, its devotion to science. Not a detail escapes the authors; everything is fitted into the scheme. Whatever view

may be taken of this vast social experiment, it is certain that thoughtful people will desire to consider it. But for consideration knowledge is essential. For years to come these two volumes will afford that information, for they contain the most exhaustive survey of the U.S.S.R. yet attempted, and withal written in an agreeable and attractive style. A great social movement called for a great work to do it justice; Mr. and Mrs. Webb have provided that work. To say that the two volumes reach the very highest level of the authors' achievement is only to give them their just meed of praise.

A Short Survey of Surrealism, by David Gascoyne (Cobden Sanderson).—Automatic writing, Dadaism, Freud, and Lenin are startling enough ingredients in themselves, but in judicious mixture with sadism, snobbism, and internecine warfare they make up some part of a short-lived fashion of the arts. Like most other parvenus, the walls of its newly built ancestral home are lined with the portraits supplied by a subservient period-decorator. Among these unwilling ancestors are Swift, Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Heraclitus, Albertus Magnus, Monk Lewis, Lewis Carroll, and, strangest of all in this cuckoo genealogy, Edward Young of the "Night Thoughts." There are good painters now allied with the movement, Paul Klee and Chirico, but they were good painters before the movement became articulate. It is largely a writers' movement, with painting taking a kind of revenge on the picturesque, painting being valuable in so far as it can be effective in verbal description of strange and terrifying juxtapositions. In poetry the Frenchmen Andre Breton and Paul Eluard have for the moment acclimatised it, and the author of this volume has already written some English super-realist verse. The most terrifying aspect of the movement lies in the cinema, where Salvador Dali, painter, writer, and *cinéaste* has, with Luis Bunuel, created the emetic visions of "Le Chien Andalou" and "L'Age d'Or." Mr. Gascoyne has written a brilliantly clear account of this seething medley, and in picture and anthology provided material for its assessment and epitaph.

A Time to Dance, by C. Day Lewis (Hogarth Press).—Of the trio of new poets, many have found in Mr. Day Lewis a warmth lacking in Messrs. Auden and Spender. This warmth has by some been interpreted as romantic feeling, and therefore unacceptable in a new classicism of machine parts and cold metallic surfaces. Perhaps because he began with less aggressive perfection of technique Mr. Lewis has displayed his growth more clearly since his first "Transitional Poem" of 1929, which, together with "From Feathers to Iron" and "The Magnetic Mountain" has been published as "Collected Poems, 1929-1933." Problems of individual passion, of the divided heart, of conception, gestation and birth, of masculine friendship, of war's aftermath, of mimic warfare in boys' camps, of civilisation's jargon, mine, powerhouse and motor, aviation, psychology and biology, of the dying order and the new revolutionary solution, are all reflected in the increasingly good poetry. The new volume seems to call a halt, or rather a marking time and a recapitulation. The first part of the title-poem is a Kiplingesque boy's poem on the early flight to Australia, the third part is a kind of theme with variations in parody of popular

songs. In both there is a reaching after the heroic flawed by imperfect assimilations, "honourable symbiosis," "our days occur like a conveyor-belt bringing nothing new," "Heaven's face was barred with steel Star-bolted overhead," "Makes a depth-charge of grief" are unacceptable images, not because we are not ready for them, but because there is no explosive illumination from the separate ingredients. In the work of the whole group of these poets the nostalgia for a war they have never known imposes a text-book military jargon upon their poetry which rings hollow. Mr. Lewis is best, and offers several rewards in this volume, when he is most purely lyrical and least propagandist, leaving the persuasion to his passion rather than his politics.

Murder in the Cathedral, by T. S. Eliot (Faber & Faber).—Poetic drama has fallen sadly in England since the days of its Elizabethan glory. Fustian and rhetoric have so often attempted to supply the want. The mistake, even of the Expressionistic drama of Byron, was always to suppose that mere explicit statement was sufficient to compel belief. Elizabethan poetic drama compelled in layers and levels of feeling, almost always below or alongside of the action. Mr. Eliot has come to drama through poetry, learning his craft of persuasion by tone and overtone and undertone, yet having always in his verse a hidden dramatic quality which flowered for the first time in "Sweeney Agonistes" which he called "Fragments of an Aristophanic Melodrama." When Mr. Eliot canalised the religious feeling of "The Waste Land" and "Sweeney" into Christian channels, he attempted to conquer his brave new world in "The Rock," an unsatisfactory compromise, in which the jagged edges of levity almost wrecked the vessel. "Murder in the Cathedral" is almost flawless in its accent of authenticity. It persuades by pure poetry to the mood of acquiescence in a purpose not always explicit, as Mr. Eliot himself has urged our acceptance of Dante. In the choruses lines compel by their beauty of ominous significance and reference. The dramatic theme is traced, not in the ostensible story, which is for the watcher only, but in flashes of report, "for the pattern is the action," and "Heavier the interval than the consummation." Nevertheless, the outer action is not without interest, in distant parallel with Milton's "Samson Agonistes" in portraying the tempters splitting among them the material of Becket's problem. Mr. Eliot, by supplying the semi-comic epilogue as Mr. Shaw does his semi-serious prefaces, has perhaps avoided the real difficulty of drama which is the incorporation of the moral in the matter. If Mr. Eliot moves as far forward in his next play as he has done in this, and if the modern actor can change his spots so far as to learn to speak verse upon the stage, the English poetic drama will not only be born but live.

The Dog Beneath the Skin, by W. H. Auden and Christopher Isherwood (Faber & Faber).—The voice of to-day is a very uncertain voice. The old anchors of religion and politics have rusted and the ship is adrift. When poetry and drama seek to analyse and express this drifting the note is often far from traditional. The new form of revue, normally an after-dinner escape from the pressure of reality, is here used as an after-dinner debate calling for unanimity of censure on the worthlessness of the old

order and a vote of confidence in the unknown new. A fantasy of theme, the man searching the world for the man who is concealed beneath the skin of his companion dog, a fantasmagoric condemnation of English village pretensions, individual evasions, the hypocrisy of institutions and their leaders, the whirlpool idiocy of the press, the fixations of dictators, the *Walpurgisnacht* of brothel-land, all come together by reason of the message beneath the skin of the play. The whole is a shot-texture of poetry and purpose, the admirable poetic choruses proving the agony of dissatisfaction of a poet through the worldly-wise assurance of unimportant encyclopaedic allusion, and the play moving with a fanfare of thin trumpets towards the Communist slogan "To each his need ; from each his power." The growing-pains of youthful politics, and perhaps of the new poetry, are poignantly embodied in this challenging work.

Old Theatre Days and Ways, by W. J. Lawrence (Harrap).—Nobody in England knows more about the theatre from its infancy to its maturity than does Dr. Lawrence. His investigations into Elizabethan drama, the conditions of Shakespeare's theatre, the origins of stage scenery and of opera, the life of the theatre in Restoration England and during the eighteenth century have made him famous wherever exact knowledge, rare and out-of-the-way information and lively writing are valued. This volume gives some gleanings from the rich harvest, lighter studies for those who are frightened by the rigours of scholarship. It is the intimate life of the theatre, the world behind the scenes that is here displayed. The activities of the prompter are traced from the earliest days, the excitements of old-time rehearsing are rehearsed, the terrors of authors on first nights are recalled, the origin of the cry of "Encore, Encore," the more terrifying "cat-call days" are recreated. The strange inhabitants of the old-time theatre are brought back to mind, the candle-snuffer, the box-keeper, the money-taker. From the front of the theatre we get "The Dawn of Dramatic Criticism" from which is not far removed the theme of "getting the bird." The green-room and the box-office, the wings, the ceremony of the drum and trumpet, Pepys sitting in the back row of the pit just underneath the Royal Box and listening in to the royal conversation, Sir Charles Hawtrey after generations of vexation inventing numbered tickets and counterfoils, all these, in lively document and vivid description, reinforced by illustrations which really illustrate, combine to make up one of the most fascinating volumes of theatre-lore ever assembled.

The Odyssey Of Homer, by T. E. Shaw (Oxford University Press).—This is the twenty-eighth English rendering of the *Odyssey*, but distinguished from all the others by being from the pen of that romantic figure, Colonel Lawrence of Arabia, better known in that capacity than as Fellow of All Souls, Oxford. A tale of action translated at last by a man of action. Homer has suffered strange vicissitudes in English, Chapman's great but turgid version, Pope's welter of pseudo-poetic diction, Butcher and Lang's Wardour Street incrustation and veneer. "T. E. Shaw" has his own interpretation of this epic. He regards it as a novel, written in Wardour Street Greek, by a book-worm, no longer young, city bred and domestic, a dog lover, fond of poetry, and one who had not seen death in battle.

This is no picture of Lawrence, but there are qualities within the book closer to his spirit, the loving detail of deeds done and described, the feeling of adventure and danger and fighting against odds, and in the famous chapter on Ulysses' escape from Polyphemus, translated as never before, the feeling of one who directs every detail of an operation, carries out the most hazardous portion, and then modestly says—my men did all this wonder and this work. The delight in making of objects, the vividness of character and the tang of human speech come out for the first time in English in this noble monument to a hero's scholarship.

Thomas More, by E. W. Chambers (Cape).—The canonisation of Thomas More is at last accomplished, and all honour is due to those Protestant scholars who have helped the good work forward. Professor Chambers, our leading authority on Anglo-Saxon, was struck many years ago by the modernity of More, even in the matter of inconsistency, and has spent over thirty years in assembling his defence. England has been reluctant to accept the category of " Renaissance " so long and widely used on the Continent, and even " Humanism " is not yet clear in our minds, but there are qualities in More which demand the facing of these two dragons. Professor Chambers has done much by regarding the " Myth " of More and tracing its growth in family piety to the recently revived academic adoration of the legend. His book is more than a biography, it is an autobiography. It has the personal quality he admires so much in William Roper's life of his father-in-law which combines the freshness and naivety of a primitive painting with the fervour and credulity of the early lives of the saints. It is one of the anomalies of English literature that More is remembered most by a work which was not written in English. The " Utopia " is part of that widespread educational plan which characterises European humanism, and is reflected even in the coarseness of the Tudor farces in which More and his circle took a hand. More's own English prose is clean and interesting in a transitional way, a transition later than that which is needed to explain the hundred and fifty years' gap in " The Continuity of English Prose " on which Professor Chambers is so eloquent. The author rightly urges that to treat More merely as a figure in English literature would be unjust and over-solemn. More is a figure which needs both psychological and historical probing, and Professor Chambers brings a full armoury for the destruction of the mystery.

Shakespeare's Imagery, by Caroline Spurgeon (Cambridge University Press).—After many years of pedestrian ploughing, Shakespearean studies have been revived by the attention at last given to the theatrical and poetical sides of our greatest English genius. Poets of sensibility such as Mr. Blunden and Mr. Rylands have examined Shakespeare's imagery with creative penetration. Miss Spurgeon has applied a more methodical and rigorous weapon, the card-index. She has, it is her proud boast, indexed and cross-indexed every Shakespearean image three times, has tabulated the objects which appear to have interested him, noted the main emotions which seem to occur, traced in each of the plays the predominant images, and has endeavoured to piece together the man who has been generous

enough to leave all these clues for the researcher. She has made some interesting re-discoveries, notably that strange linking together of fawning flatterers and sweet-loving dogs which was observed some century and a half ago by a clergyman interested in Locke's theory of the association of ideas. She has also postulated for the poet a home-loving, kitchen-frequenting, handy-man temperament which may not entirely satisfy the admirers of "Timon of Athens" and "Troilus and Cressida." No investigation of Shakespeare is ever final, and Miss Spurgeon will feel gratified that her labours of accumulation have presented a large body of material for consideration, and have forced on scholars the recognition that in this fruitful and indispensable field of inquiry only two things are necessary for success, knowledge of what an image really is, and ability to recognise one when it is presented.

The Endless Adventure, by F. S. Oliver, Vol. III. (Macmillan).—This posthumous volume will, with its two predecessors (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1930, p. 31, and 1931, p. 28), establish their author in a niche of his own in the literature of English history. While in the first two volumes Oliver treated his readers in the main to history—a study of the career of Walpole, in the third he writes on the philosophy of history and on politics. His essay on History as an Art—and to Oliver history could be nothing else—is both thoughtful and entertaining. His picture of Smellfungus, Dryasdust, and Monkbarns, these three journeymen of history, will not be easily forgotten. But there is much wisdom as well as fun in the essay. No less wisdom marks the last section, which is headed significantly "A PoUtical Testament." Oliver's thesis that love of country often leads politicians to courses of conduct which as individuals they might abhor, will not find universal approval. Yet Oliver's doctrine is vigorous, and expressed in a form which all will enjoy. Perhaps it is a political gospel of forthright conservatism. Say what we will in criticism of it, the manner of its presentation must charm. "Professors and Rhetoricians" in politics are an abomination to Oliver; he loves men of action who need have no conscience. From this point of view he evaluates Palmerston, Disraeli, and Gladstone in as fresh a series of short essays as will certainly commend themselves to the ordinary reader. But the book also contains several chapters retailing the story of Walpoie's career in the manner of the larger studies contained in the first two volumes. The three are bound to afford lasting pleasure to many generations of those who appreciate fine writing, clear thinking, and downrightness.

The Letters of Charles Lamb, edited by E. V. Lucas, 3 vols. (Dent and Methuen).—This is more than a mere edition of a writer's epistles. It is at long last a monument to pious editing, friendly collecting, and publishers' co-operation. For decades there has been legal obstacles to the uniting in one work of all the available letters of Charles Lamb, the private nature of the Boston Bibliophiles' edition alone enabled it to include the then amazing number of 760 letters. Now over a thousand items are presented. The editor's own notes, as well as the numerous and valuable comments of Mr. Edmund Blunden and the late Mrs. Anderson, set the letters in their place amid the friendships of the time. Keats's letters reveal the struggle

of a poet towards maturity, Walpole's mirror the fashions and foibles of the century before, but Lamb's letters build up a temperament. By some accident "Elia" the part has been taken for the whole. In the letters the richness of human contact, the pouring out of mind and sensibility to a Coleridge and a Manning, give a richer and more complete picture. The tragedy of his sister's madness comes out in a letter to Coleridge, the wildest nonsense and mad lying invention is sent solemnly to Manning in the wilderness. Cary receives an apology for drunkenness within the sacred precincts of the British Museum, everybody receives puns. The flashes of criticism, of Shakespeare, of Elizabethan drama, of early poetry, of Defoe, of a hundred topics, reveal the shrewdness and balance, the exquisite instinct for right assessment which should now give Lamb his proper place as a Romantic critic. Mind, manner, and mood emerge from these letters to the eternal honour of their writer, and the library of English literature is enriched by an all-too-rare perfection and completeness.

John Galsworthy, by H. V. Marrot (Heinemann).—Mr. Marrot deserves well of modern literature in daring to move from the path of fashionable, fictional, and empty biography into the realm of serious and documented work. The picture of Galsworthy which emerges from this generous, loyal and rich book, is a very solid one. This Harrovian, captain of his football eleven, and of his gym eight, mile and half-mile runner, moving from Oxford to Lincoln's Inn, world traveller, riding, shooting, and theatrical dilettante, and company director, suddenly develops into the author of *The Man of Property* and *The Silver Box*, novelist and dramatist, until he is able to earn 30,000l. in royalties for half of the year only. The *Forsyte Saga* has added a new English writer to the list of those admired abroad. Galsworthy has joined Byron and Oscar Wilde. It is a strange irony, this career, satirist swallowed up in the object of his satire, dramatist drowned in propaganda and sentiment, novelist supplying gospel fact to the foreigner concerning a world he did not understand, humanitarian demanding freedom for pit ponies, birds in cages, performing animals, but not for the human beings whose privacy he invaded with impertinent and unsolicited correspondence, writer of comedies with no sense of humour where his own qualities were questioned. All these contradictions emerge with crystal clarity, thanks to the mass of indispensable correspondence, reports, diaries, and impressions so richly supplied by Mr. Marrot.

China, by C. P. Fitzgerald (The Cresset Press).—History so seldom recounts the real progress of a nation that in this year of the Chinese Exhibition it is singularly opportune to have a cultural history of that great and fascinating civilisation. Mr. Fitzgerald had already won his spurs as an historian in his *Son of Heaven*, a rich account of the founder of the T'ang dynasty. The present volume is an elaborate study of the evolution of Chinese culture from the Feudal Period to the end of the Manchu dynasty. A particularly valuable part of the work is the treatment in separate chapters of the artistic achievement of each historical period, the art of the Shang and Chou periods in close connexion with the Feudal epoch. The significance of the great Ch'in Han revolution, for Mr. Fitzgerald the most fundamental of all China's experiences, is worked out

in full. The evolution of the Confucian doctrine, the great age of Han imperialism when China took on the dimensions of a world power, are discussed in a brilliant survey of "Han Imperialism and the Discovery of the West." The philosophical thread in Chinese life is followed, with a special examination of the age in which the opposing systems, Confucian objectivity and Taoist introspection, are brought into an equilibrium of harmony. The drama and the novel under the Ming dynasty are illuminated with the same power. This is a brilliant addition to our knowledge, real history, in a fascinating literary style, giving the inter-relation of art and literature with religion and politics in a manner that might valuably be followed in dealing with the life of more familiar and closer nations.

FICTION.

They Shoot Horses, Don't They P by Horace McCoy (Arthur Barker).—Many stories have come from America, high-speed disillusioned stories of despair and hopelessness, but few have had the compelling power and persuasion of this piece of perfect artistry and control. The story is of a marathon dance, and of one out of one hundred and forty-four couples, hopeless human beings trying to earn a little food, and of the nightmare of their ordeal, night after night dragging bodies emptied of soul for the delight of the morbid and the curious, of the exhaustion and madness, the beyond-death weariness in which the male puts his partner out of her misery at her own tired request. The tapestry of despair and motion is deftly and compellingly woven, the sordid story and scorched-eyeball atmosphere are presented through the feelings of the murder trickling between the slow phrases of the judge's sentence, in a vivid, human *tour-de-force*.

The Daring Young Man on the Flying Trapeze, by William Saroyan (Faber & Faber).—The American short story is admittedly superior to the English in mechanical polish, formulable pattern, and warmth of background. The commercial article is so standardised that any endeavour to break away from the norm or to encourage such revolt is praiseworthy. The editors of *Story*, to whom this volume is dedicated, have bravely and successfully maintained the quality of individual work, but seldom can they have been so richly rewarded as in the work of this young Californian born of Armenian parents. Deceptive simplicity and inner artistry combine to portray moments of existence, slices of time and personality, adolescent moods, the subjective growth, cunningly objectivised, of seventeen, nineteen, and twenty-two. A brilliant letter, "Dear Greta Garbo," with its authentic simulation of half-educated talk, recalls the short stories, in this natively Russian manner, of Zoschenko. "Seventy Thousand Assyrians" shamefacedly confesses the author's artistic ambitions, though disguising them for his immediate fictional purpose. From these stories with their virtuosity of adolescence emerges a vivid America in violent change, personality of people, consciousness of problems, the acuteness of national poverty and suffering, the imminence of revolution, and the thin crust of culture. So brilliant a first volume has rarely been published, and only the future can tell of the progress or hardening of this talent.

No Quarter Given, by Paul Horgan (Constable).—This is one of those generous, lavish books which are full-scale on every plane of the novelist's art, richness of invention, range of character, depth of emotion, and beauty of scene. The theme is the precarious, consumptive life of Edmund Abbey, composer, and husband of a sensual wife who lives with her kind, a hectic thoughtless existence on fashionable *plages*. To this there is brought illumination in a series of flash-backs to childhood, to adolescent sexual experience, the shaping of his career, and the moulding of the personality which is the present man of the story. The emotional centre of the book is the resolution of Abbey's problem in a union with a young actress of beautiful strength and serenity, and their relation to the growing son of his errant wife. The scene of the book's present is Santa Fe, and its hot, bright beauty is vividly presented. The mingling of chosen character with the background, the Mexican woman La Conception and the mood of Santa Fe, and the luscious personality of the prima-donna Lily Remusat illuminating one entire phase Edmund's life, are but specimens of the generous richness of this profound and comprehensive book.

Don Fernando, by W. Somerset Maugham (Heinemann).—This is not a novel, but an apology and explanation for not writing a novel. It is an exploration of Spain, her countryside, her people, her drama, her fiction, and her art, and in particular of her Golden Age. It will not please the exploiters of Spain who sell a particular brand of romance, for it is analytical and detached. It will not please the blind patriot, for like all of its author's writings, it gets beneath the skin of complacency and conceit. It will, however, please those who have an ear for limpidity of prose and the perfect rendering of conversational idiom, who love the virtuosity of personal confession, of a ripe mind browsing with deceptively artless meanderings through the lives of saints and of lechers, the deeds of dramatists and vagabonds, and the visions of mystics and painters. The author's wit impales a thousand pretensions, slaying with one thrust the country-houses of England, and with another all the pedantic musical ignoramuses in the world. He is not final on any point, for this is not a text-book of literature or of art, but he gives happy approximations, with all the aroma of vintage talk, to the problems of picaresque fiction, of Jesuit origins, of the mystic path to perfection, of gastronomy, and the supreme problem for lovers of Baroque Spain, the riddle of Domenico Theotocopuli "El Greco."

Clear Horizon, by Dorothy M. Richardson (J. M. Dent and The Cresset Press).—For many years Miss Richardson's novels, since the first startling revelation of *Pointed Roofs*, have imposed their authority, their teaching, and their guidance upon post-war fiction. Together with James Joyce and Virginia Woolf, she has represented that exploration or immersion in "the stream of consciousness" which marks our contemporary homage to psychology. But she is not merely a technician with a new trick, she is a revealer of life. Her character Miriam seized the secret when she said "Most people have too much life and too little realisation." Miss Richardson conveys the very essence of life in its passage, the significance that might so easily be missed by unawareness, and in so doing gives a picture of the sensitive instrument, the character which registers this

unawareness, subtle, receptive, and permanent amid the fluctuant unpermanence of our time. The title of the series, "Pilgrimage," is significant, and as with another, more famous pilgrim's progress, the whole is made up of a number of exciting parts, each independent as an episode, yet steadily constructing that whole. There is a philosophical value in this attempt at isolating the essential nature of experience, which grows deeper with each volume-chapter of the heroine's adventures.

Daughters of Albion, by Alec Brown (Boriswood).—Mr. Brown has at last been publicly discovered, but for years he has been known to the initiated as a sincere poet, as our best translator from the Russian, and a novelist with fine mastery of language, tempo, and character. *Daughters of Albion* is his most ambitious and extensive work, 670 large and closely printed pages, without one word which is dull, superfluous, or pointless. A fascinating note tells us of his desire to use the language of spoken real English rather than the artificial literary language of the ruling classes, a profound contribution towards the problem of proletarian fiction. The theme is vast, no less than the bourgeois family, based on capital and private gain, whose complement is public prostitution, as laid down in the Communist manifesto from which he quotes. A sample solicitor, with five sample daughters, carries the adventures which support the theme. Each of these growing daughters, with every difference of detail, follows a parallel pattern as a human being. One suffers and sublimates her passions, another lives a fool's paradise of supposed co-operation, another sacrifices her unhappy life for the sake of her child, another is entangled in a man's mismatching, another sacrifices a lover in fear of a sordid civilisation. Essex, Lincolnshire, London, Paris, and Serbia are plotted points on a map of modern civilisation whose agonies are debated. Mr. Brown's mastery of language gives a vividness to conversation which confers life on strange and subtly observed scenes. Young love rising in physical passion, a professional man tiring of his mistress, a young woman embarking on prostitution are described with dispassionate and moral intensity. As a sweeping picture of modern society, of frustrated humanity, and of civilisation condemning itself, *Daughters of Albion* will endure beyond its present popularity.

Pylon, by William Faulkner (Chatto & Windus).—Of all modern American novelists, Mr. Faulkner is still the most fierce and passionate. No other writer has to the same degree his power of creating new language to convey the three-dimensional complexity of civilisation, time, and instinct. In *Pylon* he has approached his problem in its acutest modern phase. The opening of a new airport in a southern city, a flying circus with men and women, pilots, parachute jumpers, and mechanics, nerveless creatures living on the needle-point of sensation, with oil instead of blood in their veins, the glare of searchlights, the blare of loud speakers, the hectic expectation and welcoming of death provide both the background and the material. In the web of one of these groups, a pilot, a parachute jumper, their communal wife, their child, and their mechanic, is caught up a scarecrow of a reporter, fascinated by the emotional problems which his editor refuses to accept as news. The reporter is a kind of scientific control of human emotions by which to measure the strange new tempo of

flight-conditioned mood. The language is keyed up to anew hysteria, wilder than anything Mr. Faulkner has hitherto provided, with new devices of discontinuity, deliberately unfinished sentences resumed after an interval in which nothing is lost by marching across stepping-stones. The atmosphere so precisely conveyed by a linguistic dance of the seven veils is of emotional delirium in which every standard of conventional existence, and for that matter of conventional fiction, is swept aside. In nothing is he more brilliant than in the virtuosity of his pictures of the wild disintegration of mechanical drunkenness, symbolical of the torture and disorientation of present-day existence.

Of Time and the River, by Thomas Wolfe (Heinemann).—It is some years since Mr. Wolfe's first novel, *Look Homeward, Angel*, informed America that an important new novelist had emerged. Since then he has written four novels, part of the great saga of American character and life of which this is the second instalment to be published. The physical melting-pot of the United States has become a melting-pot of character. The work of Dreiser, Sinclair Lewis, Hemingway, Dos Passos, and Faulkner has given us facets of this problem, sometimes profound, as in the "American Tragedy," or sectionally comprehensive in "Manhattan Transfer," but Mr. Wolfe is pouring a flood of understanding by taking the biography of an American writer experiencing America, Oxford, and Paris in a profounder manner than the average adolescence of the American *imigri*. The point of the book is that Eugene Gant, his hero, does not wish to escape, but returns to the vomit which he realises at last is authentically his own. It is a great sprawling book, nearly a thousand pages, but the bitterness, the vivid characterisation, the penetration, the subtlety and brutality carry it forward to a completeness of rendering of the nightmare which is American civilisation, and the agony which is the separation of individuality from a process that grudges any such emergence. It is an epic of suffering, and the growing pains of a nation.

The Root and the Flower, by L. H. Myers (Cape).—Amid the terrors and uneasiness of our time, and the victim's desire to know the worst of this nightmare world into which he has been born, it is surprising to find so much favour shown to a work of calm, of beauty, and of detachment. To set a vast novel in India, in the time of Akbar the great Mogul, at the end of the sixteenth century, may seem but a concession to the romantic fashion of escape. But the author explains that he merely wishes to remove the reader from the distractions of a familiar life, and those names and places which automatically recall the social and economic problems of our day. He thinks that a vague picture of emperors and elephants, white marble palaces and palm trees provide a sufficient background for his real purpose. His book is a challenge to the modern intellectual, rooted in a world of aesthetic standards. "While a great deal is made of aesthetic sensibility and its refinements, we hear very little about moral sensibility." In the third section of the work, Rajah Amar, a sensitive and noble Buddhist, discusses this problem with an European, and concludes that spiritual vulgarity, which the author believes is deep-seated in the heart of our civilisation, often passes without giving offence, and even without being noticed. **The book also puts forward the thesis that character and**

personality demand as much connoisseurship as do the arts. With this as a philosophical thread, Mr. Myers creates a design of sheer beauty, with great skill in story-telling, and sweetness and richness of background and character. So wise, so beautiful, and so calmly sure a book has not been seen for many decades.

Gaudy Night, by Dorothy L. Sayers (Gollancz).—Not since the last quarter of the eighteenth century has there been such a vogue as now reigns for "The Tale of Terror." Miss Sayers' own anthologies have shown the ancestry of "Mystery, Detection, and Horror," and this present story has brought to its height her own peculiar contribution to the genre. She believes that to journey is better than to arrive, and the solutions are never thrilling. If it were permissible to end an exciting chase without paying the customary homage to the convention of an ending, Miss Sayers would perhaps be happiest. She is interested in her detective. Lord Peter Wimsey is a perfect Victorian Paladin, and in *Gaudy Night* he is at last fettered by impending matrimony. Shoals of red herrings are her favourite fishing, and the complexity of a living background is her delight, never more our own delight than in "Murder Must Advertise" with its unforgettable picture of the inside of a publicity factory. In *Gaudy Night* it is a different kind of factory which is explored, a women's college at Oxford, and the sinister life displayed with such feminine authority is not for a mere male to contradict. Whether the thrill is so great for women, and for those who have not been entangled in the network of Oxford, it is not possible to say. Despair, dead ends, temporary alarms and excursions, character, atmosphere, and suspense combine to justify the extended popularity to which the ambiguous title no doubt contributed.

Virgin Soil Upturned, by Mikhail Sholokhov (Putnam).—The great writers of the new Russia, as befits a young world, are very young. Mr. Sholokhov was born in 1905, the son of a Don Cossack. In 1918 he passed through the agonies of the Civil War, which for Russian memories has eclipsed the tiny scuffle of the so-called Great War, worked as mason, journalist, Government inspector, and goods porter, and at the age of 21, with the publication of the first volume of *And Quiet Flows the Don*, was acclaimed one of the new Russia's literary geniuses. The present volume is more mature by six years, and deals profoundly with the great problem of rural Russia, the collectivisation of agriculture. This problem has been seen vividly in the Russian film, notably in Eisenstein's "General Line" and Dovzhenko's "Earth," but in literature nothing has yet equalled the intensity of this novel. The Don village, centre of the struggle, the patriotism and the pettiness, the loyalty and sabotage, the cross-currents of tradition and the new order are portrayed in lightning flashes of conviction. This novel is more than an economic treatise on a transitional epoch, it is a convincing and living picture of the agonies of the kulak, the anxieties of the peasant in this uprooting of private interests in favour of the collective good. It is not merely a picture of changing physical conditions, but of a fundamental alteration in peasant mentality, and as such is an authentic corrective to much wanton propaganda from those whose desire for failure makes them too willingly prophesy it*

ART, DRAMA, CINEMA, AND MUSIC.

I. ART.

IN the world of art the most notable event in 1935 was the Chinese exhibition at Burlington House, the finest of its kind that has been seen in Europe. Opened in November the collection was the result of many months preparation by a body of experts, all members of the Executive Committee, five of whom visited China in the preceding February and met at Shanghai the members of the Chinese Organising Committee. The Chinese Government had for the first time offered to lend for exhibition some of the priceless treasures which had been gathered together in the Peking Palace in the course of ages, but had been removed to Shanghai for safety before the Committee's visit to that city. The Committee was composed of Sir Percival David, who was to be the Director of the London exhibition, Mr. George Eumorfopoulos, Mr. R. L. Hobson, of the British Museum, Professor Pelliot, of Paris, and Mr. Oscar Raphael. These gentlemen and the members of the Chinese Committee selected more than a thousand examples from the Palace collection, which, carefully packed in ninety-five steel-lined cases, were conveyed through the streets of Shanghai and placed on board an English warship, H.M.S. *Suffolk*, which had been lent by the Admiralty for their conveyance to Europe.

The examples of Chinese art brought from Shanghai were supplemented by many others lent by several foreign Governments, and by collectors all over the world, and drew greater crowds to Burlington House than had been seen there since the year when the Italian pictures were on view. The Chinese treasures, which included pottery and porcelain, jades, jewels, textiles, paintings, sculptures, and bronzes, illustrated the development and achievements of the national art of the country during an almost incredible period, from, roughly speaking, 1700 B.C. to A.D. 1800. The exhibition was admirably arranged, and the walls of the galleries were covered with Chinese canvas of a pleasant greyish buff colour, all of which was brought from Shanghai in the warship which carried the specimens from the Peking Palace.

The exhibition of "British Art and Industry," held at Burlington House at the beginning of the year, though well arranged and with some excellent features, did not succeed in attracting a great number of visitors ; nor was the usual summer exhibition of the Royal Academy which followed it as well attended as usual. This, however, was not due to any weakness of the exhibition. It was caused only by the fact that its opening day coincided with the beginning of the Silver Jubilee festivities, which lasted **for** a week and occupied so much of the attention of the public that the

Academy was neglected by many of its ordinary supporters. The sales of pictures, which were not good, may also have suffered from this cause.

The pictures and other works of art sent to the Academy by non-members in the hope of admission to the exhibition were fewer than in 1934 when they numbered 11,894. In 1935 there were only 11,642. Of these 4,867 were oil-paintings of which 3,632 were rejected at the first examination. Water-colours numbered 3,751, all but 445 of which were rejected. The sculptors were more fortunate as no fewer than 306 of the 709 works sent in by them survived the preliminary selection. From the surviving works in each class the exhibition was composed, with the addition, of course, of the privileged contributions of the Academicians and Associates. The arrangement of the pictures and other works was undertaken by Mr. Julius Olsson, Mr. Lamorna Birch, Mr. Philip Connard, Mr. Bertram Priestman, Mr. H. A. Pegram, Mr. L. C. Taylor, Mr. Richard Garbe, Mr. Guy Dawber, and Mr. Stanley Anderson.

Among the pictures sold at the exhibition were Mr. Brockhurst's "Zeitgeist" (1,500l.); "The Heart of Perthshire" (500l.), by Sir D. Y. Cameron ; " Majura the Strong " (450l.), by Mr. Russell Flint; " Sleeping Beauty " (200l.), by Mr. W. G. de Glehn ; " July Piece " (157?. 10s.), by Miss Anna Airy; " Morning Haze, Concarneau " (250l.), by Mr. Terrick Williams ; " The Barn " (262?. 10s.) and " The Firth of Lome " (210l.), both by Mr. Arnesby Brown; " A By-Koad " (125?.) and " The Cattle Pond " (150l.), both by Mr. Stanhope Forbes ; " Harbour Crowd " (100l.), by Mr. Keith Henderson; "Cornwall's Pageantry" (150l.) and "The Rock-girt Pools of Spean " (230l.), both by Mr. Lamorna Birch; " Trees near Castle Acre, Norfolk " (68?. 5s.) and " Tree Composition " (73?. 105.), both by Mr. Oliver Hall; " Bedoins " (100l.), by Mr. Henry Bishop; " Miss Edith Evans in Restoration Comedy " (157?. 105.), by Miss Ethel Gabain; " A Boy with a Pig " (315?.) and " The Landlord " (315?.), both of which were by Mr. Frederick W. Elwell.

Seven works were bought by the Chantrey Trustees : "A Lady in Black " (367?. 10s.), by the late George Spencer Watson, R.A.; " Kitchen at Myrtle Cottage " (73?. 10s.), by Mrs. Dod Proctor ; " Winter in Angus " (157?. 10s.), by Mr. J. McIntosh Patrick; " Soir Antique " (450l.), by Mr. W. G. de Glehn; " Portrait of Lord David Cecil " (800l.), by Mr. Augustus John ; " Portrait of a Young Woman " (500l.), by Mr. Meredith Frampton; and " Lord Clive—Statuette Bronze " (210l.), by the late John Tweed.

Some of the exhibitions at the galleries in Bond Street were exceptionally good, in particular those held by Messrs. Agnew and Messrs. Knoedler in aid of King George's Jubilee Trust. At the gallery of the last-named were, among other fine things, a splendid Rembrandt—a full-length portrait of Johannes Uytenbogaert—and paintings by Vandyck and Jan Provost. The Agnew exhibition was composed of portraits of all the Kings and Queens of England as far as they could be discovered, and included works by, among others, Nicholas Hilliard, Vandyck, and Sir Joshua Reynolds. At an exhibition, held a little later by Messrs. Colnaghi, a superb portrait of Lady Gudeford, by Hans Holbein the younger, and

fine things by Mabuse and Canaletto, were prominent; and nearby, at the gallery of Mr. Frank T. Sabin, some striking paintings by Old Masters included a charming Gainsborough, the original study for the portrait of Queen Charlotte at Buckingham Palace. Mr. Epstein showed at the Leicester Galleries a huge model of a seated figure, "Behold the Man," as a representation of his idea of Christ; and attractive collections of drawings and paintings were shown from time to time at the same place. Of these the best was the exhibition of Mr. Arthur Rackham's water-colours, held late in the year. The best exhibition at the French Gallery, Berkeley Square, held in the house that was once Horace Walpole's, was of a collection of early paintings by Corot, lent by Lord Berners; and the work of Mr. P. W. Steer and Mr. Frank Brangwyn was prominent at the Barbizon Gallery. Mention should also be made of an attempt made by Messrs. Tooth of New Bond Street to introduce the practice of "hire-purchase" in the sale of pictures, by permitting a collector to acquire any work he liked by paying an agreed sum down, and the remainder by monthly instalments. The experiment met with considerable success and other picture dealers followed the example of Messrs. Tooth.

In the auction rooms the tone was healthier than it had been for some years. The famous collection of miniatures formed by the late Mr. Pierpont Morgan was sold at Christie's, and one of them, a tiny but exquisite portrait of Mrs. Pemberton, by Holbein, realised no less than 6,195/. Another, well known as the "Armada Jewel," was bought by Lord Wakefield for 2,835Z. and presented by him to the Victoria and Albert Museum. At the sale of the Joel collection at Christie's a portrait by Hoppner fetched 11,500 guineas, and another, by Lawrence, 9,500 guineas. At the last sale of the year at Christie's a small painting by Frans Hals, bought recently by a dealer for 31. at a sale in Sussex, fetched 2,940J.

II. THE DRAMA.

Considering the more than usually large number of plays presented, serious or light-hearted, the year 1935 was singularly lacking in outstanding events. There may have been fewer abject failures than in the previous twelvemonth. On the other hand, there were fewer productions more or less memorable in quality. Incidentally, women dramatists, who figured so prominently in last year's list of playwrights, made an almost negligible showing. Among the very few, Miss Dodie Smith, still adopting the pseudonym of C. L. Anthony, once again claimed chief laurels. Indeed, in her delightful comedy "Call it a Day" (Globe, October 20), she achieved perhaps an even greater success than in her previous play, "Touch Wood." The later piece proved all the more acceptable for its freedom from the too sugary sentimentality which marred some of the scenes in, for instance, "Autumn Crocuii" her first play, while suffering hardly at all from the absence of any plot to speak of. The play's main appeal, indeed, sprang from its admirable characterisation and its sustained atmosphere of easy-going charm and humour. The two leading parts were extremely well played by Fay Compton and Owen Nares.

Far below Miss Smith's comedy in merit was that of Gertrude Jennings, whose experience as an author, although considerably longer, served her none too well in "Our Own Lives" (Ambassadors, November 27). Theatre-goers with pleasant recollections of one or two of her earlier plays, notably "The Young Person in Pink," must have felt disappointment on witnessing the piece under review. A theme which, treated with seriousness and sincerity, might have been developed on interesting lines, seemed to have been frittered away in bright talk and attempts to extract humour from theatrically overdrawn character types. In giving effect to some of these rather mild diversions Lady Tree used her skill and experience successfully enough, while the play also owed not a little to the charm and distinction of Irene Vanburgh's acting.

Just as comparatively few women dramatists came forward during 1935, so was the list of plays by young (or unknown) authors of the opposite sex smaller than usual. A prominent place among them, notwithstanding that his play obtained no more than a moderate success, should be assigned to Norman Ginsbury, whose historical play "Viceroy Sarah" (Whitehall, February 12) was in not a few respects an effectively contrived handling of the theme of the rivalry of Sarah and Lady Masham for the favours of Queen Anne. The play, at any rate, was worth seeing if only for Barbara Everest's impersonation of the latter part—a superb character study. Irene Vanburgh seemed happier in Sarah's lighter moods than in the more serious episodes. Incidentally another untried author, Wilfrid Grantham, showed his prentice hand in a play dealing with history. His "Mary Tudor" (Playhouse, December 12), while full of promise, held fewer tokens of a theatre sense than the play previously mentioned. But it should have proved welcome for the opportunities afforded Flora Robson in the name-part of proving once again what a fine actress she is. Robert Morley, another newcomer in the field of playwrights, was assured of success in "Short Story" (Queen's, November 2). In this instance, however, most of the honours went to the play's interpreters, first and foremost among them, Marie Tempest. Still, it was to the author's credit that he had provided her with a character in which she found scope for her rare gifts. In passing it should be recorded that an event of memorable interest was the celebration at Drury Lane on May 28 of Miss Tempest's jubilee as an actress, the occasion being graced by the presence of the King and Queen, and practically all the leading members of the theatrical profession taking part in the programme.

Of the work of representative dramatists singularly few examples were forthcoming. It was the more pleasant, therefore, to find J. B. Priestley in the poverty-stricken list. His "Cornelius" (Duchess, March 20) revealed him in a serious—from the box-office standpoint, a perhaps too serious—vein. Except that in his denouement Mr. Priestley made a somewhat too obvious concession to playgoers who dislike any unhappy ending, the play showed him almost throughout apparently resolved to sacrifice nothing to popular prejudices. There was, in fact, almost grim earnestness and intensity of purpose in his treatment of the story, slight enough in itself, yet assuming at his hands the significance

of a message of hope and belief in humanity. As in his previous plays, moreover, the author betrayed an unerring instinct for truth in his character-drawing, the people in his play, with scarcely an exception, being easily recognised types of ordinary middle-class folk. As a work strong alike in conception and execution, and in other respects far above the majority of those produced during the same period, "Cornelius" should have had a much longer run than it obtained, particularly having regard to Ralph Richardson's superb acting in the title-part and to the flawless support he received from a wholly admirable company. In a way it was unfortunate, to say the least, that Mr. Priestley should have jeopardised his deservedly high reputation by the production later in the year of so trivial a comedy as "Duet in Floodlight" (Apollo, June 4). It ran for only five nights.

From other playwrights of established repute the year yielded little enough of first-rate quality. John Hastings Turner, for example, has done much better work than in "For the Defence" (Duke of York's, February 26), which he may have been prompted to write by the vogue for plays with the action centred in criminal (or law) courts. There was no lack of excitement of a kind in his presentation of a murder trial at the Old Bailey, with Matheson Lang and Beatrix Thompson as the defending counsel and the accused respectively. Nevertheless, the piece somehow missed the verisimilitude of some others of a like character. A less conventional and decidedly more gripping murder play was Emlyn Williams's "Night Must Fall" (Duchess, May 31), which was the more interesting for the reason that the author was mainly concerned with the psychology of the criminal—a part in which he himself gave a performance at once subtle and vivid. In a more theatrical vein of melodramatics, but also possessing a certain psychological element, was "The Two Mrs. Carrolls" (St. Martin's, June 12), whose author, Martin Vale—the pseudonym, it was hinted, of a woman playwright—clearly possesses a keen flair for what is effective on the stage. This piece, which gave Leslie Banks a fine part no less finely played, achieved one of the signal successes of the year. The public with a taste for thrills had occasion also to welcome in James Parish another unfamiliar dramatist manifestly endowed with a serviceable theatre sense. His play, none too happily entitled "Distinguished Gathering," and transferred to the St. Martin's after a successful "try-out" at the Embassy (October 7), was evolved from an uncommon root-idea, and in its development the author exhibited for the most part considerable skill. "Someone at the Door" (New, May 20), by Dorothy and Campbell Christie, was a moderately ingenious specimen of the more extravagant type of comedy with thrills. Among dramatists whose names were not familiar figured also Peter Traill, who, however, is fairly well known as a fiction writer. His "Tread Softly" (Daly's, November 7) won success, but this was chiefly owing to the delightful acting of Ronald Squire, in association with that clever actress, Yvonne Arnaud.

On the other hand, the touch of the true expert was easily discernible in James Bridie's "The Black Eye" (Shaftesbury, October 11). From the time that, as a newcomer among dramatists, he wrote "The Anatomist"

Mr. Bridie has avoided well-trodden paths, and his unconventional outlook was again seen in his latest work. In this instance, while his plot bore no relation to anything that could conceivably happen in real life—for which reason he may have labelled the play "A novelette in dialogue"—his characters were so unusual and entertaining that, with all their apparent exaggeration as types, they made excellent fun. The chief among them were admirably enacted by Stephen Haggard, Ralph Roberts, and Jean Cadell. Unlike "The Black Eye," Walter Hackett's "Espionage" (Apollo, October 15) was very much the mixture as before, with its diverting blend of melodrama and comedy, and a central character which exactly fitted Marion Lome's familiar mannerisms. Just as Mr. Hackett might be classed with the "lucky" authors, so, too, was Ivor Novello again found in the slender list of those who seem almost able to command success. In his extremely spectacular "Glamorous Night" (Drury Lane, May 2), effectively planned for the theatre's vast resources, he appeared—Noel Coward-like—in the capacities of author, composer, producer, and actor, and the piece secured a long run. So, also, did his "Full House" (Haymarket, August 21). A thin, trivial comedy, apparently conceived in a flippant mood, it had at least the merit of providing Lilian Braithwaite with a part obviously designed for her, of which she made the best possible use.

Prominent among the year's more popular plays was "Tovarich" (Lyric, April 24), a piece adapted by that skilful American dramatist, Robert Sherwood, from Jacques Deva's play of the same title. This work, while deft and interesting enough in its genre, and by turns light-hearted and serious, owed its longevity chiefly to the memorably fine acting as an impoverished Romanoff Archduchess in exile of Eugenie Leontovich, whose playing showed command of a rich variety of moods, from gay to grave, while Cedric Hardwicke gave an admirable performance in the less important part of the husband. But a really cleverer play, yet one that failed to hold the stage for long, was "Frolic Wind" (Royalty, March 13), a subtly skilful adaptation by Richard Pryce of Richard Oke's brilliant and entertaining novel. The curious and in its way fascinating atmosphere of the book was most cleverly preserved, the play at the same time hinting as the slight action proceeded at dramatic developments hardly suggested by the novel's cynical author. The four old sisters, hostesses of the queer house party at Pagnall Bois, came vividly to life in the accomplished acting of Henrietta Watson (a masterly performance), Mabel Terry-Lewis, Nina Boucicault, and Dorothy Holmes-Gore. Having regard to the public's usual aversion to plays of a sombre cast, it was rather difficult to account for the long career of "Love on the Dole" (Garrick, January 20). For this play, written by Ronald Gow in collaboration with Walter Greenwood (on whose novel it was based), presented with grim and stark reality a picture of Lancashire working folks' struggles with poverty. Nevertheless, the play's drabness was relieved by happy streaks of unforced comedy. In "Grief Goes Over" (Globe, June 6) Dr. Merton Hodge was far from repeating the triumph he achieved with "The Wind and the Rain"—which by the end of the year headed the

list of the longest runs and was still attracting large audiences. For all that, the later work, while extremely simple in theme, was so sincere in treatment and human in its appeal as to confirm the impression conveyed by its predecessor of the author's sense of character and feeling for un-mawkish sentiment. It also enabled Sybil Thorndike to exemplify again her command of quiet pathos.

Among the lighter forms of entertainment none of the successes had anything like the popularity deservedly enjoyed by "1066 and All That" (Strand, April 25). This was a bright and clever version by Reginald Arkell of the series of historical travesties with which "Punch" had for some time amused its readers. The list of light comedies, one should add, included St. John Irvine's "Anthony and Anna" (Whitehall, November 2), which, although extremely thin in texture, proved moderately entertaining.

Miscellaneous events of 1935 included two notable Shakespearean revivals, the first being that of King Henry IV., Part I. (His Majesty's, February 28). In this production George Eobey surprised playgoers as an all-but-ideal Falstaff, alike in appearance, characterisation, and ripeness of humour. The other was a beautiful revival of "Eomeo and Juliet" (New, October 17), which owed its prolonged success mainly to the charm of Peggy Ashcroft's Juliet and to John Guilgud's typically fine work as producer. Some weeks after the production Mr. Guilgud, relinquishing the part of Mercutio, appeared as Komeo in succession to Laurence Olivier, thereby giving to the performance a distinction it had previously lacked. At the Playhouse, from April 11 to May 1, Leon M. Lion gave a welcome series of Galsworthy plays.

III. THE CINEMA.

A testing year for colour, for technicolour was given the fullest possible scope in "Becky Sharp," a version of Thackeray's "Vanity Fair." There was both lay and professional interest in the costly experiment. The picture was made with care and artistry, and it did for a moment look as if it might revolutionise the industry. Technicolour laboratories have been set up this side, and Alexander Korda is considering its practical possibilities in British production. But there have been no more full-length colour pictures since "Becky Sharp" was shown in July.

Another new and very important colour adherent was "Mickey Mouse" who changed his coat with "The Band Concert." He was seen less often than the popular "Silly Symphonies," both Walt Disney creations.

Another interesting experiment was the attempt to put Shakespeare on the screen. "A Midsummer's Night's Dream" was a highly costly Keinhardt production, but despite some beautiful photography the result was disappointing. However, a fashion was set. Norma Shearer is to play Juliet to Leslie Howard's Komeo, and this side Robert Donat is to play Hamlet under Korda's direction.

The story tendency was towards the big classical or historical theme.

In this way the cinema was beginning to get back some of the international character which it had lost with the introduction of the talkies.

The popularity of India as a film location started with "The Lives of a Bengal Lancer," a very free adaptation of Major Yeats Brown's book. "Clive of India" with Ronald Colman, was a historical reconstruction on which neither expense nor elephants were spared. British companies decided to follow this lead. "Toomai of the Elephants" and "Soldiers Three" were both begun with genuine Indian backgrounds.

Gaumont British also made use of Africa in "Sanders of the River," in which acting honours were shared by Paul Robeson and Leslie Banks. At the end of the year a unit was completing work out there for a big life of Cecil Rhodes, for which Walter Huston was imported.

The popularity of child stars was remarkable. Six-year-old Shirley Temple at the close of the year headed a questionnaire put to American exhibitors as to who drew the most money into the box-office. A London boy, Freddie Bartholomew, made a great hit in "David Copperfield," and later worked on "Little Lord Fauntleroy." Jackie Cooper continued to hold his place, and little Sybil Jason, also from London, was Paramount's answer to the demand.

Charles Laughton consolidated his position. In "Ruggles of Red Gap" he showed a neat turn for comedy, in "Mutiny on the *Bounty*" he was once more the strong man, and in "Cyrano de Bergerac," which kept him busy during the latter half of the year, he was the arch romantic.

After making "The Man from the Fohes Bergere," Maurice Chevalier, dissatisfied with his story material, left Hollywood on his way to England. Another French artist to work this side is Rene Clair, who made "The Ghost Goes West" for London Film Productions. This was an entertaining picture but not at all characteristic of this highly individual director.

Greta Garbo contributed "The Painted Veil" and "Anna Karenina." In "The Informer" Victor McLaglen scored a new triumph and received in America the year's highest acting honours. A new dancing star was discovered in Eleanor Powell, in "Broadway Melody of 1936." Meanwhile Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers continued their neat footwork in "Roberta" and "Top Hat."

The only British director to trust a large scale picture to British talent was still Alfred Hitchcock, who made a big success with "The 39 Steps." Other big British pictures all had imported stars. Richard Dix came over to play in "The Tunnel," George Arliss in "The Governor," and "King of the Damned" needed Conrad Veidt and Noah Beery.

In December Gaumont British engaged a further batch of Americans, including Directors Raoul Walsh and Charles Reisner, scenarist Ralph Spence, composers Gordon and Revel, and Constance and Joan Bennett, Sylvia Sydney, Richard Arlen, Sally Eilers, Edmund Lowe, May Robson, Roland Young, Victor McLaglen, and Charles Ruggles. The only attempt to create a new British star was that Korda gave a 50,000l. contract to young Vivien Leigh who had made a stage hit with her first leading part.

The "Silver Jubilee" was well handled on the screen with a mixture

of news shots and reconstruction of the events of the last twenty-five years. Many public men and women helped by re-enacting scenes from their own careers.

Noel Coward made his screen debut in "The Scoundrel" in Hollywood, after which he returned to the stage.

There were not many important Continental pictures. "Masquerade" scored a big hit because of the acting of Paula Wesseley.

A new form of News Reel was "The March of Time," arranged by the editors of the American magazine, *Time*. This gave the news a fresh significance by explanation and comment.

The old gangster film reappeared to glorify the G men, America's Federal police force. "Public Hero Number 1," "G Men," and "False Faces" were fast-moving melodramas of this type.

The producing exhibitor companies struggled for more cinemas. British Gaumont acquired some 78 in the spring, and B.I.P. another 8 at the cost of 1,000,000\$. Joseph Schenck, who merged his Twentieth Century Company with Fox Films, came to England to conclude a deal which would gradually give him control of another 200 British cinemas. William Fox himself fought a losing battle. In March the Supreme Court of Washington ruled that the talking film patents controlled by Fox in respect of which he had been fighting the film industry for three years for 40,000,000% royalties were invalid.

Several new producing companies were started. Douglas Fairbanks Jr., was responsible for Criterion Films. Garrett Element Pictures, founded in July, starred Anna Sten in their first showing. Fred Karno, at the age of 65, started a small company to produce knockabout farce.

Building operations were extensive. British National Films started a 300,000l. studio at Iver, Bucks, with Charles Boots, the millionaire building magnate, as chairman. London Film Productions erected huge new studios at Denham, Bucks. Their chairman, George Grossmith, died during the year. Production at the studios went on from the time the⁴ building started. At the cost of 100,000l. Warner Brothers were responsible for new studios at Teddington. The work will take six months. At Elstree, Amalgamated Studios planned a 500,000l. building, with a capacity to make 16 films at a time. The studios will not be the headquarters of a production company, but will be available for hire.

In April the Budget did away with the entertainments tax on seats up to sixpence.

IV. MUSIC.

Musical happenings in 1935, while embracing, as usual, a very wide range and variety of events, included very few worthy to be described as of momentous interest. The six weeks' opera season at Covent Garden, under the direction of Sir Thomas Beecham, was something of a "mixed bag." For some reason the former arrangement under which the season was divided into separate sections, German, Italian, and so on, was abandoned, the first three weeks being somewhat incongruously devoted

to a so-called "Wagner and Rossini Festival." The results were not always impressive, and, while there is often no little virtue in contrast, the juxtaposition, for instance, of "Tristan" with Rossini's light-hearted "Cenerentola" savoured rather too strongly of opposite extremes of operatic style. At any rate, it was open to doubt whether a "Festival" which indulged the leanings of Wagnerian enthusiasts should have invoked also the brilliant but playful Muse of the Italian composer as an appeal to subscribers.

The season opened on April 29 with "Lohengrin," the performance of which was attended by some disappointment owing to the absence of the singer (Max Hirsell), who in the title-part was to have made his first appearance in London. (The new German tenor made quite a favourable impression in the part a week later.) There were compensations on the opening night in Lotte Lehmann's beautiful singing as Elsa and the admirable response of the orchestra to Beecham's conducting. No less fine as regards the orchestra was the performance on the following evening of "Tristan," which Beecham also conducted, while it was a pleasure once again to hear Frida Leider's Isolde, the more so as her voice seemed, after one or two previous seasons, to have regained its full beauty. There were the usual two cycles of the "Ring," in the course of which Leider again distinguished herself as Briinnhilde, while Bockelmann, as in the past, was an impressive Wotan. No less familiar was Melchior's Siegfried. It should be noted that several British singers, among them Mary Jarred, Henry Wendon, and Robert Easton, gave useful support in minor parts. Rossini's share in the Festival consisted of "Cenerentola," with Conchita Supervia singing and acting delightfully, as in the revival of 1934, in the chief role, and his earlier opera "L'Italiana in Algeri," which it was said had not been heard in London for over a century. Some parts of the score were found to be characterised by typical Rossinian sparkle, but the work would probably not have been revived if Supervia had not been available for the principal part.

Later in the season "Il Barbiere" was included in a miscellaneous repertory. Lily Pons, although her voice sounded at moments rather small in tone, did very well on the whole as Rosina, and no less may be said for the Almaviva of an English tenor, Heddle Nash. A performance of "La Bohème," also given in the later stages of the season, created particular interest because of the appearance as Mimi of Grace Moore, a young American who has achieved fame in the domain of cinemas. Her popularity with "film fans" assured a packed audience at enhanced prices, cheerfully paid by many people who had probably never before seen the inside of Covent Garden. Yet, as events proved, there was nothing very remarkable either in Miss Moore's singing or acting, though it is only fair to say that her voice had a fresh, pleasing quality, as also sufficient volume, and was used with a good command of technique. In a revival of "Carmen" Supervia was less persuasive and successful than in the two Rossini operas. Weinberger's "Schwanda," the production of which was one of the most notable events of the previous year, also figured in a curiously diversified list of operas towards the season's end,

the list further including "Prince Igor." Borodin's opera certainly did not gain from being sung partly in German and partly in Eussian. Of individual performances the most attractive, perhaps, was that of Elizabeth Rethberg as Iaroslavna.

After the opera there was a prolonged season of Russian Ballet by Colonel de Basil's company, several of the long familiar Diaghileff classics being included in the repertory, in addition to more modern productions. In the autumn the Covent Garden management returned for a fortnight to opera. Most of the works were then sung in English, an event of special interest being the first London production of Delius's "Koanga," written some forty years ago, when the composer was far from having reached full maturity. The score was found to contain tokens of the later and highly personal Delius, but from the purely dramatic standpoint "Koanga" proved completely ineffective. Por the rest, there was nothing particularly distinctive about this "Grand Opera Festival," as it was styled. "Siegfried" (in English), with Walter Widdop as the valiant hero and Eva Turner singing very finely as Brtinnhilde, was given under Albert Coates, and Beecham conducted among other works Weber's dramatically naive, but musically charming, "Freischiitz."

In the domain of opera Covent Garden enjoyed no monopoly. Indeed, among the more interesting musical experiences of the year were the series of operas interpreted by British singers at Sadlers Wells during the admirable season which opened on October 1 with "Boris Godounov," this being the first representation in England of Moussorgsky's opera as it was before Rimsky-Korsakov revised the score. There was also a welcome, if only partially successful, production of Stanford's "The Travelling Companion," composed in 1916, but never performed in public during Stanford's lifetime. Vocally, as also orchestrally, the Sadlers Wells performances of the various works maintained a high standard. A series of ballets was staged on the conclusion of the opera season.

Concert-giving was on the usual scale of liberality and variety, London's leading orchestras being very much to the fore. Indeed, the multiplicity of symphony and kindred concerts gave rise more than once to the question whether London contains a sufficient number of music enthusiasts to justify so many competing activities. From the purely financial aspect the question is of some importance, more especially to "unsubsidised" concert-givers, seeing that by virtue of the B.B.C.'s vast resources the concerts at which their orchestra is the main attraction enjoy advantages such as no others can boast. But at any rate some of the year's chief events occurred in the series of B.B.C. symphony concerts. Among them was the first performance on April 10, under Adrian Boult's direction, of Vaughan Williams's Symphony in F minor. This work, dedicated to Arnold Bax, revealed the composer to some extent in a new light and more in sympathy with modern developments than might have been expected from one who, although never reactionary, belongs to the older generation of musicians. It may be that some among those who heard this symphony would have welcomed in it more of the mood of serene contemplation so characteristic of its composer and so beautifully exemplified, notably,

in his "Pastoral" symphony. On the other hand, it would not be easy to recall any score in which Vaughan Williams has displayed such imaginative vigour in association with intellectual energy of a high order.

To the Royal Philharmonic Society belongs the credit of having given the first performance, on November 21, of Arnold Bax's Sixth Symphony, the interpreters being the L.P.O., conducted by Sir Hamilton Harty. More concise than some of Bax's previous large-scale works, it consists of three movements, the last of them unusual in form, since it includes a Scherzo and Trio embodied in a meditative slow section. In the opinion of some hearers this was the most impressive portion of the score, and it would perhaps have been even more so if the composer, by means of a programme note, had hinted at the inner meaning of his inspiration. Apart from this reservation the symphony may be said to have marked a further stage in the manifestation of the composer's remarkable gifts of tone painting as expressed in the blending of orchestral colours and their fusion into the whole harmonic texture. Indeed, if only as a master of orchestral technique, as exemplified once more in his latest symphony, Bax must be assigned a position in the very forefront of present-day composers, native or foreign. For that matter, it would hardly be possible to write in terms of excessive admiration of the very remarkable command of every kind of technical resource shown by William Walton, the first performance of whose completed First Symphony was given by the B.B.C. orchestra, under Harty, on November 6. Three movements of this work were brought to a hearing a year previously, and exceptional interest was aroused by the production of the fourth (concluding) section by reason of Walton's position in the front rank of young British composers. Opinions differed very much as to the merits of the symphony's crowning movement, and even among those who had heard it in its incomplete form there were many who, on further acquaintance, challenged the view expressed by the composer's more fervent admirers that real genius stood revealed in the pages of the work. All were agreed, however, as to the brilliant effect achieved in the finale by the composer's insistence on dynamic energy—one might almost say terrific energy—as though he had been determined to conquer the ears of his audience by sheer assault. Only time will show whether this method, in default of anything that could be called thematic eloquence, will help to keep the symphony in the modern repertory.

Of an entirely different complexion, as may be supposed, was a Symphony in A minor by Thomas F. Dunhill, which was included in a programme of British music performed by the L.P.O. under the conductorship of Claud Powell. Mr. Dunhill, in conformity with his natural predilections and musical upbringing, remains among those composers who are content to pursue long-accustomed paths. His symphony proved none the less welcome for its manifestation of those characteristics, as also for much of freshness and delicate charm. Yet another native composer, Donald Tovey, was represented at a Courtauld-Sargent concert by a violoncello concerto which enjoyed the supreme advantage of having Pablo Casals as the soloist. If only on account of its excessive length—it occupied

one hour in performance—the work would be unlikely to take a place in the very limited list of favourite 'cello concertos. Nor, while betraying at every point the composer's masterly musicianship, can the work be said to contain any of those qualities which appeal to the ordinary listener.

Apart from the three works of major importance already dealt with, native music was represented by little enough of any real significance. Among novelties, however, that should not be overlooked were Gordon Jacob's oboe concerto, which Beecham introduced at a Philharmonic concert, Leon Goossens playing the solo part brilliantly. Charm and skill were happily combined in this pleasant work. An excellent impression was made also by Arthur Bliss's "Music for String Orchestra," which Adrian Boult conducted at a B.B.C. concert. While the influence of Elgar was unmistakably stamped upon some pages of this piece, it contained nothing in the nature of plagiarism, and well deserved a hearing by virtue of the composer's ingenuity and resource. Bliss also contributed a novelty to the season of Promenade concerts in a "Suite from Film Music" (1935), arranged from incidental music he had written for a screen play by H. G. Wells. The concert version embraces not a little that proved genuinely effective, notably a delightful section based on a ballet for children.

Native music, orchestral and otherwise, heard during the year certainly compared more than favourably with most of the similar works that reached us from abroad. There was nothing epoch-making in such examples as Malipiero's "Sinfonia," or the "Three Pieces from the Lyric Suite"—strangely misnamed—of the late Alban Berg. But the former at least showed a respect for clarity and form, whereas Berg's extracts disclosed little of interest besides his command of all manner of modern orchestral devices. Far more welcome hearing was made by Eachmaninov's brilliant "Khapsody on a Theme by Paganini" for piano and orchestra, in which the composer played the forbiddingly difficult solo part at a Philharmonic concert. The enthusiasm aroused by this work was no more surprising than the derision provoked at another Philharmonic concert by Arnold Schonberg's violoncello concerto, a ludicrously inapt elaboration of a harpsichord piece by an eighteenth century Viennese composer. On the other hand, a work of uncommon interest as being the product of a youthful composer was a symphony (No. 1, Op. 10) by Shostakovitch, first given at a Promenade concert under Sir Henry Wood. While unequal in point of thematic invention, the score conveyed the impression of unusual creative gifts and was happily free, moreover, from effects of an experimental nature.

Miscellaneous events worth recording included the London Music Festival, held at Queen's Hall in May and June, which derived particular distinction from the presence of Toscanini and Koussevitzky as conductors, and the concert of British music organised by Sir Walford Davies (Albert Hall, Empire Day, May 24) in commemoration of the Jubilee, and honoured by the attendance of the King and Queen.

SCIENCE OF THE YEAR

THE BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

Human Evolution.—*Pithecanthropus erectus* is organically differentiated from the Gibbon, but close affinity was found in its femur, general form of skull and mandible, the latter showing the animal to be devoid of human speech. Its body-weight was about 104 kgm. Cave deposits showed that *Sinanthropus* used hackberry seeds as food. A mineralised occipital associated in Thames gravel with Acheulean flint implements and bones of Pleistocene mammals gave an endocranial cast indicating a more primitive stage than *Eoanthropus*. Palestine man seems to be a variant of Neanderthal man showing more modern features.

Geological criticism of Kanam and Kanj era man indicated that they may be comparatively recent burials. In "Les Grottes paleolithiques des Beni Segonal" Arambourg *et al*, showed that Afalon man belonged to a specialised N. African group of Cro-Magnon man.

Investigation of early stone age culture in America showed that Folsom culture goes back at least 10,000 years to the close of the ice age. All American skeletal remains seem to be of modern man and in the indigenous peoples there is no evidence of Melanesian and Australian elements.

Australian aboriginals possess characteristic hair-tracts, and the Bushman skeleton shows intimate admixture of primitive and specialised features. Craniological studies indicated that there is not so much difference as has been supposed in the general shape of the brain of anthropoids and prehistoric and recent races.

French workers accumulated comparative data on the soft parts of man, Polish and German workers analysed the actual populations into the relative proportions of the basal stocks of Europe, whilst English workers compared populations as a whole. There was general recognition of the inadequacy of data for racial comparisons of physical and mental traits.

Books included Haddon's "General Ethnography of the Torres Straits," Martin's "Prehistoric Man in Ireland," Gordon Childe's "Prehistory of Scotland," Marett's "Race, Sex, and Environment," in which mineral deficiency was suggested as the primary factor in human evolution, Huxley *et al* "We Europeans," and a flood of racial publications in Germany.

Cytogenetics.—Numerous researches, especially in Russia and the U.S.A., added to our knowledge of the nuclear structure and breeding behaviour of plants and animals, and confirmed the intimate relation of these branches of study.

Chromosomes correspond with prochromosomes at all stages, and the spindle attachment seems to be a constant cell organ, new spindle attachments only arising from pre-existing ones.

Controversy raged over theories of chiasma formation ; evidence supported the view that crossing over is a necessary condition of regular chromosome splitting, and a fourth case was found, in Maize, in which it was shown that genetic crossing over involves an exchange of segments between homologous chromosomes. Further mapping study was made of the genes in giant salivary chromosomes and of chromosome behaviour and protein pattern. There is now little doubt that nearly all the genes take a vital part in the functioning of every cell, organic development depending on gene balance correlated with growth rates ; apomixis seems to be caused by several genes, perhaps by purely recessive factors, and anthocyanin variegation due to mutable genes gives bud variation in accordance with a definite mechanism of ontogeny.

The problem of specificity was much studied, and in spite of contraindications, evidence in general supported the view that species formation has come about by gene duplication, genovariation and recombination of characters. Much work was done on the crossing of species and genera, and there was general recognition of the importance of such hybridisation in the origination of many economic plants. In *Datura* the mutation rate in aged seeds is increased up to thirty times, and evidence on the mutation rate in man, the first for any vertebrate, showed man to be a more mutable species than *Drosophila*, taking generations as units.

Further work confirmed the inheritance of induced melanism and induced food habits in certain insects, but not McDougall's Lamarckian experiments on the training of rats.

Much attention was paid to human heredity. Many conditions proved much more complex genetically than was previously thought, clinical and genetic entities often do not correspond, and pedigree collection was generally recognised as inadequate.

Books included " Genetics " and " Genetic Variations in Relation to Evolution," by Jennings, Vavilov's " Theoretical Bases of Plant Breeding," and Meister's " Fundamental Conceptions of Genetics."

Zoology.—Numerous morphological and anatomical researches were published which, whilst adding valuably to our knowledge of detail, gave little in the way of synthetic understanding and theoretical formulation. Many volumes and parts were published of the great encyclopaedic German works of Kiikenthal and Krumbach, Brown, Dahl, Oppenheimer and Pincussen, Grimpe and Wagler, and Hesse; important contributions accrued from scientific explorations such as the Dana, Great Barrier Reef and *Discovery* expeditions and the Japanese scientific expedition to Manchukuo. Other volumes) included Pope's " Reptiles of China," Goodwin's " Mammals of Connecticut," Baker's " Nidification of Indian Birds," Vol. 4, Edgeworth's " Cranial Muscles of Vertebrates," and Pearse's " Migration of Animals from Sea to Land."

Animal ecology made progress, and there was general recognition that a splitting into plant and animal geology is entirely artificial, the real unit

being the total biotic community. Much attention was given to animal migration, which is a common and very complex phenomenon occurring from insects to mammals. The preservation of wild life was a primary interest, and there were published Pitman's "Paunal Survey of N. Rhodesia," Bodenheimer's "Animal Life in Palestine," and Connery's "Governmental Problems in Wild Life Conservation."

Study of mammalian distribution showed Wallace's line to be well established, but there was increased recognition of the difficulty of using fossils as indicators of continental drift in considering Wegener's theory. There was a notable find of remains of the extinct Columbian elephant in Oklahoma, and the everyday life of extinct animals was described in Abel's "Vorzeitliche Lebensspuren." Daque published "Organische Morphologie und Palaontologie."

Great activity was shown in marine biology and fishery investigation. The seasonal cycle of marine plankton in Australian and in northern waters is similar, and there is a striking agreement of the Ceratium population in the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. Herring shoal movements seem to be largely determined by phytoplankton patches. Note may be made of Savage and Hardy's "Phytoplankton and the Herring," Hickling's "Hake and the Hake Fishery," Hornell's "Fisheries of Palestine," Hansen's "Cod Marking Experiments in Greenland Waters," and Jespersen's "Copepods from W. Greenland Waters." Related works were Rylov's "Zooplankton der Binnenwasser," Welch's "Limnology," and Alexander's "Tees Estuary."

In entomology publications were issued of the Kalahari expedition and the Pacific survey, numerous systematic and morphological researches were published, and there was a tendency towards more physiological studies such as the hormone initiation of developmental change, the serological specificity of proteins in phylogenetic problems, the sense organs of insects, and the criteria used by parasites in host selection. Applied work was largely concerned with the standardisation and specification of insecticides, and the biological control of weeds such as Ragwort and insects such as *Aspidiotus* scale in Fiji. Important books were Snodgrass's "Principles of Insect Morphology," Needham *et al.*'s "Biology of Mayflies," Ouchi's "Bibliographical Introduction to the Study of Chinese Insects," Janse's "Moths of S. Africa," Seguy's "Acalypterse," Brolemann's "Chilognathes," Savory's "Arachnida," and Bohner's "Geschichte der Cecidologie." Of numerous studies of lower invertebrates note can only be made of Twenhofel and Schrock's "Invertebrate Palaeontology," Grabau's "Gastropoda," Mortensen's "Echinoidea," Stephenson's "British Sea Anemones," Weill's "Cnidaria," Filipiev's "Nematodes Injurious and Beneficial in Agriculture," and Yamaguti's "Helminth Fauna of Japan."

The 12th International Congress of Zoology was held in Lisbon and the 6th International Congress of Entomology in Madrid.

General Physiology.—A few years ago general physiology seemed an inchoate accumulation of data and theories, but a marked feature of recent developments is their integration as different aspects of common

fundamental problems centring in electrical discharge and chemical mediation. The central nervous system, as the representative of the nervous functions, is the regulating centre of actions ; and the anterior pituitary lobe, as the representative of the hormonal functions, is the regulatory centre of states. The autonomic system is primarily cholinergic and the sympathetic system primarily adrenergic, and evidence supports the view of the quantal production of chemical mediator by each nerve impulse, the nerve impulses in a fibre varying only in frequency. An interesting discovery was that of cell groups in the brain in which spontaneous electrical discharges occur. Note may be made of Rademaker's " Enactions Labyrinthiques et fiquilibre," and Wertham's " The Brain as an Organ."

Recently a series of hormones from the gonads have been isolated, identified, and in some cases synthesised, and we are now in clear sight of the ascription of each phase of the female sexual cycle to the action of a separate chemically identified ovarian hormone. Progesterin was isolated and crystallised and found to be a diketone ; thyroxine, pituitrin, and adrenaline contain fairly simple benzene rings; but the sex hormones, vitamin D, the evocators in amphibian development, carcinogenic substances, and the heart stimulating glucosides of the digitalis group all seem to be related to sterols, indicating the basic importance in life of the sterol molecular pattern. Much progress was made in the serological standardisation of hormones, vitamins, and other biological substances. Books included Shelling's " Parathyroids," Pittard's " Castration chez L'homme," Zondek's " Hormone des Ovariums und des Hypophysenvorderlappens " and " Diseases of the Endocrine Glands," and Cameron's " Recent Advances in Endocrinology "—2nd edit.

Vitamins seem to be exogenous hormones. Vitamin deficiencies lead to specific diseases, but a relative deficiency in any one may lead to sub-normal health, especially in infancy and youth. Vitamin A was isolated as a yellow oil related to the carotenes ; B_x contains sulphur, but only its empirical chemical formula is known; B_2 seems to consist of a lyochrome pigment and a supplementary substance; C, or ascorbic acid, appears to be essential for the existence of living protoplasm, probably as an integral part of the oxidation-reduction system ; D has the essential molecular structure of a sterol, and E is an unsaturated alcohol which has not yet been prepared in pure form. International standards for A, B, C, and D are now available. Bomskov published "Methodik der Vitaminforschung."

In some way comparable with vitamin action is that of choline and betaine in fat deposition and metabolism in the liver, and there was found in this organ a fundamental diurnal rhythm upon which the food secreting rhythm is imposed. Molybdenum is widespread in both animals and plants and apparently functions as a catalyst. Muscle study showed that the chemical changes accompanying contraction are a complicated chain of linked reactions involving creatine, adenylic, and phosphoric acid, and carbohydrates and the complexity grows. The relations between aspects of the behaviour of organisms and their underlying physico-chemical

determinants were treated in Hoagland's "Pacemakers in Relation to Aspects of Behaviour," and Belehrddck's "Temperature and Living Matter." Other important books were Haldane and Priestley's "Respiration," Hesse and Doflein's "Der Tierkorper als selbstandiger organismus," Marx's "Der Wasserhaushalt des Gesunden und Kranken Menschen," and Du Bois' "Physiologie et Physiopathologie du Systeme Reticulo-Endothelial."

In tissue-culture, entire organs such as thyroid glands and ovaries, were kept alive *in vitro* increasing in size and weight due to the appearance of new cells and tissues; tooth development *in vitro* was secured for the first time; and tissue cultures of neoplastic cells were carried as far as demonstrating the presence in the blood of antibodies against specific tumours. Willmer published "Tissue Culture."

Mitogenetic radiation remained neither finally proved nor finally disproved but, if it does occur, it seems very improbable that it has anything to do with ultra-violet radiation. Pharmacological research showed the infertility of the hypothesis of "fit" between drugs and tissues; and ergometrine, a new active principle, was discovered in ergot. Work on the physiology of vision supported the view that the cones are the sole percipient elements. Among important books were Boyd's "Growth of the Surface Area of the Human Body," Wiener's "Blood Groups and Blood Transfusion," Meaker's "Human Sterility," Baker's "Chemical Control of Conception," and volume 2 of the "Cold Spring Harbour Symposia on Quantitative Biology."

International Congresses included the 15th Physiological Congress in Russia, the Congress of Medical History in Spain, and the Neurological Congress in London.

Botany.—There appeared the new "International Rules of Botanical Nomenclature," Bd. 2 of Wettstein's "Handbuch der systematischen Botanik," Marie-Victorin's "Flore Laurentienne," Komarov's "Flora U.R.S.S.," Vol. III, Hitchcock's "Manual of the Grasses of the U.S.A.," Blatter and McCann's "Bombay Grasses," Munz' "S. Californian Botany," Christophersen's "Flowering Plants of Samoa," Anderson and Woodson's "Species of Tradescantia indigenous to the U.S.A.," Camus' "Les chenes," Freise's "Plantas medicinsas Brasileiras," Bonfiglioli's "Piante industriali," Bois' "Plantes k epices, k aromates, k condiments," Johnson's "Pineapple," Bunting *et al.*'s "Oil Palm in Malaya," Burkhill's "Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula," Kudriani's "Dendrology," Henkel's "Woody Plants of Natal and Zululand," Chalk *et al.*'s "Fifteen S. African High Forest Timber Trees," and the botanical results of the Templeton Crocker expedition to the Galapagos Islands.

Noteworthy morphological books were Bower's "Primitive Land Plants" and Chamberlain's "Gymnosperms." Important anatomical works were Kuster's "Die Pflanzenzelle," Netolitzky's "Das tropische Parenchyma," and Winton's "Structure and Composition of Foods," Vol. II. Sewaxd concluded that the present distribution of plants bears little relation to their fossil distribution; vascular plants were found associated with graptolites in Silurian rocks in Australia, Harris described

the " Fossil Ginkgoales and Coniferales of E. Greenland," and Hofmann published " Paläohistologie der Pflanze."

In ecology a noteworthy event was Faber's new edition of Schimper's " Pflanzengeographie auf physiologischen Grundlage." Important monographs were published on plant distribution in Scandinavia and on African ecology, and grasslands within the British Empire and the problems of soil erosion received much attention. Ecologists were much occupied in analysing their concepts.

Books included Wodehouse's " Pollen Grains," Muenscher's " Weeds," Korsmo's " Weed Seeds," Wehsarg's " Wiesenunkrauter," Rammner's " Die Pflanzenwelt der deutschen Landschaft," Stapledon's " The Land," the Imperial Bureau's " Bibliography of Soil Science," and Salisbury's " The Living Garden."

In physiology, hormone research was of primary importance, and it seems as if both normal and traumatic tropisms and many phenomena of plant growth, both in length and thickness, are to be explained in terms of hormone distribution. Auxin and Rhizocaline are closely similar but not identical, Auxin a is an organic hydroxy-acid, Auxin /J is a keto-acid, and Kogl's third growth substance is jS-indolyl-acetic acid. Boysen Jensen published " Die Wuchsstofftheorie."

The importance of boron for healthy plant growth, of zinc in controlling oxidation-reduction equilibria in plants, and of absorption of solutes by the leaves was increasingly recognised. On the basis of the Blackman and light reactions Baly formulated the kinetics of photosynthesis, and Priestley, studying sap ascent problems, concluded that the cohesion theory is without satisfactory experimental basis, and that the movement of water into leaves in spring is associated with growth and differentiation processes. The roots of plants and excretory and secretory processes received attention, and it was found that leguminous nodules excrete aspartic acid and lysine into the soil. An important study was that by Gaumann on the changing metabolism of the beech during the year.

The cotton plant and the apple continued to be foci of study. It seems doubtful whether pruning of fruit trees has any significant effect on yield or the size, colour, and freedom from blemish of the fruit. In controlling the span and speed of life in fruits in store, ethylene is now used as an accelerator of ripening, carbon dioxide as a depressor of respiratory activity, and atmospheres poor in oxygen for delaying the climacteric and retarding ripening.

Much attention was paid to vernalisation but, with many plants, negative results were obtained. Work was done on mycorrhiza, and the widespread existence and great practical importance of mycorrhizal associations in plants were recognised.

Important volumes included Wattiez and Sternon's " Chimie Vegetale," Tottingham's " Plant Biochemistry," Ivanov's " Biochemical Characteristics of the Barleys of the Soviet Union," Becker-Dillingen's " Handbuch der Ernährung der landwirtschaftlichen Nutzpflanzen," Thomas' " Plant Physiology," Harvey's " Annotated Bibliography of the Low Temperature Relations of Plants," Curtis' " Translocation of Solutes in Plants," Frey-

Wyssling's "Die Stoffausscheidung der Hoheren Pflanzen," Tschirch's "Die Harz," Bd. 2, and "Vernalization and Phasic Development of Plants," issued by the Imperial Bureau of Plant Genetics.

Books on the cryptogams included Blomquist's "Perns of N. Carolina" and Horikawa's "Monographia Hepaticarum Australi- Japonicarum." Two outstanding works on the algae were Fritsch's "Structure and Reproduction of the Algae," Vol. I., and Tilden's "Algae and their Life Relations," and there also appeared Nayal's "Egyptian Freshwater Algae," Krieger's "Desmidiaceen," and Schiller's "Dinoflagellatae."

Mycological works included Bessey's "Text Book of Mycology," Cleland's "Larger Fungi of S. Australia," Uppal's "Fungi of Bombay," Hotson's "Rusts of the Pacific North-West," Tehon's "Lophodermium," Grove's "Sphaeropsidales," Zycha's "Mucorineae," Naumov's "Mucorales," and Wollenweber and Reinking's "Fusarien." Many chemical studies of fungi were published, including Melin and Nannfeldt's "The Blueing of Wood Pulp." Much work was done on fungal genetics, inter-specific and intergeneric crosses were made especially with rusts and smuts, and attention may be drawn to Henrard's study of *Aspergillus* and Vandendries' analyses of the sexual barriers in basidiomycetes. There was an increased tendency to interpret heterothallism in terms of self-sterility rather than sex.

Volume I. of "Chronica Botanica" appeared and Congresses included the 6th International Botanical Congress in Holland and, in this country, the Imperial Botanical Conference, and the 3rd International Congress of Soil Science.

Microbiology and Disease.—Viruses seem to show a continuous series from definite though minute organisms to a borderland between organisation and colloidal dispersion, where biology and physical chemistry combine in the interpretation of a new order of vital phenomena. Hitherto no saprophytic viruses have been known, but Barnard's work strongly suggested their existence. Typhus rickettsia and psittacosis virus were cultivated in the chorio-allantoic membrane of the fowl's egg, and human influenza virus and vaccinia virus in cell-free media. Filter-passing stages occur in the complicated life-cycles of the pleuropneumonia organism and the tubercle bacillus. Greatly improved titration techniques foreshadow new conceptions of the modes of infection and survival of viruses. Both in animal and plant viruses the occurrence of numerous strains is now recognised. Baló published "Die Unsichtbaren Krankheitserreger: Filtrierbare Vira."

The biochemical attack on cancer was advanced, and the conversion of cholic and deoxycholic acids into the powerfully carcinogenic methylcholanthrene suggests that some such substance as an abnormally decomposing bile acid may initiate malignant growth. A new point of attack on the cancer problem was found in the recognition of the relation of malignant growth to the individuation fields. There is now recognised a well-defined group of avian tumours which can be propagated by cell-free filtrates, and Shope discovered the first filtrable mammalian tumour in a rabbit papilloma. Important cancer volumes were Schinz and Buschke's

" Krebs und Vererbung," Colwell's " Method of Action of Radium and X-Rays on Living Tissues," and Fraser *et al.*'s " Cancer, Edinburgh, 1935."

In plant virology many new diseases were described, and further confirmation was obtained of induced immunity to virus diseases. Attempts made to isolate viruses were mostly negative, although Stanley claimed to have isolated a crystalline protein with the properties of tobacco-mosaic virus. K. M. Smith published " Plant Viruses."

Attention was given to the microbiology of the upper and lower air. The pathogenic actinomycetes were much studied, and an *Actinomyces* was claimed in the etiology of tuberculosis. Suggestive experiments were carried out in N. Ireland on the preventive inoculation of cattle against tubercle with the Spahlinger vaccine. Large numbers of chitinivorous bacteria were discovered ; it was found that all lactic acid bacteria demand a substance related to bios for their growth, and interesting work was done on photosynthesis of the Thiorhodaceae. Numerous bacteria were found to show dissociation into R and S forms. Work on the action of X-Rays on bacteria supported the " one-quantum-hit-to-kill " theory. Books included Cutler and Crump's " Problems in Soil Microbiology," Corbet's " Biological Processes in Tropical Soils," Rettger *et al.*'s " *Lactobacillus acidophilus*,"⁹ and Waaler's " Dissociation of the Dysentery Bacilli."

In plant pathology progress was made in surveying the diseases of particular countries or regions, Egypt, New South Wales, etc. Much research appeared on particular diseases or parasites, *e.g.*, Hiura's " Mycology and Pathology of *Sclerospora graminicola*" and increased attention was given to deficiency diseases. The occurrence of acquired immunity in plants to fungal and bacterial diseases remained unconvincing. Much progress was made in the laboratory testing and standardisation of fungicides. Books included Jaczewski and Naumov's " Bacterial Plant Diseases," Wardlaw's " Diseases of the Banana and Manila Hemp," Briton Jones' " Diseases and Curing of Cacao," and the 4th edition of Faes *et al.*'s " Les ennemis des plantes cultivees."

Of general disease problems a safe and effective method of immunisation against yellow fever was discovered; there was increased promise of infant and child immunisation against diphtheria, and of the control of G.P.I. by injection of monkey malaria. Great progress was made in the chemotherapy of protozoal diseases and a promising beginning in bacterial diseases. Books included Sherwood's " Immunology," Bhaleras' " Helminth Parasites of Domesticated Animals in India," Craig's " Amebiasis and Amebic Dysentery," and a notable volume by Greenwood, " Epidemics and Crowd-Diseases."

Conclusion.—During recent years remarkable advances were made in the science of nutrition, partly in the recognition of the complexity of nutritional needs and the conditioning of any one element in nutrition by other elements and, partly and more immediately, in the recognition of the widespread occurrence of malnutrition diseases of body and mind due to inadequate nourishment. It is clear that our knowledge of these problems now demands not only a new orientation of public health activity,

but a new outlook on social structure, and a new evaluation of social and individual criteria.

The orientation of science itself changed, since it was increasingly recognised that science is an integral part of the social organisation of the state, and that there is no immunity of science from the social and economic and even the political environment. Further, it was seen that discoveries of first-class scientific interest are just as likely to result from work devoted to practical ends as from work inspired by no utilitarian motives.

Increasingly disturbing to the minds of many scientists was the dangerous unbalance between our control of natural forces and products and our knowledge and control of human nature, and this led to the giving of increased but entirely insufficient attention to human biology.

Attention may be drawn to Haldane's "Philosophy of a Biologist," Bertalanffy's "Theoretische Biologie," Meyer's "Ideen und Ideale der biologischen Erkenntnis," Carrel's "Man: the Unknown," Bews' "Human Ecology," Kuczynski's "Measurement of Population Growth," and Roberts' "Everyman in Health and Sickness."

THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES.

The year passed without any outstanding discoveries in physics; in particular the position in nuclear physics continued very much as described in these pages in 1934. Protons and neutrons were generally regarded as the units of which atomic nuclei are built, the relation between the two units remained uncertain and the negative proton was as hypothetical at the end of the year as at the beginning. Not the least interesting event was the redetermination by Aston (*Nature*, April 6) of the masses of the hydrogen and helium atoms by an improved method with a new mass spectrograph. His new values were appreciably higher than those obtained nine years before *e.g.*, $H^1 = 1.0081$ instead of 1.0078 ($0^{16} = 16$), and were in good agreement with values which Oliphant, Kempton, and Rutherford (*Roy. Soc. Proc.*) found necessary to reconcile certain quantitative results obtained by bombarding beryllium and boron with protons. Thus the value for the mass of the hydrogen atom directly responsible for the search for, and discovery of, the heavy hydrogen isotope was shown to be erroneous! (ANNUAL REGISTER, Pt. II, p. 68, 1933).

The mass of the neutron was determined by several workers. Dee and Gilbert (*Nature*, March 16) found it to be 1.008 ± 0.004 and Chadwick and Goldhaber (*Roy. Soc. Proc.*) by a different method 1.0090 and definitely greater than that of the hydrogen atom. Attempts to obtain direct evidence for the existence of the neutrino failed. Nahmias (*Camb. Phil. Soc.*, January) showed that it does not produce as much as one primary ionisation in passing through 33,000 km. of air at S.T.P. and cannot have a magnetic moment greater than 2.5×10^{-4} Bohr magneton, while Henderson (*Camb. Phil. Soc.*, April) from investigation of the

distribution of energy in the continuous beta ray spectrum of thorium C and C' confirmed Fermi's conclusion that the mass, if not zero, is certainly only a very small fraction of that of an electron.

Much work was done on the transmutations produced by neutron bombardment and on the radioactivity of unstable isotopes produced in this way and by bombardment with alpha particles, protons, deuterons, and gamma rays. Late in 1934 Fermi and his collaborators showed that the disintegration produced by neutrons, generated, *e.g.*, in a mixture of radon and beryllium, was greatly increased by passing them through a substance rich in hydrogen such as water or paraffin wax : a result attributed to the diminution of their velocity by impacts with the protons. This method of increasing the efficiency of neutron disintegration was widely used, and it was shown that the increase of efficiency continues till the velocities of the neutrons are reduced to those characteristic of their temperature. Indeed increased efficiency was obtained by using wax cooled by liquid air, although at such low temperatures the increased absorption of the neutrons by the wax may mask the effect (Westcott and Niewodniczanski, *Camb. Phil. Soc.* and others). Paneth and Loleit (*Nature*, December 14) prepared sufficient helium by bombarding boron (B^{10}) with neutrons to permit spectroscopic detection and measurement.

They allowed the neutrons from 2.2 curies of radon mixed with beryllium to bombard the methyl ester of boron for 7 weeks and obtained about a ten-millionth of a c.e. of helium and thus, for the first time, obtained, by transmutation, sufficient material for measurement. The work showed also that 1 millicurie of radon mixed with beryllium produces at least 3,000 neutrons per sec. Szilard (*Nature*, December 14) showed that neutrons may be absorbed selectively. Slow neutrons filtered by passage through 1.6 mm. of cadmium were strongly absorbed by thin (0.4 mm.) sheets of indium though passing with relatively little absorption through additional thicknesses of cadmium.

The efficiency of the neutron for producing atomic changes arises from the fact that it does not carry a charge and so can penetrate the nucleus when a positively charged particle would be unable to pass the Coulomb barrier. Results obtained by Lawrence, McMillan, and Thornton (*Phys. Rev.*) indicated that when nuclei are bombarded by deuterons the nucleus may capture the neutron from the deuteron without the latter passing the Coulomb barrier, the proton being released—as suggested on theoretical grounds by Oppenheimer and Phillips.

Experiments by Chadwick and Goldhaber (*Roy. Soc. Proc.*) showed that neutrons are released when gamma rays bombard deuterium (H^2) and beryllium and in no other cases. Positively charged particles have been shown to produce changes in the nuclei of elements with atomic numbers of 19 or less, and in these cases when unstable isotopes are formed positrons are usually emitted. Lawrence bombarded sodium (Na^{23}) with 1.7 kv. deuterons forming radio sodium (Na^{24}) which emits beta rays as it decays forming Mg^{24} , has a half life of 15.5 hours and an activity approaching that of radium, so that it may possibly serve as a substitute for that element in biological experiments.

An excellent summary of the work on induced radioactivity was given by Sugden (*Science Progress*, July), and Fleischmann and Bothe summarised the whole of the work on artificial nuclear transformations (*Naturwiss*, 14).

The source of the natural radioactivity of potassium remained uncertain. Hevesy (*Nature*, January 19) described experiments which led him to conclude that it is due to the isotope of mass 41 or the hypothetical isotope 40. Newman and Walke and also Klemperer suggested that it is due to very small amounts of 40 while Sitte (*Nature*, August 31) considered that the only hypothesis in accord with all the experimental evidence is that which supposes it to be due to an unknown isotope of mass 43.

The four elements which had defied isotopic analysis up to the end of 1934 were investigated by Dempster who used ions from a high frequency spark *in vacuo* and a new mass spectrograph. He found that platinum consists of five isotopes (192, 194, 195, 196, 198) and palladium of six (102, 104, 105, 106, 108, 110), while gold showed only one (197) when two (197, 199) would be expected both from its chemical atomic weight and by analogy from the behaviour of other elements of odd atomic weight (*Nature*, April 6, June 15, July 13). A second isotope (235) of uranium was discovered also—an addition to the main component (238) reported by Aston (*Nature*, August 3). Venkatesachar and Sibaiya (*Nature*, September 14) announced that they had found two isotopes (191, 193) of iridium from an examination of the hyperfine structure of certain arc-lines in the ultra-violet spectrum obtained with a hollow cathode, and later Dempster (*Nature*, December 7) stated that he had verified their result with the mass spectrograph. With this work the isotopic constitution of all the elements has been found. There appear to be 261 isotopes in all, the element tin with 11 having most.

Backlin (*Zeit. fur Phys.*) made an accurate determination of the wavelength of the $K_{\alpha 2}$ line of aluminium with a plane diffraction grating and obtained a value which gives 6.02×10^{23} for Avogadro's constant, and 4.805×10^{-10} e.s.u. for the electronic charge e . Sodermann (*Nature*, January 12) using a concave glass grating found e to be 4.806×10^{-10} e.s.u., and Schopper (*Zeit. fur Physik*) by measuring the charge on a known number of alpha particles obtained the result $e = 4.768 \times 10^{-10}$ e.s.u. The "oil-drop" value is 4.774×10^{-10} e.s.u. Bond (*Nature*, May 18) suggested that X-ray wave-length measurements really give a measure of $137/136 e$ which would bring them into reasonable agreement with Millikan's "oil-drop" value, but Kellstrom (*Nature*, October 26) reported a redetermination of the viscosity of air which brings Millikan's result up to 4.818×10^{-10} and so into closer agreement with the X-ray value.

Little change occurred in our knowledge of cosmic rays. Milne (*Nature*, February 2) suggested that they are particles accelerated to velocities approaching that of light by the gravitational pull of the rest of the universe. A. H. Compton gave an admirable survey of the whole position in the Jubilee number of *Nature* (May 4).

Appleton (*Nature*, July 13) pointed out that seasonal variations of the ionisation in the P-layer of the atmosphere indicate that the temperature

of the air at a height of 300 km. on a summer day must be about 1000° C. Paneth and Gliickauf (*Nature*, November 2) found that the proportion of helium in the atmosphere at a height of 18 km. is the same as at ground level, but that at 21 km. (over England) it is 8 per cent, greater so that, at this level, the mixing which takes place in the troposphere has become negligible and the composition of the air is determined by height. Kaplan found that the auroral spectrum contains nitrogen lines inhibited by hydrogen, and so concluded that there is no hydrogen at all in the upper atmosphere. Cabannes and Dufay (*CM.*) showed that the zodiacal light gives only a continuous spectrum with Fraunhofer lines and the former (*Helv. Phys. Acta*) identified bands due to nitrogen, oxygen, and water vapour molecules in the spectrum of the light of the night sky. This light he attributed to diffused solar radiation (45 per cent.), to starlight (35 per cent.) and to luminosity of the upper atmosphere produced by secondary electrons formed by ionisation of the highest layers by electrons from the sun.

Lindblad (Stockholm *Meddelande*, *Science Progress*, July) put forward a condensation theory of the formation of the solar system based on Eddington's supposition that the temperature of interstellar gas is of the order of $10,000^{\circ}$ C, while that of the solid particles approaches the absolute zero. If this is correct the solid particles would grow by condensation and, assuming 10^{-26} gm. per c.e. as the density of interstellar gas, Lindblad calculated that particles of mass 10^{-15} gm. would form in 10^9 years—being respectively the estimated size of the particles of obscuring matter in the Milky Way and the average age of the meteorites. Again assuming the density of the gas in the outer region of the original solar nebula to have been 10^{-15} gm. per c.e, he showed that in 10^9 years bodies of mass 10^{18} gm. would be formed and this is the mass of the smaller asteroids. The planets and their satellites would be formed by combinations of this smaller bodies, and the zodiacal light would represent the last traces of the nebula. Eeviewing Eussell's "Solar System and its Origin" (*Nature*, December 14), H. Jeffreys pointed out the several difficulties which confront the various theories of the origin of the system and concluded that the problem is still unsolved.

Lecturing at the Eoyal Institution in November, Sir James Jeans (who was appointed first professor of astronomy in the Institution earlier in the year) discussed the size and age of the universe. By arguments based on the extent to which stars of various types have shared their energies he estimated that the age must be of the order of five million million years.

Measurements of photographs of certain spiral nebulae, taken at times separated by several years, by Hubble and van Maanen (*Contributions from Mount Wilson Observatory*) showed that the large internal motions which the latter discovered some twelve years ago are probably spurious and that further observations are required before any definite conclusions can be drawn.

The pyrex glass disc for the 200-inch telescope to be constructed for the California Institute of Technology passed safely through the annealing

process at the Corning Glass works. The 74-inch erected at Toronto by Messrs. Sir Howard Grubb, Parsons & Co., was formally presented by the donor, Mrs. D. A. Dunlop, on May 31, and the 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch reflector erected at Oxford by the same firm was "opened" on June 11.

At a General Assembly of the International Astronomical Union held in Paris during July, it was resolved to replace the term Greenwich Mean Time (reckoned from midnight) by Universal Time.

W. J. de Haas attained a temperature of 0.0044° K. at Leiden by the magnetic method using potassium chrome alum. Simon and Kiirti reached 0.04° K. at Oxford using iron alum, and found that zirconium and hafnium become super-conductors at 0.70° K. and about 0.35° K. respectively. In the course of a discussion on super-conductivity held by the Royal Society on May 30, Simon reported that at the lowest temperatures the thermal resistivity of copper increases and becomes equal to that of glass at room temperature. He also pointed out (*Nature*, May 4) the very great sensitivity of calorimetric measurements at low temperatures at which specific heats are small. Measurements of the energy changes in radioactive transformations can be made with great advantage at such temperatures and an evolution of heat as small as 10⁻¹¹ cal. per sec. should be measurable.

Burton and his colleagues at Toronto showed that the viscosity of liquid helium diminishes sharply from 0.00027 gm./cm. sec. at 2.3° K. to 0.000033 at 2.2° K. when the helium passes from state I. to state II. They designed a super-conducting galvanometer with a lead coil suspended in liquid helium (*Nature*, June 1), and used it to investigate the thermoelectric electromotive forces of metals in the super-conducting state. They found that for a lead tin junction there is no electromotive force when both junctions are below the super-conducting point of both metals, but that there is one when either junction is above that temperature for either metal (*Nature*, June 27).

The British Admiralty decided to construct a magnetic survey ship to carry on the work performed by the U.S. Ship *Carnegie* until its destruction by fire in 1929, and 10,000/. was set aside in the estimates towards the cost of construction.

The chemistry of the ordinary lead accumulator was investigated by Harned and Hamer (*Amer. Chem. Soc.*) and by Vinal and Craig (*J. of Research*), and in both cases the results confirmed the simple double sulphate theory propounded by Gladstone and Tribe in 1882. A new blue pigment of great stability insoluble in water and other common solvents was introduced by Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd. Known as Monastral Past Blue B.S. it consists of four isoindole units surrounding a central copper atom. It is a "phthalocyanine"—a class of coloured substances discovered accidentally in 1928.

The Fifth Report of the Committee on Atomic Weights of the International Union of Chemistry suggested only one change in the list of atomic weights, namely, that for niobium the value 92.91 should be substituted for 93.3. The value accepted last year for erbium (165.20) was withdrawn. Grosse (*Roy. Soc. Proc.*) determined the atomic weight of

protactinium by chemical methods, his results being in agreement with the whole number value, 231.

The first coal unit of the Billingham hydrogenation plant was started up in June, and was formally opened by Mr. Bamsay MacDonald on October 15. The plant was designed to give 123,000 gallons of petrol per day from 410 tons of coal.

The apparatus in the Royal Society Mond Laboratory at Cambridge, erected for Dr. P. Kapitza's work on strong magnetic fields, was sold to the U.S.S.R. together with duplicates of his plant for the production of liquid hydrogen and helium. Dr. P. Kapitza returned to Russia in September, 1934, and was not allowed back again to continue his work at Cambridge.

The Report of the Commission of Symbols, Units, and Nomenclature of the International Union of Pure and Applied Physics approved by the General Assembly of the Union in October, 1934, was published. The chief point of interest was the recommendation that intensity of magnetising field H should be defined by the equation $JH \cos \epsilon dl = \text{magneto-motive force} = 4\pi rNI$ and be measured in *oersteds*, the familiar *gauss* being reserved for the unit of induction B .

The International Committee of Weights and Measures meeting in Paris resolved that after January 1, 1940, the arbitrary standards which constitute the International electrical units of current, resistance, etc., shall be replaced by units based on the absolute system. The change will not effect any of the units by more than 1 part in 2,000.

The Report of the Committee on Television published in January anticipated that vision would, in due course, be regarded as the normal accompaniment of a sound service, and stated that even now suitable outdoor scenes could be televised satisfactorily. It was recommended that an extended trial of both the Baird and the Marconi—E.M.I. systems should be given under the control of the B.B.C. The Alexandra Palace was chosen to be the site of the transmitting station, and, using two wavelengths in the neighbourhood of 7 m. for vision and sound, it was anticipated that an area of about 30 miles radius would be covered.

The British Association met at Norwich during the period September 4-11, Professor W. W. Watts being president. Among other important meetings and conferences held during the year were the International Meteorological Conference at Warsaw (September 6-13), and the Third International Conference of Soil Science at Oxford (July 30 to August 7). At this meeting R. K. Schofield introduced a new means of indicating the wetness of soil (the pF scale).

Sir William H. Bragg was elected to be president of the Royal Society in succession to Sir Frederick Gowland Hopkins.

FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN 1935.

THE year 1935 witnessed a further improvement in the economic position in most countries and more particularly in the British Empire and the South American countries. In Great Britain employment among insured persons increased by 340,000 during the year to a total of 10,599,000, while the number of unemployed was reduced by 217,250 to 1,868,565. This figure compared with the peak figure of 2,955,000 touched in January 1933. Notable recovery took place in the iron and steel industry. Marked expansion occurred in the aircraft industry, and also in the electrical and rayon industries. Building activity was again on a high level. The activity in housing was to be accounted for largely by the fact that since 1921 the cost of construction had been reduced by about two-thirds, which had enabled prices to be reduced. The fall in money rates had enabled rents also to be reduced. The decline in the costs of building and therefore in the prices of houses has meant that those who bought houses in the earlier period through building societies found themselves owning little more than the knocker, since what they have been buying most of the time had been depreciation. Prices could not, however, go on declining much further, and housing investments would therefore not show the losses in future that it had shown since the days of the post-war scarcity. It is significant that the industries which made the greatest strides after the war were those in which prices had been reduced by higher efficiency, such as the motor-car, rayon, electrical housing, and cheap store industries. There was a further improvement in overseas trade, British exports being 425,921,000l., an increase of 29,936,000l. in 1934; re-exports 55,265,000l., an increase of 4,022,000l.; and imports 756,936,000l., an increase of 25,522,000l. The apparent adverse balance of trade was 275,749,000l. compared with 284,185,000l. in 1934. The total turnover of trade was 1,238,123,000l., an increase of 59,480,000l. While the total was the best since 1931, the figures showed an enormous drop on the 1930 total, when imports were 287,039,000l. larger than in 1935, and exports 231,670,000l. more. Imports of gold and silver exceeded exports of these metals by 55,586,000l. compared with 143,409,000l. in 1934.

The United States again made history. On December 4 its gold stock exceeded 10,000,000,000 dollars, a record for all time. Over 3,000,000,000 dollars was imported after the devaluation of the dollar to 59.06 per cent, of its former value, which took place in January, 1934. Half of this amount was acquired in 1935. This was due partly to the return of American capital which had fled the country in 1933 when the dollar broke loose from its gold anchorage, and partly to the flight of Continental capital which had been rendered uneasy by the possibility of devaluation in Europe. Thus America by a gratuitous and unnecessary depreciation of

the dollar—how unnecessary is shown by the fact that when she left gold her stock was enormously high and that it is now equal to the total world stock in 1929 and equal to 45 per cent, of the present world stock—forced a deflationary movement upon France and other members of the gold bloc and thus prevented that progress which might otherwise have been made. The United States made no more use of the new gold she acquired than of the old; it remained completely sterilised.

The outstanding event in the United States was the collapse of the New Deal, a phrase which enriched the vocabulary of the emotional politician, such as President Koosvelt and Mr. Lloyd George, but created many grave problems for trade, industry, and finance both in the United States and outside it. The attempt of the Roosevelt administration in 1933 to impose a planned economy on the country failed because it was uneconomic. It led to an enormous burden of debt, which rose from 22,000,000,000 dollars to 31,000,000,000 dollars without any compensating economic return. For instance, large sums were paid out to farmers not to produce commodities; that is to say, money was created and issued with no value behind it. That was sheer inflation, and the Budget was hopelessly unbalanced. But that was not the worst effect of it. Production of essential commodities fell off to such an extent that America found that she had to buy from other countries such things as maize and oils and fats which she had run short of. Thus a country suffering from unemployment and depression sought to remedy this position by refraining from producing things she could have produced and paid other people to produce them for her. By so doing she compelled other countries to pay more for the things they needed. The first part of the New Deal to collapse was N.I.R.A. which set up codes for industry. In the late spring of 1935 the Supreme Court declared the act unconstitutional. That marked the beginning of the return of confidence in business circles. Trade recovery began from that moment, though it was obvious that there could be no full return of confidence until the Budget was balanced, experiments ceased, and trade allowed to solve its own problems in its own way. A good start was made in 1935. Shortly after the close of the year the Agricultural Adjustment Act was declared unconstitutional and that virtually put an end to the New Deal. It served a purpose, namely, to stop the panicky conditions which prevailed in 1933 which might have led to a revolution. In other words, the New Deal was successful politically but as an economic programme it was a failure. At the close of 1935 the balancing of America's Budget appeared to be as far off as ever.

Money Market and Banking.—Monetary abundance and cheapness was more marked in 1935 than in the three preceding years of cheap money. On an average loan and discount rates were the lowest on record for all time. In January the tender rate for the sale of three months Treasury bills worked out at only 3s. 10.91d. per cent, per annum, while the market rate of discount for bank bills was only •& per cent. These rates were so unremunerative that the banks decided not to tender for Treasury bills or to buy bills from the market below \ per cent. This arrangement proved effective and the rate afterwards went above that

level, though not very much. Owing to the recovery in trade, more employment, and the larger sums distributed in wages, the Bank of England's note circulation increased substantially. In the last week of the year—Christmas usually marks the period when the note circulation touches its highest point—the total reached the record figure of 424,506,785Z. Deposits of the banks also reached a new high record, the figures of the ten London Clearing banks rising to 2,091,313,000Z. The British Government in December issued 100,000,000Z. of 1 per cent. Treasury bonds, repayable 1939 to 1941, at 98, and 200,000,000Z. of 2½ per cent. Funding Loan, repayable 1956-61 was issued at 96½. Never before had a British Government been able to borrow at such low rates for securities of this maturity. The Bank of England added to its gold stock in the last part of the year, the total rising to the record figure of 200,662,220Z. At the then current price of gold, 1405. an ounce, this gold stock was equal to about 80 per cent, of the note issue. Although the earning powers of the banks remained at a low level owing to the cheapness of money they were able to pay dividends at the lower levels established in more recent years. They were able to lend more money to their loan customers, but the increase was small. But they had practically no bad debts to provide for ; on the contrary they were able to obtain recoveries of debts previously treated as bad. Two of the banks, the Midland and the Westminster, celebrated their centenary by paying a bonus of 5 per cent, on salaries to their staffs and a bonus of 2 per cent, to their shareholders. The District Bank of Manchester absorbed the Manchester County Bank and was later admitted to the London Clearing House.

The turnover of the London Bankers' Clearing House and also of the Provincial Clearing Houses showed a further improvement, thanks to the recovery in trade and enterprise. The turnover of the London banks was 37,559,751,000Z., an increase of 2,075,594,000Z. or 5·8 per cent. Financial activity was chiefly responsible for the increase. The return of the New York Clearing House for the 12 months ended November 30 showed a turnover of 36,487,672,000Z., an increase of 4,936,823,000Z., equal to 15·6 per cent.

BANK OF ENGLAND RETURNS.

	End Dec, 1935.	End Dec, 1934.	End Dec., 1933.
Coin and bullion -	200,609,014	192,788,779	191,686,728
Note circulation -	411,750,338	405,163,800	391,981,846
Public deposits -	9,966,051	9,878,364	22,155,674
Other deposits:—			
Bankers' -	30,542,800	89,139,575	101,215,838
Other accounts	37,289,950	36,404,582	36,544,635
Reserve (notes and coin)	48,858,676	47,624,979	59,704,882
Ratio	27 per cent.	35 per cent.	37 per cent.
Government securities	110,365,001	87,541,413	88,036,692
Other securities:—			
Discounts and advances -	23,655,425	7,578,577	16,755,681
Securities	12,953,340	10,667,289	13,394,847

MONEY AND DISCOUNT RATES.

1931	1932	1933	1934	1936
BANK RATE AVERAGE.				
£ s. d. 3 19 0	£ s. d. 3 0 4	£ s. d. 2 0 0	£ s. d. 2 0 0	£ s. d. 2 0 0
DISCOUNT RATE (THREE MONTHS BANK BILLS) AVERAGE.				
3 11 9	1 17 3	0 13 8	0 16 4	0 11 7
BANKS' DEPOSIT RATE AVERAGE.				
2 0 10	1 6 4	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0
SHORT LOAN RATE AVERAGE.				
3 1 9	1 17 3	0 16 9	0 17	0 10 0
TREASURY BILL (TENDER) RATE AVERAGE.				
3 10 2-08	1 13 2-9	0 11 9-37	0 14 6-19	0 10 6-44

LONDON BANKERS' CLEARING HOUSE RETURNS.

	1935.	1934.	Inc. or Dec.
Grand total	£ 37,659,761,000	£ 35,484,157,000	£ + 2,075,594,000 (5.8 per cent)
Town clearing -	32,443,575,000	30,740,117,000	+ 1,703,458,000 (5.5 per cent.)
Metropolitan clearing	1,887,112,000	1,759,528,000	+ 127,584,000 (7.2 per cent.)
Country cheque clearing •	3,229,064,000	2,984,512,000	+ 244,552,000 (8.1 per cent.)

PROVINCIAL CLEARING FIGURES.

Town.					Amount.	
					£	£ percent.
Birmingham -					121,702,000	+ 4,264,000 or 3.6
Bradford					47,049,000	+ 2,229,000 or 4.9
Bristol -					61,358,000	+ 825,000 or 1.3
Hull					39,059,000	+ 1,782,000 or 4.7
Leeds					46,428,000	- 522,000 or 1.1
Leicester					34,523,000	+ 1,947,000 or 5.9
Liverpool					294,871,000	- 19,298,000 or 6.1
Manchester					501,555,000	+ 3,225,000 or .6
Newcastle-on-Tyne -					68,211,000	- 8,691,000 or 11.3
Nottingham -					24,383,000	+ 1,773,000 or 7.4
Sheffield -					44,257,000	+ 1,079,000 or 2.4

LONDON OLEARING BANKS' MONTHLY RETURNS.

	(OOOs omitted.)			
	Deposits.	Bills discounted.	Advances.	Investments.
1935	£	£	£	£
January -	1,982,093	284,058	752,835	693,444
February -	1,954,089	264,946	755,653	606,402
March	1,923,260	207,033	766,847	614,375
April	1,940,393	199,443	774,723	617,793
May -	1,961,472	217,574	770,365	619,890
June-	2,003,451	243,918	775,393	624,188
July-	2,019,311	273,683	774,700	615,206
August	2,013,231	286,868	764,511	615,217
September	2,023,513	299,323	762,668	618,495
October -	2,035,674	296,948	773,376	626,429
November	2,039,494	293,161	773,967	620,586
December	2,091,313	321,988	778,755	594,338

Floating Debt.	Dec. 31,1935.	Dec. 31,1934.
Ways and Means Advances :—	£	£
From the Bank of England -	37,000,000	5,500,000
From Public Depts. -	33,075,000	27,350,000
Treasury Bills -	865,920,000	899,710,000
Total -	935,995,000	932,560,000

New Capital Issues.—Once again a very large number of conversion operations were carried out by borrowers in order to take advantage of cheap money. Dominion Governments, especially the Australian, were very active in this respect, and so, too, were the home municipalities, while industrial and trading companies also converted debenture stocks into cheaper securities. Dominion Governments got down to about a 3£ per cent, basis, and Home Municipalities to a 3 per cent, basis. These replacement issues are left out of the table given below, which only covers issues involving new money. The total, though showing a further increase, is about 100,000,000Z. below normal. The outstanding features of the year are the virtual cessation of foreign lending and the large amount of industrial flotations of all kinds. A welcome feature was the increasing ratio of new money borrowings by industry in relation to the amount of conversion operations by public bodies :—

	1935.	1934.	1933.
	£	£	
United Kingdom	161,934,000	106,741,000	95,059,000
India and Ceylon	828,000	1,133,000	5,018,000
Other British Countries -	17,210,000	39,258,000	24,796,000
Foreign Countries -	2,852,000	3,058,000	7,996,000
	182,824,000	150,90,000	132,869,000
Percentage for Oversea Borrowers	11.4	2.89	2.85

Commercial Failures.—For the third year in succession the number of commercial failures in Great Britain declined. The failures numbered 5,950, a decrease of 527 compared with 1934, following decreases of 829 in 1934, and 1,334 in 1933. Although the number of failures in 1935 was smaller than in 1934 the amount involved was larger. Liabilities amounted to 5,423,6252., or 1,739,2562. more than in 1934, while the assets at 1,663,1492. were only 273,4912. larger.

The Foreign Exchanges.—The feature of the year was the relative stability of the pound sterling in terms of gold, after three years of decline. The stability, however, was more apparent than real, for it arose from the weak tendency of the gold currencies which was very marked at times.

Place.	Par of Exchange previous to Sept. 20, 1931	Dec. 31, 1935.	Dec. 31, 1934.	Highest, 1935	Lowest, 1935.
New York	\$ 4-86½	493	4 94*	4-98*	4-71½
Montreal -	\$ 4.86	4-95*	4-91*	5 00	4-77½
Paris	124.21 f.	74H	74H	75*	TM *
Brussels -	35-00 b.	29-25	21 03	29-53	19-95
Milan	92-40 l.	61*	57\$	66	55½
Switzerland	25-22 f.	15-15*	15-22*	15-40	14-33
Athens	375-00 dr.	519	517	522	490
Helsingfors	193-23 m.	227*	226*	227*	226
Madrid	25-22 pts.	35H	36TV	36*	34
Lisbon . . .	11000 esc.	110*	no*	no*	109}
Amsterdam	12-11 fl.	7-25*	7-29*	7-43*	6-87
Berlin	20-43 m.	12-24*	12-26	12-39	11-57
Vienna	34-59 sch.	26*	26}	27*	24*
Budapest -	27-82 pen.	16*	16*	16*	16*
Prague	164-25 kc.	118*	118	120	mi
Danzig	25 00 gl.	26i	15	26*	24}
Warsaw	43-38 zy.	26,V	26A	26*	24*
Riga	25-22 It.	15*		15}	13*
Bucharest -	813-60 lei.	665	m	666	455
Constantinople -	110-00 pst.	614	608	615	580
Belgrade -	276-32 din.	216	218	225	200
Kovno	48-66 lit.	29*	29*	30	27*
Sofia	673-66 lev.	400	415	440	365
Tallinn -	18-16 kr.	18*	18*	18}	17}
Oslo -	18-16 kr.	19-90	19-90	19-95	19-85
Stockholm	18-16 kr.	19-40	19-39*	19-45	19 35
Copenhagen	18-16 kr.	22-40	22-40	22-45	22 35
Alexandria	97 50 pst.	97*	97*	97*	97
Bombay -	1/6	1/«A	1/6 A	1/6 *	1/6.V
Calcutta -	1/6	1/6 A	1/6A	1/6 *	1/6A
Madras	1/6	1/6, \	1/Of	1/6 *	1/6BV
Hong-Kong		1/31	iim	2/8*	1/3*
Kobe	24-68d.	1/2A	1/2	1/2*	1/1 «
Shanghai -	—	1/2 A	1/4+f	1/10*	1/2*
Singapore	2/4	2/4A	2/4 *	2/4*	2/3*1
Batavia . . .	1211 fl.	7-22}	7-27*	7-39	6 86
Rio de Janeiro -	5-90d.	2nd.	3*d.	3*d.	2*d.
Buenos Aires	11-45 pes.	18-25*	27Hd. f	19-80*	17-40*
Valparaiso . . .	40 00 pes.	127	119*	128	115
Montevideo	4s. 3d.	22*d.	20Jd.	22*d.	19d.
Lima	17-38 si.	19-85	20-60	20-95	18-80
Mexico . . .	9-76 pes. 1	17}	18	18*	16
Manila	24-66d.	2/0*	2/0*	2/1*	1/11}

Paper peso to pound.

f Pence to peso.

This weakness arose because of fears that the gold currencies would cease to be gold, and in the case of Belgium they proved to be well founded, for she further devalued her currency in March by about 29 per cent., making the total devaluation of the pre-war franc 90 per cent. Holland, France, and Switzerland remained on the gold standard throughout, but there was a general feeling towards the close of the year that eventually all of them would be forced to reconsider their position. All three countries suffered from a flight of capital and considerable gold losses. For instance, the gold stock of the Bank of France came down from 82,018,000,000 F. to 66,297,000,000 F., that of the Swiss National Bank from 1,909,795,000 F. to 1,386,843,000 F., and that of the Bank of the Netherlands from 863,000,000 F. to 657,231,000 F. Sterling not only gained from the flights of capital from the gold countries but also from the American Government's silver purchases in London. In the result, the pound which stood at 59.91 of its former gold value in January, 1935, finished the year at 60-12 of the old gold par, having fluctuated between 58-03 and 60-44.

Gold and Silver.—Gold hoarding was on a much smaller scale in 1935 than in 1934, in spite of the fact that great nervousness at times existed in regard to the future of the gold currencies. The amount sold in the bullion market at the daily fixing was 107,408,0002. compared with 123,868,0002. in 1934. The highest price reached was 149s. 4d. per oz. on March 6, a record.

Imports of gold were 244,091,0002., a decrease of 18,392,0002. on 1934, while exports were 174,000,0002., an increase of 45,307,0002. The Continental banks lost enormous sums in gold to America, which increased her stock by 378,000,0002. to 2,025,000,0002. France lost 210,000,0002. of gold, Switzerland 35,000,0002., and Holland 27,000,0002. The London silver market had a record turnover. The price touched 36jc2. an ounce, or *lid.* above the highest price of 1934. The rise was the result of American purchases made in pursuance of the United States Silver Purchase Act. A huge speculative position was built up in silver—in the belief that America would go on buying indefinitely. The belief proved ill-founded, for following Mexico's departure from the silver standard, China, too, decided to abandon her ancient silver standard and to establish a managed inconvertible paper currency. On December 9, 1935, the American Government, which had been almost the only buyer, stopped purchases abruptly and the price dropped like a stone to 20d. British exports of silver reached the enormous figure of 54,900,0002. America bought the colossal amount of 390,000,000 oz. compared with 86,000,000 oz. in 1934. At the close of the year America resumed her purchases of silver in small amounts in various places, but at much lower prices. The silver markets in London and Bombay were completely disorganised for a time by the sudden change in American policy. Imports of silver rose from 154,430,880 oz. in 1934 to 262,952,000 oz. in 1935, while exports jumped from 127,426,000 oz. in 1934 to 406,494,000 oz. in 1935.

Stock Exchange.—The Stock Exchange again had a very active year in 1935, The boom in gilt-edged and other high-grade fixed interest-

bearing stocks which started at the end of 1931 reached its peak in January, 1935, after which there was a steady decline lasting for months. There was a moderate rally towards the end of the year. The most active market was that for industrial shares, particularly iron and steel, electrical engineering, tobacco, copper, and oil. The index number of fixed interest stocks at the close of 1935 was 129.5 against 132.7 in 1934, but that for variable dividend securities was 120.4 against 113.5. The *Bankers' Magazine* calculations of Stock Exchange values were as follows :—

	Market Values.		Else or Fall.
	December, 1935.	December, 1934.	
87 Fixed Interest Stocks -	£ 4,856,610,000	£ 4,979,068,000	0/ 2.4
278 Variable Dividend Securities-	2,167,379,000	2,048,788,000	+ 5.8
365 Total	7,023,989,000	7,027,856,000	- 0.05

The average rise in coal, iron, and steel shares was 51.8 per cent. Copper shares advanced 66.2 per cent., oil shares 35.7 per cent., and foreign railways 22.5 per cent. It was a prosperous year on the Stock Exchange. A movement which started in 1931, called the Fixed Trust movement, made further striking progress, and by the close of 1935 it was estimated that nearly 50,000,000 £ had been subscribed to them. They numbered about 50. The Fixed Trust appealed strongly to the small investor, for he could buy for about 11s. a share in twenty or more different securities, thus spreading his risk while holding only one certificate. The investments held by the first of the Fixed Trusts were unchangeable, but in the newer trusts the managers elected to take the right of varying the list of securities.

Commodity Prices.—According to *The Times* the level of wholesale prices reached the highest level in 1935 for five years. The figure at the close of 1935 was 107.5 against 100.6 at the end of 1934. In 1934 there was a rise of 2.4 per cent, and in 1933 a rise of 3.9 per cent. Between 1924 and 1933 the index number had persistently fallen year by year, despite the fact that the pound sterling left gold in September, 1931, and became depreciated by about 30 per cent, by the close of 1932. The present figure compares with the record low level of 90.3 recorded in June, 1932. The position of wheat was improved by natural causes as distinct from artificial measures of restriction adopted by countries like the United States. Drought was a valuable ally of the restricting countries. The world's wheat production was estimated at 575 million quarters compared with 569 millions in 1934, but thanks to higher consumption the stocks next July will show a reduction of 16 million quarters.

Tinplates.—The output of the tinplate industry was the smallest since 1931, this being the outcome of the contraction of the export trade though the world as a whole produced and consumed more than ever before.

The following table of commodity prices is taken from *The Times*:—

Commodities.		Dec. 30, 1935.	Dec. 29, 1934.	Average, 1913.
FOOD.				
Wheat, Eng., Gaz. Av. -	- 112 lb.	5*. 10d.	45. 10d.	7*. 5d.
" No. 2, N. Man. -	- 496 lb.	355. 3d.	305.	37s. 3d.
Flour, Ldn. Straights -	- 2801b.	295.f	235. 6</t	275. ed.
Barley, Eng., Gaz. Av. -	- 112 lb.	85. 4d.	85. 6d.	75. 5d.
Oats, Eng., Gaz. Av. -	- 112 lb.	68. 10d.	65. 5d.	65. 10d.
Maize, La Plata, ex-ship -	- 4801b.	175. 3d.	205. 9d.	245. 3d.
Rice, No. 2, Burma -	- cwt.	95. 7Jd.	58.3d.	95. 9d.
Beef, English sides -	- 81b.	45.	45. 1d.	48.3d.
" S.A., chilled hqr. -	- 8 lb.	35. 9d.	45. 2d.	3s. 5d.
Mutton, N.Z., frozen -	- 81b.	3a. 5d.	35. 5d.	3s. 3d.
Bacon, Irish lean -	- cwt.	875.	895.	lis.
" Danish -	- cwt.	855.	865.	775.
Fish* -	- stone	45. lid.	55. 1d.	35. 3d.
Eggs, English -	- 120	195. 64.	135. ed.	125.
Sugar, Eng., ref., cubes •	- cwt.	225. 9d.	215. 9d.	185. 3d.
" W. Ind. cryst. -	- cwt.	185. 1jd.	185. ed.	ies.
Tea, N. Ind., Auctn. Avg. -	- lb.	15. id.	IHd.	9J4.
Cocoa, f.f., Accra, f.o.b. -	- cwt.	205. ed.	205.	555.
Cheese, Eng., Cheddar -	- cwt.	565.	695.	735. 9d.
Butter, Danish, fine -	- cwt.	1285.	1215.	1255.
Lard, Amer., ref., boxes -	- cwt.	665. ed.	565. ed.	565. 3d.
Potatoes, English, good •	- ton	11 105.	5/. 105.	795. 3d.
MATERIALS.				
Pig iron, Hemt., M'bro' -	- ton	715.	695.	725. 8d.
" Cleve'd, No. 3 -	- ton	705.	675. ed.	585. 2d.
Iron, marked bars, Staff. -	- ton	121.	12/.	91. 125. 6d.
" Com. bars -	- ton	91. 125. ed.	9/. 125. ed.	11. 155.
Steel rails, heavy -	- ton	SI 58.	SI 55.	6/. 125.
" boiler plates -	- ton	SI 105.	8/. 105.	8/. 165. 3d.
" galvzd., sheets -	- ton	11 J. 155.	11/. 55.	11/. 7s.
" tin plates -	- box	185. 9d.	185. 2d.	135. 6d.
Copper, electrolytic -	- ton	391. 5*.	31/. 105.	111. 155.
" strong sheets -	- ton	66/.	58/.	85/.
Tin, stand., cash -	- ton	217/. 155.	228/. 25. ed.	200/. 25. ed.
Lead, English -	- ton	17/. 105.	12/. 105.	19/. 25. ed.
Spelter, foreign -	- ton	14/. 185. 9d.	11/. 155.	22/. 105.
Coal, Lge. steam, Cardiff -	- ton	195. 6d.	195. ed.	205. ed.
" best gas, Durham -	- ton	145. 5d.	145. 5d.	155. 3d.
" best hse., Yorks -	- ton	235.	215.	175. d.
Pet'l'm., Amer., rfd., brl. -	- ton	9 K	9E<.	svi.
Cotton, Am., mid. -	- lb.	6'43d.	7-21<J.	7-12<Z.
" Egypt, f.g.f., Sak. -	- lb.	9'55d.	893 d.	9-S4d.
" yarn, 32's twist -	- lb.	10±d.	10±d.	10 K
" GO's " Egg. -	- lb.	Hid.	led.	Hid.
" shirtmgs, 8E lb. -	- piece	9s. 2d.	95. 5EeJ.	85.
prnt., 17 X 17-32 in. 125	- piece	225.	215. 1d.	195.
Wool, gsy., merino, 60's -	- fb.	12E<i.	9/d.	10f/.
" gsy., crossbd., 46's -	- lb.	7K	5/d.	11jd.
" tops, 64's warp -	- lb.	32d.	24/d.	29d.
" tops, 40's prepd. -	- lb.	12d.	9/d.	15)c*.
Flax, Livonian, Z.K. -	- ton	76/.	72/.	381.
Hemp, Grade K -	- ton	23/. 105.	13/. 65.	29/.
Jute, first marks, shipmt. -	- ton	19/. 185. 9d.	17/. 105.	30/. 155.
Hides, Eng., Ox, first -	- lb.	6id.	&d.	lid.
" Cape, dry -	- lb.	Id.	eid.	Hid.
Timber, gd. deal, 3 x 9 -	- stand	19/. 105.	191. 105.	161.
" W'cot, oak, 1 in. -	- foot	15. 3d.	15. 3d.	10d.
Cement, best Portland -	- ton	11. 195.	21.	365.
Rubber, Plant, sheet -	- lb.	6Jd.	e&	35. 1d.
Linseed oil -	- ton	29/.	21/. 105.	24/. 155.
Soda crystals, bags -	- ton	5/. 5s.	6/. 55.	21. 2s. ed.
Index number, Food		1107	104-6	100
Index number, Materials		105-6	98-3	100
Total index number		107-6	100-6	100

* Average price of plaioe, cod, and haddock.

t Exclusive of qaota charge.

Shipbuilding and Shipping.—The shipbuilding and shipping industries had a better year. The tonnage of ships under construction at the close of 1935 was 743,086, an increase of 146,252 tons on 1934. This increase was partly due to the orders for ships placed by cargo owners for new ships under the "Scrap two tons of old ships and build one new ton," associated with the Government subsidy granted to tramp shipping. The subsidy to build new ships had one curious result, namely, to cause British owners to buy old foreign ships for scrapping. Launchings of new ships amounted in 1935 to 467,000 tons against 460,000 tons in 1934. Although the tonnage of ships under construction in Great Britain at the close of 1935 was greater than the aggregate of seven leading foreign countries the fact remains that foreign shipbuilding is becoming more and more important. Shipping continued to suffer severely from the competition of State subsidised lines in foreign countries, but, on the initiative of Greek shipowners, an International Committee was formed to adopt a minimum scale of freight rates for cargo ships running from Europe in ballast to South America for grain cargoes. The minimum rate was 16s. 6d. a ton, and thanks to an improvement in trade the rate at the close of the year was 17s. These agreements were afterwards extended to other trades. This was the most remarkable feature of the year in shipping. The general freight index number at the close of 1935 was 90.43 against 74.67 at the beginning of the year, 1929 being taken as 100. Taking 1913 as 100, the index started at 79.36 and finished the year at 96.11.

Iron and Steel.—Great Britain's production of steel in 1935 was a record for all time. It amounted to 9,842,400 tons, an increase of 11.2 per cent. Production of pig iron was 6,426,400 tons, an increase of 7.7 per cent. The monthly average of steel production before the war was 638,600 tons ; in December, 1935, the figure was 811,500, and during the year it touched 907,300 tons. The increase was largely due to the working of the tariff. Taking the production of steel and pig iron together, the 1935 figures were 80 per cent, above the 1932 level.

Coal.—This industry made a further slight improvement. Output was 223,000,000 tons against 220,700,000 tons in 1934 ; greater industrial activity caused home consumption to rise from 161,500,000 to 165,200,000 tons, but exports dropped from 57,100,000 to 56,100,000 tons. The average pit-head price was 13s. *id.* per ton. Costs of production were about $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a ton higher than in 1934, the average wage level rising from 9s. $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a man shift worked to 9s. 3d. In the aggregate profits were about 1,000,000*l.* down, the total being 3,176,000*l.*, equal to less than *id.* a ton.

Insurance.—For many of the life assurance companies in Great Britain 1935 was the best year they have ever known from the point of view of the volume of new business. This form of investment is growing in popularity every year. But owing to low rates for money the companies are able to earn much less from their funds than formerly, and one day this must be reflected in higher premiums or smaller bonuses.

Textiles.—Wool, cotton, linen, and the rayon industries had a better year in 1935 than in 1934. In the cotton trade exports increased about 2 per cent, while a significant feature was that a fall in exports of 15 per cent, to foreign markets was offset by an expansion of exports to the British Empire, which now takes almost two-thirds of British exports of cotton piece goods. The woollen and worsted industries were very busy, and they had one of the best years they have known for some time. The rayon industry continued to flourish. There was a great increase in production, 123,800,000 lbs. against 93,100,000 lbs., but consumption was mainly confined to the home trade. Both production and consumption set up new records.

Motor, Aircraft, and Film Industries.—These relatively new industries continued to make good progress. The motor industry is now the third largest manufacturing industry in the country, output being substantially increased in 1935. Exports were 12,000,0002. against 10,300,0002. in 1934. American cars, however, invaded the British market to an increasing extent, thanks to cheaper steel in the United States.

The aircraft industry was particularly active, and most companies were fully employed either in the manufacture of military or civil aircraft. A number of private companies were converted into public companies, and the shares of all the companies rose to big premiums, owing to the fine and increasing profits that were earned. More capital was put into the film making industry, the output of which rose from 1,283,841 footage to 1,443,023 footage, the number of long films being 198, and short films 145.

Oil—The production of oil in 1935 was estimated at 223,210,000 tons compared with 208,175,000 in 1934, and the consumption was higher. Production of rubber was estimated at 862,000, a decrease of 166,000 tons, and consumption at 932,000 tons, a decrease of 5,000 tons. The efforts to curtail production of oil and rubber were more successful than in the preceding year, but they were far from being fully effective. The rubber restriction scheme was modified in several respects.

Balance of Payments.—The Board of Trade's estimate of the balance of payments on overseas account in 1935 shows a credit balance of 37,000,0002. which compares with a deficit of 2,000,000/. in 1934 and an even balance in 1933. This was the first favourable balance since 1930 when the figure was 28,000,0002., but in 1928 it amounted to 122,000,0002. Actually the balance for 1935 looks better than it really is for a substantial part of it was due to the effect of America's silver buying programme which led to a large net export of silver. Exports of this metal rose from 12,500,0001. to 54,900,0002., whereas imports increased by only 18,200,0002. An additional 5,000,0002. is estimated to have been earned by the shipping services of the country and an extra 10,000,0002. was derived from income on overseas investments. The Board's calculations are set forth in the following table :—

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.		
	1933.	1934.	1935.
Excess of imports of merchandise and silver bullion			
Excess of Government payments made oversea * -	263 2	294	261 2
Total	265	294	263
Excess of Government receipts from oversea *		7	
Net national shipping income †	66	70	76
Net income from oversea investments	160	176	186
Net receipts from commissions, etc.	30	30	30
Net receipts from other sources -	10	10	10
	266	292	300
Total credit or debit balance on items specified above	—	- 2	+ 37

* Including some items on loan accounts.
t Including disbursements by foreign ships in British ports.

LAW.

IN contrast with its forerunner, the year 1935 was singularly uneventful so far as the law was concerned. The Royal Commission appointed in the close of 1934 to consider the existing Assize arrangements, and to make recommendations as to greater despatch in Common Law actions, as well as meeting privately throughout the year, held a score or so of public meetings, at which evidence was given by judges and others, but no report was presented within the year. Neither did the Law Revision Committee, whose output in 1934 had been very significant, issue any report.

A feature of the year was the steady decline of King's Bench actions, and this, together with the fact of two additional judges having been appointed in the spring, had the effect of reducing the arrears of business in this Division at the end of 1935 to the smallest proportions known for a considerable number of years. In the Divorce Court, on the contrary, the lists were at the close of the year considerably in arrear.

Another feature was the number of important changes amongst the holders of high judicial office. In the month of January there passed away Mr. Justice Bateson of the Probate, Admiralty, and Divorce Division, an Admiralty lawyer of repute, and, later, the veteran Mr. Justice Avory, a master of Common Law and a famous figure at the Central Criminal Court. A very short illness resulted in the death at a comparatively early age of Lord Tomlin, the House of Lords thereby losing the services of an eminent Lord of Appeal. In the course of the twelve months there died, also, three lawyer peers, whose names had become famous in widely differing ways : Lord Carson, champion of Ulster, Lord Wrenbury, of Company Law fame, and, in the last days of the year, that valuable public servant and distinguished advocate, Rufus Isaacs, Lord Reading [For all these names see under Obituaries.]

The passing in February of the new Judicature Act added to the personnel of King's Bench Mr. Justice Greaves-Lord and Mr. Justice Hilbery; Mr. Justice Bucknill had in January succeeded Mr. Justice Bateson; and in the summer Mr. Justice Lewis took the place of Mr. Justice Avory. During the year the Lords Justices, also, had an unusual infusion of new blood. After the long vacation Lord Hanworth, on the ground of health, relinquished the office of Master of the Rolls, and was succeeded by that exceptional commercial lawyer, Lord Wright, while the promotions to be Lords of Appeal in Ordinary of Lords Justices Maugham and Roche, as they formerly were, afforded occasion for the appointment of two Lords Justices direct from the ranks of the Bar, Mr. Wilfrid Greene, K.C., a leader of unusual versatility and ability, and Sir Leslie Scott,

much briefed in heavy Common Law cases. On the retirement from the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of Sir Lancelot Sanderson, Sir George Claus Rankin, a former Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, was appointed to that body under the provisions providing for the appointment of Indian Judges. With the formation in June of Mr. Baldwin's new Cabinet, Lord Sankey, whose energy in the cause of law reform had made his term of office memorable, was succeeded as Lord Chancellor by Lord Hailsham.

An incident of the year 1935 of some constitutional interest was Lord de Clifford's trial on a charge of felony, to wit, manslaughter, by the Court of Our Lord the King in Parliament, or, in other words, the *judicium* of Lords, the necessity for which involved a delay of many weeks in — being brought to trial. No proceedings of the kind had taken place since the trial of Earl Russell in 1901, and a Select Committee, having duly consulted the Journals of the House as to former trials of peers, drew up a report on the basis of which the arrangements were regulated. A letter addressed to peers by the Lord Chancellor, which admitted the "undoubted right and privilege" of all members to attend as judges "both of the law and of the facts," made very clear at the same time that it was unnecessary for lay members to be present unless they so desired. In fact but a relatively small number of peers did actually take part, and there was no question of their not accepting unanimously the advice of the judges, including the Law Lords and a contingent from the Royal Courts of Justice, given after consultation in private, to the effect that no case had been established for Lord de Clifford to answer. At the time of the trial, which presented a curious melange of ancient and modern, it became obvious that there was a considerable body of opinion, both amongst lawyers and the general public, that this ancient institution had outlived its usefulness and should be abolished by legislation. The fact that the Lord Chancellor, to whom it had, in accordance with tradition, fallen to be Lord High Steward for the limited duration of the trial, committed himself to there being something to be said in favour of such a view, would seem to point to a change of attitude since the days following the trial of 1901, when the Government made clear that it disapproved of any movement in this direction.

In the sphere of legislation a statute of immense constitutional importance put the coping-stone on years of inquiry and deliberation as to Indian problems. The Government of India Bill, of nearly five hundred sections, exclusive of schedules, provided at once for an all-India Federation of British India and those Indian States which might accede, and for provincial autonomy, and, in spite of the retention of certain safeguards, made an enormous advance towards the realisation of responsible government in India. Provisions which should receive mention are those effecting the separation from India of Burma, which will henceforth be completely independent of it.

The statute just referred to naturally absorbed much of the attention of Parliament and, with a few exceptions, legislation as to matters at home was of definitely less significance than in most recent years. As a result of the 1934 recommendations of the Law Revision Committee, long-

standing anomalies in the law relating to married women and tortfeasors were removed by the Law Reform (Married Women and Tortfeasors) Act, the importance of which so far as married women are concerned, can hardly be exaggerated. As a result of the new legislation, a husband is relieved of responsibility in respect of his wife's torts or wrongful actions ; a married woman's "separate property" is abolished; she can hold or dispose of property, and can be made bankrupt in the same way as a man, whether she carries on a trade or not; finally, provisions in an instrument executed after January 1, 1936, whereby she is restrained from anticipation will be null and void. In the same statute the law was brought further into harmony with modern conceptions of what is equitable by provisions putting an end to the doctrine of non-contribution between tortfeasors condemned by the Law Revision Committee.

Of primary importance in an altogether different sphere was a fresh attack on the slums in the form of a new Housing Act, which, while it amplified the powers of Local Authorities in regard to clearance areas, etc., and made some useful amendments of former Housing Acts, made its frontal attack on the overcrowding of individual dwellings. The statute lays on landlords, and, subject to certain reliefs, on tenants, the duty of seeing that no dwelling-house accommodates more than a prescribed number of inhabitants, based strictly on floor space. On Local Authorities is put the immediate duty of surveying dwellings in their area, and, second, of making provision whereby in no case shall it be necessary that the standard density be exceeded. A second item of legislation which added considerably to the powers and burdens of Local Authorities was the Restriction of Ribbon Development Act, directed towards preserving the amenities of roads and securing greater road safety. The Authority has power, by resolution approved by the Minister of Transport, to adopt a standard width of road, varying according to conditions, and, that done, it is thereafter unlawful, without the consent of the Council, to plant buildings along or make new means of access to such classified roads.

Of very great significance in the sphere of social redress is the Money Payments (Justices' Procedure) Act, dealing with the imposition of imprisonment by courts of summary jurisdiction in default of payment of sums of money due by virtue of convictions by such courts, or under bastardy or affiliation orders, or in respect of rates, and following, for the most part, the recommendations of the Departmental Committee report of the previous year, which had laid special stress on the undesirability of imprisonment where the mind of the court had not been specifically directed to its occurrence. Save where special considerations apply, which considerations must be officially recorded, there must, under the new Act, be a subsequent appearance before the court in cases where time to pay is given, and inquiry as to the means of the defaulter before he is committed to prison, and provision is made for his supervision pending the completion of the payment. An important provision makes such supervision obligatory in the case of defaulters under the age of 21. It is the clear intention of the Act that imprisonment as a punishment for non-payment should be postponed till all reasonable probability of the payment being made has been

exhausted, and that immediate committal should be an exceptional measure only. In this connexion it is worth noting that the number of immediate committals in 1933 was 6,336. The not unrelated matter of the exercise by the High Court of its power to commit to prison persons making default in the payment of debts due under orders or judgments was the subject of a statement by Mr. Justice Luxmoore on behalf of the Chancery Division in the spring of the year. The statement emphasised that the powers given to the court by the Debtors Act of 1869 were not aimed at punishing poverty nor even at punishing an individual for recklessly or improvidently incurring liabilities, and ought not to be so used. The basis of the committal jurisdiction was, it was made clear, the punishment of debtors wilfully refusing to pay, and it was essential for the court to be satisfied before making an order sending the debtor to prison that he had had the means to pay and had neglected to use them.

Finally, before leaving the topic of prison and prisoners, mention may be made of the fact that in 1935 there was appointed the first woman Commissioner of Prisons, a post as Assistant Commissioner being given to Miss Barker, for some years Governor of the Borstal Institution for women prisoners at Aylesbury, and a pioneer in methods of treatment of female offenders.

Turning to noteworthy cases of the courts during the year, there call for attention two decisions which affected potentially a large number of citizens and involved important questions of public policy. In *Fender v. Mildmay* and *Siveyer v. Allison*, both of which roused widespread interest, the courts were called upon to consider the effect of conditional promises of marriage made by individuals who hope or expect to be freed by the courts from existing marriages. In *Fender v. Mildmay* it was held, both by King's Bench and the Court of Appeal, that a promise made by a married man to marry a woman after the dissolution of his existing marriage, was void and unenforceable, and could not be the subject of damages for breach of promise, even if he had at the time of making it already obtained a decree *nisi*, and that the fact that misconduct had taken place between the parties before the making of the promise did not affect its enforceability. The judgments in both courts dissented strongly from the contention that the frequent exercise of the judicial discretion in favour of petitioners who had themselves broken their marriage vows was evidence of a different attitude towards the permanence of modern marriage. The mere fact of a decree *nisi* did not put an end to the marriage status, and, such promises tending to prevent reconciliation between the spouses, their recognition was regarded by Mr. Justice Hawke and the majority of the Court of Appeal (Lord Justice Greer dissenting) as being definitely opposed to public policy. In *Siveyer v. Allison* the promise was conditional on the promisor's obtaining, not a decree absolute of divorce, but a decree of nullity. The court nevertheless held that no action was maintainable for breach of such promise, as, although the effect of the decree was admittedly to render the marriage void from its very commencement, it was all the same valid and subsisting until dissolved, with the consequence that the same considerations of public policy applied as in *Fender v. Mildmay*.

Before leaving the domain of husband and wife and public policy reference might perhaps be made to the decision of Mr. Justice Luxmoore in *Re Bromage*, which is interesting as embodying a view diverging from that taken of recent years in the Divorce Division as to the effect of a separation deed on the presumption of legitimacy. In a 1926 case, since approved on more than one occasion in the Divorce Court, the late Mr. Justice Bateson held that such a deed should put an end to the presumption of cohabitation in the same way as a judicial separation or a separation order. In *Re Bromage*, however, where the children of A. and B., who had executed a separation deed, were designated in a will, Mr. Justice Luxmoore held that there was a presumption of legitimacy in favour of those children born more than nine months after its execution, refusing to follow the case referred to above on the ground that it was contrary to two much earlier decisions of the House of Lords, and adopting instead the rule in *Russell v. Russell*. The decision certainly introduces into such deeds what one commentator has called "an illogical hybrid conception in which separation and cohabitation are deemed to exist together."

Another group of cases of intimate concern to the public, and of considerable difficulty, turned on fatal accident damages and the method of detailed application of the provisions of the Law Reform (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act of 1934. By this Act, which was commonly supposed to have given its death-blow to the old maxim, *Actio Personalis Moritur cum Persona*, it is provided that, with a very few exceptions, 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 that proceedings may be taken (in the case of torts or civil wrongs) within a period of six months after the taking out of administration. The Act provides, however, that damages so recoverable for the benefit of the deceased's estate must not be exemplary, that is, in effect, vindictive, and, where his death has been caused by the act or omission out of which the cause of action arises, must, except for a concession relating to funeral expenses, be calculated without reference to any loss or gain to his estate consequent on his death, as, for the sake of illustration, a payment under an insurance policy. It having been decided by the Court of Appeal late in 1934, in a non-fatal accident case (*Flint v. Lovett*), that a separate item of damage was constituted by the fact that the plaintiff, an elderly gentleman in good health at the time of his accident, had as a result thereof a shortened expectation of life—a decision in support of which there was apparently no precedent—an attempt was made in the year now under review to apply such an argument to cases of fatal accident, and so justify a claim by the personal representative of a deceased for compensation for the cutting short, by the accident, of the span of life which would normally have been his lot. Four such cases having been tried before Bang's Bench judges, and decisions given which it was difficult to reconcile, it was obvious that an authoritative construction of the effect of the statute was essential, and the Profession accordingly took a deep interest in a test case before the Lords Justices (*Rose v. Ford*), where the deceased, a young girl, had a leg amputated two days after the accident and died after the lapse of

another two days, having been unconscious the greater part of the four days during which she survived. The Court of Appeal held unanimously that the damages for shortened expectation of life in *Flint v. Lovell* were based on the objective fact of loss to a living plaintiff of the boon of further years of living, and not, as had been suggested in three out of the four King's Bench cases, on the ground of pain and suffering caused by the subjective effect on the mind of knowledge of shortened life, from which it followed apparently that the deceased girl, had she lived, would have had a cause of action based on the actual shortening of her life, although unconsciousness had prevented any keen realisation of loss. On the important question whether her legal personal representative could put forward such a claim under the 1934 Act, however, the three judges differed, the majority deciding in the negative, and holding that, notwithstanding the major provision of the 1934 Act, this cause of action, by virtue of a principle established in the thirteenth century, must be held to have disappeared when her death converted the act of the defendant originally compensable by damages into a felony, namely, the killing of the deceased. This decision, whether or not it is ultimately supported on grounds of pure law by the House of Lords, is plainly contrary to the general intention of the 1934 Act, which was aimed at the redress of a very real grievance, which showed itself particularly clearly in road traffic accident cases, and it is reasonably to be expected that more will be heard of the matter before too long a time elapses.

Another case of general interest depending in some degree on the interpretation of a statute, but in this case an older one, was that of *Sallis v. Jones*, which turned on the exclusion, by a section of the Law of Property Act of 1925, of the operation of the generally known section of the Wills Act of 1837, under which all wills were revoked by the fact of marriage subsequent to their execution. The 1925 Act provided, of course, that a will expressed to be made in contemplation of a marriage should not be revoked by the solemnisation of the marriage contemplated. In *Sallis v. Jones* the defendant, the widow of a testator, was successful in her contention that a will, made before his offer of marriage to her, which concluded with the words, " And I hereby declare that this will is made in contemplation of marriage " was not saved by the 1925 Act. In an earlier case, a reference by the testator, a Dr. Pilot, in his will to a certain lady, to whom he was not then married, but whom he later wed, as " Diana Featherston Pilot, my wife," had, in the circumstances of the case, been held enough to validate the will, and the case of *Sallis v. Jones* is most useful as bringing up and determining the question of what is essential. No doubt the existence of evidence to link up the marriage contemplated with that which took place, will remain an important aspect, but it is made clear by this decision that the path of safety is to make mention in the will of the particular spouse in contemplation of marriage with whom it is being made, and to state that it is made " in contemplation " of such marriage.

Apart from the trial of Lord de Clifford, already referred to, the interest of which was preponderantly historical, there was one criminal case of outstanding significance, which reached the House of Lords on the certificate

of the Attorney-General that it involved a point of law of exceptional public importance. In their judgment in *Woolmington v. Director of Public Prosecutions*, as a result of which a youth sentenced to capital punishment was set at liberty, the House of Lords, as normally constituted for appellate work, laid down canons as to the burden of proof in a murder charge. They condemned a very widely accepted view appearing in all the standard textbooks on Criminal Practice, holding, after an exhaustive examination of the authorities, that there was no justification for its promulgation. Although, in the case of a defence of insanity, and in certain cases specifically provided for by statute, the burden of establishing a defence might rest on a prisoner, yet, they held, in a charge of murder, if there remained, at the end of the case, a reasonable doubt created by the evidence on either side as to the prisoner's having killed the deceased person with a malicious intention, he was entitled to be acquitted. It was not the case that, the fact of killing having been once established, it was then for the defence to prove circumstances of accident. They further pronounced that in circumstances of the kind there was no room for the application of the proviso in the Criminal Appeal Act of 1907—on which the Court of Criminal Appeal had, in effect, relied—which discounts any misdirection which does not involve, in the view of the court, any substantial miscarriage of justice.

Several cases of professional interest contained features making them worthy of note by the general reader. Thus, in the sphere of Conveyancing, there was an important House of Lords decision *Re Joicey: Joicey v. Elliot*, where the vesting of a certain gift under a will was to depend on the beneficiary's having children. The House of Lords, reversing both the Chancery judge and the Court of Appeal, imposed definite restrictions on the circumstances in which there may be applied the long-established rule of construction by which, in construing the meaning of a gift, a posthumous child is reckoned as "issue surviving." Where, as is usually the case, the gift is for his direct benefit, a posthumous child will still be included, but in no other case should the construction be so extended.

In *Penman v. Fife Coal Company*, another House of Lords case, it was held that deductions from an employee's wages for rent and rates payable by his father, to which deductions the employee had consented, were illegal under the Truck Act, 1831, and that the assent of the son was therefore immaterial.

Although Workmen's Compensation in general afforded fewer memorable cases than sometimes, an exception must be made for *Thomson v. North-Eastern Railway*, which decided that there was no obstacle to a workman's receiving the normal amount of compensation for a second injury, even if he thus received more than the limit of thirty shillings a week, that limit being applicable only to the claim for each particular accident. Whether at the time of the two accidents the employers were the same or different did not affect the matter.

Tattersall v. Drysdale turned on the construction of a somewhat obscure sub-section of the 1930 Road Traffic Act, and the judgment is of great importance in the field of third-party risks. It established that a person other than the assured, if he met with an accident whilst driving the car

with the consent of the assured, might himself sue the insurer, provided the policy contained the common extension clause. Finally, *British Celanese Ltd. v. Courtaulds*, a patent infringement action, is remarkable for the length of time occupied in its hearings and for the strictures of Lord Tomlin on the latitude allowed of recent years to expert witnesses and their cross-examination by counsel.

Into the complicated decisions on Eevenue matters, which were numerous, it is impracticable here to enter, but it may be noted that, as was natural in view of the burden of taxation, a fair number of those involved ingenious attempts to avoid sur-tax and estate duty, several of which were successful.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

I.

TEXT OF HITLER'S STATEMENT ANNOUNCING UNIVERSAL MILITARY CONSCRIPTION IN GERMANY.

(MARCH 16, 1935.)

To the German People :

When in November, 1918, the German people, trusting in the promises given in President Wilson's fourteen points, grounded arms after four and a half years' honourable resistance in a war whose outbreak they had never desired, they believed they had rendered a service not only to tormented humanity but also to a great idea *per se*.

Themselves the most serious sufferers from the result of this insane struggle, the millions composing our people trustingly seized upon the idea of a new order in the relations between peoples, an order which was to be ennobled on one hand by doing away with the secrecy of diplomatic cabinet policies and on the other hand by abandoning the terrible methods of war. The historically severest result of the defeat seemed to many Germans to be the only sacrifice necessary in order once and for all to save the world from similar terrors.

The idea of the League of Nations has perhaps in no nation awakened more fervent acclaim than in Germany, stripped as she was of all earthly happiness. Only thus it was conceivable that the German people not only accepted but also fulfilled the conditions, verily senseless in many respects, for the destruction of every condition and possibility of defence.

The German people, and especially their Governments of that time, were convinced that by fulfilment of the conditions of disarmament laid down in the Versailles Treaty and in accordance with the promises of that treaty, the beginning of international general disarmament would be marked and guaranteed.

Por, only in a two-sided fulfilment of the task by the treaty could there lie a moral and sensible justification for a demand which, one-sidedly imposed and executed, had necessarily to lead to an eternal discrimination, and thereby to a declaration of inferiority of a great nation.

Under such conditions, however, a peace treaty of this sort could never create the conditions for a true inward reconciliation of peoples, nor for the pacification of the world achieved in this manner, but could only set up a hatred that would gnaw eternally.

Germany has, according to the investigation of the Interallied Control Commission, fulfilled the disarmament conditions imposed upon her. Following is the work of destruction of the German power of resistance and the means necessary therefor, as was certified by this Commission:

Army : 59,897 cannon and heavy gun barrels, 130,558 machine guns, 31,470 mine throwers and barrels, 6,007,000 guns and carbines, 243,937 machine-gun bores, 28,001 cannon carriages, 4,390 machine-gun carriages, 38,750,000 bullets, 16,550,000 hand and gun grenades, 60,400,000 fuses, 491,000,000 rounds of ammunition for hand weapons, 335,000 tons of shell cases, 23,515 tons of cartridge cases, 37,600 tons of powder, 79,500 ammunition empties, 212,000 telephones, 1,072 flame throwers, 31 armoured cars, 59 tanks, 1,762 observation cars, 8,982 wireless stations, 1,240 field bakeries, 2,199 pontoons, 981-7 tons of equipment for soldiers, 8,230,350 sacks of equipment for soldiers, 7,300 pistols and revolvers, 180 machine-gun sleds, 21 transportable workshops, 12 anti-aircraft gun carriages, 11 limbers, 64,000 steel helmets, 174,000 gas masks, 2,500 machines of the former war industry, 8,000 gun barrels.

Air forces : 15,714 chasing and bombing planes, 2,757 airplane motors.

Navy : Material that was either destroyed, scrapped, sunk or handed over—26 first-class battleships, 4 coastal cruisers, 4 armoured cruisers, 18 small cruisers, 21 schooling and other ships, 83 torpedo boats, 315 submarines.

In addition there had to be destroyed vehicles of all sorts, utensils for gas attacks and partly for gas protection, fuel of various kinds, explosives, searchlights, gun sighting appliances, instruments for measuring distance in sound, optical instruments of all kinds, harness for horses, equipment for narrow-gauge railways, printeries, field kitchens, workshops, cut and thrust weapons, steel helmets, material for transporting munitions, normal and special machines belonging to war industry, mounting frames, drawings for the latter, and hangars for airplanes and airships, etc.

After this historically unexampled fulfilment of a treaty, the German people had the right to expect the redemption also by the other side of obligations undertaken. For, firstly, Germany had disarmed ; secondly, in the peace treaty the demand had been expressly made that Germany must be disarmed in order thereby to create the precondition for general disarmament; that is, it was contended that Germany's armaments alone furnished the reason for the armaments of the other countries ; thirdly, the German people at that time were filled both as regards their Government and their parties with a spirit that corresponded exactly with the pacifistic-democratic ideals of the League of Nations and its founders.

But while Germany as one party to the treaty had fulfilled its obligations, the redemption of the obligation on the part of the second partner to the treaty failed to become a fact. That means : The high contracting parties of the former victor States have one-sidedly divorced themselves from the obligations of the Versailles Treaty.

Not alone did they refrain from disarming in a manner that could by any stretch be comparable with the destruction of German arms. No. Not even was there a halt in the armaments race, on the contrary the

increase of armaments on the part of a whole group of States became evident. Whatever had during the war been invented in the way of new engines of destruction was now in peace-time brought to final perfection by methodically scientific labour.

In the realm of creating mighty armoured cars, as well as in that of new fighting and bombing planes, continuous and terrible improvements resulted. New gigantic cannon were constructed, new explosive fire and gas bombs were developed.

The world, however, since then has again resumed its cries of war, just as though there never had been a World War nor the Versailles Treaty. In the midst of these highly armed, warlike States, which were more and more making use of the most modern motorised equipment, Germany was, militarily speaking, in a vacuum, defencelessly at the mercy of every threatening danger.

The German people recall the misfortune and suffering of fifteen years' economic misery and political and moral humiliation. It was, therefore, understandable that Germany began loudly to demand the fulfilment of the promises made by other States to disarm, for this is clear : The world would not only stand for one hundred years of peace, but such a period would be an unmeasured boon. It cannot, however, stand for one hundred years of division into victor and vanquished.

The conviction that international disarmament was morally justified and necessary gained ground, not only in Germany, but also among many other peoples. From the insistence of these forces there resulted attempts through conferences to give direction to the reduction of armaments and thereby to a general equalisation on a low level. Thus there developed the first proposals for an international agreement on armaments, of which we remember the MacDonald plan as significant.

Germany was ready to accept this plan and adopt it as the foundation for arrangements to be arrived at. It failed because the other States declined to accept it and was finally abandoned.

Inasmuch as under these circumstances the equality which was solemnly promised to the German people and Reich in the declaration of December, 1932, failed of realisation, the new Reich's Government, as guardian of the honour and right to live of the German people, was unable to continue to take part in conferences of that sort or to continue membership in the League of Nations. However, even after leaving Geneva, Germany still was ready, not only to examine the other States' proposals, but herself to make practical proposals.

In that connexion she identified herself with the viewpoint which other States themselves had expressed; namely, that the creation of armies with short enlistments is not suited to the purposes of attack, and is therefore recommendable for peaceful defence. Germany was therefore ready to transform the Reichswehr with its long-service period into an army with short enlistments, consonantly with the wishes of the other States.

Her proposals, made during the winter of 1933-34, were practical and executable. The fact that they were declined, as well as the fact that Italian and English proposals along similar lines were finally declined,

justified the conclusion that on the other side of the contracting parties there no longer existed any inclination for a belated and honest fulfilment of the disarmament clauses of Versailles.

Under these circumstances, the German Government saw itself compelled of its own accord to take those necessary measures which could ensure the end of a condition of impotent defencelessness of a great people and Reich, which was as unworthy as in the last analysis it was menacing. In so doing it proceeded from the same premises which Mr. Baldwin, in his last speech, so truthfully expressed :

" A country which is not willing to adopt the necessary preventive measures for its own defence will never enjoy any power in this world, either moral or material."

The Government of the present-day German Reich, however, desires but one single moral and material power—namely, the power to safeguard peace for the Reich and thereby, really also, for all Europe.

The Government, therefore, continued to do what it could and what served the advancement of peace.

Firstly, it proposed a long time ago the conclusion of non-aggression pacts to all its neighbour States.

Secondly, it has sought for and found the adjustment laid down in the treaty with its eastern neighbour which, thanks to the great understanding shown on the other side, has, as it hopes, forever taken the poison out of the threatening atmosphere which it found on seizing power, and which will lead to lasting reconciliation and friendship between the two peoples.

Thirdly, it has finally given France the solemn assurance that Germany, after the adjustment of the Saar question, now no longer will make territorial demands upon France.

It believes thereby, in a manner rare in history, to have created the precondition for ending the century-old strife between the two great nations by making a heavy political and material sacrifice.

The German Government must, however, to its regret, note that for months the rest of the world has been rearming continuously and increasingly. It sees in the creation of a Soviet Russian Army of 101 divisions, that is, in an admitted present peace strength of 960,000 men, an element that at the time of the conclusion of the Versailles Treaty could not have been divined. It sees in the forcing of similar measures in other States further proofs of the refusal to accept the disarmament idea as originally proclaimed.

Far be it from the German Government to raise complaint against any other State. It must point out, however, to-day that by France's introduction of a two-year service period as now decided, the idea upon which the creation of armies with short enlistment had been tested has been abandoned in favour of an organisation with long enlistments. This, however, was one of the arguments advanced at the time for demanding that Germany give up her Reichswehr.

Under these circumstances the German Government considers it impossible still longer to refrain from taking the necessary measures for the

security of the Reich, or even to hide the knowledge thereof from the other nations.

If, therefore, it now fulfils the wish for enlightening the world on Germany's intentions, as expressed in the speech by the British Minister, Stanley Baldwin, November 28, 1934, it does so : Firstly, in order to give the German people the conviction and other States the knowledge that the safeguarding of the honour and security of the German Reich henceforth will be again entrusted to the power of the German nation itself; secondly, in order, by fixing the extent of German measures, to devitalise those claims which attempt to ascribe to the German people a striving for a position of military hegemony in Europe.

What the German Government, as the guardian of the honour and interests of the German nation, desires is to make sure that Germany possesses sufficient instruments of power not only to maintain the integrity of the German Reich but also to command international respect and value as co-guarantor of general peace.

Por in this hour the German Government renews before the German people, before the entire world, its assurance of its determination never to proceed beyond the safeguarding of German honour and freedom of the Reich, and especially does it not intend in rearming Germany to create any instrument for warlike attack, but, to the contrary, exclusively for defence and thereby for the maintenance of peace.

In so doing, the German Reich's Government expresses the confident hope that the German people, having again reverted to their own honour, may be privileged in independent equality to make its contribution for the pacification of the world in free and open co-operation with other nations and their Governments.

With this in view, the German Reich's Government to-day passed the following law : " Law for the upbuilding of a defensive force, dated March 16, 1935," which is hereby made public :

(1) Service in defensive forces is predicated on universal military service.

(2) The German peace army, including police units which have been incorporated in the army, shall comprise twelve corps commands and thirty-six divisions.

(3) Supplementary laws for regulating universal military service will be drafted and submitted to the Reich Cabinet by the Reich Minister of Defence.

Berlin, *March 16, 1935.*

IL

**NOTE DELIVERED BT HIS MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR IN BERLIN
TO THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT ON MARCH 18, 1935.¹**

Your Excellency,

Berlin, *March 18, 1935.*

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom feel bound to convey to the German Government their protest against the announcement

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made by the latter on the 16th March of the decision to adopt conscription and to increase the peace basis of the German army to thirty-six divisions. Following upon the announcement of a German air force, such a declaration is a further example of unilateral action, which, apart from the issue of principle, is calculated seriously to increase uneasiness in Europe. The proposal for an Anglo-German meeting arose out of the terms of the Anglo-French *communiqué* of the 3rd February and the German reply of the 14th February supplemented by further communications between His Majesty's Government and the German Government. His Majesty's Government consider it necessary to call the specific attention of the German Government to the effect of those documents.

2. The London *communiqué* of the 3rd February, while noting that armaments limited by treaty could not be modified by unilateral action, declared that the British and French Governments favoured a general settlement freely negotiated between Germany and other Powers which would make provisions for the organisation of security in Europe on the lines therein indicated, and would simultaneously establish agreements about armaments which, in the case of Germany, would replace the relevant provisions of Part V. of the Treaty of Versailles. The *communiqué* went on to state that it would be part of the general settlement which it contemplated that Germany would resume her active membership of the League of Nations, and proceeded to sketch out the terms of an air pact between the Locarno Powers to operate as a deterrent to aggression and to ensure immunity from sudden attacks from the air.

3. The German Government's reply ten days later welcomed the spirit of friendly confidence which the Anglo-French *communiqué* expressed, and undertook that the German Government would submit to exhaustive examination the questions raised in the first part of the London *communiqué*. It agreed that the spirit, expressed in that *communiqué*, of free negotiations between sovereign States could alone lead to lasting international settlements in the sphere of armaments. In particular, it welcomed the proposal for an air pact, and the German reply concluded by saying that before taking part in the proposed negotiations the German Government considered it desirable to clarify, in separate conversations with the Governments concerned, a number of preliminary questions of principle. For this purpose it invited His Majesty's Government to enter into a direct exchange of views with the German Government.

4. Since His Majesty's Government desired to make sure that there should be no misunderstanding as to the scope and purpose of the proposed Anglo-German meeting, they addressed a further inquiry to the German Government on the 21st February, to which the German Government replied the next day. The result was that it was definitely agreed between the two Governments that the object of the suggested meeting would be to carry consultation a stage further *on all the matters referred to in the Anglo-French communiqué*. It is upon this basis, therefore, that His Majesty's Government have been preparing to pay the visit to Berlin which the German Government suggested.

5. Thus what was contemplated was " a general settlement freely negotiated between Germany and the other Powers " and " agreements regarding armaments, which in the case of Germany would replace the provisions of Part V. of the Treaty of Versailles." This has throughout been the purpose of His Majesty's Government's policy and upon its achievement they have concentrated all their efforts at Geneva and elsewhere. But the attainment of a comprehensive agreement, which by common consent would take the place of treaty provisions, cannot be facilitated by putting forward, as a decision already arrived at, strengths for military effectives greatly exceeding any before suggested—strengths, moreover, which, if maintained unaltered, must make more difficult, if not impossible, the agreement of other Powers vitally concerned.

6. His Majesty's Government are most unwilling to abandon any opportunity which the arranged visit might afford of promoting general understanding, but in the new circumstances, before undertaking it, they feel bound to call the attention of the German Government to the above considerations, and they wish to be assured that the German Government still desire the visit to take place with the scope and for the purposes previously agreed, as set out in paragraph 4 above.

I have, etc.,

ERIC PHIPPS.

III.

FRENCH NOTE PROTESTING AGAINST GERMAN MILITARY MOVES.

Receiving the Ambassador of France March 16, the Chancellor of the Reich made known to him the text of a law promulgated the same day by which the German Government re-established in Germany obligatory military service and increased the German Army to thirty-six divisions.

A week earlier the German authorities had given an official status to German military aviation.

These decisions are definitely contrary to the contractual engagements written in the treaties which Germany signed.

They are equally contrary to the declaration of December 19, 1932, whereby the Reich Government voluntarily recognised that a general statute of armaments carrying equality of right for Germany with all nations should not be made without the establishment of a security regime for all.

After several proposals tending to give effect to this principle, the French Government, in accord with the British Government, showed its confidence in the Government of the Reich by proposing to it a procedure of negotiation, free and fully compatible with respect for the treaty rights, for the establishment by contractual means of a new arms statute for Germany in a general settlement of the problem of security and of armament ; and the Government of the Reich had appeared to Justify the confidence in accepting the principle of such procedure.

The publication of the German law of March 16, intervening brusquely before the date fixed for the first exchange of views between the Government of the Reich and one of two signatory Governments of the London *communiqué* of February 3, constitutes new manifestations of the methods the Government of the Reich intends to oppose to the offers of conciliation which had been made to it.

A double conclusion thus must be drawn by the Government of the Republic : on one side, and in a general fashion the Government of the Reich deliberately distrusts the essential principle of international law that no Power can denounce the engagement of a treaty or modify its stipulations except with the agreement of the contracting parties and by means of a friendly agreement; on the other side, and in particular, after having itself shown its desires to see cleared up between the interested Powers the immediate effect of the negotiation to which it was invited, the Government of the Reich has deliberately taken the most effective measures to compromise the fate of this negotiation in taking for itself, in advance and unilaterally through a *fait accompli*, one of its essential objects.

The Government of the Republic has the duty to make the most formal protestation against these measures with regard to which it now makes all reservations.

Conscious of the efforts of conciliation which it has not ceased to follow, in all loyalty and with the most constant care for German dignity, to associate the Reich fully in the organisation of European security, it can only place on the German Government responsibility for the state of uneasiness thus created in the world and the consequences which can result from it, that is to say, those obligations which from this fact may be imposed on the Governments of the different interested countries.

Determined, so far as it is concerned, to seek all means of international co-operation designed to dissipate this uneasiness and to safeguard the peace of Europe, the French Government desires to reaffirm with its respective treaties its firm resolution not to admit in any negotiation that consideration be given to unilateral decisions taken in violation of international engagements.

IV.

FRENCH NOTE TO THE LEAGUE.

By a law, the text of which was communicated March 16 to the Ambassadors at Berlin of France, Great Britain, Italy, and Poland, and which was made public the same day, the German Government has decided on the reintroduction of general compulsory military service in the Reich and to reorganise the German Army into twelve army corps and thirty-six divisions.

The German authorities also, a few days earlier, announced the creation of a German military aviation force. In both cases the German Government has deliberately repudiated by a unilateral act the contractual engagements embodied in the treaty which Germany signed.

When entering the League of Nations, of which she still remains a member until the expiry of the period of two years from her notification of October 21, 1932, Germany in virtue of the preamble of the Covenant undertook to observe a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another.

In the circumstances, and since, under the terms of Paragraph 2, Article XI, it is the right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the Council any circumstances affecting international relations which threaten to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends, the Government of the Republic has the honour to notify the Council of the League of the situation created by the attitude of the German Government.

Because of the gravity of the question raised by German initiative, I have the honour to request the calling of an extraordinary session of the Council for the examination of the present request.

V.

ITALY'S NOTE TO BERLIN.

The Chancellor of the Reich on March 16 communicated to the Italian Ambassador a law promulgated the same day on the basis of which the German Government has re-established in Germany obligatory military service and increased effectives of the German Army to thirty-six divisions.

One week previously German authorities had communicated officially the constitution of a German military Air Force.

The Italian Government has taken note of the Notes addressed to the German Government on this subject by the British Government and the French Government.

The Italian Government cannot but point out that in the accord reached in Rome January 7, 1935, between the Italian and the French Governments, and the final *communiqué* of the conversations in London between the British and French Governments published on February 3, there was reaffirmed the essential principle that the military statute established by Part V. of the Treaty of Versailles could not be modified by unilateral act.

The Italian Government, which, in so far as it is concerned, has always maintained that opportunity should be allowed for revision of Part V. of the Treaty of Versailles through negotiations among the interested Governments, in conditions of perfect equality, had adhered to the principle that the question of German armament should have been the object of a general negotiation similar to what was established in the declaration of December 11, 1932, in which Germany participated.

This procedure had been accepted in principle by the German Government itself in its communication on February 14 of this year.

The Italian Government therefore feels the duty of making the most ample reservation concerning the decision of the Government of the Reich and its probable development.

The Italian Government has always sought to link the Reich fully to the system of collaboration among the principal interested Powers which would accord fully to the Reich the right and responsibilities of a sovereign State.

In view of these considerations the decision of the Reich acquires particular seriousness, especially for the state of uncertainty which it excites in all countries.

The Italian Government has given many proofs, both in the past and recently, of its desire for international collaboration, and proposes to continue in those courses which respond to the needs of the peoples and to work for neighbourliness in Europe, but feels the duty of declaring that in any future negotiations she cannot simply accept as situations of fact those determined by unilateral decision which annuls the undertakings of international character.

VI.

SOVIET-FRENCH TREATY OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE.

(MAY 2, 1935.)

The following is the text of the Soviet-French Treaty of Mutual Assistance recently concluded in Paris and ratified in Moscow :—

The Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the President of the French Republic, inspired by the desire to consolidate peace in Europe and guarantee its benefits to their countries, by ensuring more fully the exact application of the provisions of the League of Nations Covenant which are directed towards the maintenance of the national security, territorial integrity and political independence of States, having decided to devote their efforts to preparations for the conclusion of a European agreement having this object and, pending this, to promote, in so far as it depends on them, the effective application of the provisions of the League of Nations Covenant, have decided to conclude a treaty for this purpose and have appointed as their representatives :—

The Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics : M. Vladimir Potemkin, Member of the Central Executive Committee, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the President of the French Republic ; The President of the French Republic : M. Pierre Laval, Senator, Minister of Foreign Affairs; who upon an exchange of their credentials found to be in proper form and good order, have agreed on the following decisions :—

Article I.—In the event of the U.S.S.R. or France being the object of a threat or in danger of an attack from some European State, France, and likewise the U.S.S.R., undertake to proceed mutually to immediate consultation to the end of taking measures for the enforcement of the provisions of Article 10 of the League of Nations Covenant.

Article II.—In the event that, under the conditions provided for in Article 15, Paragraph 7 of the League of Nations Covenant, the U.S.S.R.

both countries, the object of an unprovoked attack from some European State, France and the U.S.S.R. will immediately render one another assistance and support.

Article III.—Taking into consideration the fact that, according to Article 16 of the League of Nations Covenant, every member of the League who resorts to war contrary to obligations undertaken in Articles 12, 13, and 15 of the Covenant, is thereby regarded as having committed an act of war against every other member of the League, the U.S.S.R. and France mutually undertake, in the event of one of them being, under these conditions and despite the sincerely peaceful intentions of the two countries, the object of an unprovoked attack from some other European State, to render one another immediately assistance and support, acting in accordance with Article 16 of the Covenant.

The same obligation has been undertaken in the case of the U.S.S.R. or France being the object of an attack from some European State under conditions provided for in Paragraphs 1 and 3 of Article 17 of the League of Nations Covenant.

Article IV.—Since the obligations fixed above correspond to the duties of the High Contracting Parties as members of the League of Nations, nothing in this treaty will be interpreted as a limitation of the task of the latter to take measures capable of effectively safeguarding the general peace, or as a limitation of the duties arising for the High Contracting Parties out of the League of Nations Covenant.

Article V.—This treaty, the Russian and French texts of which will be equally valid, will be ratified and the ratification documents will be exchanged in Moscow as soon as possible. It will be registered at the League of Nations Secretariat.

It will enter into force from the moment of the exchange of ratification documents and will remain in force for five years. Should it not be denounced by one of the High Contracting Parties with at least one year's notice prior to the expiration of this period, it will remain in force for an unlimited period and each of the High Contracting Parties will have the right to terminate its action by making a statement to that effect with one year's notice.

In confirmation of which the authorised representatives have signed this treaty and attached their seals thereto.

Paris, *May 2nd*, 1935.

PROTOCOL ON THE SIGNING OF THE PACT.

At the time the Pact of Mutual Soviet-French Assistance of even date was signed, the authorised representatives drew up the following protocol which will be included in the ratified documents of the treaty exchanged between them.

1. It is agreed that in accordance with Article III. each of the contracting parties will accord immediate assistance to the other, taking into consideration the recommendations of the League of Nations Council, as soon as these recommendations are made in accordance with Article 16 of the Covenant.

It is agreed that both of the contracting parties will act together to enable the Council to make its recommendations with all the speed required by the circumstances. It is further agreed that should the Council not make any recommendations, for one reason or another, or if it cannot come to a unanimous agreement, the obligation of rendering assistance nevertheless will remain in force. It is also agreed that the obligation of rendering assistance, as covered by the present treaty, is effective only in case of attack upon the territory of either of the contracting parties.

2. Inasmuch as neither of the Governments desire that the present treaty violate, in any way whatever, such obligations as the U.S.S.R. and France may have assumed previously, as regards a third Government, and which may be embodied in treaties which have been made public, it is agreed that the aforementioned treaty cannot be interpreted in such a way as to be incompatible with the treaty obligations assumed by either of the contracting countries and thus subject either of these countries to sanctions of an international character.

3. Considering it desirable to conclude a regional pact with the aim of organising the security of the contracting Governments, which pact could also include obligations of mutual assistance or be accompanied by such obligations, both Governments recognise the right of each to participate, by mutual consent, in such pacts, either directly or indirectly, in such form as may be fitting for such pacts. In such instances, the obligations called for in these pacts should replace those called for by the present treaty.

4. Both Governments affirm that the negotiations which have resulted in the signing of the present treaty were begun with the view of supplementing the pacts on security embracing the countries of north-eastern Europe, namely, the U.S.S.R., Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Baltic States bordering on the U.S.S.R. There was also to have been concluded, along with this, a treaty of assistance by the U.S.S.R., France, and Germany, according to which each of these three Governments was to have bound itself to render support to whichever of them found itself the object of attack by any of the other of these three Governments.

Although circumstances as yet have not permitted the conclusion of these agreements which both sides continue to consider desirable, nevertheless the obligations laid down by the Soviet-French Treaty of Mutual Assistance must be interpreted as having effect only within the limits originally contemplated by the trilateral agreement. Irrespective of the obligations called for under the present treaty, it is understood that according to the Soviet-French Non-Aggression Pact of November 29th, 1932, and having in mind that the universality of the obligations under this treaty must not be impaired, if either of the contracting parties should be subject to attack by one or several other European Powers, not included in the above-mentioned trilateral agreement, the other contracting party must refrain, during the conflict, from either direct or indirect assistance to either the attacking or attacked country. Furthermore, each of the contracting parties affirms that it is not bound by any agreements on assistance which may contradict this obligation.

Paris, May 2nd, 1935.

VII.

LETTER OF RESIGNATION OF JAMES G. McDONALD

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES (JEWISH AND OTHER) COMING
FROM GERMANY.

London, *December 27th*, 1935.

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS,
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND.

SIR,

On October 26th, 1933, the President of the Council of the League of Nations did me the honour to appoint me High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and Other) Coming from Germany, to "negotiate and direct" the "international collaboration" necessary to solve the "economic, financial and social problem" of the refugees. I hereby beg to submit through you to the Council of the League my resignation from this office, to become effective as from December 31st, 1935.

2. In the period of over two years since the establishment of the office, conditions in Germany which create refugees have developed so catastrophically that a reconsideration by the League of Nations of the entire situation is essential. The legislation and administrative and Party action against "non-Aryans" were steadily intensified, and culminated in the autumn of 1935, when a series of new laws and decrees initiated a fresh wave of repression and persecution of a character which was not envisaged in 1933.

The intensified persecution in Germany threatens the pauperisation or exile of hundreds of thousands of Germans—men, women and children—not only Jews but also the "non-Aryan" Christians treated as Jews, and Protestants and Catholics who in obedience to their faith and conscience dare to resist the absolute will of the National Socialist State.

3. Apart from all questions of principle and of religious persecution, one portentous fact confronts the community of States. More than half a million persons, against whom no charge can be made except that they are not what the National Socialists choose to regard as "Nordic," are being crushed. They cannot escape oppression by any act of their own free-will, for what has been called "the membership of non-Aryan race" cannot be changed or kept in abeyance.

Tens of thousands are to-day anxiously seeking ways to flee abroad; but except for those prepared to sacrifice the whole or greater part of their savings, the official restrictions on export of capital effectively bar the road to escape, and the doors of most countries are closed against impoverished fugitives. Nevertheless, if the present pressure is not relieved, it is inconceivable that those who can flee will remain within Germany.

The task of saving these victims calls for renewed efforts of the philanthropic bodies. The private organisations, Jewish and Christian, may be expected to do their part if the Governments, acting through the League,

make possible a solution. But in the new circumstances it will not be enough to continue the activities on behalf of those who flee from the Reich. Efforts must be made to remove or mitigate the causes which create German refugees. This could not have been any part of the work of the High Commissioner's office ; nor, presumably, can it be a function of the body to which the League may decide to entrust future administrative activities on behalf of the refugees. It is a political function, which properly belongs to the League itself.

4. At the last meeting, on October 16th, 1935, of the Permanent Committee of the Governing Body of the High Commission, at which my intention to resign was fully discussed, action was taken to liquidate the office of the High Commissioner at the end of January, 1936, or sooner if before that date the Council of the League had made other provision for the co-ordination of the activities on behalf of the refugees coming from Germany. It was the expectation of the Permanent Committee that the Committee of Experts provided for by the Assembly of 1935, to study the re-organisation of the activities on behalf of the " German " and of the " Nansen " refugees, would complete its investigations in time to present a plan for consideration, and it was hoped for action by the Council at its meeting in January, 1936.

It has been the sense of the Governing Body that the work of assistance in the countries of refuge could be better carried forward by an organisation directly under the authority of the League. It is now clear that the effectiveness of the High Commissioner's efforts was weakened from the beginning by the compromise which was agreed upon at the time his office was set up—that is, the decision to separate it definitely from the League. This compromise was accepted in order to avoid the veto of Germany, which was then an active member of the League.

5. Progress has been made during the last three years in settling the refugees from Germany. Of the more than 80,000 who have already left the Reich, approximately three-fourths have now found new homes—more than half of these in Palestine—or have been repatriated to their countries of origin. This accomplishment has been primarily the work of the refugees themselves and of the philanthropic organisations—Jewish and Christian—whose devoted labours have been ceaselessly carried on in many parts of the world. Probably not more than 15,000 refugees now remain unplaced. (An account of the work done for the refugees since April, 1933, is being published.)

6. The care and the settlement of these remaining thousands of refugees could and would be borne by the already heavily burdened private organisations, were they not fearful that the number of refugees may be increased many times by new flights from Germany.

The facts which arouse these apprehensions are indisputable. They are evidenced clearly in the German laws, decrees, judicial decisions and Party pronouncements and practices during the last two years. The culmination of these attacks on the Jews, the Christian " non-Aryans," and the political **and** religious dissenters was the new legislation announced at the Party Congress at Nuremberg last September. The core of that enactment was

the law limiting citizenship to those who are " of German or cognate blood," and who also conform to the National Socialist conception of loyalty to the State. As the direct result in Germany not only the Jews, who now number about 435,000, but also tens of thousands of Christian " non-Aryans " who are classified as Jews, lost their citizenship, were disfranchised, and made ineligible to hold public office. Indirectly, through this new law, a constitutional basis was laid for unrestricted discriminations against all those whom the Party may wish to penalise.

The denationalisation by the German Government of thousands of German citizens has added to the hardships both of those remaining in Germany and of the refugees, and is an increasing burden on States which have admitted the refugees while in possession of German nationality.

7. Relentlessly the Jews and " non-Aryans " are excluded from all public offices, from the exercise of the liberal professions, and from any part in the cultural and intellectual life of Germany. Ostracised from social relations with " Aryans," they are subjected to every kind of humiliation. Neither sex nor age exempts them from discrimination. Even the Jewish and " non-Aryan " children do not escape cruel forms of segregation and persecution. In Party publications, directly sponsored by the Government, " Aryan " children are stined to hate the Jews and the Christian " non-Aryans," to spy upon them and to attack them, and to incite their own parents to extirpate the Jews altogether.

8. It is being made increasingly difficult for Jews and " non-Aryans " in Germany to sustain life. Condemned to segregation within the four corners of the legal and social Ghetto which has now closed upon them, they are increasingly prevented from earning their living. Indeed, more than half of the Jews remaining in Germany have already been deprived of their livelihood. In many parts of the country there is a systematic attempt at starvation of the Jewish population. In no field of economic activity is there any security whatsoever. For some time it has been impossible for Jewish business men and shopkeepers to carry on their trades in small towns. The campaign against any dealings with Jews is now systematically prosecuted in the larger towns. Despite the restrictions upon migration from the provinces into the few largest cities where Jewish economic activity is not yet completely excluded, the Jews are fleeing to those cities because there only can they hope to escape, at least for a time, from the more brutal forms of persecution.

This influx has exhausted already the resources of the Jewish philanthropic and educational institutions in Germany. The victims of the terrorism are being driven to the point where, in utter anguish and despair, they may burst the frontiers in fresh waves of refugees.

9. Again, as so often during their long heroic and tragic history, the Jewish people are used as the scapegoat for political and partisan purposes. The National Socialists level against them charges of the most outrageous and untenable kind. They ignore all of the facts of the continuous loyalty of the Jews in Germany: for example, during the Empire when Jews helped to unify Germany and to make it strong; during the war when a percentage of Jewish youth as high as that of any other religious

community in the Reich gave their lives for the Fatherland, and Jewish scientists and men of affairs helped so notably to enable Germany to prolong the struggle ; and under the Republic when Jewish leaders aided in saving Germany from some of the worst effects of defeat. Instead, it has been found useful to attribute to the Jews the responsibility for the misery and dejection which the German people suffered during the last years of the war and the decade that followed. Though less than a one-hundredth part of the total population, the Jews are held responsible for all the adversity which the German people had to undergo. As in the Middle Ages, when they were massacred and expelled from German States as the cause of the Black Death, so to-day they are eliminated from the economic and cultural life of Germany and degraded on the ground that they were the cause of the German humiliation. So far does this hatred extend that even the Jewish war veterans who fought and were wounded in the front line trenches have been forced from their positions in the public services, and the names of the Jewish war dead may no longer be engraved on war memorials.

10. The attitude of the German Government is based not only on the theory of " Nordic race " supremacy and the desire to eliminate " foreign racial " elements from the life of the country ; it rests also on the conception of the absolute subordination of the individual to the State. An influential section of the Party is actively promoting a revival of neo-Paganism which sets itself against both the Old Testament and parts of the New Testament. The conceptions of " blood, race and soil," propagated with fanatical enthusiasm, menace not alone the Jews, but all those who remain defiantly loyal to the old ideals of religious and individual freedom.

Party leaders violently attack religious freedom in the State, and threaten the Church with political domination. Outstanding thinkers of the two great Christian communities in Germany and abroad raise their voices in protest against this attack which threatens to increase the number of refugees.

11. The developments since 1933, and in particular those following the Nuremberg legislation, call for fresh collective action in regard to the problem created by persecution in Germany. The moral authority of the League of Nations and of States Members of the League must be directed towards a determined appeal to the German Government in the name of humanity and of the principles of the public law of Europe. They must ask for a modification of policies which constitute a source of unrest and perplexity in the world, a challenge to the conscience of mankind, and a menace to the legitimate interests of the States affected by the immigration of German refugees.

12. Apart from the Upper Silesia Convention of May, 1922, Germany does not appear to be expressly bound by a treaty obligation providing for equal citizenship of racial, religious or linguistic minorities. But the principle of respect for the rights of minorities has been during the last three centuries hardening into an obligation of the public law of Europe. That principle was recognised in some of the most important international

instruments of the nineteenth century. I may refer to the provisions of the Congress of Vienna, the treaty of guarantee following upon the Union of Belgium and Holland, the collective recognition of the independence of Greece, the creation of the autonomous principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. It was affirmed at the Congress of Berlin in 1878 in relation to newly recognised States. It was deliberately reaffirmed in the Peace Settlement of 1919 and in a series of special minorities treaties as a vital condition both of international justice and of the preservation of the peace of the world. In the case of newly-created States its express recognition constituted a condition of admission to the League of Nations.

Neither was the attitude of Germany in this matter open to any doubt. During the Peace Conference, the German delegation, in urging the adoption of the principle of protection of minorities for the German population in the territories detached from Germany, declared spontaneously that " Germany on her part is resolved to treat minorities of alien origin in her territories according to the same principles." The Allied and Associated Powers expressly took note of that declaration. From the moment of her admission to the League Germany took the lead in securing the effectiveness of the principles of international protection of minorities.

13. The Assembly of the League in 1922 adopted a resolution which expressed the hope that " States not bound by specific legal obligations in the matter of minorities will nevertheless observe in the treatment of their own minorities at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by the treaties in question." The Assembly in 1933, when considering the question of the persecution of Jews in Germany in connexion with the discussion on minorities, reaffirmed that resolution ; and in order to dispel doubts whether it applied to the Jews in Germany, voted, with the single dissent of Germany, in favour of a further resolution that the principle " must be applied without exception to all classes of nationals of a State which differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion."

The German Jews, although not claiming or desiring to be a minority, are within the scope of this principle because, as was stated at the Assembly, as soon as there is legal discrimination, a minority exists within the meaning of modern law.

14. It is not within my province to state to what extent the practice in this matter of the community of nations in the last hundred years and of the League of Nations has become a rule of customary international law ; neither am I called upon to judge how far the declarations and the conduct of Germany prior to 1933 are in themselves sufficient to establish legal presumptions. But both, I believe, are sufficient to establish an appeal to those broad considerations of humanity and of international peace which are the basis of the public law of Europe in the matter of racial and religious minorities.

The growing sufferings of the persecuted minority in Germany and the menace of the growing exodus call for friendly but firm intercession with the German Government, by all pacific means, on the part of the League of Nations, of its Member-States and other members of the community of nations.

Pity and reason alike must inspire the hope that intercession will meet with response. Without such response, the problems caused by the persecution of the Jews and the " non-Aryans " will not be solved by philanthropic action, but will continue to constitute a danger to international peace and a source of injury to the legitimate interests of other States.

15. The efforts of the private organisations and of any League organisation for refugees can only mitigate a problem of growing gravity and complexity. In the present economic conditions of the world, the European States, and even those overseas, have only a limited power of absorption of refugees. The problem must be tackled at its source if disaster is to be avoided.

This is the function of the League, which is essentially an association of States for the consideration of matters of common concern. The Covenant empowers the Council and the Assembly to deal with any matter within the sphere of activity of the League or affecting the peace of the world. The effort of the League to ensure respect for human personality, when not grounded on express provisions of the Covenant or international treaties, has a sure foundation in the fact that the protection of the individual from racial and religious intolerance is a vital condition of international peace and security.

16. I am appending to this letter a comprehensive analysis of the German legislation, administrative decrees and jurisprudence, as well as of their effects on the problem of refugees. [These documents accompanied the letter.]

17. I feel bound to conclude this letter on a personal note. Prior to my appointment as High Commissioner for Refugees Coming from Germany, and in particular during the fourteen years following the war, I gave in my former office frequent and tangible proof of my concern that justice be done to the German people. But convinced as I am that desperate suffering in the countries adjacent to Germany, and an even more terrible human calamity within the German frontiers, are inevitable unless present tendencies in the Reich are checked or reversed, I cannot remain silent. I am convinced that it is the duty of the High Commissioner for German Refugees, in tendering his resignation, to express an opinion on the essential elements of the task with which the Council of the League entrusted him. When domestic policies threaten the demoralisation and exile of hundreds of thousands of human beings, considerations of diplomatic correctness must yield to those of common humanity. I should be recreant if I did not call attention to the actual situation, and plead that world opinion, acting through the League and its Member-States and other countries, move to avert the existing and impending tragedies.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES G. MCDONALD,

*High Commissioner for Refugees
(Jewish and Other) Coming from Germany.*

OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1935.

JANUARY.

1. Cardinal Francis Bourne was born on March 23, 1861, the son of a Civil servant. From Ushaw College he went to St. Edmund's College, Old Hall, for his ecclesiastical studies, which he continued in the seminary of St. Sulpice, in Paris, and the University of Louvain, where he was a pupil of Cardinal Mercier. He was ordained priest in 1884, and spent the first five years of his ministry at Blackheath, Mortlake, and West Grinstead. He was then chosen by Dr. Butt, Bishop of Southwark, to direct the new Diocesan Seminary which was first at Henfield and afterwards at Womersley. Meanwhile, Pope Leo XIII. had raised him to the dignity of a Domestic Prelate, and at the age of 35 he became a Bishop, his episcopal charge being that of coadjutor to the Bishop of Southwark with the right of succession. In 1897 he was appointed Ordinary, with jurisdiction over Kent, Surrey, and Sussex. Six years later, although the youngest of the Bishops, he became Archbishop of Westminster. In November, 1911, he was raised to the purple with the title of St. Pudenziana, and at the time of his death he was one of the oldest Cardinal Priests. Apart from pamphlet reprints of public addresses his publications were limited to a work on "Ecclesiastical Training" (1927). In 1922 he received the honorary degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford.

2. Professor Alfred Chilton Pearson, Emeritus-Professor of Greek at Cambridge University, who was distinguished for his studies in Sophocles, was born on October 8, 1861, and educated at Highgate School, King's College School, London, and Christ's College, Cambridge. After a brilliant academic career, which included the Hare prize (1889), he took up teaching, proceeding from Bury St. Edmunds and Ipswich Schools to Dulwich College (1893-1901). Till 1919 he was engaged in business affairs in London, during which time he pursued his researches in classics. In 1919 he was appointed to the Gladstone Chair of Greek at Liverpool University, and two years later he returned to Cambridge as Regius-Professor of Greek and Fellow of Trinity College. He was a Doctor of the Universities of Cambridge and Manchester, honorary Fellow of Christ's College (1922), and a Fellow of the British Academy (1924). His first book, an edition of the "Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes," appeared in 1891, the fruit of his work for the Hare prize. He also devoted himself to a close study of the Greek Tragedians, publishing annotated editions of three plays of Euripides, abridging Jebb's work on the *Ajax* of Sophocles, and editing Headlam's commentary on the *Agamemnon*. His work on the Fragments of Sophocles appeared in three volumes in 1917. In 1924 he produced a critical text of the seven plays of Sophocles which are extant in their entirety. Owing to ill-health he resigned his chair in 1928. He married, in 1885, Edith Maud, daughter of Reuben Green, and had a son and a daughter.

5. Dame Louisa Innes Lumsden, LL.D., the last of the "Girton Pioneers," was born on December 31, 1840, and educated in London and Brussels at private

schools of an old-fashioned type. Miss Lumsden became one of the original five students of Girton College who started their academic career in October, 1869, in "a hired house at Hitchin." She was the first woman classical tutor at Girton College (1873-74), and later classical mistress at the Cheltenham Ladies' College (1876-77). In 1877 the St. Andrews School for Girls (afterwards St. Leonard's School, St. Andrews) was founded, and Miss Lumsden became the first headmistress, holding the post until 1882, when she resigned owing to ill-health. From 1888 to 1890 she was a member and Chairman of two School Boards in Aberdeenshire, and in 1895 was appointed first Warden of University Hall for women students at St. Andrews. She did not write much but was a born speaker, especially on behalf of the causes she had at heart—the rights of women, the prevention of cruelty to animals, patriotism, and politics. In 1919, at the age of 79, she attended Girton College jubilee as the last survivor of the "Girton Pioneers." She was created a Dame of the Order of the British Empire in 1925, and an honorary LL.D. of St. Andrews in 1911.

6. Cecil Charles Windsor Aldin, painter of sporting subjects, was born at Slough in April, 1870, and educated at Eastbourne College and Solihull School. Encouraged in his artistic aspirations by his father, he came early under the influence of Frank Calderon, with whom he studied at Midhurst in Sussex, but he did not sell his first work until his twenty-first birthday, when the *Graphic* published a drawing of the Dog Show. He then decided to be an artist, and established himself in Chelsea, where he became friendly with many of the leading artists of the day, including John Hassall and Phil May. Among his many-sided interests, his study of dogs came foremost, and his dog paintings were very popular. Among his more important works were a series of illustrations for Mr. Kipling's "Jungle Book" (1894), "A Dog's Day" (1902), "Pickwick" (1910), "Twelve Hunting Counties" (1912), "Handley Cross" (1912), "Old Inns" (1919-20), "Rat-catcher to Scarlet" (1926), "Dogs of Character" (1927), "An Artist's Models" (1930), and "Time I was Dead," a volume of autobiographical reminiscences (1934). He was married and had one daughter.

— Sir Maurice Craig, M.D., F.R.C.P., consulting physician in Psychological Medicine to Guy's Hospital and consulting neurologist to the Ministry of Pensions, was born in 1866, and educated at Bedford Grammar School and Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, graduating with a first class in the Natural Science Tripos in 1887. He then went to the medical school at Guy's Hospital, where he gained the Gaskell Gold Medal in 1900. From 1902 to 1926 he served the hospital as physician and Lecturer in Psychology. At the Royal College of Physicians he delivered the Bradshaw Lecture on "Mental Symptoms in Physical Disease," and the Maudsley Lecture on "Some Aspects of Education and Training in Relation to Mental Disorder." During the Great War he did useful work in connexion with neurological disease, afterwards serving as consulting neurologist at the Ministry of Pensions, and he was a member of the War Office Committee on shell shock. He was made C.B.E. in 1919, and was knighted in 1921. He was Chairman of the Medical Committee of the Cassel Hospital at Penshurst; Governor of the Royal Hospitals of Bethlem and Bridewell; President of the section of Psychiatry at the Royal Society of Medicine, and Vice-President of the International Committee for Mental Hygiene. He was also Chairman of the governors of the Harpur Trust of the Bedford School and President of the Odd Volumes. In addition to numerous articles in the medical journals he wrote books on "Nerve Exhaustion" and on "Psychological Medicine." He married, in 1903, Edith de Saumarez, daughter of A. Kentish Brook. She survived him with a son and two daughters.

7. Sir James Alfred Ewing, F.R.S., distinguished scientist and educationist, was born on March 27, 1855, and educated at the High School, Dundee, and the University of Edinburgh. After working for two years with a firm of engineers in order to obtain a practical knowledge of mechanics, he was appointed Professor

of Mechanical Engineering and Physics at the Imperial University of Tokio and remained there for five years (1878-83). In the winter of 1879-80 he investigated the nature of earth movements and devised instruments for measuring them. He became Vice-President of the Japanese Seismological Society, and was provided with means to establish a seismological observatory in the plain of Yedo. The outcome of his investigations was published among the scientific monographs of the Tokio University. In 1883 he left Japan, being appointed Professor of Engineering at University College, Dundee (1883-90), and Professor of Mechanism and Applied Mechanics at Cambridge (1890-1903). In 1891 he published a treatise on magnetic induction in iron and other metals, and afterwards received the Royal Medal of the Royal Society and the Albert Medal of the Royal Society of Arts. In 1887 he was elected F.R.S. and for several years he served on the Council. He was Rede Lecturer at Cambridge in 1904. In 1903 he joined the Explosives Committee, and pursued exhaustive inquiries into the manufacture of cordite. He also investigated the mechanical production of cold for the refrigeration of ships' magazines and other purposes. In the same year he was appointed Director of Naval Education, and in 1906-8 he was a member of the Ordnance Board. During the Great War he undertook the task of decoding enemy cipher, carrying out the most important work at the Admiralty in "Room 40." He was still nominally Director of Naval Education until 1916, when he became Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Edinburgh. He was created a C.B. in 1907 and a K.C.B. in 1911. In 1932 he was President of the British Association. On April 18, 1929, he received the Freedom of Edinburgh. He had many honorary degrees and was an honorary fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and a member of the Institutions of Civil and Mechanical Engineers. In 1920 he published a volume on thermo-dynamics, and in 1933 "An Engineer's Outlook." He was a member of many committees of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, and was Chairman of the Bridge Stress Committee. He was interested in phonetic spelling, and edited several reading-books which were published by the Carnegie Trust. In 1879 he married Anne, daughter of J. B. Washington, of West Virginia, and by her had one son and one daughter. His wife died in 1909, and he married Ellen Lena, daughter of Dr. J. Hopkinson, F.R.S., and by her had one son.

7. **John Frederick Perry**, who rendered distinguished Government service in South Africa and Canada, was born in 1874 at Trysull, Staffordshire, and educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he had a distinguished academic career, including the Lothian prize in 1896 for an essay on Saint Louis, which was afterwards expanded into a biography. In 1896 also, he was elected to a Fellowship at All Souls College and soon afterwards entered the South African Department of the Colonial Office under Mr. Chamberlain. In 1900 he was seconded for service in South Africa under Lord Milner, then High Commissioner, whom he served first as Assistant Imperial Secretary and then as Imperial Secretary. In 1902, at the instigation of Lord Milner, Perry resigned from the Civil Service in order to become Chairman of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association. As the supply of South African native labour still remained inadequate he was sent to China to organise the engagement, assembly, transport, and subsequent repatriation of a Chinese labour force. He continued in Johannesburg until 1912, when he left for Canada where he became a representative of Messrs. Lazard Bros. & Co., of London, in which his old friend and colleague, the Hon. R. H. Brand, had become a partner. From that time his work lay entirely in Canada, where he was Chairman of several important companies. During the war he was a member of the Imperial Munitions Board of Canada. He was twice married, and left two sons and one daughter.

11. **Sir Alexander Dingwall Bateson**, Judge of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division, was born in 1866, the sixth son of William Gandy Bateson, of a Liverpool firm of shipping solicitors. He was educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Oxford, and was called to the Bar in 1891 by the Inner Temple, of which

he became a benchman in 1920. He soon obtained a large business, especially in shipping cases, and in 1909 he was appointed Junior Counsel to the Admiralty in the Admiralty Division. In 1910 he took silk, and quickly became a leading practitioner at the Admiralty Bar, his services being in constant demand, both in the House of Lords and in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In 1925, owing to the work in the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division having become congested, Mr. Bateson was appointed an additional judge. In 1893 he married Isabel Mary, daughter of William Latham, K.C. She died in 1919, leaving four sons and two daughters.

18. Professor John Macmillan Brown, Chancellor of the University of New Zealand since 1923, was born at Irvine, Scotland, in 1846 and educated at Irvine Academy, Glasgow University, and at Balliol College, Oxford, where he was a Snell Exhibitioner. When Canterbury University College was established in New Zealand in 1874, he was appointed Professor of Classics, and later Professor of English Literature. He was best known as the author of books on the Pacific Island groups, especially Easter Island and its monoliths. In 1924 he published "The Riddle of the Pacific," and in 1927 "Peoples and Problems of the Pacific." His many other works include a "Manual of English Literature," "Riallano," a satire on modern civilisation, "Limanora," a scientific reconstruction of society, "Maori and Polynesian," and "The Dutch East." In 1907 Glasgow University conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D. He married Helen Connors, the first woman to take an honours degree in a British university. She died in 1902, and the Woman's Hostel in Canterbury College was named after her. Two daughters survived Professor Brown.

26. Senor Don Jose* Sanchez Guerra, formerly Prime Minister of Spain, was born on June 30, 1859, at Cordova, and after graduating in law at the University of Madrid became a journalist on the staff of *La Iberia* and *El Español*. Later he was made chief of the Press Department at the Council of Ministers, and entered the law office of Senor Gamazo, the Liberal Leader. Having been elected Deputy for Cabra in 1886, and appointed Governor of Madrid in 1902, Guerra was made Minister of the Interior by Senor Maura in 1903 and was Minister of Public Works also in the Maura Cabinet, 1908-9. He was Minister of the Interior again under Dato in 1913-15 and in 1917. In the summer of that year he put down a general strike with a strong hand. He was elected Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies in 1919, holding the post through five Ministries and one General Election. In 1921, after the murder of Senor Dato, he became Leader of the Conservative Party, and in March, 1922, King Alfonso invited him to form a Cabinet. He attempted to abolish the Military Juntas by his decree of November 14, forbidding officers to take part in any military association outside the Service. But it was too late, and when the Dictator, General Primo de Rivera, announced the creation of a nominated National Assembly, Guerra went to Paris and engaged in active conspiracy against the Dictator. Accompanied by his son, Don Rafael, he appeared on January 29, 1929, at Valencia, as the leader of a military rising which miscarried. He insisted on being arrested, and was held a prisoner until tried by Court Martial in the following autumn, when he was acquitted. But he was not released until November 24, when the Supreme Court of Military Justice ordered a new trial. The trial was never held, as two months later the Dictator fell. In a speech on February 27, 1930, Guerra broke with King Alfonso, while still proclaiming himself an ardent monarchist. Deprived of the leadership of the Conservative Party by Count Bugallal, he joined the Constitutionalists, who demanded that the King should renounce all regal prerogatives pending ratification or revision of the Constitution by a Constituent Assembly. On February 16, 1931, the King appealed to Guerra to form a National Cabinet, but he was unsuccessful, and the Revolution came eight weeks later. In July, 1931, Guerra was elected Deputy to the Cortes Constituyentes. In legislation his name was associated with the Mancomunidades Bill, which gave a certain amount of autonomy to Catalonia. Among many decorations he possessed a medal for having saved a woman from drowning.

FEBRUARY.

3. The Right Hon. John Henry Whitley, P.C., Speaker of the House of Commons, 1921-28, and Chairman of the British Broadcasting Corporation since 1930, was born on February 8, 1866, the son of Nathan Whitley, who was Mayor of Halifax in 1876. He was educated at Clifton College, of which he was elected President in 1928, and London University. After taking his degree he entered the business of S. Whitley & Son, cotton spinners, of Halifax, beginning as an operative. Almost immediately he started a recreative evening school for boys. Continuing his interest in social work, he became in later years President of the National Council of Social Service. In 1893 he was elected to the Halifax Town Council and sat for seven years, devoting special attention to tramway development. Seven years later he was elected to the House of Commons as a Liberal for Halifax, holding the seat for twenty-eight years (1900-28). He became Speaker of the House of Commons in 1921, having had an excellent training for that office, both as Chairman of Committees and as Deputy Speaker for ten years. Mr. Speaker Whitley won golden opinions for his judicial outlook, broad sympathies, and tact, and on his retirement in 1928 the usual annuity of 4,000l. for life was voted to him, but he declined the customary peerage, being the first Speaker to do so in modern times. In September, 1929, he became Chairman of the Royal Commission on Labour in India. In June of the following year Mr. Ramsay MacDonald appointed him Chairman of the Board of Governors of the British Broadcasting Corporation, with a five-year term of office. Mr. Whitley will also be remembered for the industrial councils bearing his name which were set up towards the end of the Great War to deal with disputes between employers and their workpeople. In 1932 he received the Kaisar-i-Hind medal of the first class for his services to India, having asked permission to refuse the honour of being made a K.C.S.I. He was sworn of the Privy Council in 1911, received honorary degrees from Oxford, Cambridge, and Leeds Universities, and was a freeman of Halifax. In 1929 he was presented by the members of the House of Commons with his portrait; painted by Glyn Philpot, R. A. Mr. Whitley was twice married; in 1892 to a daughter of Giulio Marchetti, who had been one of Garibaldi's officers. She died in 1925, leaving two sons and two daughters. In 1928 Mr. Whitley married Helen Clarke, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Clarke.

6. Thomas Fisher Unwin, publisher and politician, was born on January 24, 1848, the son of Jacob Unwin, founder of the Gresham Press. He was educated at the City of London School and entered the firm of Jackson, Walford & Hodder in 1862. Twenty years later he bought the business of Marshall, Japp & Company, and started on his own account in Holborn Viaduct, finally settling at No. 1 Adelphi Terrace in 1906. He "discovered" Joseph Conrad and Somerset Maugham, and he published Mark Rutherford's "works and Richard Middleton's poetry and prose. In his "Pseudonym Library" Mrs. Craigie first appeared as "John Oliver Hobbes"; other contributors included "Ouida," "Ralph Iron" (Olive Schreiner), W. B. Yeats, and "Vernon Lee." The companion "Autonym Library" contained tales by George Gissing, S. R. Crockett, Marion Crawford, and Robert Buchanan. Unwin's "First Novel Library" began in 1901 with "Wistons," by "Miles Amber" (his sister-in-law, Mrs. Cobden Sickert), and included "The Way of an Eagle," by Ethel M. Dell. Apart from fiction he also published the Mermaid series of old dramatists, Welsh and Irish libraries, and a "Chats" series of handbooks for collectors. His first library was that of the "Story of the Nations," which grew to some seventy volumes, and in his "Cameo" series he issued Sir William Watson's "Wordsworth's Grave" and W. B. Yeats's "Countess Cathleen," as well as many translations. His marriage to Jane, daughter of Richard Cobden, confirmed him in the faith of advanced Liberalism, and besides popular editions of Morley's life of Cobden he published "The Hungry Forties," edited by Mrs. Fisher Unwin, and many other works on politics

and economics. A member of the Alpine Club, he issued a series of "Climbers' Guides" and mountaineering books from all parts of the globe. He was a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and a member of the Kosmos Club. He founded the Johnson Club in 1884, and was a governor of the Johnson House and a trustee of the Carlyle House. He was a joint founder and member of the first council of the Publishers' Association, and a joint founder of the first committee of the Friends of Russian Freedom; a member of the committee and treasurer of the Coden Club; a trustee, honorary librarian, and Chairman of the committee of the National Liberal Club, where he was also Chairman of the Political and Economic Circle, and a governor of the London School of Economics. For his services during the war he was awarded the palm in gold of the Order of the Crown of Belgium. In 1926 his publishing business was amalgamated with that of Messrs. Ernest Benn.

7. Herbert George Ponting, explorer and photographer to the Scott Expedition to the South Pole, was born in 1871, and educated at Carlisle and Preston Grammar Schools. He became a rancher in California and then took up gold mining, being appointed manager of a mine at the age of 27. In 1900 he won first prize for telephotography in a world competition with "Mules at a Californian Round-Up," which was exhibited at the St. Louis World's Fair. In 1901 *Leslie's Weekly* commissioned him to make a pen and camera tour of the Far East. In 1903, when war between Japan and Russia became imminent, the American Press was filled with Ponting's pictures of Port Arthur and Mukden, and on the outbreak of hostilities he went as correspondent of *Harper's Weekly* with the First Japanese Army in Manchuria, and was awarded a Japanese medal. In 1909 Captain Scott, who was fitting out his second expedition to the South Pole, offered Ponting the post of photographic officer. On his return from the Antarctic in 1913 the Fine Art Society of London held for many months an exhibition of his Polar studies in carbon, and he gave his lecture "With Captain Scott in the Antarctic" over 1,000 times in the Philharmonic Hall. He also delivered it before the King and Queen at Buckingham Palace. His film record of the expedition was shown as "The Great White Silence." In 1933 it was synchronised with his own story of the adventure and called "90 Deg. South." His book, "The Great White South," appeared in 1921. He received many honours, including the King George V. Polar Medal and the Royal Geographical Society's medal for Antarctic exploration, and he was F.R.G.S. and an honorary life member of the American National Geographical Society. In 1922 he invented a portable projector called the "Kinatome," and in September, 1933, he showed at a meeting of the Royal Photographic Society a device called "The Variable Controllable Distortograph" for photographic caricature.

— Professor Arthur Thomson, Emeritus Dr. Lee's Professor of Anatomy at Oxford, and Student of Christ Church, was born in March 21, 1858. For several years he was Sir William Turner's chief assistant at Edinburgh, where he graduated M.B., and in 1885 he went to Oxford as a University Lecturer in Human Anatomy, which was then practically a new department. Thus Thomson developed into an important school in medical education, and ultimately he became Professor of Anatomy. Oxford owes him a great debt for the work he did to further medical education there. Physical Anthropology was another field in which he excelled. In 1907 the informal instruction which he had given in this subject was amplified into a regular course of study, and the University diploma in Anthropology was instituted. His great versatility is illustrated by the books which he published—"The Anatomy of the Human Eye," "The Ancient Races of the Thebaid" (with Dr. Randall MacIver), and "A Handbook of Anatomy for Art Students" which became the standard work on the subject. For the last twenty years he had been working at the difficult and controversial study of the early development of the human embryo. After being lecturer at the Royal College of Art, he succeeded in 1900 to the Professorship of Anatomy at the Royal

Academy. He was President of the Anatomical Society of Great Britain and Ireland in 1906, and in 1913 he presided over the Anatomical Section of the International Medical Congress. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1907. In 1919 his professorship was placed on Dr. Lee's foundation, and he became a Student of Christ Church. He resigned his Chair in 1933, and received the honorary degree of D.Sc. He married, in 1888, Mary, daughter of Norman Macbeth, U.S.A., and had two daughters.

8. Professor Max Liebermann, portrait painter, was born in Berlin in 1847 into a wealthy Jewish family, which had long been resident in the Prussian capital. After overcoming his father's opposition, he studied painting under Steffek, the Berlin animal painter, and under Munkacsy. His first picture, "Women Plucking Geese," was exhibited in 1872. Its straightforward simplicity, in contrast to the conventional art of the day, was condemned by the critics, save Menzel, who pronounced it a masterpiece. After a visit to Paris, in 1873, he came under the influence of the Fontainebleau School; in Holland Josef Israels had much effect on his work. In 1878 a picture painted at Munich, "Christ in the Temple" (bought for 60,000 marks by the Hamburg Hall of Art in 1911), agitated the clerical politicians who charged him with irreverence. The controversy became almost a scandal, and he never again attempted a scriptural subject. Instead, he found his subjects in the orphanages and the Jewish quarter of Amsterdam, in the fields of the peasantry, and in German factories and beer gardens. He evolved a style of his own, his paintings attracting attention by their striking naturalness, by their human sympathy, tinged with melancholy scepticism. In Germany he was the pioneer of a new school of painting, introducing a new note of worldliness which freed German painting from its former elaborate heaviness. He founded the Berlin Secession, and for many years he headed the counter-movement of the younger generation to the academic tradition of which the Court was the stronghold. A loyal Jew, he refused to give up his Judaism, and when he was elected President of the Prussian Academy of Art during the Monarchy, the election was vetoed by the Kaiser. After the war he was re-elected annually for thirteen years President of the Academy of Arts. On his 80th birthday President von Hindenburg conferred on him the highest award of the Reich—the Eagle Shield, the Prussian State its Golden Medal, and he was made a Freeman of Berlin. On December 30, 1932, he was elected Vice-Chancellor of the Civil Class of the Order of Merit, but thirty days later, when Herr Hitler had become Chancellor, Liebermann was dismissed from the Prussian Academy of Art, thus being one of the first victims of Nazi anti-Jewish savagery. His self-portrait was presented in 1932 to the Tate Gallery which already possessed "Jews Mourning for Kaiser Friederich III."

12. Clifford Dyce Sharp, editor of the *New Statesman* from its foundation in 1913 until its amalgamation with the *Nation* in 1931, was born on October 21, 1883, and was educated at St. Lawrence College and University College, London, where he studied engineering. Before the *New Statesman* was started he had been director of Lord and Lady Passfield's (then Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb) National Campaign for the Break-up of the Poor Law and editor of its monthly journal the *Crusade*. The *New Statesman* owed much to his skill as a journalist and to the influence of his striking personality. He married, in 1909, Rosamund, daughter of Hubert Bland and E. Nesbit.

— **Mark Lancelot Symons**, painter of religious subjects, was born in 1887, the son of William Christian Symons, who painted a large picture of the Crucifixion in Westminster Cathedral. Mark Symons studied at the Slade School and under Sargent, but for two years he deserted art in order to devote himself to religious work. It was only after his marriage that he took up painting again. He exhibited at the New English Art Club and at the Royal Academy. His Madonna ("Sedes Sapientiae") is at Downside Abbey; "Ave Maria" is at the Reading

Art Gallery, and " The Day After Christmas " is at the Bury Art Gallery. He frequently used the streets and buildings of Reading in his pictures, and his friends and others of the townspeople as models. He was a sound craftsman, and when not burdened with a mission he had a remarkable power of co-ordinating detail painted in a Pre-Raphaelite manner. He was best known to the public for a series of pictures dealing with Christ in modern settings, such as " Where Were You When they Crucified My Lord ? " exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1930 ; " In the Street of the Great City " (1932), and "The Earthly Paradise" (1934). He married Miss Constance Gerber, and had two daughters.

13. **Dr. Herbert Allen Giles**, formerly Professor of Chinese at Cambridge, was born on December 8, 1815, the son of the Rev. John Allen Giles, D.C.L., whom he followed to Charterhouse. At the age of 22 he joined the Consular Service in China, and after the usual period as student in Peking, he was transferred to Tientsin (1868). When he was 28 he began to write on Chinese history, language, and literature, and in 1874 he became a regular contributor to the *Celestial Empire*. In the same year he began his "Chinese-English Dictionary," published in fascicules, and first completed in 1892. It was undertaken at his own cost, but on the appearance of the first fascicule Sir Robert Hart paid in advance for 100 copies of the complete work. For his dictionary Giles received the Prix St. Julien of the French Academy in 1911. Having been appointed Acting Consul at Amoy (1879) he devoted himself to the study of Chinese, abandoning his earlier intention of studying law. The results of his industry are contained in a long list of published works beginning in 1870, and covering a wide range of subjects. He retired from the Consular Service and returned to England in 1893. In 1897, having accepted the post of Professor of Chinese at Cambridge University, he published the work by which he is best known to the general reader, " A Chinese Biographical Dictionary," for which he also received the Prix St. Julien of the French Academy. Among his chief works are " Chinese Without a Teacher," "A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms" (1877), "A History of Chinese Literature " (1901), " Religions of Ancient China " (1905), " Chinese Poetry in English Verse " (1898), " Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art" (1905), " Gems of Chinese Literature " (revised, 1923), " Chinese Instructions to Coroners " (1924), " Quips from a Chinese Jest Book " (1925). His Hibbert lectures appeared as " Confucianism and its Rivals " in 1915. In 1898 he produced a catalogue of the Chinese and Manchu books in the Wade Library at Cambridge, adding a supplementary catalogue in 1915. He resigned his Chair in 1932. In 1922 he received the triennial gold medal of the Royal Asiatic Society, the first time it had been granted for Chinese studies. From the Chinese Government he received the Order of Chia Ho and he was hon. D.Litt of Oxford, hon. LL.D. of Aberdeen, hon. Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and first lecturer on the Dean Lung Foundation of Columbia University, New York. He was twice married, and had three sons and two daughters.

— **Violet Paget** (Vernon Lee), writer on the Renaissance and the eighteenth century in Italy, was born in October, 1856, of British parentage. During her early years, the family wandered up and down Europe, finally settling at Florence, which became her permanent home. Her first book, " Studies of the 18th Century in Italy," published in 1880 when she was 24, immediately attracted great attention, the sex of the author being veiled by her pseudonym. In 1881 she paid her first visit to England, and her remarkable conversational gifts made her welcome in aesthetic society, which she afterwards caricatured in " Miss Brown " (1884), her first effort in fiction. In the same year appeared " Euphorion," described as " Studies of the Antique and the Mediaeval in the Renaissance," and dedicated to Walter Pater. Next came " The Countess of Albany " (Eminent Women Series). Over thirty volumes of criticism, fiction, and essays stand to her credit, among which may be mentioned " Renaissance Fancies and Studies," " Genius Loci," " The Enchanted Woods," " Limbo and other Essays," " The

Spirit of Rome," a play *Adriadne in Mantua*, and some political and social writings such as the "Gospels of Anarchy" and "Satan the Waster," "The Golden Keys" (1925), and "Music and Its Lovers" (1932), an empirical study of emotion and the imaginative responses to music. She is mentioned by name in Browning's "Asolando."

18. General Sir Andrew Skeen, associated with the plan for an Indian Sandhurst, was born on January 20, 1873. In 1891 he was commissioned to the King's Own Scottish Borderers, and joined the Indian Staff Corps two years later. He was in the North-West Frontier fighting of 1897-98; in the Boxer Expedition to China in 1900 and in Somaliland in 1902-4, when he was mentioned in despatches and received the brevet of major. From 1912 until the Great War he was employed at the Staff College at Quetta. In the Great War, serving with the Indian contingents on the Western Front, he was made a C.M.G. For fifteen months he was brigadier-general with the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force, and was then recalled to Army Headquarters at Delhi to be Director of Military Operations and Intelligence. He went through the Third Afghan War, and thereafter was colonel commanding the Waziri force from October, 1919, to May, 1910. Then, until September, 1921, he commanded the Kohat Kurram force. On these campaigns he drew, when writing, his admirable exposition of frontier soldering under the unmilitary title of "Passing It On." He was created K.C.I.E. in 1921 for the Waziristan campaign, held the Southern Command in 1923-24, when he was called to Delhi as chief of the General Staff. In 1925 he was made a K.C.B., and in the summer it was announced that he was to be Chairman of a Committee to examine how to attract the best qualified Indian youths to a military career. Vacancies at Sandhurst were already reserved for Indian cadets, but Indian public opinion was dissatisfied with the slowness of the progress, and urged the setting up of a military college on similar lines in India. When the Committee had reported, Skeen returned to his Chiefship of the Staff. He left a widow and one son.

MARCH.

6. The Hon. Oliver Wendell Holmes, an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court for twenty-nine years, was born on March 7, 1841, the son of the well-known author of "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table," who was a doctor of medicine by profession. Two years after the end of the American Civil War, in which he had three times been seriously wounded, he was admitted to the bar of Suffolk County, Massachusetts, as attorney and counsellor-at-law (1867), having already graduated at the Harvard Law School. For about ten years, from 1870, he lectured in the Harvard Law School, producing his masterpiece, the twelfth edition of Kent's "Commentaries," in 1873. Meanwhile, he was editing the *American Law Review*. In 1880 he delivered before the Lowell Institute a series of lectures, subsequently published as "The Common Law," which soon achieved a world-wide reputation. In 1882 he was called to the Judicial Bench of Massachusetts, was appointed Chief Justice in 1899, and in December, 1902, was translated to the Supreme Court of the United States, where he remained until his retirement on January 11, 1932. On his ninetieth birthday he was elected an honorary Bencher of Lincoln's Inn. In 1909 he was made an honorary D.C.L. of Oxford. In 1931 he was elected an honorary member of the Alpine Club. He married, in 1872, Fanny Dixwell, who died in 1929.

13. **George Earle Buckle**, editor of *The Times* from 1884 to 1912, Disraeli's biographer, and editor of Queen Victoria's letters, was born at Twerton Vicarage, Bath, on June 10, 1854, the eldest son of the Rev. George Buckle, afterwards Canon of Wells, and educated at Honiton Grammar School, Winchester, and New College, Oxford. In 1875 he won the Newdigate prize with a poem on "David

Livingstone " ; in 1876 he got his first class in " Greats," and in 1877 a first in modern history, after which he was elected to a Fellowship of All Souls, which he held till his marriage in 1885. After a short period of residence in Oxford, he entered Lincoln's Inn, reading in the chambers of Rigby, afterwards Attorney General. He joined *The Times* in June, 1880, five months before he was called to the Bar. Very soon he became second in command to the editor, Thomas Chenery, on whose death in 1884 he was appointed editor at the age of 30. The six years of Unionist rule, 1886 to 1892, when the paper opposed Home Rule, were the most arduous of Mr. Buckle's life, and the burden grew heavier as the years went on, for a series of articles on Parnellism led to a judicial inquiry before a special Commission, which entailed a heavy financial loss upon the proprietors of the paper. Buckle tendered his resignation, but it was declined, and he remained in office until his retirement in August, 1912. On his return from a visit to South Africa he undertook to finish W. F. Monypenny's *Life of Disraeli*, a task which occupied him for eight years. Soon after its publication, King George V. entrusted him with the editing of Queen Victoria's letters, the final instalment of which appeared in June, 1932. An honorary LL.D. of St. Andrews, Mr. Buckle was now made honorary D.Litt. of Oxford, in recognition of his work as editor of *The Times*, biographer of Disraeli, and editor of Queen Victoria's correspondence. He married first, in 1885, Alicia, daughter of James Payn, the novelist. She died in 1898, leaving one son and one daughter. Seven years later he married his cousin, Beatrice, daughter of the Rev. John Earle.

16. Professor John James Rickard Macleod, F.R.S., Regius Professor of Physiology at Aberdeen, was born at Cluny near Dunkeld, on September 6, 1876, and was educated at the Grammar School and Marischal College, Aberdeen, where he was Anderson Scholar, and at Leipzig. From 1899 to 1902 he was demonstrator of Physiology at the London Hospital, from 1903 to 1918 he was Professor of Physiology at the Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, and from 1918 to 1928 he was Professor of Physiology and Associate Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at Toronto, returning to Aberdeen as Professor of Physiology in 1928. To Professor Macleod and to Sir Frederick Banting the world chiefly owes the discovery of insulin as a specific for diabetes, which was first announced in 1922, and for which they were awarded the Nobel prize for medicine in 1923; they also received the honorary degree of D.Sc. from Toronto University in the same year, and Professor Macleod was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and was a Cameron Prizeman of Edinburgh University. Macleod was a member of numerous learned bodies at home and abroad. His published works included " Practical Physiology " (1903); " Recent Advances in Physiology," edited by Leonard Hill (1905); " Diabetes: its Physiological Pathology " (1913); " Fundamentals of Physiology " (1916); " Laboratory Manual in Physiology " (1919); the articles on physiology and bio-chemistry in " Modern Medicine," seventh edition, 1934; " Carbohydrate Metabolism and Insulin " (1926); and numerous papers on insulin, experimental glycosuria, respiration, and lactic acid metabolism published in the *Journal of Physiology* and the *American Journal of Physiology*.

18. Dr. Carl Duisberg, the Chairman and creator of the German Chemical Trust, L.G.Farbenindustrie, and a world-renowned chemist, whose name is linked with the discovery and development of aniline dyes, was born in 1862 at Barmen, Germany, and studied chemistry at Jena, Göttingen, Munich, and Strasburg, taking his doctorate at the age of 20. After a period of research at Munich, during which he interested himself in political economy as well as chemistry, he entered the service of Farbenfabriken vorm. Friedr. Bayer & Co., in their Elberfeld dyeworks, and he was associated with the firm for fifty years. Before leaving Munich he discovered benzopurpurin and benzozurin. To his first great discoveries of artificial dyes having the property of dyeing wool directly without its being first steeped in caustic, he added the discovery of phenacetin and other pharmaceutical products, for which the firm of Bayer and the German Chemical Trust

were widely known. In 1904, as the result of a memorandum which he had written, the Badische Anilin-und-Sodafabrik Farbenfabriken vorm. Friedr. Bayer & Co. and the A.G. fur Anilinfarben-Fabrikation entered into a community of interests, but it was not until 1916 that the five other large chemical firms joined in forming the I.G. Farbenindustrie (Community of Interests of the German Coal Tar Industry). Ten years later the eight firms belonging to the great Chemical Trust were fused into a single undertaking, the I.G. undertaking, the I.G. Farben Aktiengesellschaft, and Duisberg became the first Chairman of its board of administration. He was President of the Reich Federation of German Industry from 1925 until his seventieth birthday in 1931.

26. Miss Constance Louisa Maynard, Mistress of Westfield College, University of London, 1882-1913, was born on February 19, 1849, at Hawkshurst, Kent, and educated at Girtton, which she entered in 1872, when it was three years old; a vivid picture of those early years is contained in her book, "Between College Terms." In 1875 she was the first Girtonian to take the Moral Science Tripos. After helping Dame Louisa Lumsden [see under January 3] to start St. Leonard's School, St. Andrews, she spent two years at the Slade School of Art. In 1882 she met Miss Dudin Brown, who was thinking of founding a woman's college. A council was formed, and mainly owing to the energy of Miss Maynard, Westfield College was opened on October 2, 1882, at Hampstead with five students, one lecturer, and Miss Maynard as Head. From 1883 onwards Miss Maynard had the co-operation of Miss A. W. Richardson, who was vice-principal for forty years. Miss Maynard saw the college grow in numbers; she limited the number of students to sixty, realising that direct contact with individuals enabled her to give the teaching that proved an inspiration to so many.

28. Tielman Roos, K.C., Leader of the Central Party in South Africa and formerly Minister of Justice, was born at Cape Town on May 8, 1879, and educated there at the South African College. At the end of the South African War he settled in the Transvaal, and quickly identified himself with the intransigence of the defeated Republic, being described as the stormy petrel of South African politics. At the Bar he soon made an impression, and rapidly gained a good practice. He entered the Union Parliament in 1915 for Lichtenburg in the Western Transvaal. In the General Election of 1924, when General Smuts was defeated in the Transvaal, Roos joined Hertzog's "pact" Government as Minister of Justice, and when General Hertzog went to the Imperial Conference of 1926, Roos was appointed Acting Prime Minister. In 1929 he came to Europe for medical treatment, and was away at the time of the General Election. He was, however, re-elected for Lichtenburg, but he declined to continue in office. In November he was appointed a Judge of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, remaining on the Bench for only three years. During the gold standard agitation Hertzog challenged him either to resign from the Bench or to silence his supporters. In December, 1932, he resigned and re-entered politics, hoping to form a Coalition Government, which would abandon the gold standard. But the idea was coldly received, and in February, 1933, he gave up the proposed new party. At the General Election in May the breach between him and Hertzog was complete. He contested Rustenburg against the Minister for Native Affairs and was decisively beaten. He then resumed his practice at the Bar. In March, 1935, he advised his followers to dissolve the Central Party and to join the united party represented by the Government.

29. Sir Edward Albert Sharpey-Schafer, F.R.S. Emeritus Professor of Physiology in Edinburgh University, was born in London on June 2, 1850, the son of James William Henry Shafer, of Hamburg. He added the name Sharpey in 1918. He was educated at University College, London, where he was a pupil of William Sharpey, the physiologist, and he was the first Sharpey Scholar there in 1873. He became assistant Professor of Physiology in 1874, the year in which

Sharpey resigned the Chair. Thereafter he held many appointments, including the Jodrell Professorship at University College (1883), the Fullerman Professorship at the Royal Institution (till 1899), and the Professorship at Edinburgh University (1899-1933). He was General Secretary of the British Association from 1895 to 1900, and President in 1912. In 1923 he was President of the International Physiological Congress. He was knighted in 1913 and received honorary doctorates from many universities at home and abroad. Of the Royal Society, he was elected a Fellow in 1878, served more than one term on the Council, and was awarded a Royal Medal in 1902 and the Copley Medal, the highest honour of the Society, in 1924. He received the Baly Medal of the Royal College of Physicians in 1897, and the Neill Medal of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, of which he was President, in 1922. He was the author of "A Course of Practical Histology," "An Advanced Text-Book of Physiology," "Experimental Physiology," "The Endocrine Organs," a history of the Physiological Society, 1876-1926, and other works, together with numerous papers in scientific journals. He will, however, be best remembered for his researches in histology, for the insight he obtained into muscular action from his observation of water-beetles, and for his discovery of the importance of "hormones" for health. In his presidential address to the British Association in 1912 he claimed that life was no "mysterious force," but was due to the action of chemico-physical laws. In the previous year he was awarded the de Cyon prize by the Academy of Sciences of the Royal Institute of Bologna for his work on the ductless glands. To the general public he was known for his manual prone pressure method of employing artificial respiration, adopted by the Royal Life Saving Society, which awarded him its Distinguished Service Medal. To his pupils he was a wise teacher, whose sympathy and understanding endeared him to them all. He was twice married. By his first wife he had two sons, who were both killed in the war. He was survived by his second wife, Ethel Maud, daughter of J. H. Roberts, F.R.C.S., and one daughter.

30. The Right Hon. Sir Arthur Herbert Drummond Ramsay-Steel-Maitland, Bt., Minister of Labour, 1924-29, was born in India on July 5, 1876, and educated at Rugby and Balliol College, Oxford. A distinguished academic career, including the Presidency of the Union and the Eldon Law Scholarship, was crowned by a Fellowship at All Souls College in 1900. From 1902 to 1905 he was private secretary to two Chancellors of the Exchequer, Mr. Ritchie and Mr. Austen Chamberlain. He was appointed Chairman of the Unionist Party in 1911, and was successively Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies, 1915-17, and Joint Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Foreign Office, and (in his capacity as head of the Department of Overseas Trade) Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, 1917-19. In 1910 he was elected as Unionist member for East Birmingham, holding the seat until 1918, when he became member for the Erdington Division of Birmingham. In 1929 he lost his seat to Labour, but was shortly afterwards returned for the Tamworth Division of Warwickshire. On accepting the office of Minister of Labour, he resigned his position as Managing Director of the Rio Tinto Company. In 1927 he conducted through the House of Commons the Unemployment Insurance Act. One of his last acts as Minister of Labour was to propose the setting up of the Industrial Transference Board to "place" unemployed workers in the distressed mining and other areas in employment in other parts of the country. In October, 1933, he went, at the invitation of the Rockefeller Foundation, to the United States to examine the measures for recovery and relief which were being taken there. His book, "The New America," was a shrewd commentary on current American affairs. He was created a baronet in 1917, was sworn of the Privy Council in 1924, and was an honorary doctor of Edinburgh and St. Andrews. He married, in 1901, Mary, daughter and heir of Sir James Ramsay Gibson-Maitland, Bt., taking at the same time the names of Ramsay-Steel-Maitland in lieu of Steel. He left two sons and two daughters.

APRIL.

2. **Professor Alexander Pearce Higgins, K.C.**, Whewell Professor of International Law at Cambridge since 1920, was born in 1866, and was educated at the Worcester Cathedral (King's) School and at Downing College, Cambridge. After taking his degree, he taught law privately in Cambridge; in 1908 he was appointed Deputy Whewell Professor of International Law, and at the same time Lecturer in International Law at the Royal Naval War and Staff Colleges, and at the London School of Economics. Although his interests were mainly academic, he was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn, and had a certain amount of practice. At the outbreak of the war in 1914 he was appointed Adviser in International Law and Prize Law in the Departments of the Procurator-General and the Treasury Solicitor. He was made a C.B.E. in 1917, in which year he was President of the Society of Public Teachers of Law. After the Armistice he was appointed adviser to the Admiralty on international law for the Peace Conference. When the Whewell Professorship became a full-time post in 1923, Higgins resigned the Professorship of International Law in the University of London which he had held since 1919. In the same year he took silk, and was elected an honorary Fellow of Downing. He had been a Fellow of Trinity College since 1926. He was a corresponding member of Institut de Droite Compare, Brussels, a member and past President of the Institut de Droit International, Professor at The Hague Academy of International Law in 1926, 1929, and 1932, and a member of the Curatorium of the Academy in 1929. In 1930 he and Lord Sankey were appointed British members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague for a term of six years. After two early works on "Employers' Liability on the Continent" and "Elements of Agricultural Law," he published, in 1904, "The Hague Conference," important as a prelude to the larger and more solid work, "The Hague Peace Conference" (1909). In 1917 he became responsible for the seventh edition of W. E. Hall's classic work on international law, and in 1924 for the eighth edition. Among other publications may be mentioned "The Binding Force of International Law" (1910), "War and the Private Citizen" (1912), "Armed Merchant Ships" (1914), and "Defensively Armed Merchant Ships and Submarine Warfare" (1917), "Studies in International Law and Relations" (1928), and two chapters in the "Cambridge History of the British Empire" (1929). He also contributed articles to many British and foreign periodicals, and was joint editor with Sir Cecil Hurst of "The British Year-Book of International Law." In 1899 Professor Higgins married Mina, daughter of Simon MacLennan, of Glasgow, and had two sons.

5. **Basil Champneys**, eminent as a collegiate and ecclesiastical architect, was born on September 17, 1842, son of Dr. W. W. Champneys, Dean of Lichfield, and was educated at Charterhouse and Trinity College, Cambridge. After serving his articles with John Prichard of Llandaff, he began practice on his own account in 1867. At Cambridge he was the architect of the Divinity and Literary Schools, of the Archaeological Museum and of the additions to Newnham College. At Oxford he built the Indian Institute, the Robinson Memorial Tower at New College, new buildings at Merton and Oriel Colleges, the library at Somerville, and Mansfield College. At Manchester he was responsible for the John Rylands Library. For Harrow School he designed the Butler Museum and classrooms; for Winchester, the Quincentenary Building; for King's Lynn, the Grammar School; for Bedford, the Harpur Girls' School. His church work included additions to the Manchester Cathedral and one or two country churches. In 1912 he received the Royal gold medal of the Royal Institute of British Architects. As a writer Champney's career began in 1875 with "A Quiet Corner of England," an account of Winchelsea, Rye, and Romney Marsh, illustrated by woodcuts from his pen-and-ink sketches. Other publications included "Henry Merritt: Art Criticism and Romance" (1879), "Memoirs and Correspondence of Coventry Patmore" (1900), the authoritative work on the subject, which he had prepared at the request of the poet's

widow. In 1876 he married May Theresa Ella, daughter of Maurice Drummond, C.B., and had two sons and two daughters.

S. **Edwin Cannan**, Emeritus Professor of Political Economy in the University of London, was born in 1861 and educated at Clifton College and Balliol College, Oxford. In 1885 he won the Lothian prize with an essay on "The Duke of St. Simon." In 1897 he was appointed Lecturer on Economics at the London School of Economics, which had been founded two years earlier, and there he spent the rest of his career as a teacher of Economics. He was created Professor of Political Economy in the University of London in 1907, and served in that capacity until 1926, when he retired and was made Emeritus Professor. Cannan, who was gifted with an original mind, was an inspiring teacher. Testimony of the estimation in which he was held was afforded by a *Festschrift* of "London Essays in Economics in Honour of Edwin Cannan," published in 1927. In 1888 he published "Elementary Political Economy," and in 1893 "History of the Theories of Production and Distribution," peppered with criticisms of Ricardo, Malthus, and Mill. His "History of Local Rates in England" (1896), an edition of a student's notes of Adam Smith's "Lectures" in the same year, and his edition of "The Wealth of Nations," two volumes (1904), represent his best work. In 1912 came his "Economic Outlook"; in 1914 "Wealth," which went through many editions; in 1918 "Money"; in 1919 "Coal Nationalisation"; in 1920 "The Paper Pound of 1797-1821," and in 1927 "An Economist's Protest," a selection of articles and letters written between 1914 and 1926. He served as President of the Economic Section of the British Association at Belfast in 1902 and again in 1931, was an honorary doctor of Glasgow and Manchester, and was elected President of the Royal Economic Society in 1932.

— Adolph S. Ochs, proprietor of the *New York Times* since 1896, was born on March 12, 1858, at Cincinnati, U.S.A., of Jewish parents, who hailed from Bavaria. Before entering a newspaper office at the age of 15 he had become acquainted with the trade as a newspaper boy on the streets. Eleven years later he secured the control of the *Chattanooga Times*, the journal of Chattanooga in Tennessee, to which town he and his family had removed. He remained there until 1896, when he became proprietor of the *New York Times*, which then had a circulation of 18,900 daily. Thirty years later the average daily circulation was 392,685, and on Sundays over 600,000. While giving a general support to the Democratic Party, the *New York Times* maintained political independence. Ochs had made it into one of the most influential and widely read newspapers in America. Under his regime the motto of the paper was to give "All the news that was fit to print," and the size of the paper was seldom less than thirty pages and often over fifty. He made a special feature of news from abroad, building up a remarkable foreign news service. He believed in the value of experience gained by travel, and kept many of his correspondents moving at regular intervals from place to place. He received several honorary degrees, while for high standards of journalism he was awarded gold medals from the National Institute of Social Sciences and from Missouri University.

— **Samuel Pope**, Metropolitan magistrate, was born in 1868 and educated privately and at Trinity College, Oxford, which had been founded by his ancestor or kinsman, Sir Thomas Pope, in 1554. Called to the Bar by the Middle Temple, in 1892, he joined the Northern Circuit, and for some years practised locally in Manchester. He was commissioned by the Home Secretary to report on by-laws relating to the employment of children in Bristol, 1907-8, Coventry, 1910, Halifax, 1911, Cheshire, 1911, and Devon, 1913. He also held the first inquiry under the Shops Act, 1912, and prepared orders for bringing the Act into operation at Blackpool and at Nelson, Lancashire. By the National Health Insurance Commission (England) he was commissioned to report on the position of married women outworkers under the Act. A member of the Institute of Mining Engineers,

he represented the Home Office at investigations into accidents at Maypole colliery (1908-9), Whitehaven (1910-11), Pretoria (1911), and Wharncliffe-Silkstone (1914); and on the settlement before Lord Mersey of the rescue and aid regulations under the Mines Act of 1912. During the war he was a Commissioner under the Military Service (Civil Liabilities) Committee, and an Assistant Legal Adviser to the Ministry of Food. He was appointed Recorder of Burnley in 1915, and was the first Chairman of the Milk (Distributive) Trade Board for England and Wales, 1920-21. In 1921 his cousin, Mr. Edward Shortt, the Home Secretary, nominated him as a Metropolitan magistrate to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Ralph Bankes, K.C. He sat first at North London and was transferred to the Clerkenwell Court in 1926. He was unmarried.

12. Lieutenant-General the Earl of Dundonald (Douglas MacKinnon Baillie-Hamilton), twelfth Earl of Dundonald in the peerage of Scotland, was born on October 29, 1852, at Auchentoul House, Banff, and educated at Eton. At the age of 17 he was gazetted to the 2nd Life Guards, but after a year he went to Jena to learn German, map reading, and topography. In 1884 he left for Egypt, in command of the 2nd Life Guards contingent of the Heavy Camel Corps, with the Gordon Relief Expedition. His services were mentioned in despatches and gained him a brevet lieutenant-colonelcy. In 1885 he was promoted major, and succeeded his father in the same month. In 1886 he was elected a representative peer for Scotland, a position he retained until 1922. He was promoted colonel in June, 1889, succeeded to the command of the 2nd Life Guards in 1895, and at once began to improve the standard of marksmanship. Possessing an inventive mind, he produced in 1897 a light "galloping carriage" for machine-guns, but it did not meet with War Office approval; nor did his pneumatic-tyred ambulance. He also invented the Instra hand-warmer and an improved teapot. He was made a C.B. in 1896, and gave up command of the 2nd Life Guards in 1899. Being on half-pay at the beginning of the South African War, he went out to the Cape independently, and was given a command by Sir Redvers Buller. He took part in all the operations for the relief of Ladysmith, and was specially promoted major-general in 1900. Returning home he was appointed a member of the Yeomanry Re-organisation Committee, signing the Minority Report, afterwards adopted, which was in favour of equipping the Yeomanry as mounted infantry. In 1902, in spite of warning that he would have trouble, he accepted the command of the Canadian Militia, welcoming the opportunity of putting into practice his theories for the proper organisation of a citizen force. The warning proved to have been justified, and on June 14, 1904, he was formally removed from his post. He was promoted lieutenant-general in December, 1906, and retired from the Army in June, 1907. He was honorary colonel of the 91st Canadian Highlanders, and was promoted to K.C.V.O. in 1907 and to K.C.B. in 1913. In 1921 he was appointed special Ambassador on the occasion of the Peruvian Centenary, and in 1922 he represented his family at the centenary of Brazilian independence, sailing to Rio in a schooner of 100 tons with a crew of Devon fishermen. His book, "My Army Life," appeared in 1926. In 1878 he married Winifred, daughter of Robert Bamford Hesketh, of Gwyrch Castle, Abergele, and had two sons and three daughters.

15. **Joseph Farquharson**, R.A., landscape painter, was born on May 4, 1846, at Knzean, Birse, Aberdeenshire, where his father was laird. He exhibited his first picture in the Royal Scottish Academy at the age of 13, and thenceforward he was a constant exhibitor at the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of Oil Painters, and elsewhere. In 1914 he was unrepresented at the Royal Academy, owing to his agent having failed to deliver his five pictures by the proper date, but in the following year he was made a full R. A. A typical example of his work, "The Joyless Winter Day," representing a shepherd with his two dogs guarding a flock of sheep on a desolate moor in a snowstorm, was bought out of the Chantrey Bequest Fund in 1883, and is now in the Tate Gallery. Towards the end of his

life he broke fresh ground with flower paintings and portrait studies of crofter types. A magistrate and deputy-lieutenant of his county, he became laird of Finzean in 1928 on the death of his elder brother, the Rt. Hon. Robert Farquharson. He married, in 1914, Violet Evelyn, daughter of James T. Hay, of Blackhall Castle, Banchory, Kincardineshire.

17. Miss Kate Norgate, historian of the Plantagenets, was the last survivor of a distinguished line of historians. Her East Anglian family connected her with the days of Dr. Samuel Parr and William Taylor, of Norwich. A contemporary of Freeman and J. R. Green, she was influenced by their method of historical writing and by their outlook. She was regarded as the best-known and most learned woman historian living about the end of the nineteenth century. Her first book, "England under the Angevin Kings" (two vols.) appeared in 1887, and her last, "Richard the Lion Heart," was published thirty-seven years later. In the interval she wrote, in addition to numerous contributions to the "Dictionary of National Biography," important books on "John Lackland" and "The Minority of Henry III." She was made an honorary fellow of Somerville College, Oxford, in 1929, on the occasion of the college jubilee.

23. Dr. Maurice Walter Keatinge, D.Sc., late Reader in Education at Oxford, was born on February 25, 1868, the son of the Registrar of the Dublin Court of Probate, and educated at St. Mark's School, Windsor, at Haileybury College, and at Exeter College, Oxford. He was a master first at King William's College, Isle of Man, and afterwards at Edinburgh Academy (1891-96). On February 1, 1897, he was nominated by the Oxford Delegacy of Local Examinations as Director of Studies in the Theory, History, and Practice of Education. When a separate Delegacy for the Training of Secondary Teachers was established, following on the Education Act of 1902, Dr. Keatinge was appointed a Reader in Education, a post he held until his retirement in September, 1934. He exercised a great influence in shaping the work of training teachers, and also in the study of education at Oxford. His chief publications were a translation of "The Great Didactic of Comenius" (1896), "Suggestions in Education," "Studies in the Teaching of History," and "Studies in Education." The last-named work earned him his D.Sc. He married Gwendolen Oakes, but left no children.

27. Professor Herbert Brereton Baker, F.R.S., Professor Emeritus of Chemistry at the Imperial College of Science, was born in 1862, the son of the Rev. John Baker, of Blackburn, and educated at Manchester Grammar School and Balliol College, Oxford, where for two years he was demonstrator in chemistry. At Oxford he was associated with Professor H. B. Dixon, and there he began his earliest researches into the influence of moisture on chemical change. He devised methods of desiccating gases so drastically that chemical reactions which ordinarily take place with explosive violence are completely inhibited. When the first gas attack occurred during the war, Professor Baker was called into consultation by the authorities, and he and his collaborators were largely concerned in devising methods of protection against poison gas. From 1885 to 1902 he was head of the science side at Dulwich College, and after a short period as headmaster of Alleyn's School, he returned to Oxford as Lee's Reader in Chemistry and Student and Tutor of Christ Church. He was elected F.R.S. in 1902, served on the council, and was Davy medallist in 1923. He was a member of the Council of the Chemical Society, Longstaff medallist in 1912, and President in 1926. From 1912 to 1932 he was Professor of Chemistry in the Imperial College of Science. He was made a C.B.E. in 1917, and was D.Sc. of Oxford and LL.D. of Aberdeen. He married Muriel, daughter of H. J. Powell.

28. Sir George Edward Cory, the historian of South Africa, was born on June 3, 1862, and educated at St. John's College, Hurstpierpoint, and King's College,

Cambridge. In 1891 he was appointed Vice-principal of Grahamstown Public School, and three years later Government Lecturer in Physics and Chemistry at St. Andrew's College in the same city. In 1904 he was appointed Professor of Chemistry in Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, retiring in 1925 with the title of Professor Emeritus. Soon after he arrived in Grahamstown he began to collect materials for a history of South Africa, tramping the country for two months every year in search of details. His own diary, which was published by the Van Riebeck Society in 1926, is now in the public archives at Cape Town. At first his aim was merely to get material for some future historian, but he was urged to write the history himself, and with the help of Sir Starr Jameson, and later the Rhodes Trustees, the first of the six volumes of "The Rise of South Africa" appeared in 1911. In 1921 Cambridge University gave him the honorary degree of D.Litt., and he was also M.A. of Durham University and the University of South Africa. In 1922, when he was knighted, he revisited England after an absence of thirty-one years. He was the first President of the Old Rhodian Union, old students of Rhodes University, who commissioned J. H. Amshewitz to paint his portrait. In 1933 he was awarded the gold medal of the Royal Empire Society. In 1895 he married Gertrude, second daughter of C. M. Blades, of Northwich, Cheshire. They had three sons and three daughters.

28. Sir Alexander Campbell Mackenzie, eminent musician, was born in Edinburgh on August 22, 1847, the son of a violinist and leader of the band in the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh. At the age of 10 he was placed in the family, at Sondershausen, of August Bartel, a member of the Ducal orchestra, and for five years he lived the life of a German boy. In 1862 he returned to London and studied at the Royal Academy of Music under Sainton, who had been his father's teacher. He was elected to a King's scholarship, and studied composition with the Principal, Charles Lucas, keeping himself by playing in theatre orchestras. He also played under Costa, and for several years after his return to Scotland he remained a member of the orchestra of the Triennial Handel Festival at the Crystal Palace. In Edinburgh he soon made his mark on the musical life of the city, and it was in these years that his mature compositions began to appear. When Hans von Bulow visited Edinburgh in 1875 the two became friends, and two years later von Bulow produced Mackenzie's overture "Cervantes" at Glasgow. From 1879 to 1885 he was abroad, principally in Italy, producing important works which kept his name before the public at home, in spite of his personal absence. His first Scottish Rhapsody for orchestra was produced at Glasgow by Manns in 1881, and in the same year at Worcester a cantata, *The Bride*, began his series of festival works for voices and orchestra. In 1883 he scored a success with the opera *Gohmba*, produced by the Carl Rosa Company, and in 1884 his oratorio, *The Rose of Sharon*, was given at Norwich. When Novello started a series of oratorio concerts in London, with a choir formed for the introduction of *The Rose of Sharon*, Mackenzie became the regular conductor, settling at Sydenham in a house opposite that of George Grove. In 1888 Mackenzie became Principal of the Royal Academy of Music, a post he held until he retired in 1922. From 1892 to 1899 he conducted the Philharmonic Society, and in 1903 he undertook a six weeks' tour in Canada. His compositions in all forms amounted to 90 opus numbers, twenty of which were distinctively Scottish in subject and style. Of these the best known were the Rhapsodies, the Scottish Concerto for piano and orchestra, the "Cottar's Saturday Night" for chorus, and orchestra, and the music to *The Little Minister* (Haymarket Theatre, 1897). The "Britannia" overture was his most popular work, while "Benedictus," originally played by Lady Hallé, became as great a favourite as Elgar's "Salut d'Amour." In 1927 he published his memoirs, "A Musician's Narrative." He was the recipient of many academic honours and was knighted in 1895.

MAT.

4. Thomas Okey, Emeritus Professor of Italian at Cambridge, was born at Spitalfields in 1852, and educated at National and night schools in Bethnal Green, and by attending classes at the Working Men's College and University Extension Classes in Whitechapel. From 1865 to 1882 he was an apprentice and journeyman basketmaker, and from 1882 to 1896 he practised his craft as a master. In 1892 he was appointed teacher of Italian at Toynbee Hall, holding the post until 1901. In 1918 he became assistant examiner in Italian to the Civil Service Commission, and in 1919 Professor of Italian at Cambridge, a post he held until 1928. In 1920 he was elected a Fellow of Caius College. Among his publications were "Paris and its Story," and Venice, Paris, and Avignon in the "Medieval Towns" series. He wrote the article on "United Italy" in Volume XII. of the "Cambridge Modern History" and that on basket-work and osiers in the "Encyclopaedia Britannica," and he translated the "Purgatorio" and the "Vita Nuova" for the Temple Classics. In 1931 he published a small volume of reminiscences, under the title of "A Basketful of Memories." He received the Order of the Crown of Italy, and was a Doctor of Arts of Padua University. In 1913 he was made honorary freeman of the Worshipful Company of Basketmakers, and in 1914 he was Master of the Art Workers' Guild. In 1933 he was gold medalist for Italian studies of the British Academy. He married, in 1901, Mrs. Amy Rye, but had no children.

11. Francis Crawford Burkitt, Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, was born on September 3, 1864, and educated at Harrow and Trinity CoDege, Cambridge. After taking his degree as a Wrangler in the Mathematical Tripos he turned, by way of the Theological Tripos, to the study of Hebrew and other Oriental languages, especially Syriac. He held no office until 1904, when he became University Lecturer in Palaeography. As one of a party of scholars he visited the East and the Convent of Sinai for the transcription of the palimpsest containing the Four Gospels in Syriac. His first course of lectures as Professor, dealing with the contents of the Gospels and the literary relationship between them, was published as "The Gospel History and its Transmission." He had a scientific knowledge of early liturgical forms and uses and of the history of Christian worship in general; of ecclesiastical architecture (Saxon churches in particular); early and mediaeval monasticism; St. Francis and Franciscan history. He was a Vice-President of the Modern Churchmen's Union and frequently addressed their annual conference. He was a Fellow of the British Academy since 1905, a Doctor of Divinity of several universities besides his own, and a professorial Fellow of Trinity College. He published works on many subjects, and contributed articles to every volume of the *Journal of Theological Studies* since its beginning in 1899, except for three years during the war, when he was working with the Y.M.C.A. at Rouen. In 1888 he married Amy Persis, daughter of the Rev. W. Parry, D.C.L., and had one son.

12. Marshal Jozef Pilsudski, the founder of modern Poland, was born on December 6, 1867, at Zulow, near Vilna, and studied medicine at Kharkoff University, from which he was expelled for taking part in a mutiny of revolutionary students. He returned to Vilna, and joined a society of young Poles who plotted to murder the Tsar Alexander III. Although he was against it, he was sent to Siberia for five years. Returning in 1892 he became one of the first leaders of the Polish Socialist Party, recently founded in Paris, which aimed at preparing the proletariat of the Polish towns for a national uprising. With his friend Sulkiewicz he founded a newspaper, *Robotnik* (the *Workman*), which was printed secretly, being for a time issued from England. In 1900 the presses of the *Robotnik* were discovered in the house at Lodz where Pilsudski lived. He was arrested and sent to the dreaded Xth Pavilion of the Warsaw citadel, but after feigning insanity he was transferred to a prison hospital at St. Petersburg,

from which he escaped with a forged medical certificate. Soon afterwards, at the age of 35, he became the acknowledged head of the revolutionary movement. He soon realised that the only chance for Polish independence was a European war in which Poland had an organised armed force. When the Great War came, Pilsudski put his idea into practice, and before the Austrian and Russian Armies had come into contact, he marched into Russian Poland with 300 of his cadets and occupied the town of Kielce, his object being to start a Polish rising with the support of the Austrian General Staff. He did not succeed, but his volunteers were incorporated in the Austrian Army in two Legions, one under his personal command. Then followed a long struggle between him and the Austrian and the German General Staffs. He wanted to establish a Polish fighting force, but he made it clear that he would fight for no other country than Poland. When the Russian Armies evacuated Warsaw, he began worrying the Central Powers to declare the independence of Poland. But it was only after much hesitation that the Central Powers were induced to declare the independence of Poland (November 5, 1916). Next year the outbreak of the Russian Revolution raised Pilsudski's expectations, and stiffened his attitude to the Central Powers. He refused to let his Legions take an oath to the Kaisers and was imprisoned at Magdeburg, but without him the idea of a Polish Army had to be shelved. He was released when the German revolution began in November, 1918, and returned to Warsaw. At last Poland was really free, and by general consent Pilsudski became head of the restored Polish State. From November, 1918, till the election of the first President in 1922, Pilsudski held, under the title of "Naczelnik Państwa" (Chief of the State), the double position of President of the Republic and Commander-in-Chief of the Army, which in March, 1920, proclaimed him First Marshal of Poland. His influence was exerted in the interest of the peasants and the working classes, which displeased the National Democrats, and for a long time they favoured Paderewski. In 1920 Pilsudski invaded the Ukraine and occupied Kieff, in alliance with Petlura, and he connived at the seizure of Vilna, in October, by General Zeligowski. Successful at first, the campaign ended in the Red Army coming within sight of Warsaw. Eighteen months after the conclusion of peace with the Bolsheviks, Pilsudski retired. He had been reduced by the Polish Constitution in March, 1921, to the position of titular commander-in-chief, and was debarred from leading the Army in war. He did not stand for re-election, but supported Narutowicz, who was elected on December 9, 1922. Seven days later the President was murdered. In the crises which followed Pilsudski became Chief of the General Staff, and General Sikorski formed a Government at his suggestion. In May, 1923, Witos succeeded Sikorski at the head of an administration entirely hostile to Pilsudski, who again retired. In the next two years he published a number of historical books, of which the best known was "Hok 1920" (The Year 1920), a reply to the Bolshevik Tukhachevsky's "March on the Vistula." He lived at Sulejów, in the villa which the Army had presented to him, and seldom went to Warsaw. In the middle of 1925 the situation changed. The President, Woyciechowski, summoned him to give advice on an Army Law. The appointment of General Zeligowski to be the new Minister of War gave Pilsudski indirect control of the Army, and a number of key posts were rapidly filled up with officers known to support him. On May 12, 1926, he appeared in Praga in possession of four regiments. He let it be known that he could not tolerate Witos, the new Prime Minister, but in the hope of averting bloodshed he offered a compromise which might have enabled coalition government to go on. The Government and the President of the Republic refused to yield to pressure, and fighting ensued in the streets of the capital which lasted for three days, and caused heavy loss of life before Pilsudski was left in undisputed control. He was chosen by the National Assembly to succeed Woyciechowski, and took the offices of War Minister and Inspector-General of the Army, with Bartel as Prime Minister. Later Pilsudski came into the open as Prime Minister himself. He was Prime Minister and Minister of War from October 2, 1926, to June 27, 1928, and again from August 25, 1930, to December 4, 1930. He had been Minister of War continuously since the *coup d'état* in May,

1926. He was twice married, and by his second wife had two daughters, who with their mother survived him.

12. **William Robinson**, the famous horticulturist of Gravetye Manor, East Grinstead, was born in Ireland of peasant stock on July 15, 1838, and began his career as a garden boy on Sir Hunt Johnson-Walsh's estate, Ballykilkavan, Queen's County. After serving his apprenticeship he left Ireland, in 1861, to serve as under-gardener in the Royal Botanic Society's Gardens at Regent's Park, where he stayed six years. Before he left he was elected a Fellow of the Linnean Society, his backers including Charles Darwin. In 1867 he represented *The Times* in the horticultural section of the Paris Exhibition. On his return to London in 1868 he issued a pamphlet, "Gleanings from French Gardens." In 1869 appeared his first important book, "Parks and Gardens of Paris," which became a standard work on French methods of fruit-growing. In 1870 he published "Alpine Flowers for English Gardens." With the money received from his books he visited North America, where he studied the flora of the Rocky Mountains and California. Returning in 1871 he began preparations for the publication of the *Garden*, the first number of which appeared in November. This led to his appointment as editor of the gardening columns of the *Field*, a post which he held for thirty years. In 1879 he launched *Gardening Illustrated*, which remained under his control for forty years. In 1882 he set going *Farm and Home* from the profits of which he was able to purchase Gravetye Manor. His principal book, "The English Flower Garden," appeared in 1883. In 1885 he employed Miller to prepare "The Vegetable Garden," a translation of Vilmorin's "Les Plantes Potageres." In 1892 he produced another weekly journal, the *Cottage Garden*, which continued for six years, and in the same year he published "Garden Design" and "Architects' Gardens." The first number of *Flora and Sylva*, a monthly half-crown review of horticulture appeared in April, 1903, but it only lasted until 1905. He also published a daily newspaper, *London*, which, too, had a brief existence. Under the title of "Gravetye Manor" he printed, in 1911, the story of his home. Other publications included "The Sub-Tropical Garden," "Hardy Flowers," and "A Catalogue of Hardy Plants" (1871), "Les Semaines Francaises" (1870), "Humours of the Country" (1909), "The Virgin's Bower" (1913) and "Home Landscapes" (1914), the first of his works in which he used process blocks instead of woodcuts. His last book, in 1924, was on wood fires for country houses, a subject which he had made his own. Apart from the books which he wrote himself, he bore the expense of the publication of Shaw's "London Market Gardens" (1869), Miller's "Dictionary of Plant Names" (1885), and Baine's "Greenhouses and Stove Plants" (1885).

14. The **Rev. William Edward Sooth III**, Professor of Chinese at Oxford, was born on January 23, 1861, the son of a lay preacher of the United Methodist Free Church. He was articled to a firm of Halifax solicitors, but in 1882 went to China as a missionary in the Wenchow district. In a few years his knowledge of Chinese was extraordinary. So was his work in China. During a quarter of a century, he founded a hospital, a training college, and schools, and established about 200 preaching stations, translated the New Testament into Wenchowese, and for the benefit of Western students rendered Wenchowese into the Romanised alphabet. In 1907 he was appointed President of the Imperial University of Shansi, and was entrusted by highly placed Chinese with the education of their sons. He returned to England during the war and became director of the Y.M.C.A. religious work. In 1920 he was appointed Professor of Chinese at Oxford University, and a member of the governing body of the School of Oriental Studies in London. In 1926 he was a member of Lord Willingdon's delegation to China on the settlement of the Boxer indemnities. In recognition of his work among the Chinese Labour Corps in France during the war he was granted the Order of the Striped Tiger (China); another honour was that of the Red Button. In China he was known as "Sing Su." His writings included "The Students' Chinese

Dictionary," " The Three Religions of China," " China and the West," " A Short History of China," " The Lotus of the Wonderful Law," and " A Mission in China." He was M.A. of Oxford and honorary M.A. of Cambridge ; was a visiting professor of Columbia University, New York; a member of the Royal Asiatic Society and a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. He married Lucy, daughter of Charles Farrar, of Yew Tree House, Southowram, Halifax, and had one son and one daughter.

18. **Paul Dukas**, the French composer, was born on October 1, 1865, of Jewish parentage, and educated at the Conservatoire in Paris. He came to the fore in the eighties when the national movement in French music was at its height. An overture to Corneille's *Polyeucte*, played at the Lamoureux concerts in Paris in 1892, marked Dukas out as a young man of promise. His most important orchestral work, the symphony in C, appeared four years later. " L'Apprenti Sorcier," by which he was chiefly known to the general public in England, followed soon after. His most important work for the stage was his setting of *Ariane et Barbe-Bleue* (Maeterlinck), first given at the Opera Comique in Paris in 1907. Appearing a few years after *Pelleas et Melisande* it was coloured by Debussy's impressionism. In 1926 Dukas conducted certain of his orchestral works in a Queen's Hall symphony concert. He was a member of the council of the Conservatoire.

19. **Thomas Edward Lawrence** (Lawrence of Arabia) was born on August 15, 1888, in Wales, beneath the foothills of Snowdon, and educated at Oxford High School and Jesus College, Oxford. As a boy he travelled over most of France on his own. As an undergraduate he tramped on foot through Syria, and, helped by a senior demyship at Magdalen, he returned there as an apprentice to archaeology. When the diggings at Carchemish were closed down he wandered through Mesopotamia, Palestine, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece, travelling with native companions and paying his way by doing odd jobs. He took to wearing native dress on some of his journeys. " I could never pass as an Arab," he said, " but easily as some other native speaking Arabic." When the war came his knowledge was used only for the making of maps of the area he knew. Ordinary military control proving irksome, he became a junior member of the Intelligence Service in Egypt, and was still awaiting formal sanction for his transfer to the new Arab Bureau in Cairo when, in October, 1916, he paid a visit to the Hejaz coast and made contact with the Arab leaders that resulted in his returning there shortly after as liaison officer with, and adviser to, Feisal. In Arabia Lawrence made history. When he appeared the Sherif of Mecca had been in revolt against the Turks since June. With the active help of the Sherif and his four sons he evolved a scheme for bringing as many Arab tribes as possible into a combined force operating against the Turks. In the next two years the revolt in the Hejaz was triumphantly consolidated. The remarkable thing was that although Lawrence was steeped in the theory of war, he had had no military training in strategy or tactics. His one formal battle was at Tafila in January, 1918, where he first arrested and then routed a Turkish counter-invasion. At the end of the war he was made, by King Hussein, a Prince of Mecca. He had been gazetted D.S.O. and C.B.E., but had declined both distinctions. From 1921 to 1922 he was Political Adviser to the Colonial Office on Affairs in the Middle East. A few months later he enlisted in the ranks of the Air Force, taking the name of Ross. When his identity leaked out, he joined the Tank Corps, formally adopting the name of Shaw. In 1925 he was transferred back to the Air Force, which he finally left in March, 1934. No less remarkable than his military genius were his two books, " The Seven Pillars of Wisdom," privately printed in 1926, and " Revolt in the Desert," published in 1927. Lawrence was a man of quite extraordinary personal qualities, and his writings contain English prose which was highly commended by those best entitled to judge. He died as the result of an accident—a fall from his motor-cycle.

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21. **Miss Jane Addams**, the famous American social worker, was born at Cedarville, Illinois, on September 6, 1860, the daughter of State Senator John H. Addams, a Hicksite Quaker, and a friend of Lincoln. She was educated at Rockford College, Illinois, and travelled in Europe for two years. She said it was the moral reaction, after witnessing a bull fight, which first revealed her mission in life, but she had already seen something of the poverty of East London. Returning to Chicago in 1889, she and her friend, Miss Ellen Gates Starr, planned Hull House Settlement on the lines of Toynbee Hall. Miss Addams believed that "the mere foothold of a house easily accessible, ample in space, hospitable and tolerant in spirit, situated in the midst of the large foreign colonies, which so easily isolate themselves in American cities, would be in itself a serviceable thing for Chicago." Next to social work, peace was Miss Addams' great interest. She supported Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Party in 1912, and was an ardent feminist. In 1915 she organised and became Chairman of the Women's Peace Party. Later in that year she presided over an International Congress of Women at The Hague. After America entered the war she devoted herself to the relief of distress in Central Europe. In 1931 she shared, with Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, the Nobel Peace prize. She was the first woman to receive an honorary degree from Yale. She became a member of the Presbyterian Church when she was twenty-five; later she was attracted by the Positivists and by the Old Catholics, but ultimately became contented with undenominational Christianity. She wrote on the work at Hull House, on social ethics, and on peace.

27. **Falconer Madan**, Librarian of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, was born on April 15, 1851, the son of a Gloucestershire clergyman, and was educated at Marlborough and Brasenose College, of which he became a Fellow (1876) after taking a degree in classics. He won the University prize for single fives in 1874, and represented Oxford against Cambridge at chess in 1873 and 1874. In 1880 he was appointed sub-librarian of the Bodleian. It was said that Madan was a born librarian. In 1890 he began the Summary Catalogue of the MSS. of the Bodleian Library, which will remain the chief monument of his work. He became Librarian in 1912 and resigned in 1919. From 1889 to 1913 he was University Lecturer in Palaeography, during which years he was again a Fellow of Brasenose. In 1893 he published a popular work on palaeography entitled, "Books in Manuscript," in 1899, "The Gresleys of Drakelow," his mother's family. He also wrote on "The Daniel Press," "Oxford Outside the Guide-Books," and a handbook of the Rev. C. L. Dodgson's works. His college made him an honorary fellow on his appointment as Bodley's Librarian, and he was President of the Library Association, the Bibliographical Society (which gave him its gold medal), and the Oxford Bibliographical Society. He married, in 1885, Frances Hayter, and had three sons and two daughters.

29. **Dr. Andrew Andreades**, famous as an international economist, was born at Corfu on December 12, 1876, and educated in France and England. He became a lecturer at Athens University in 1902, and Professor of Economics in 1906. In the Balkan wars he was chief censor, and attended the Paris Conference as an expert. He was a plenipotentiary at the Danube Conference in Paris, 1920-21, and a delegate to the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1923, 1924, and 1929. He lectured at the Academy of International Law in 1924; at King's College, London, in 1926; at four Belgian universities in 1927; at Lyons in 1931, at Cairo in 1932, and at Paris in 1933. He was President of the Athens branch of the Anglo-Hellenic League, Chairman of the Committee of the Byron Centenary in 1924, and Chairman of the Greek League of Nations Union. He published, in 1925, "Le Theatre Anglais Contemporain," but was chiefly known as the author of many studies in Greek or French on Greek economic and financial questions. He also wrote on British economics and foreign policy and Anglo-Greek relations. His "Histoire de la Banque d'Angleterre" (1904) was translated into English, and was regarded as a leading authoritative work on the subject. His other

works included, "Gladstone as Economist and Financier" (in Greek), "La Population Anglaise pendent et apres la grande Guerre " (1924), " Lord Salisbury and Greece " (1910), " Sir Charles Dilke and Greece " (1918), " La Politique Anglaise en Orient avant et apres la Traits de Berlin" (1922), and "Philip Snowden " (1930) (in French and English). He was a contributor to the *Economic Journal*, the *Nineteenth Century* and the *Contemporary Review*. Academic honours he had in abundance. He was an honorary LL.D. of Lyons and Louvain, a doctor of law and political science of Paris, and a corresponding member of the Royal Economic Society, and of academies in Paris, New York, Munich, Bucharest, and the Institut d'Egypte in Cairo. He was made a C.B.E., and received the Legion of Honour, and Greek, Italian, Belgian, Rumanian, and Serbian orders.

31. Sir Altneric William FltzRoy, Clerk of the Privy Council from 1898 to 1923, was born on November 12, 1851, a great-grandson of the third Duke of Grafton, and educated privately and at Balliol College, Oxford, where he took a first class in Modern History in 1874. In 1876 he entered the Education Department, which was then technically a branch of the Privy Council Office, and in time was private secretary to three Vice-Presidents of the former Committee of Council on Education. From 1895 to 1898 he was private secretary to the Duke of Devonshire, then Lord President of the Council, and in the latter year, Queen Victoria appointed him to the attractive post of Clerk of the Council. He was Chairman of the Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration in 1903; and of the Committee on the Midwives Act, 1909, and was a member of the Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases in 1913 and of the Dentists Act Committee in 1918. He was on the Council of the Stage Society, and assisted the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art to obtain its charter. In 1921 he published a *Life of his ancestor, the first Duke of Grafton*, and in 1925 his memoirs appeared. His other writings include a "History of the Privy Council" (1928) and a "History of the Travellers Club" (1928), of which he was Chairman of the Committee for eight years. He married, in 1887, Katharine, daughter of Sir Thomas Henry Farquhar, fourth baronet, of Gilmilnscroft, Ayrshire, and had one son and one daughter.

JUNE.

5. Admiral of the Fleet Sir Charles Edward Madden, Bt., O.M., was born on September 5, 1862, and joined the Navy in July, 1875. In 1901, at the age of 39, he was promoted to captain, and in 1902 was sent to the *Good Hope* as Flag-Captain to Sir Wilmot Fawkes, then commanding the Cruiser Squadron. On July 2, 1906, he was selected to be Naval Assistant to the First Sea Lord, Lord Fisher, who regarded him as among "the best brains in the Navy." He was made a C.V.O. when King Edward reviewed the Home Fleet in the Solent on August 3, 1907, and on August 12 was appointed captain of the *Dreadnought* and also Chief of the Staff of the Home Fleet. On December 1, 1908, he was again called to the Admiralty as private secretary to Mr. McKenna, then First Lord. He joined the Admiralty Board as Fourth Sea Lord on January 25, 1910, holding the office until December, 1911. From January 1, 1910, to April 12, 1911, he was Aide-de-Camp to King Edward. His first flag appointment was on January 5, 1912, as Rear-Admiral in the First Division of the Home Fleet (the First Battle Squadron), First Fleet, and his flag flew in the *St. Vincent* until December 11. From December 11, 1912, to December, 1913, he commanded the Third Cruiser Squadron (in the *Antrim*) and afterwards, until July, 1914, the Second Cruiser Squadron (flagship *Shannon*). On August 4, 1914, he was appointed Chief of the Staff to Lord Jellicoe, whom he joined in the *Iron Duke*. In June, 1916, he was created a K.C.B. and promoted to Vice-Admiral. In November of that year he was advanced to the acting rank of Admiral, and on the reorganisation of the Grand Fleet command, he was appointed to the command of the First Battle Squadron (flagship *Revenge*) and became Second-in-Command of the Fleet. On April 7, 1919, when the Grand Fleet ceased to exist

as such, Admiral Madden, who was made K.C.M.G., was appointed to the united command of the newly organised Home and Atlantic Fleets, the most important active command after the war. He was placed on the retired list from July 31, 1930, after a career of fifty-five years. He received a baronetcy in October, 1919; was G.C.B. and G.C.V.O., and received honorary degrees from Oxford and Cambridge Universities and had many foreign decorations. In 1931 he was appointed to the Order of Merit. He married, in 1905, Constance Winifred (whose elder sister married Lord Jellicoe), third daughter of Sir Charles Cayzer, Bt., M.P., and had two sons and four daughters.

6. **Field-Marshal Viscount Byng of Vimy** (Julian Hedworth George Byng) was born on September 11, 1862, the seventh son of the second Earl of Strafford, F.R.S. After leaving Eton he entered the Army through the 7th (Militia) Battalion, King's Royal Rifle Corps, and obtained a commission in the 10th Hussars in January, 1883. Soon afterwards he had his first experience of active service at El Teb and Tamai in the Sudan. On the outbreak of the South African War, Captain Byng, as he then was, was sent out as Provost Marshal, and was with Buller at the relief of Ladysmith. From November, 1900, to April, 1901, he was in command of the South African Light Horse. He was five times mentioned in despatches, and was given the brevets of lieutenant-colonel and colonel and eight clasps to the two medals. From 1904 to 1905 he was commandant of the Cavalry School; from 1905 to 1907 he commanded the 2nd Cavalry Brigade (Eastern), and from 1907 to 1909 the 1st Cavalry Brigade at Aldershot. In April, 1909, he was promoted major-general, and in October, 1910, he was appointed General Officer Commanding the East Anglian Division (Eastern Command). In 1912 he was given the command in Egypt. In September, 1914, he was recalled from the Mediterranean and given command of the 3rd Cavalry Division, with which he remained until May, 1915, when he was appointed to command the Cavalry Corps with the temporary rank of lieutenant-general. In August, 1915, he was sent to the Dardanelles to succeed General Stopford in command of the IX. Corps; in February, 1916, he was given command of the XVII. Corps, but in the following May he was selected for the command of the Canadian Corps, with which his name will be inseparably connected. In 1917 he was placed in command of the Third Army in succession to General Allenby. For his services in the war, Byng, who was made a general in November, 1917, was raised to the peerage with the title of Baron Byng of Vimy and Thorpe-le-Soken, and received the thanks of Parliament and a grant of 30,000l. He was created K.C.M.G. in 1915 and K.C.B. in 1916, and was promoted G.C.B. in 1919 and G.C.M.G. in 1921. He was colonel of the 3rd Hussars, honorary colonel of the 5th Battalion the Essex Regiment, and a member of the Territorial Force Association of that county; was made an honorary LL.D. of Cambridge University in 1919 and honorary D.C.L. of Oxford in 1931. He retired from the Army on November 7, 1919. In 1933 he was made an honorary member of the Anglo-French Mixed Committee of the Imperial War Graves Commission. In June, 1921, he was appointed Governor-General of Canada, a position he held with great distinction until 1928. In October, 1928, Lord Byng entered the third and concluding stage of his career, as Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, from which he retired in September, 1931. He was made a Viscount in 1928 and promoted to Field-Marshal in October, 1932. He married, in 1902, Marie Evelyn, daughter of the Hon. Sir Richard Moreton, but left no issue, and the peerage became extinct.

— **George Grossmith**, distinguished comedy actor, was born on May 11, 1874, the third of the name in direct descent, and went on the stage at the age of 18 in *Haste to the Wedding*, by Gilbert. Less than a year later he had made his mark as a "masher" or "dude" as Lord Percy Pimpleton in the musical comedy, *Morocco Bound*. In 1894 he went to the Gaiety for a part in *The Shop Girl*, and after a few years of varied experience, he returned there in 1901, remaining in,

a succession of musical comedies until he went to America in 1913. On his return he set up in management with Edward Laurillard, a partnership which lasted seven years, during which several successful plays were produced, among them *Potash and Perlmutter* and *To-nigMs the Night*. During the war he held a commission in the R.N.V.R. In 1919, with Laurillard, he opened the Winter Garden Theatre in Drury Lane. On the retirement of Sir Alfred Butt, in 1931, Grossmith was appointed managing director of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, but in 1932 he resigned in order to devote himself to the cinema. In 1933 he played "Touchstone" in the Open Air Theatre in Regent's Park. His last appearance was at His Majesty's Theatre, of which he had been manager, in a tiny part in the spectacular failure *Josephine*. He was the author of such songs as "Yip-i-addy," and part author or reviser of the *Bing Boys*, *A Night Out*, and *The Spring Chicken*. In 1933 he published "G.G.," a book of reminiscences.

9. Dr. Alice Werner, Emeritus Professor of Swahili and the Bantu Languages in the University of London from 1930, was born at Trieste, on June 26, 1859. Up to the age of 15 she travelled continually with her family in New Zealand, Mexico, the United States, and on the Continent. Then, having won the Goldsmith scholarship, she went to Newnham College. After some years' teaching she devoted herself to writing. In 1893 she spent some months with the Scottish Mission at Blantyre, in Nyasaland, where she made direct contact with African natives. At the end of 1894 she visited at Bishopstowe, the Misses Colenso, daughters of Dr. Colenso, Bishop of Natal, and studied Zulu. With a Mary Ewart travelling scholarship from Newnham College she set out in 1911 on a second African journey, during which she came into contact with the little-known forest tribe, the Wasanye. Returning to Europe in 1913 she was awarded a two yeagV research Fellowship by her college. When the School of Oriental Languages was opened (1917) she was appointed Lecturer in Swahili and Bantu. A" King's College she was appointed successively Reader and Professor. In 1928 she received the degree of D.Litt. from the University of London; in 1931 the Silver Medal of the Africa Society, and in the same year she was made C.B.E. Her publications include "Chapenga's White Man" (1901), "African Mythology" (1925), "A First Swahili Book," with her sister, Mary Werner, the first textbook in that language (1927), and "The Structure and Relationship of African Languages" (1930). Her best book was "Myths and Legends of the Bantu."

10. Sir Robert Blair, Education Officer of the London County Council from 1904 to 1924, was born in Wigtown on March 8, 1859, and educated at the village school, from which he became a pupil teacher at the Garlieston Public School. Encouraged by his headmaster, Donald Cameron, he competed for the Edinburgh Galloway Association Bursary, but was beaten by S. R. Crockett, the future novelist, who told the story in "Kit Kennedy," Rob Grier being Robert Blair. He was, however, offered a consolation bursary, and went up to Edinburgh University in 1876, where he took his degree in 1880. After teaching at the Aske's Hatcham School (1882-94) and the Cheltenham School of Science and Technical Institute of which he was head, he was made one of the first twelve inspectors of science and art appointed by the Minister of Education, being for six years in charge of the North district. Later he became Assistant Secretary for Technical Education in Ireland, a post he held for four years, and after a visit to America with the Mosely Commission, he became Education Officer of the London County Council in 1904, where his organising ability found splendid scope. He was knighted in 1914. During the war the technical institutes were enabled through his inspiration to help in making delicate precision instruments required in the manufacture of munitions. The money then earned by the institutes was devoted after the war to a fund for engineering research and the awards given the name of the Robert Blair Fellowship. He received the LL.D. degree of Edinburgh University and the Order of the Crown from the King of the

Belgians. He was also an Honorary Fellow of the Society of Arts and a Fellow of King's College. He was survived by his widow, and four sons and one daughter.

13. The Right Hon. Mr. Justice Horace Edward Avory was born on August 31, 1851, the son of Henry Avory, Clerk of Arraigns at the Central Criminal Court, and educated at King's College, London, and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where he took his degree of LL.B. in 1874. He was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple on January 26, 1875, and settled down to the work of defending prisoners at the Old Bailey and on the South-Eastern Circuit. In his earlier years he was a standing counsel to a fund which the Aldermen provided at the Old Bailey for the defence of poor prisoners. It was said that he defended more murderers and other criminals than any other counsel at the Old Bailey Bar. In 1889 he was appointed by Sir Richard Webster junior counsel to the Treasury at the Old Bailey, becoming senior counsel ten years later. Among the important cases during the twelve years that he represented the Crown may be mentioned the Liberator Frauds, 1895, the Oscar Wilde trial, 1896, Jameson and his associates in the Transvaal Raid, 1896, and the Christian Scientists, who were charged with the manslaughter of Harold Frederic, the novelist, 1898. In 1901 he gave up his official appointment, took "silk," and became a common law leading counsel. In 1902 he was made Recorder of Kingston-on-Thames—a recordership the peculiarity of which is that the holder has nothing to do. With Mr. Robson, K.C., and Mr. C. W. Matthews he helped to defend the Earl Russell on a charge of bigamy before the House of Lords, and in 1904 he assisted Mr. Rufus Isaacs in the Whitaker Wright case. In January, 1910, he went on the South-Eastern Circuit as a Commissioner of Assize, and in the following October he was made a judge. Among the important criminal trials, over which he presided may be mentioned Vacquier, the Byfleet poisoner, Pasack Mahon, the Eastbourne murderer, Browne and Kennedy, the murderers of policeman Gutteridge, and Clarence Hatry. He was a member of the Court of Criminal Appeal which dealt with the appeals of Podmore, the Southampton murderer, and of Lord Kylsant. In 1934 he heard a film libel action brought by Princess Youssouppoff. When Mr. Justice Darling retired in 1924, Avory became senior Judge of the King's Bench Division, and he discharged the official duties of the Lord Chief Justice during the absence of Lord Hewart. In 1932 he was made a Privy Councillor. The degree of LL.D. was conferred on him by his University after his appointment to the Bench, and his old college at Cambridge made him an honorary fellow. King's College, London, also elected him to a fellowship. He won the Judges' Golf Tournament in 1911, and the Bar Tournament in 1929. He married, in 1877, Maria Louisa, daughter of Henry Castle, and had a son and a daughter.

21. Lord Fitzmaurice (Edmond George Fitzmaurice), statesman, historian, and administrator, was born on June 19, 1846, second son of the fourth Marquess of Lansdowne, and educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he obtained a first in the Classical Tripos and was President of the Union. He was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn, but did not practise. At the age of 22 he was elected unopposed as Liberal member for Calne, Wiltshire. Between 1874 and 1880 he travelled extensively on the Continent, acquiring a knowledge of European politics and diplomacy. In 1877 he published his "Life" of Lord Shelburne, first Marquess of Lansdowne, which established his reputation as a historian. In 1880 he was appointed Her Majesty's Commissioner for the re-organisation of the European provinces of Turkey under the Treaty of Berlin; in 1882 he was appointed the second British plenipotentiary at the Danube Navigation Conference in London; and on January 1, 1883, he became Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office. On July 3, 1885, in a speech in Glasgow he sketched a bold programme of reform in local government, Commons procedure, licensing, the land laws, and the House of Lords. He was immediately adopted as candidate for the Blackfriars Division of Glasgow (his seat at Calne having

been extinguished), but ill-health compelled him to retire from the contest. In November, 1887, he proclaimed his faith in Irish Home Rule. He unsuccessfully contested Deptford in 1892, and North Wilts in 1895. After serving as one of the five Local Government Boundary Commissioners in 1887, he became Chairman of the new Wiltshire County Council, and was also Chairman of the Court of Quarter Sessions. In 1898 he won for the Liberals the by-election in the Cricklade Division of North Wilts, and held it in the General Election of 1900. In 1895 he published a "Life" of his ancestor, Sir William Petty, among the first English economists. In 1905 he published, in two volumes, the authoritative "Life" of his former chief at the Foreign Office, Lord Granville, a book of which it may be said that it became a classic. His last and most mature work was a historical monograph on the Duke of Brunswick. In the schism which divided the Liberal Party over the South African War, Fitzmaurice took the side of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. It was expected that he would be given Cabinet rank when Campbell-Bannerman formed his Administration at the end of 1905, but he was passed over, and consented to return to the Foreign Office with a peerage, as Under-Secretary. In 1908 Mr. Asquith appointed him Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Ill-health, however, compelled him to resign, and a few months later his public career came to an end. He was a Fellow of the British Academy, a member of the Historical MSS. Commission, a trustee of the National Portrait Gallery, and hon. D.Litt. of Bristol University. He left no heir.

22. J. T. **Grein**, Consul-General and Commercial Attache for Liberia in London, though better known as a dramatic critic, who was born in Amsterdam on October 11, 1862, came to London as a bank clerk in 1885. Apart from his literary work, especially his dramatic criticism for the *Sunday Times*, Grein was interested in the theatre and was responsible for introducing Ibsen and Shaw to the British public. He also founded the German Theatre in London, 1901-7; Volkstheater, till 1913; the French Players, 1917; the People's Theatre, 1923, at the Pavilion, Mile End. He was twice President of the Playgoers' Club; President of the Liverpool Playgoers' Society; a member of the Executive Committee and a past President of the Critics' Circle, which held a dinner in 1928 to celebrate his seventieth birthday, and the fiftieth anniversary of his entry into dramatic criticism. Grein married Alice Grieven ("Michael Orme").

27. Ben net Christian **Huntingdon** Calcraft Kennedy, author of "A Lost Dominion," and other books on Indian life, was born on June 8, 1871, and educated at Dulwich College and Queen's College, Oxford. Passing the I.C.S. examination in 1889, he went out to India where he did judicial work, work that best suited his analytical mind. He retired in 1926. In 1924, when the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms had been in operation for more than three years, and the first civil disobedience movement was in full swing, Kennedy, under the pseudonym of "Al. Carthill" published "A Lost Dominion," a gloomy prophecy of the future of British rule in India, which became the subject of much controversy. His other works include "False Dawn" (1926), in which he turned his attention to England; "The Garden of Adonis" (1927), which he called an obituary of the old autocracy in India; "Rods and Axes" (1928), a serious contribution to contemporary political thought; "The Company of Cain" (1929), in which he drew upon his experiences as a district and sessions judge; and "Madampuri" (1931), which tells the story of his first subdivisional charge. He married, in 1897, Blanche, daughter of Charles Turner, banker, of Naples, and had a son and six daughters.

JULY.

7. **Lord Ampthill** (Arthur Oliver Villiers Russell), Q.C.S.I., O.C.I.E., the eldest son of Lord Odo Russell (created Lord Ampthill in 1881), was born on February 19, 1869, at the Palazzo Chigi, Rome, and educated at Eton and New

College, Oxford, where in his last term he was both President in the O.U.B.C. and of the Union. He succeeded his father in the peerage in 1884. In 1895 he was **made** assistant private secretary to Mr. Joseph Chamberlain at the Colonial Office, advancing to private secretary two years later. In 1900, at the age of 31, he was appointed Governor of Madras in succession to Sir Arthur Havelock, returning to England in 1906. Here a number of interests engaged his attention—Indian settlers in South Africa, Indian students, the Territorial Force, and, above all, Freemasonry, in which he held high office, nothing less than Pro Grand Master for the Duke of Connaught. The greatest achievement during his term of office was the building of the new headquarters for the Craft in Great Queen Street as a memorial to masons who fell in the war. In 1894 he married Lady Margaret Lygon, third daughter of the sixth Earl Beauchamp by his first marriage, and had four sons and one daughter.

12. **Alfred Dreyfus**, the hero of the world-famous case associated with his name, was born of Jewish parentage at Mulhausen in Alsace, on October 10, 1859. After the war of 1870-71, the family migrated to France, and he was educated at the Ecole Polytechnique in Paris. Passing out with credit he served for ten years as an officer of artillery, and then went to the *École de Guerre*, the French Staff College. In the hope of discovering the channel through which military secrets had been leaking out from the French War Office since 1892, the Secret Service collected scraps from the waste-paper basket of Colonel von Schwarzkoppen, the Military Attaché of the German Embassy. One document referred to a certain D., afterwards learned to be a German agent, Dubois, but believed at the time to be Dreyfus. On the strength of these suspicions he was arrested on October 15, 1894, and brought before a Court Martial. Though a minority of the five experts produced by the War Office denied the identity of the handwriting, a secret *dossier*, which subsequently turned out to have been forged, was submitted to the Court, and Dreyfus was convicted and sentenced to degradation and lifelong imprisonment in a fortress on the *He du Diable*. His wife, his brother, Mathieu Dreyfus, and a band of friends were determined to vindicate his honour, and their faith came to be shared by Colonel Picquart, head of the Intelligence Department at the War Office. Eventually he found a fragment of a highly incriminating message written by Colonel von Schwarzkoppen to a Colonel Esterhazy. When Picquart discovered that Esterhazy's handwriting closely resembled that of Dreyfus he pressed for an inquiry, but for his pains he was removed from his post at the War Office to make room for Colonel Henry, one of the arch-conspirators. In September, 1897, Scheurer-Kestner, the Vice-President of the Senate, proposed a revision of the proceedings of 1894, and there was a growing minority of distinguished Frenchmen, among them Emile Zola, who published his impassioned manifesto, "I Accuse," convinced that there had been a miscarriage of justice. At the General Election of 1898, however, most of Dreyfus's Parliamentary supporters were defeated, and the new Brisson Cabinet firmly opposed revision. Cavaignac, the civilian War Minister, professed to have fresh evidence of Dreyfus's guilt, but Colonel Picquart published a letter to the Prime Minister giving Cavaignac the lie. Picquart was arrested, but his indictment of Esterhazy was so damning that it became impossible for the military authorities to ignore altogether the charges openly brought against him. The Court of Cassation on June 3, 1899, annulled the judgment of 1894, and ordered a fresh Court Martial to be held at Rennes. After a long-drawn-out trial, which was a mockery of the forms of justice, the military judges by five against two found him again guilty of treason and sentenced him to ten years' detention, but vitiated their finding by admitting extenuating circumstances. The President and the French nation then realised that it was not the honour of Dreyfus, but of French justice that was at stake. On September 19, 1899, Dreyfus received a free pardon from M. Loubet and was set at liberty, but not until 1906 was complete justice **done** to him. In June the Court of Cassation again considered the case, and in **July** recorded their judgment, quashing all previous proceedings and declaring that the innocence of Captain Dreyfus was clearly established. He was gazetted

back to the Army, and on the same spot on which he had undergone his degradation in 1894, he was publicly invested with the Legion of Honour. In 1914 Dreyfus, who had retired from the Army, volunteered for active service and took part in the battle of Ourcq. He also had the satisfaction of seeing his eldest son promoted on the battlefield. After the war, Colonel Dreyfus passed out of the public eye. In 1898 Dreyfus published "Lettres d'un innocent," and in 1901, "Cinq années de ma vie."

15. Lord Dalziel of Kirkcaldy (James Henry Dalziel), newspaper proprietor and politician, was born on April 24, 1868, and educated at Borgue Academy, Kirkcudbrightshire, Shrewsbury High School, and King's College, London. At an early age he began work in London as a journalist, subsequently going into the Press Gallery at the House of Commons. In 1892 he was elected M.P. by Kirkcaldy district as an advanced Radical and Home Ruler, and held the seat for thirty years until he received a peerage. Soon after his election he got the first resolution in favour of Scottish Home Rule passed through the House of Commons. Later he introduced a Bill to confer self-government on Scotland. In the years that followed his election he extended his journalistic interests and was active in newspaper management. He was knighted in 1908, sworn of the Privy Council in 1912, and made a baronet in 1918. During the war he was chairman of the committee in charge of German prisoners and was created Lord Dalziel of Kirkcaldy, of Marylebone, in June, 1921. (Sir Davison Dalziel, no relation, was created Lord Dalziel of Wooler in 1927.) In December, 1922, having completed thirty years of active work in Fleet Street, he retired and sold his interest in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Era*, and certain trade newspapers, and resigned the chairmanship and managing directorship of the *Daily Chronicle*, *Lloyd's News*, and *Reynold's Newspaper*. He was a life governor of St. George's and the London Hospitals. He married, in 1928, Amy Thackery, widow of Donald Macrae, of Wicklow. There was no issue, and the peerage became extinct.

17. George William Russell ("A.E."), the Irish poet, artist and patriot, was born at Lurgan, Co. Armagh, on April 10, 1867, and educated at Rathmines School, Dublin. His pseudonym represents "Aeon," a word which caught his imagination when he first came upon the Gnostics in Neander's "Church History." After leaving school he worked as a clerk in a Dublin warehouse, attending the Arts School in the evenings. Mr. W. B. Yeats, who was also an art student, has left a somewhat fanciful account of him in "The Celtic Twilight." Russell renounced art when a branch of the Theosophical Society was founded in Dublin about 1886, but he continued to paint his visions and write verses which C. A. Weekes eventually induced him to publish. "Homeward: Songs by the Way" (1894), which had a definite success, marked the first important transition in his life. Next Mr. Yeats introduced him to Sir Horace Plunkett and then began his connexion with the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society. He became a Nationalist with whom patriotism was a religious sentiment. His second volume of verse, "The Earth Breath" (1897), embodied the idea of the divinity of earth itself, as did two eloquent pamphlets, "The Awakening of the Fires" and "Priest or Hero." Meanwhile he was becoming widely known as an author and economist, and under his editorship the *Irish Homestead*, the organ of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, grew into a brilliant, if not influential, journal, and the annual exhibition of his pictures extended his reputation as an artist. He was not deeply grounded in economics nor in the history of Ireland, and he was never very successful in his intervention in matters of public debate—the strike in Dublin in 1912; the question of conscription and the Irish crisis which began in 1916, although his advice was sought at the Convention of 1917, and once Mr. Lloyd George entrusted him with a mission to Arthur Griffith in Mountjoy Prison. On the other hand, the policy of Dominion Self-Government which Sir Horace Plunkett and Russell advocated was that which was finally adopted. Averse from public life he preferred the part of commentator on Irish affairs, and as editor of the *Irish Statesman*

(1923-30) did much to guide public opinion. But it is as a poet that Russell's fame will continue. In 1926 appeared "Collected Poems," and in 1934 "The House of the Titans and Other Poems," which included a remarkable poem, "The Dark Lady," his solution of the problem of Shakespeare's Sonnets. His best prose work was "The Interpreters" (1922), in which a well-contrived situation allows each of a group of social theorists to unfold his arguments. "Song and its Fountains" (1932) is a prose commentary of interest to lovers of his poetry. "The National Being," a politico-economic treatise, exerted a wide influence, and was translated into several languages.

19. Philip Napier Miles, composer and patron of opera, was born on January 21, 1865. Delicate health in childhood denied him a public school career. He spent a little time at Oxford, but travelled on the Continent, studying music at Dresden. He succeeded to Kings Weston, the beautiful family estate near Bristol, in 1881, and soon made it the centre of much musical activity. He formed at Shirehampton a choral society, and was President of the Bristol Madrigal Society, for which he wrote several pieces, and was a staunch supporter of Rutland Boughton's efforts to found an operatic festival at Glastonbury. During the war Kings Weston was used as a hospital, with Miles and his family living in a few rooms and devoting themselves to the service of the wounded men. Afterwards he embarked on his project of giving native opera its place in English life. *Westward Ho I* (book by E. F. Benson, founded on Charles Kingsley), which had been produced at the Lyceum Theatre in 1913, was given in the village Hall at Shirehampton, as were also his one-act opera, *Markheim* (after R. L. Stevenson's story), and scenes from *Queen Rosamond*. Two seasons on a larger scale followed at the Victoria Rooms, Clifton, in 1924, and at the old Theatre Royal, Bristol, in 1926. During these his own *Fireflies* was heard and his contemporaries were represented by *The Shepherds of the Delectable Mountains* (Vaughan Williams), *Entente Cordiale* (Ethel Symth), and the first performance in England of Falla's puppet opera, *El Eetablo de Maese Pedro*. Stanford's *The Travelling Companion* and Mozart's *Così fan tutte* were given during the Theatre Royal season. In 1925 Miles received from Bristol University the honorary degree of D.Litt. Ill-health compelled him to winter abroad, usually at Alassio, at which the English church owes its dignity and beauty to his generosity. There he composed two operas, *Good Friday* (play by Massfield) and *Demeter* (book by Sturge Moore). He also set to music two odes by Keats—"The Grecian Urn," for choir and orchestra and produced by Kennedy Scott at the Queen's Hall in 1933, and "To Autumn," a setting for baritone solo, oboe, clarinet, and string quartet. He became J.P. for the county of Gloucester in 1887, and was sheriff in 1916-17. In 1899 he married Sybil, daughter of Baron de Hochepeid Larpent.

28. Professor William Ritchie Sorley, Litt.D., Knightbridge Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Cambridge from 1900 to 1933, and a Fellow of King's College, was born on November 4, 1855, and educated at Edinburgh University, where he obtained the Shaw Fellowship in 1878, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took first class in the Moral Sciences Tripos in 1882, and was awarded a Trinity Fellowship in 1883. From 1882 to 1887 he was lecturer for the Cambridge University Local Lectures Syndicate, and for the Moral Sciences Board, and in the session 1886-87, he acted as deputy for Croom Robertson at University College, London. In 1888 he was appointed Professor of Logic and Philosophy at University College, Cardiff, where he remained until 1894, in which year he was called to the Chair of Moral Philosophy in the University of Aberdeen. He was elected Henry Sidgwick's successor in the Knightbridge Chair of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge in 1900, and held the appointment until his resignation in 1933. In 1885 he published "The Ethics of Naturalism," founded on a course of Shaw Fellowship lectures given in Edinburgh in the preceding year, and returning to the subject in 1904, he published a small volume on "Recent Tendencies in Ethics." He was Gilford Lecturer in the University of

Aberdeen in 1914 and 1915, the lectures being published in 1918 as "Moral Values and the Idea of God," his most elaborate and constructive work. In 1920 appeared his comprehensive "History of English Philosophy," based on a series of chapters contributed to "The Cambridge History of English Literature." He edited the posthumous volumes on "Modern Philosophy" of Robert Adamson, to which he prefixed a "Memorial Introduction," and, in co-operation with R. P. Hardie, he edited also Adamson's lectures on Greek philosophy. He was an honorary LL.D. of Edinburgh University, and a Fellow of the British Academy. To the Proceedings of the Academy he contributed in 1910 an important paper on "The Interpretation of Evolution," and in 1918 he delivered the third annual Hertz lecture on a Master-mind, taking Spinoza as his subject. He was also the author of the article on Leibnitz in the eleventh edition of the "Encyclopaedia Britannica." For many years he was a member of the General Board of Studies and served on the Syndicate of the University Press. In 1922 he stood as one of the two Conservative candidates for the University, but was defeated, mainly on account of his opposition to the admission of women to the University on an equality with men. He married, in 1889, Janet, daughter of George Smith, of Edinburgh, and had two sons and one daughter.

AUGUST.

3. **Helmuth von Gerlach**, President of the German League for the Rights of Man, and formerly editor of the *Welt am Montag*, was born on February 2, 1866, in Silesia, of a family of old officials. He studied law at Geneva, Strasburg, Leipzig, and Berlin, but he soon resigned from the Prussian Civil Service when he realised that he was out of sympathy with the Conservative Party to which he had at first naturally gravitated. From 1903 to 1906 he was a member of the Reichstag for Marburg. There he edited the *Hessische Landeszeitung* (1896-1906). Later he became editor of the *Welt am Montag*. He was one of the founders of the German Democratic Party. In 1918 he became Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of the Interior in the first Prussian Republican Government, holding that office until March, 1919. A professed pacifist, his paper, *Welt am Montag*, was long a thorn in the side of the militarists. Until the advent of Hitler, Gerlach was one of the most prominent leaders of public opinion in Germany, having Left leanings. He advocated the policy of a Franco-German understanding. When the Nazi regime was established, he became an exile in Paris, where he died.

4. **Herbert Woodfield Paul**, Liberal, man of letters, and second Civil Service Commissioner from 1908 to 1918, was born in 1853, the son of the Rev. G. W. Paul, Hon. Canon of Peterborough Cathedral, and Jessie Phillippa, grand-daughter of Sir Digby Mackworth. He was educated at Eton and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he took a first class in *Lit. Hum.* and where he became President of the Union. He was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1878, but it was literature and politics which attracted him. At one period he was the political leader-writer of the *Daily News*. From 1892 to 1895 he was Liberal M.P. for South Edinburgh, while from 1906 to 1909 he represented Northampton. He was then appointed Second Civil Service Commissioner. His first book, "Man and Letters" (1901), a collection of essays, was followed by a companion volume "Stray Leaves" (1906). In 1901 he published a life of Gladstone, and in 1902 a study of Matthew Arnold in the "English Men of Letters" series. His *magnum opus* came in 1904-6—"A History of Modern England" in five volumes, which he was said to have written without reference to books, so retentive was his memory. "The Annual Register tempered by epigrams" was a phrase applied to it. In 1904 he edited sonie letters of Lord Acton; in 1905 he wrote a vigorous sketch in defence of Froude as a historian; and in 1907 a study of the age of Queen Anne (sumptuously issued by Goupil). His last published work was a volume of "Famous Speeches" (1910). He was a man of extraordinary cleverness, wit, and learning, which was perhaps somewhat marred by an unfortunate

bitterness of tongue. He married, in 1883, Elinor, daughter of the Hon. William Ritchie, Advocate-General of Calcutta, and had one son and one daughter.

8. **Sir John Perronet Thompson**, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., formerly Chief Commissioner of Delhi, was born on March 8, 1873, and educated at the Grammar School, Leeds, and Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1895 he was President of the Union and was placed in the first class in the Classical Tripos. He passed the Indian Civil Service examination in 1896, being designated to the Punjab. In 1916 he was selected for the Chief Secretaryship under Sir Michael O'Dwyer. For four months from November, 1918, he was on deputation as a member of the Reforms Committee which worked out details in connexion with the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution, returning to his Chief Secretaryship when the wave of unrest, which culminated in the tragedy at Amritsar, swept over the Punjab in 1919. In 1921 he was placed on special duty in the Foreign and Political Department, and in 1922 Lord Reading made him Political Secretary. In 1928 Lord Irwin (afterwards Lord Halifax) appointed him Chief Commissioner of Delhi Province. Made K.C.I.E. in 1926, he was created K.C.S.I. in 1932. In 1932 he retired. Returning to London he became the Vice-President of the Royal Central Asian Society and a member of the Council of the East India Association and the India Society. In May, 1933, he became Chairman of the Union of Britain and India. He married the elder daughter of Dr. R. Y. Tyrell, and had three sons and two daughters.

9. Lord Woolavington (James Buchanan) was born in Canada on August 16, 1849, the youngest son of Alexander Buchanan, of Glasgow, and was brought to Scotland in the following year. Owing to poor health he was educated privately. While still a young man he came to London to sell whisky for a Scottish firm of distillers. Offered some capital to start a business of his own, he established the firm of James Buchanan & Company, eventually paying back every penny that had been lent to him. When the Old Swan Distillery, in Holborn, was for sale, he bought it at a price said to have been in the neighbourhood of 90,000*l.*, and quickly made a reputation for his "House of Commons" whisky, "Black and White," and other brands. Soon after the war he joined forces with Dewar & Son and remained for many years one of the controllers of Buchanan, Dewar, Ltd. He was also Chairman of James Buchanan, Ltd., London, and of W. P. Lowrie & Co. Ltd., Glasgow. During one of his numerous journeys abroad in search of health, he made friends with a Mr. Kincaid, who lent him horses for riding and driving. Returning home he brought a trainer named Alvarez and a jockey named Gomez, and in 1899, began his highly successful racing career under the name of Mr. Kincaid, dropping that name a year or two later for his own. Two of his horses—Captain Cuttle (1922) and Coronach (1926)—won the Derby. He received a baronetcy in 1920, a peerage in 1922, and the G.C.V.O. in 1931. He gave freely to charity and to public objects. He purchased for 5,000*l.* the log-book of the *Victory*, which he presented to the British Museum, and Will Longstaff's picture, "Menin Gate at Midnight," for the Australian Government in memory of the Australians who were killed in the war. After an appeal had been made for 4,000*l.* to fit out the *Implacable* as a training ship, Lord Woolavington sent a cheque for the whole amount. He lavishly supported the Tariff Reform League, of which he was Vice-President. In 1926 he gave 10,000*l.* to Edinburgh University for the endowment of the Animal Breeding Research Department; in 1928 he bestowed 125,000*l.* in memory of his wife to the Middlesex Hospital for the provision of middle-class paying wards, and placed 50,000*l.* at the disposal of the King for the restoration of the nave of St. George's Chapel, Windsor. He owned estates in England, Scotland, British Columbia, and British East Africa, and was High Sheriff of Sussex in 1910. He was an honorary LL.D. of Edinburgh University. In 1892 he married Anne Pounder, a hospital nurse whom he met on one of his voyages, and had one daughter. The peerage and baronetcy became extinct.

12. Sir William Watson, the poet, was born at Burley-in-Wharfedale on August 2, 1858, the son of a Liverpool merchant. At 7 he wrote a hymn; before he was 9 he committed "Paradise Lost" to memory; at 14 he began to contribute verse to the newspapers. In 1880 he published at his father's cost a little volume called "The Prince's Quest," which was, however, excluded from the first series of "Collected Poems," though it was inserted in the subsequent two-volume edition. In 1884 he published a volume of quatrains under the title of "Epigrams." With the publication in 1892 of the volume containing "Wordsworth's Grave," Watson came into public notice. Some critics thought he would be the successor of Matthew Arnold, Browning, and Tennyson, and their hopes were raised when on the death of Tennyson, on October 6, 1892, he published "Lachrymso Musarum," a poem which gave its name to a volume in 1893. About the same time he published a volume of prose, "Excursions in Criticism." Here, as elsewhere, he definitely took sides against the eccentrics and superior young men generally under whatever names they were known, and they in return ranked Watson among the mediocrities and the Philistines. Recovering from an illness said to have been caused by excitement at the prospect of being made Poet Laureate—his claim was urged upon Gladstone by Asquith—he issued "Vita Nuova," in which he expressed the joy of sharing in "the Earth's divine renewal." In 1894 he published "Odes and Other Poems"; in 1895 came another thin volume containing the "Father of the Forest" and the "Hymn to the Sea," which almost converted sceptics to a belief in English hexameters and pentameters. "The Purple East," inspired by indignation against the Turkish atrocities in Armenia, followed in 1896. In 1897 came "The Hope of the World"; in 1898 a 300-page volume of collected poems; and in 1902 his famous Coronation ode. His war poems of 1914 and after, though full of good workmanship, almost failed because they wanted the note of genuine experience which sounded in the verse of the real war poets. In 1928 he published a selection of Poems with notes in a single volume. He was knighted in 1917. In his later years he was ill and lived in straightened circumstances on a State pension of 200l. a year. For his relief a testimonial fund was opened and was supported by many of the leading figures in literature and public life. He married Adeline Maureen Pring, of Howth, Co. Dublin, and had two daughters.

13. Lord Tomlin (Thomas James Chesshyre Tomlin), a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary and an eminent Equity lawyer, was born on May 6, 1867, and educated at Harrow—he was President of the Harrow Association at the time of his death—and New College, Oxford, where he took a first class in Jurisprudence in 1889, and a second class in the examination for the B.C.L. in 1891. In that year he was called to the Bar by both the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn. He was a pupil of and subsequently devilled for R. J. Parker (Lord Parker), and when Parker went to the Bench in 1906 the bulk of his large practice fell to his pupil. In time he was appointed Junior Equity Counsel to the Board of Inland Revenue, the Board of Trade, the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, the Charity Commissioners, and the Board of Education. He took silk in 1913, and for ten years had a large practice in the Chancery Courts, the House of Lords, and before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. By the time he succeeded Mr. Justice Sargant, in October, 1923, he had one of the largest Equity practices. In 1923 he was appointed to be Chairman of the Royal Commission on Awards to Inventors and held the position until the last sitting of the Committee in December, 1933. He was made a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary in 1929, and in the same year he accepted the post of Chairman of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service. He was a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, an Hon. Fellow of New College, and in Freemasonry was a Past Grand Warden of England. He succeeded to the Manor House Estate, near Canterbury, and became Lord of the Manor on the death of his sister, Mrs. W. A. Lochee. In 1893 he married Marion Olivia, elder daughter of Colonel William Garrow Waterfield, C.S.I., and had two sons and two daughters. As he held a life peerage the title became extinct.

14. **Viscount Bridgeman of Leigh** (William Clive Bridgeman) was born on December 31, 1864, and educated at Eton, where he became captain of the Oppidans (in turn his three sons attained to the same position), and went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, with an open Classical Scholarship in 1884. After a short period at Eton as assistant master, he set out to prepare himself for a career in politics by an extensive tour of the Empire. In 1889 he became private secretary to Lord Knutsford, then Secretary for the Colonies, and remained in that position three years, during which time he confirmed his conviction of the importance of Imperial unity which was the guiding principle of his public career. For two years, from 1895, he was also private secretary to Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1892 he stood for Parliament for North Worcestershire, but was unsuccessful. He was also defeated in Mid-Derbyshire in 1895, and at Oswestry in 1904. Meanwhile he sat on the London School Board from 1897 to 1904, and subsequently represented Marylebone on the London County Council. Finally he was elected for Oswestry in 1906 and sat for that division until 1929. In 1911 he was appointed one of the Junior Opposition Whips, and in 1915, when the first Coalition Administration was formed, he became a Government Whip. In 1916 he was made Assistant Director of the War Trade Department and in the same year Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour. After the General Election of 1918 he became Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, and in August, 1920, was appointed the first Secretary of the Mines Department. Almost immediately he had to deal with a strike in the coal industry, and he gained experience that was afterwards of great service to the Government in the general strike and the coal strike of 1926. In 1922 he became Home Secretary in the Conservative Administration of Bonar Law. From 1924 to 1929 he was First Lord of the Admiralty. In 1927 he led the British delegation at the Conference on Armaments at Geneva. He retired from the House of Commons in 1929, and received his viscounty. In 1930 he conducted an inquiry at the request of Lord Jellicoe into the affairs of the British Legibn, and in 1932 he was Chairman of a Committee of Inquiry into the working of the Post Office. After being a member of the Board, he became Chairman of the British Broadcasting Corporation. He was a Fellow of Eton College, Hon. LL.D. of Cambridge, and an Elder Brother of Trinity House. He married, in 1895, Caroline Beatrix, elder daughter of the Hon. Cecil Parker, son of the sixth Earl of Macclesfield, and had three sons.

15. **Sir Basil Phillott** Blackett, financial specialist, who was killed in a motoring accident in Germany, was born on January 8, 1882, and educated at Marlborough and University College, Oxford, where he took a first class in *Lit. Hum.* in 1904. At the age of 22 he entered the Treasury. His gift for mastering intricate financial and economic questions led to his becoming secretary to the Indian Finance and Currency Commission in 1913-14, and in 1915 he served as secretary to the Capital Issues Committee. In October, 1914, he visited the United States in charge of a mission to the Government in connexion with exchange problems arising out of the war. A year later he returned to America as a member of the Anglo-French Financial Commission which raised the Anglo-French loan of 500,000,000 dollars, the first War Loan raised in America by the Allies. From 1917 to 1919 he represented the British Treasury in the United States. When the post of Controller of Finance was created in 1919, he returned to England and held that office until 1922. Later in the year he went to India as Finance Member of the Viceroy's Council. He effected a rigorous retrenchment of expenditure, abolished the excise duty on Indian cotton goods, reduced the provincial contributions to central revenues, and separated railway finance from the Indian Budget. His five-year tenure of office as Finance Minister was extended by three months so that he could introduce the India Budget for 1928-29. When his period of office in India expired he decided to seek a new career in the City, his first appointment being his election on January 23, 1929, to the Court of Directors of the Bank of England. About the same time he was nominated

by the Government to be Chairman of the Imperial and International Communications Company which was formed to take over the cable and wireless services from the Government in the United Kingdom, the Pacific Cable Board, and the Cable and Marconi Companies. He resigned in 1932. While at the Treasury he strongly opposed any devaluation of the pound, and in India he advocated keeping the rupee at la. 6d., an appreciation of 2d. over the pre-war figure, but after he left the Government service, particularly after the crisis of 1931, he changed his views and advocated budgeting for a deficit as a way out of the depression. In 1932 he published "Planned Money," a broad survey for the layman of the monetary problem, in which he invented the word "sterlingaria." He was also part-author of "Great Events in History" (1934). He was President of the British Social Hygiene Council. In 1933 he made a report for the Colonial Office on currency in British Malaya. He was Chairman of the Colonial Development Advisory Committee. He was present at all the post-war conferences on reparations from 1919 to 1922 and was one of the experts who served on the International Committee on reparations which produced the Young Plan. In 1932 he stood as an official Conservative candidate for the St. Marylebone Division but was defeated. He was a director of De Beers Consolidated Mines, and was associated with the Diamond Corporation and the Cape Explosives Works. He was twice married, the first marriage being dissolved. In 1920 he married, secondly, Beatrice Bonner, daughter of Edward H. Bonner of New York. He was made a C.B. in 1915, a K.C.B. in 1921, and a K.C.S.I. in 1926. He was a Commendatore of the Order of the Crown of Italy, and an officer of the Legion of Honour.

17. Sir John Ross, the last Lord Chancellor of Ireland, was born at Londonderry on December 11, 1853, and was educated at Foyle College and Trinity College, Dublin, where he was first classical scholar in 1876, and where he played a vigorous part in the debates of the Historical Society. Called to the Irish Bar in 1879, he was soon a busy advocate, becoming in due course a Q.C. and a bencher of the King's Inns. In 1896 he was promoted to the Bench as Land Judge in the Chancery Division. A fervent Unionist, he won from Justin McCarthy, by 26 votes, the seat for Londonderry City in 1892 and held it until 1895, when he was defeated. In "The Years of My Pilgrimage" (1924) he gave an entertaining account of his life in the House. He was made a Commissioner of Irish Charitable Endowments in 1898 and a Commissioner of National Education in Ireland in 1905, and was sworn of the Irish Privy Council in 1902. He was created a baronet in February, 1919, and in June, 1921, was appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland. The office which had existed since the twelfth century was abolished by statute in December, 1922. In 1882 he married the daughter of Col. Deane Mann, of Dunmoyle, and had one son.

22. Admiral Paul Konduriotis, at one time President of the Greek Republic, was born on April 4, 1855, of a well-known Greek family. At an early age he entered the Navy, and in the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 he commanded the Greek Fleet. In the Great War he was admitted to the councils of the British and French Admirals, but while he was a supporter of the Allies, King Constantine maintained neutrality. At the end of the war Konduriotis retired and was given by Parliament the rank of Admiral, a position hitherto held by the King alone. On October 25, 1920, King Alexander, who had succeeded to the Throne on his father's withdrawal on June 14, 1917, to the exclusion of his elder brother, the Diadoch George, died of the effects of a monkey bite, and Konduriotis was sworn in as Regent on October 28. In November when the Venizelists were defeated at the polls, and the return of King Constantine became inevitable, Konduriotis resigned the Regency on November 18 in favour of the Queen Mother, Olga. After a short sojourn abroad he returned to Athens to be Chairman of the Committee of the National Relief Fund. While at work in his office on December 21, 1921, he was shot by three ex-service men and had a miraculous escape. On September 28, 1922, King Constantine was again deposed,

and fifteen months later, on December 19, 1923, King George II. was expelled. The next day Konduriotis became Regent for the second time, and was made President of the Greek Republic on March 25, 1924. The general situation in Greece was unsettled, and in June, 1925, the discontent culminated in a revolt under General Pangalos. On March 20, 1926, Konduriotis resigned. Pangalos, who succeeded him, was overthrown in August, 1926, by General Kondylis and Admiral Konduriotis resumed the Presidency on August 23. In October, 1927, another attempt was made to assassinate him. On June 3, 1929, in spite of his desire to retire, the Senate and Chamber sitting as one Assembly elected him President for a second term by 259 votes out of 309. He finally resigned on December 9, 1929, and was succeeded by Alexander Zaimis.

29. Queen Astrid of the Belgians was born in Stockholm on November 17, 1905. She was Princess Astrid Sophie Louise Thyra, third daughter of Prince Charles, Duke of Vastergotland, brother of the King of Sweden, and niece of the King of Denmark. She was married to the Duke of Brabant, elder son of Albert, King of the Belgians, in Stockholm on November 4, 1926, and in Brussels on November 10. In August, 1930, she was received into the Roman Catholic Church. She had three children, Princess Josephine, born on October 11, 1927; Prince Baudouin, born on September 7, 1930; and Albert, Prince of Liege, born on June 6, 1934. The Queen met her death near Lucerne as the result of a motor accident in which the King was injured.

30. Henri Barbusse, novelist and Communist, author of "Le Feu," was born at Asnieres, outside Paris, on May 17, 1873, his mother being an Englishwoman. After completing his studies, which were greatly hampered by ill-health, he turned to writing. His first publication was a poem "Les Pleureuses." In 1903 he produced his first novel, "Les Suppliants." Next came "L'Enfer" (1908), which in the manner of Zola describes the struggles and sufferings of his early life. At this period he was actively engaged in journalism, serving at the same time as Assistant Chef de Cabinet to Paul Dupuy, Minister of Agriculture. When the war broke out Barbusse joined the infantry and was twice mentioned in an Order of the Day. In 1916 he created a sensation by publishing "Le Feu," which was awarded the Prix Goncourt in 1917, and in which he described his war experiences, showing all the horror of war. The book was translated into several European languages. After the war he joined the Communist Party, becoming latterly editor of *L'Humanite*. In 1935 he published "Stalin." He was a member of many advanced intellectual organisations. Barbusse married a daughter of Cortulle Mendes.

SEPTEMBER.

2. Andrew Cecil Bradley, F.B.A., formerly Professor of Poetry at Oxford and of English Literature at Liverpool and Glasgow, was born at Cheltenham on March 26, 1851, and educated at Cheltenham College and Balliol College, Oxford, of which he was elected a Fellow in 1874. In 1875 he won the Chancellor's prize with an English essay on "Utopias, Ancient and Modern." He was appointed lecturer at Balliol in 1875, remaining there for six years. In 1881 he accepted the Professorship of Modern Literature, and for a time of Modern History, at University College, Liverpool. Besides the ever-increasing work of his department he undertook evening lectures in the College, found time to edit T. H. Green's "Prolegomena to Ethics," and was responsible for the translation of Book III. of Lotze's "Metaphysics." In 1889 he left Liverpool for the Chair of English Language and Literature at Glasgow, retiring in 1900. A year later he was elected to the Professorship of Poetry at Oxford. For his inaugural lecture he gave a philosophic discourse on "Poetry for Poetry's Sake." Some of his subsequent lectures were published as "Shakespearean Tragedy" (1904), and the remainder

as "Oxford Lectures on Poetry" (1909). He also published a somewhat unsympathetic commentary on Tennyson's "In Memoriam," but in later years he delivered an effective plea for that poet in "The Reaction in Favour of Tennyson." He edited, with a biographical sketch, the first volume of the "Philosophical Lectures and Remains" of R. L. Nettleship, and "A Miscellany" in 1929. For the English Association he edited its sixth volume of "Essays and Studies." He was LL.D. of Glasgow and Edinburgh, and Litt.D. of Liverpool and Durham, and a Fellow of the British Academy. He was unmarried.

10. **Senator Huey Pierce Long** ("The Kingfish"), Dictator of Louisiana, who was shot dead in the State House at Baton Rouge, was born on August 30, 1893, and was educated at grammar and high schools. At 16 he was a travelling salesman; at 19 he married. He was admitted to the Bar and practised in small towns, attacking public utility corporations and gaining a place on the State Railway Commission by the time he was 25. In 1924 he stood for the office of governor of Louisiana, but was heavily defeated. Four years later he was successful. By 1932 his power was sufficiently consolidated for him to hand over the Governorship to a henchman. He had already been elected to the U.S. Senate. His methods were ruthless. In 1934, in two hours and twenty minutes, the State Legislature passed 44 of his Bills through all their stages. The most sinister of his instruments was the State Bureau of Criminal Investigation, which was occupied chiefly in political espionage and the suppression of opposition. He obtained power to use the State Militia for any purpose he desired, and brought under his control the State Bar, the police and fire departments, school teachers and any unit of administration that might interfere with him. He built 5,000 miles of roads, freed ferries and bridges from tolls, rebuilt the State University, provided handsome schools, forced gas and electricity companies to lower their rates, and introduced travelling public libraries in rural areas, and although the public debt of the State amounted to 145,000,000 dollars, 70 per cent, of the population, relieved of all direct taxation, did not care. The Square Deal Association formed to overthrow Long revolted in February, 1935, but the citizens' army had to surrender to Long's machine-guns. He was resourceful, eloquent, and possessed a high degree of personal magnetism, but his aspiration to be President of the U.S. were founded on more than personal charm. He had started a "Share the Wealth" agitation, for which he established propaganda clubs in every State in the Union. The chief planks in this platform were the abolition of poverty by guaranteeing to "every deserving family" 5,000 dollars unencumbered by debt; and the limitation of personal fortunes to 3,000,000 dollars and personal incomes to 1,000,000 dollars. But he was vague as to the precise means by which it was all to be accomplished. He vote'd for Roosevelt at the Presidential election and was for a while an ardent New Dealer, but he afterwards became one of the President's bitterest opponents, and in June, 1935, he endeavoured to talk out in the Senate the resolution continuing the National Industrial Recovery Act until April, 1936. He talked for 15½ hours. Had he lived he would have had to meet a Congressional inquiry "whether Louisiana has the Republican form of Government guaranteed by the Constitution." Perhaps the best description of the man was that of his enemies: "a bully-ragging, hypocritical swashbuckler."

14. **Dame Madge Kendal**, the Victorian actress, was born at Grimsby on March 15, 1849, a daughter of William Robertson, an actor on the Lincoln circuit. Born as she was into a theatrical family, she appeared on the stage as a tiny child and continued her career as she grew in years. In 1869 she joined Buckstone's Haymarket company on tour, and having married W. H. Kendal (William Hunter Grimston), a member of the same company, in August, 1869, she remained with her husband in Buckstone's company until 1874, playing some of her best parts—Lilian Vavasour in *New Men and Old Acres*, Lydia Languish, Zeolide in *The Palace of Truth*, Lady Teazle, Kate Hardcastle, Galatea, and Lady Gay Spanker in *London Assurance*. After a little management on their own account, the Kendals

joined Hare at the Court, from which they went to the Bancrofts at the Prince of Wales's, and there, between 1876 and 1879, Mrs. Kendal had her second great period, two of her finest parts being Lady Ormond in *Peril*, and Dora in *Diplomacy*. Her third great period was from 1879 to 1888, during the Hare-Kendal management of St. James's Theatre. Among her parts there may be mentioned Mrs. Sternhold in *Still Waters Run Deep*, Millicent Boycott in *The Money Spinner*, and Pauline in *The Lady of Lyons*. At the conclusion of this management the Kendals spent most of their time in America, which proved a gold mine, and in the provinces. During Mrs. Kendal's occasional appearances in London, the best remembered parts were in *The Likeness of the Night*, *The Elder Miss Blossom*, and as Mrs. Ford to the Mrs. Page of Ellen Terry and the Falstaff of Beerbohm Tree at the Haymarket Theatre in 1902. Mrs. Kendal retired in 1908. In 1926 she was created D.B.E. "for services to the drama," and in 1932 she was the first woman to receive the freedom of Grimsby. In her eightieth year Sir William Orpen painted her portrait. She was an eager advocate of old days and old ways. To the end of her life she dressed in a Victorian style, and lost no opportunity of expressing an unfavourable opinion of the modern girl and of the modern stage, which earned for her the title of "The Matron of the British Drama."

17. **Dr. Peter Giles**, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, was born at Strichen, Aberdeenshire, on October 20, 1860, and educated at the University of Aberdeen and at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. He gained the Browne medal for a Greek epigram in 1884, the Lightfoot scholarship for history, and the Whewell scholarship for international law in 1885. In the schools he distinguished himself in classics and history, being made a Fellow of his College in 1887. Three years later he went to Emmanuel College as Fellow and Classical Lecturer. In 1891 he succeeded Dr. Peile as University Header in Comparative Philology; in 1911 he was elected Master in succession to William Chawner; from 1919 to 1921 he was Vice-Chancellor, and from 1923 to 1927 a member of the Statutory Commission for Cambridge University. He was Chairman of the Library Syndicate and a member of the Press Syndicate. He was an hon. LL.D. of Aberdeen, and Harvard conferred honorary doctorate upon him. Gonville and Caius College made him an honorary Fellow, and he was also a Fellow and member of the Council of the British Academy. In 1895 he published a "Short Manual of Comparative Philology for Classical Students," which still maintains its position as the standard English text-book. He also contributed many articles to Hastings' "Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics," and the Cambridge Histories. In 1893 he married Elizabeth Mary, elder daughter of T. W. Dunn, headmaster of Bath College, and had a son and three daughters.

18. **Dr. Voyislav Marinkovitch**, Yugoslav statesman, was born at Belgrade on May 1, 1876, and educated at the Belgrade High School and at the Sorbonne in Paris, where he studied law and political economy. After graduating in 1900, he returned to Belgrade to enter the Government service in the Ministry of Finance. Before he was 30 he became a member of the Skupshtina. He first became prominent in Serbian politics in 1913, when he was the chief financial delegate of his country at the Paris Conference after the Balkan War. In 1914 he became a Minister in the Serbian Cabinet of M. Pashitch and in 1918 was one of the principal authors of the Corfu declaration. In 1922 he was appointed Minister of the Interior under M. Pashitch. He first took office as Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Davidovitch Cabinet of July, 1924, and again in the Vukitchevich Cabinet of February, 1928; thereafter he held that office continuously for five and a half years. In April, 1932, he became Prime Minister in succession to General Pera Zhivkovitch, still retaining control of Foreign Affairs, but resigned in July of the same year. He was delegate in 1929 and 1930 at The Hague Conference and in 1930 he was President of the Council of the League of Nations in Geneva. He was a Deputy in all Skupshtinas from 1906 to May, 1935, when he did not stand. After the murder of King Alexander, he entered the reconstructed

Ouzounovitch Cabinet as Minister without portfolio at the request of the First Regent, Prince Paul. In private life he was a banker.

19. **Jules Cambon**, formerly French Ambassador in Berlin, was born on April 5, 1845, graduated in the French provincial administration and held successively the Prefectures of Lille and Marseilles before he went in 1891 as Governor-General to Algeria, an account of which he published in 1918. At the end of 1897 he became Ambassador at Washington, where on August 12, 1898, acting as Spanish plenipotentiary, he signed with the United States Secretary of State the peace preliminaries in the Spanish-American War. Four years later he was transferred to the Embassy at Madrid, and in 1907 he went to Berlin as Ambassador. During the war he served first as General Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, then as delegate, and finally as Secretary-General to the Allied War Council. Afterwards he became one of the French representatives at the Paris Peace Conference, at the end of which Clemenceau appointed him to preside over the Conference of Ambassadors, a position he held until 1922. In 1919 he was elected to the French Academy. In March, 1931, appeared an English translation of his essay defending the old diplomacy. He left one son.

21. **Sir Walter Tapper, R.A.**, President of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1927 and 1928, and Surveyor of Westminster Abbey since 1928, was born at Bovey Tracey, Devon, in 1861, and served his articles at Newton Abbot. Coming to London, he joined the staff of Bodley and Garner, and remained as their chief assistant for many years. In 1900 he set up in practice for himself and was soon engaged in restoration work all over the country, besides designing churches such as the Church of the Ascension, Malvern Link; St. Stephen's, Grimsby; St. Erkenwald's, Southend; and St. Mary's, Harrogate. At Eton he designed the War Memorial in the Lower Chapel. He was consulting architect to York Minster and Manchester Cathedral. At the former he designed the screen which, together with the "Five Sisters" window, forms the Empire War Memorial to women. In 1928 he was appointed to the office of Surveyor of the Fabric of Westminster Abbey, and soon afterwards he was involved in the controversy in connexion with the Sacristy which it was proposed to erect on the north side of the Choir. His most congenial work was the restoration, with experiments in colour, of the Henry VII Chapel, completed in 1935. Some of his best work was done by means of a benefaction of 9,000l. given by the Pilgrim Trust in 1932 for the alteration and equipment of the muniment room and library of the Abbey. Elected an A.H.A. in 1926, he became a full R. A. in 1935, in which year he was created K.C.V.O. In 1886 he married Catherine Lydia Jotcham, and had one son and one daughter.

27. **Dr. Alan Gray**, Hon. Fellow and formerly organist of Trinity College, Cambridge, was born on December 12, 1855, and was educated at St. Peter's School, York. His musical talent was fostered by his teacher, Dr. E. G. Monk, organist of the Minster, but he graduated from Trinity College in the Law Tripos of 1876, and was admitted a solicitor in 1881. In 1883 he went as musical director to Wellington College, where he remained for ten years. When Stanford removed to London, Gray, who had taken his degree of Mus. Doc. in 1889, succeeded him as organist of Trinity College and as conductor of the Cambridge University Musical Society. He resigned the latter post in 1917, but continued as organist until 1930, when he was elected an hon. Fellow. His published and unpublished work included orchestral and choral works for the Leeds and Hovingham festivals, a cantata, "Odysseus in Phaeacia"; sonatas for organ, for violin and piano, string quartets and a trio, many part songs, services, and anthems. Perhaps the most noteworthy of these was his *Te Deum* in G; and the memorial anthem on the words of Christina Rossetti's poem, "What are these that glow from afar," which was inspired by the loss in the war of his two sons. In 1920 he issued a book of Descants. He married a daughter of Albert Vickers and had three sons.

OCTOBER.

2. Ernest Muirhead Little, F.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., orthopaedic surgeon, the youngest son of Dr. W. J. Little, a pioneer of orthopaedic surgery in England, who also gave his name to "Little's Disease," was born on July 26, 1854, and educated at Westminster School. In due course he entered St. George's Hospital as a medical student; during his student days he went to Servia with the ambulance sent by the National Aid Society to the Turco-Servian War, and was decorated by the King of Servia with the Takova Gold Cross. In 1886 he became registrar surgeon to the Royal National Orthopaedic Hospital (as it afterwards became), with which he was associated for the rest of his life as surgeon, senior surgeon, and consulting surgeon after his retirement in 1919. For nearly forty years he was surgeon to the Royal Surgical Aid Society. He was a secretary of the International Medical Congress (London, 1881), Vice-President of the Orthopaedic Section of the Congress (London, 1913), and was the first President of the British Orthopaedic Association. During the war he acted as surgeon-in-charge to Queen Mary's Convalescent Auxiliary Hospital at Roehampton. Later he became visiting surgeon under the Ministry of Pensions and was a member of the Advisory Council and one of the Minister's Advisers on artificial limbs. He published a work on artificial limbs and amputation stumps, and in his later years edited the "History of the British Medical Association" (1932), in celebration of the Association's centenary. He married, in 1890, Mary, daughter of John Burgess Knight, and had three sons and one daughter.

5. Henry de Jouvenel, diplomatist, journalist, and politician, was born in Paris on April 2, 1876, and educated at the *ficole Normale Superieure*. In due course he became editor-in-chief of the *Matin*, holding the post for many years. During the agitated Ministry of M. Combes he was *chef de cabinet* to M. Valle, Minister of Justice, from June, 1902, to January, 1905, and again to M. Dubief, Minister of Commerce in the second Rouvier Cabinet, from January, 1905, to March, 1907. In 1921 he was elected to the Senate as Socialist-Radical for the Department of Correze, and soon made his mark in the Committee for foreign affairs. In 1922 M. Poincare chose him as a representative of France at the League of Nations. It was he with Signor Bonini Longare, the Italian representative, who sponsored Abyssinia into the League. He was made Minister of Education and Fine Arts in the third Poincare Cabinet of 1924. In 1925 he became French Commissioner for Syria in place of General Sarrail, who had been retired in consequence of the bombardment of Damascus. When the Druses rose in the following year, Jouvenel was compelled to use troops to put down the insurrection, with considerable loss of life. He returned to France in 1926 and resumed his seat in the Senate. In 1927 he took part in the proceedings of the Inter-Parliamentary Congress and created some sensation when replying to Herr Ltfbe, President of the Reichstag, by saying that France was in favour of a Franco-German *rapprochement* and could forget the past, but could not forget its lessons. In 1932 he was chosen to succeed M. de Beaumarchais as French Ambassador in Rome, and while there he paved the way which led to the negotiation of the Four-Power Pact between Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy. He married first, "Collette," the writer, and secondly, Mme. Charles Louis Dreyfus, daughter of Edgar Hement.

6. Sir Frederic Hymen Co wen, composer and conductor, was born of Jewish parentage in Kingston, Jamaica, on January 29, 1852. At the age of 4 he was brought to England and presently became a pupil of Goss and Benedict, afterwards studying at Leipzig and Berlin. At 11 he gave a piano recital in the concert room of Her Majesty's Theatre, with which he was connected five years later as accompanist to Mapleson's Opera. In 1880 he produced the orchestral symphony in C minor called "Scandinavian," which made its mark on its English hearers because of an imaginative use of orchestral colouring new to them. His

name was now linked with those of Parry, Stanford, and Mackenzie, as the heralds of a new era in English music. Cowen, however, became the most popular of them on account of ballads such as "The Better Land" and "The Children's Home," which caused him some embarrassment in later years when he found himself remembered by these rather than by his larger works. He thought of himself primarily as a symphonist, but his real gift was for light music, such as "The Language of Flowers" (1880), "In the Olden Time" (1883), "In Fairyland" (1896), and "The Butterflies' Ball" (1901). He took a vigorous part in the movement to establish English opera on "grand" lines, contributing three pieces, *Thorgrim*, Drury Lane, 1890; *Signa*, Covent Garden, 1894, and *Harold*, Covent Garden, 1895. In 1888 he visited Australia to conduct daily concerts at the Melbourne Centenary Exhibition, for which he received an honorarium of 5,000/-. From 1888 to 1892 and from 1900 to 1907 he was the conductor of the London Philharmonic Society. He also took charge of the Hallé Orchestra at Manchester, the Liverpool Philharmonic, the Bradford Permanent Orchestra, and, from 1900 onwards, the Scottish Orchestra at Glasgow. He directed the triennial festivals at Cardiff, where in 1911 his last large scale composition, *The Veil*, was produced, and the Handel Festivals at Crystal Palace. He received the honorary degree of Mus. Doc. from Cambridge in 1900 and was knighted in the Coronation honours of 1911. In 1913 he published "My Art and My Friends." At a dinner given to celebrate his eightieth birthday, Sir Edward Elgar, proposing his health, spoke of him as "a dominating factor in the musical life of this country since 1875."

9. Professor Sir John Cunningham iWLenan, D.Sc, F.R.S., eminent Canadian physicist, was born on April 14, 1867, at Ontario, and educated at Toronto and Cambridge. He was well known for his work on the production of helium and the super-conductivity exhibited by certain metals and alloys at the extremely low temperatures obtainable with the aid of that gas in the liquid form. Though he paid frequent visits to England, his working life was spent in Toronto University, where he was successively assistant demonstrator in physics (1892-99), demonstrator (1899-1902), assistant professor (1902-4), director of the Physical Laboratory (1904), and professor (1907). He retired in 1932 with the title of Professor-Emeritus and Visiting Professor of Physics. In America he was a Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, a member of the National Research Council of Canada and President of the Royal Canadian Institute (1916-17), and, in 1924, of the Royal Society of Canada, from which he received the Flavelle medal in 1926. In England he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1915 (Royal Medallist, 1927), and was President of Section A of the British Association, 1923. His services were lent to the Admiralty by the University of Toronto in 1917, and for most of 1919 he was scientific adviser to the Board of Inventions. He was made a K.B.E. in 1935. In 1910 he married Elsie Monro, eldest daughter of William Ramsay of Bowland, Scotland.

20. The Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., Labour Leader, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1929-31, and President of the World Disarmament Conference in 1932 and 1933, was born in Glasgow on September 13, 1863. For twenty years he worked as an iron-moulder at Newcastle and filled every office a member could hold in his trade union. He was also Chairman of the workmen's side of the North-East Coast Conciliation Board, and of the Lancashire Conciliation Board. In 1895 he unsuccessfully contested Newcastle in the Liberal interest, and soon afterwards became Liberal agent at Darlington. But his trade union interests drew him into the political working-class movement, and under the auspices of the Labour Representation Committee, established in 1900, he won a by-election at Barnard Castle in 1903. He thus joined the tiny group of Labour members who were soon afterwards known as the Labour Party, of which for twenty years he was the secretary. Between 1900 and 1929 he took part in nine General Elections. On four occasions he was defeated but retrieved his

position at by-elections. At the outbreak of the war he became Parliamentary leader of the Labour Party in place of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald who had resigned. He joined Mr. Asquith's first Coalition Government in 1915, nominally as President of the Board of Education, but actually as the Government's adviser on Labour questions. In 1916 he was appointed Paymaster-General, and piloted through Parliament the measure establishing the Ministry of Pensions. In the second Coalition under Mr. Lloyd George he became Minister without portfolio. In 1917 he went to Russia with the War Cabinet's authority to establish relations with the Russian Socialists, and if necessary or desirable to supersede the British Ambassador. Returning home with some members of the Soviet who had been appointed to visit the Socialist parties in the Allied countries he attended a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Labour Party, which decided to send representatives to accompany the Russian delegates to a conference with French Socialists in Paris. The members of the War Cabinet first heard of the projected visit when application was made for passports, and in the absence of Mr. Lloyd George in France, Mr. Bonar Law and other members of the Cabinet informed Mr. Henderson of their disapproval. Soon after this incident had been smoothed over, he advised a special conference of the Labour Party to accept an invitation to Stockholm, and this brought him into sharp conflict with the Prime Minister, who forced him to resign from the War Cabinet. In 1924 he became Home Secretary in the first Labour Government, but his principal work was again in the sphere of foreign policy. He accompanied the Prime Minister (Mr. Ramsay MacDonald), who was also Foreign Secretary, to the League of Nations Assembly and remained in Geneva with Lord Parmoor to embody in the Protocol for the pacific settlement of International Disputes the policy which Mr. MacDonald had enunciated. In the second Labour Government, 1929, Mr. Henderson became Foreign Minister, an office he held for two years and in which he won golden opinions. He was entrusted with important work for disarmament at Geneva, where at a Council meeting in January, 1931, he called for a determined effort to complete the preparations necessary for the opening of the Disarmament Conference in the following year. He was unanimously appointed President of the Conference, which opened in February, 1932, but in the interval the Labour administration had given way to the National Government at home and Henderson was out of office. In 1933 the Carnegie Foundation at The Hague awarded him the Wateler Peace Prize and in 1934 he received the Nobel Peace Prize. He married, in 1888, Eleanor, daughter of W. Watson, of Rotherfield, Sussex, and had three sons and one daughter.

20. Lord Sysonby of Womersley (Frederick Edward Grey Ponsonby), Treasurer to King George V. and Keeper of the Privy Purse, was born on September 16, 1867, the second son of General the Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Ponsonby, for many years private secretary to Queen Victoria, and educated at Eton. In February, 1888, he was gazetted to The Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry, but transferred to the Grenadier Guards in 1889. In 1893 he was appointed A.D.C. to the Earl of Elgin, Viceroy of India. A year later he became equerry, Assistant Keeper of the Privy Purse, and assistant private secretary to Queen Victoria. He served in the South African War, 1901-2, and retired in 1908 with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He was equerry, Assistant Keeper of the Privy Purse, and assistant private secretary to King Edward VII., and King George V., on his accession, appointed him equerry and assistant private secretary. In October, 1914, he succeeded Sir William Carington as Keeper of His Majesty's Privy Purse, and was sworn of the Privy Council in November. In 1920 he was appointed Treasurer to the King and in 1928 Deputy Governor of Windsor Castle and Constable of the Round Tower. He was made a C.B. in 1906, a K.C.B. in 1918, a G.C.B. in 1926, a K.C.V.O. in 1910, and a G.C.V.O. in 1921. He also had a large number of foreign orders. In June, 1935, he was raised to the peerage and took the title of Baron Sysonby of Womersley. He published "The Grenadier Guards in the Great War" (1920); "The Letters of the Empress Frederick" (1928), which had been given to him secretly by the Empress twenty-seven years before and

which he decided to issue in order to refute certain references to the Empress contained in Emil Ludwig's "Kaiser Wilhelm II" (1926); and "Sidelights on Queen Victoria" (1930), based on private letters left by his father. He married, in 1899, Victoria Lily Hegan (Ria), daughter of Colonel E. H. Kennard, and had two sons and one daughter.

22. **Lord Carson of Duncairn** (Edward Henry Carson) was born on February 9, 1854, and educated at Portarlinton School and Trinity College, Dublin, where he took his degree at the age of 22. A year later he was called to the Irish Bar, and to the English Bar by the Middle Temple in 1893, when he was already a Q.C. in Ireland and a Bencher of the King's Inns; in 1894 he became an English Q.C. In 1887 he was made counsel to the Attorney-General for Ireland, and later senior Crown Prosecutor for Dublin. He was appointed Irish Solicitor-General in 1892, and at the General Election of the same year he entered Parliament as one of the members for Trinity College. In 1900 he joined the Unionist Ministry as Solicitor-General (for England) and was knighted. He was Sworn of the Privy Council in 1905. Having been chosen as leader of the Irish Unionists on the retirement of Walter (afterwards Viscount) Long, Carson frankly declared that not only would Home Rule be resisted by force, but that such resistance was constitutionally justified. When the passage of the Bill seemed assured, the Ulster Unionist Council appointed a Commission "to frame a Constitution for a Provisional Government for Ulster," and a large force of volunteers, armed at first with dummy rifles, but admirably drilled, was enrolled. The Government was urged to indict Carson for high treason, but to his disappointment they refrained. With the introduction of Mr. Asquith's Home Rule Bill in 1912 the Ulster movement grew apace, until in September a solemn Covenant of resistance was signed at Belfast by hundreds of thousands. In 1913 the Ulster Unionist Council was organised into a Provisional Government with Carson at its head. His refusal in March, 1914, of Mr. Asquith's proposal that any Ulster county might vote itself out of the Bill for six years was followed by the Curragh incident, when the officers, on being sounded as to their attitude if they were ordered to suppress Ulster's resistance, immediately tendered their resignations but withdrew them on receiving assurances from the War Office. On the night of April 24-25, 1914, a large quantity of rifles and ammunition was landed at Larne, and although some 12,000 men were involved the authorities did not hear of the scheme until many hours after it had been carried out. In the House of Lords the Bill was amended by the permanent exclusion of Ulster. This was refused by the Government, and on Mr. Asquith's advice, the King convened at Buckingham Palace a conference of English and Irish leaders, including Carson, but it failed to procure a settlement (July 24, 1914). Soon afterwards the war broke out. While protesting against Mr. Asquith's decision to keep the Home Rule Bill in a state of suspended animation, Carson worked for recruiting in Ulster, and in the summer of 1915 he joined the Coalition Ministry as Attorney-General, resigning in October because of the Government's policy in the Balkans. He supported Mr. Lloyd George's efforts for a settlement of the Irish problem by consent, and joined the Coalition as First Lord of the Admiralty, resigning in July, 1917, and becoming a member of the War Cabinet without portfolio. In January, 1918, he again resigned because, in view of the assembling of the Irish Convention, he felt bound to be free to act on his pledges to Ulster. After the war he gave up his seat for Dublin University and was returned at the General Election for the Duncairn Division of Belfast. He strongly supported the Government, though he demanded the repeal of the Home Rule Act and met the proposal of Dominion Home Rule, fathered by Sir H. Plunkett, with a threat of armed resistance. But when Mr. Lloyd George's Bill for establishing Parliaments both in Dublin and Belfast, linked by a Federal Council, was introduced, he refrained from opposition and undertook that Ulster would do her best to make the scheme a success. He refused, however, the leadership, which meant the Premiership in the Parliament of Northern Ireland. In May, 1921, he was appointed Lord

of Appeal in Ordinary, holding the office until he resigned in November, 1929, when he received a life peerage. His judicial position did not preclude him from intervention in politics, and in January, 1922, he attacked the Coalition in which the Unionists had been "strangled." This brought on him a severe rebuke from Lord Birkenhead, but he defended himself in the House of Lords in an able disquisition on the question of the relations of the Judiciary to party politics. In July, 1933, he attended the unveiling of his statue in front of the new Northern Ireland Parliament buildings at Stormont, Belfast. He was twice married—in 1877, to Sarah Annette Foster (daughter of H. Persse Kirwan), who died in 1913, leaving one son and two daughters; and secondly, in September, 1914, to Ruby (daughter of Lt.-Col. Stephen Frewen), by whom he had one son.

24. Lord Morris (Edward Patrick Morris), a Newfoundland statesman, was born at St. John's on May 8, 1859, and educated at St. Bonaventure's College, St. John's, and the University of Ottawa. He was admitted a solicitor in 1884 and was called to the Newfoundland Bar in 1885, taking silk in 1896. In 1885 he was elected Liberal member for St. John's, which he continued to represent throughout his political career. At the age of 30 he entered the Whiteway Cabinet and was Acting Attorney-General from 1890 to 1892 and again in 1895, in which year he was appointed a delegate to Ottawa to discuss the terms on which Newfoundland would enter the Canadian Federation. He himself was a convinced Federationist, but the conditions proved to be too hard, and he recommended their rejection, declaring that Canadian statesmen had missed a golden opportunity. In 1898 he again proved his independence on the question of the ratification of the Reid contract. With a few other members of the Opposition he left his party, believing that the control by a commercial undertaking of the railways, docks, telegraphs, and coastal steamers, would convert these services from liabilities into assets, and it was largely due to him that the scheme was adopted, though he was shortly afterwards to be a party to its revision. From 1898 to 1900 he led the Independents Party, and on the defeat of the Winter Government he entered the Cabinet of Sir Robert Bond, being Attorney-General and Minister of Justice from 1902. In 1901 he was a delegate to the Colonial Office with the Prime Minister on the thorny question of the French shore fisheries. In 1907 he resigned, and was thought to have wrecked his political career, but within two years he was Prime Minister, having defeated Sir Robert Bond at two General Elections, and was leader of the Conservative Party which for twenty-five years he had been chiefly instrumental in keeping out of power. He remained Prime Minister for nearly ten years. He represented Newfoundland at the Imperial Defence Conference of 1909, at the Imperial Conference and the Coronation in 1911, when he was sworn of the Privy Council, and at the Imperial War Conference, 1917, and he was counsel for the British Government at the North Atlantic Fisheries Arbitration at The Hague in 1910. Meanwhile he edited and revised the Newfoundland Law Reports, 1800-1900, afterwards known as "Morris's Reports." During the war he organised the Royal Newfoundland Regiment and was a member of the War Cabinet in 1916-17. After the war he lived in England, and was Vice-Chairman of the Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau from its formation, a governor of the Imperial College of Science, and a Vice-President of the Royal Empire Society. A devout Roman Catholic, he was governor of Cardinal Vaughan's school, and took a great interest in the Hospital for Diseases of the Skin, of which he was President. He was knighted in 1904, and in 1918 was created Baron Morris of St. John's and of the City of Waterford. He received honorary degrees from Oxford, Cambridge, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, and was a freeman of London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester, and Bristol. He married Isabel Langrishe, daughter of the Rev. William Legallais, and had one son.

25. Professor Henri Pirenne, a famous Belgian historian and a foremost authority on mediaeval economic conditions, was born in 1862. He taught in Ghent from 1886 to 1930, establishing there a Belgian school of modern historians.

In 1926 he took a leading part in drawing up, as Vice-President, a new statute of the International Historical Congress (Comite International des Sciences Historiques), with the aid of representatives not only from Entente and neutral countries, but also from former enemy countries. He was the author of a monumental history of Belgium and a number of works dealing with economic history in the Middle Ages. His book on "Medieval Cities" was published in English in 1925 before appearing in French. He received the Prix Franqui, the greatest distinction his country could offer, and was a corresponding Fellow of the Academies of twelve foreign countries, and a doctor *honoris causa* of fifteen foreign universities.

27. Lord Wrenbury (Henry Burton Buckley), an eminent Equity judge, was born on September 15, 1845, and educated at Merchant Taylors' School and Christ's College, Cambridge, graduating as 9th wrangler in 1868. While still an undergraduate he won the Tancred law studentship at Lincoln's Inn in 1866. Soon after taking his degree he was elected a Fellow of Christ's College, and was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1869; he later served on the Bar Committee and the Bar Council and became a Bencher of his Inn in 1891. His reputation was made by his book on Company Law, first published 1873, of which an eleventh edition appeared in 1930. His practice, however, extended over the whole range of Chancery jurisprudence. In 1886 he was made a Q.C. and attached himself to the Court of Mr. Justice Stirling. On January 11, 1900, he was appointed a Judge of the Chancery Division, and in consequence of death or promotion soon had become the Senior Judge. On October 24, 1906, he was made a Lord Justice of Appeal, holding the post until he retired in 1915, when he was raised to the peerage, taking the title of Wrenbury from the Cheshire village where his forebears had settled. In the House of Lords he was a member of the Joint Committee on Consolidation Bills, and Chairman of the Committee on the allegations made by Miss Douglas-Pennant. Greatly interested in political economy, he founded at Merchant Taylors' School a Buckley scholarship to be held at Cambridge. In 1918 the endowment was transferred to the University, the limitation to the school abolished and the name changed to the Wrenbury Scholarship. A letter in *The Times* in March, 1930, on the subject of life after death brought him so much personal correspondence that he published a little book "Of Immortality and Other Thoughts." In his last years he was afflicted with blindness. In 1901 he was elected an honorary Fellow of Christ's College. He married, in 1887, Bertha Margareta, daughter of Charles Edward Jones, and had three sons and four daughters.

30. Professor Sylvain LeVi, a great French authority on Oriental studies, was born on March 28, 1863, and at an early age devoted himself to the study of Oriental languages, particularly those of Tibet and China. In 1886 he was appointed a lecturer at the School of Higher Studies in Paris, of which he afterwards became a director. As special Lecturer in Sanskrit he taught at the Faculty of Letters from 1889 to 1894, when he was appointed professor at the College de France. At one time he was a tutor at Sir Rabindranath Tagore's school at Santiniketan, Bolpur, Bengal, and shortly afterwards was appointed to take charge of the Franco-Japanese Institute at Tokio. At the time of his death he was President of the Asiatic Society of Paris, of the Alliance Israelite Universelle and of the Religious Studies section at the School of Higher Studies. Among his numerous works were two books on India published in 1925, a study of the Indian Theatre (1890), monographs on Nepal (1905-8), and "Buddhacharita," a life of Buddha composed by Asbaghosha according to the rules of the classical Sanskrit epic. He also compiled a dictionary of Buddhism, based on Chinese and Japanese sources. He was an officer of the Legion of Honour, an honorary D.Litt. of Calcutta University, a member of the Royal Asiatic Society and of the India Society. When the proposal to establish a School of Oriental Studies in London was being considered, Levi gave evidence before the Committee appointed by the Treasury, under the Chairmanship of Lord Reay. Levi was survived by his wife, herself an authoress of repute, and two sons.

NOVEMBER.

6. Professor Henry Fairfield Osborn, President Emeritus of the American Museum of Natural History and an eminent palaeontologist and biologist, was born on August 8, 1857, and educated at Princeton where he graduated in Arts in 1877, and took the degree of Sc.D. in 1880. From 1881 to 1883 he was Assistant Professor of Natural Science at Princeton; from 1883 to 1890 he was Professor of Comparative Anatomy at the same University, while, in Columbia, he was Da Costa Professor of Biology (1890-95), then Professor of Zoology till 1910, in which year he was appointed Research Professor in Zoology. From 1892 to 1895 he was Dean of the Faculty of Pure Science. In 1891 he began his work at the American Museum of Natural History, working at first as curator in the department of vertebrate palaeontology, 1891-1910, when he became honorary curator. From 1899 to 1901 he was the president's assistant; then until 1908 he was vice-president and trustee, succeeding in the latter year to the presidency. He also explored for fossil vertebrates in the Western States and in the Fayum desert in Egypt. He was Vertebrate Palaeontologist at the United States Geological Survey since 1900, and from 1900 to 1904 he was Palaeontologist at the Geological Survey of Canada. His scientific treatises dealt with practically every branch of zoology and palaeontology. A bibliography prepared by H. Ernestine Ripley showed a total of 422 writings for the years 1877-1915; by April, 1923, the number had reached a total of 571. After 1923 he wrote "Impressions of Great Naturalists," "Evolution and Religion in Education," "Creative Education in School, College, University, and Museum," "Man Rises to Parnassus," and "Fifty-two Years of Research." His last book was a study done with Helen Ann Warren, of E. D. Cope, a master naturalist. In a lecture in Philadelphia in 1927 he expressed the opinion that man sprang some 16,000,000 years ago from a stock which was neither human nor ape-like. He blamed Huxley for throwing Darwin off the track of the missing link, and Virchow and Haeckel were also to blame for ignoring "the profound cleft between the ape and man." The ancestors of the dawn man, he thought, sprang from an oligocene neutral stock which also gave rise independently to the anthropoid apes. Professor Osborn lectured on the origin of species and the American expeditions to the Gobi Desert at the British Association meeting in 1926, and in the same year he lectured to the Geological Society of London on prehistoric Mongolia. Many honours, honorary degrees of ten universities, and membership of learned societies were conferred on him. He married Lucretia, daughter of General A. J. Perry, United States Army, and had two sons and two daughters.

10. Frances Ralph Gray, O.B.E., M.A., the first High Mistress of St. Paul's Girls' School, London, was born in Ireland and was educated at Plymouth High School and Newnham College, Cambridge, of which she was one of the first students. From 1883 to 1894 she was classical lecturer at Westfield College. Then she became the first headmistress of St. Katherine's School, St. Andrews, where she introduced a great deal of practical work, the workshop soon becoming a very important part of the school. Although she trusted her staff and her prefects, she believed that the best form of government for schools was "beneficent despotism." She was honorary secretary of the Women's University Settlement Committee at Southwark; an Associate of Newnham, 1910-25; president of the Association of Headmistresses, 1923-25; president of the Association of University Women Teachers, 1921-22, and president of Newnham College Roll, 1931-34. She was made a Justice of the Peace in 1920, and was associated with the work of a juvenile court in which she was greatly interested. She was made an O.B.E. in 1926.

— **The Rev. Dr. Albert Ernest Hillard**, formerly High Master of St. Paul's School, London, was born on December 8, 1865, and educated at Kingswood School, Bath, University College, London, and Christ Church, Oxford, where he

took a first class in Classical Moderations in 1887, and a first in *Lit. Hum.* in 1889. After taking his degree he went to Clifton College, where he remained till 1899. For some time during these years he was an "outside" house tutor to School House, while in collaboration with his colleague, M. A. North, he produced the Latin and Greek composition books which made his name so familiar. From 1890 to 1899 he was chaplain. In 1899 he was appointed headmaster of Durham School and held the post for six years. Then came the real work of his life. On the retirement of Dr. F. W. Walker in 1905 he became High Master of St Paul's, an office which he held for 22 years.

10. The Right Hon. Edward Shortt, K.C., President of the British Board of Film Censors, and successively Chief Secretary for Ireland and Home Secretary, was born at Newcastle on March 10, 1862, and educated at Durham School and Durham University, from which he graduated in 1884, and of which he was later awarded the honorary degree of D.C.L. He was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1890 and joined the North-Eastern Circuit, on which he acquired a large junior practice in both civil and criminal cases. He was made Recorder of Sunderland in 1907, and took silk in 1910. In the same year he was elected in the Liberal interest as one of the two members for Newcastle-on-Tyne, holding the seat all through his Parliamentary career. In June, 1917, he was appointed Chairman of a Select Committee to review the general administration of the Military Service Acts. To the surprise of the public, he was appointed, in April, 1918, Chief Secretary for Ireland in the place of Mr. Duke (afterwards Lord Merrivale). Soon afterwards a serious German intrigue in Ireland was discovered and Shortt ordered the arrest of 150 Sinn Feiners. In January, 1919, he was promoted to the office of Home Secretary, holding it for two years and nine months, during which he had to deal with a difficult situation over the question of the recognition of the National Union of Police and Prison Officers. With the fall of the Coalition Government in 1922 Shortt's political career closed. In 1926 he was Chairman of the committee on the rating of machinery; and he was also Chairman of those on trusts, heavy motor traffic, and others, and a member of the Defence of the Realm (Losses) Royal Commission. He was a member of the General Council of the Bar, and a Bencher of the Middle Temple. In November, 1929, he succeeded T. P. O'Connor as President of the British Board of Film Censors. In November, 1933, he was appointed Chairman of the committees of investigation into the Agricultural Marketing Act. He married, in 1890, Isabella Stewart, daughter of A. G. Scott, of Valparaiso, and had three daughters.

15. Butler Cole Aspinall K.C., a great authority on shipping law, was born in 1861 and educated at Kensington Catholic University and the University of London. In 1884 he was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple, of which he was made a Bencher in 1907, and Treasurer in 1929. His family had had a long connexion with the Admiralty Court. His uncle, James Perronet Aspinall, K.C., was the founder of "Aspinall's Maritime Cases," and he himself, first with his uncle, then alone, and finally with his cousin, John Bridge Aspinall, was editor of the Reports. He soon acquired a large practice in the Admiralty Court and took silk in 1899. He declined a judgeship in the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division. In 1904 he was, with Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge, one of the two British Commissioners appointed to inquire into the firing on British trawlers by the Russian Fleet; in 1913 he was Chairman of the Naval Prize Procedure; in 1914 he was appointed Chairman of the Release of Cargoes Committee, and a member of the Prize Claims Committee; in 1920 he was Chairman of the British and American Joint Arbitration Board; in 1921 he was the Wreck Commissioner appointed to inquire into the loss of the P. & O. steamer, *Egypt*, and in 1929 he held the inquiry into the loss of the *Vestris*. He was also Chairman of the Chamber of Shipping Committee, and of the International Shipping Conference of 1928, to report on amendments of the Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea. He was unmarried.

16. **Emile Francqui**, Minister of State and an eminent figure in Belgian financial and colonial affairs, was born in 1863, and began his career when King Leopold II called for young officers to undertake an anti-slavery campaign in the Congo. He was one of the leaders of the expedition which explored the copper and other mineral resources of the Katanga, and he took part in the Anglo-Belgian negotiations for the determination of the Katanga frontier. King Leopold made him Consul-General at Shanghai, and he had some part in the construction of the Peking-Hankow railway, the concession for which he negotiated. On returning to Belgium he turned his attention to finance, ultimately becoming Governor of the *Société Générale de Belgique*, the principal bank in the country. In 1914, when Belgium was occupied by the Germans, Francqui conceived the idea of a national relief committee to administer the provisioning of the country. After the war he instituted, at the instance of King Albert, the National Scientific Research Fund. Every time Belgium found herself in difficult financial circumstances, the King appealed to Francqui, who was several times Minister of Finance. In 1920 he co-operated with the Government which decided on the first devaluation of the Belgian franc. Following the failure of the Janssen plan which aimed at the stabilisation of the franc (nominally 25 to the pound) at 107 to the pound, the rate went up to 238 to the pound. Francqui then introduced the *belga* which was made convertible into gold at a parity equal to 35 to the English sovereign. He was a member of the last Theunis Cabinet, formed in 1934. A man of action by temperament, he never made speeches in Parliament, believing that in grave circumstances speeches were always superfluous. He married a cousin by whom he had three sons.

20. John Rushworth, first Earl Jellicoe of Scapa, G.C.B., O.M., Q.C.V.O., Admiral of the Fleet during the Great War, was born at Southampton on December 5, 1859, the son of Captain John H. Jellicoe, formerly commodore of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, and great-grandson of Admiral Philip Patton, Second Sea Lord at the time of Trafalgar. He was educated at Rottingdean and entered the *Britannia* as a cadet on July 15, 1872. Rated a midshipman on July 17, 1874, he was promoted to sub-lieutenant in 1878, and to lieutenant in 1880. In February, 1881, he joined the *Agincourt* and served in her through the Egyptian War. In September, 1882, he joined the gunnery schoolship *Excellent*, gaining the 80% prize at the Royal Naval College. Four years later, when gunnery lieutenant of the *Monarch*, he earned the Board of Trade silver medal for rescuing the crew of a steamer stranded off Gibraltar. After a period of staff duty as assistant to the Director of Naval Ordnance he was promoted to commander, June, 1891. In 1893 he was executive officer in the *Victoria* which sank after a collision with the *Camperdown*, with the loss of 372 lives. Jellicoe, who was in bed with fever, was rescued by a midshipman, afterwards Commander P. D. R. West. He was promoted captain on January 1, 1897, during which year he was a member of the Ordnance Committee. In December he was appointed to the *Centurion* on the China station, and on June 21, 1900, was severely wounded at Peitsang during the Boxer Rebellion. In the Honours List he was made C.B. Returning home in 1901, he superintended at the Admiralty the building of ships by contract, and in February, 1902, he was appointed Naval Assistant to the Controller of the Navy. He resumed sea duty in August, 1903, in command of H.M.S. *Drake*, but in January, 1905, returned to the Admiralty as Director of Naval Ordnance and Torpedoes. Lord Fisher, then First Sea Lord, selected him to be his Commander-in-Chief, and from February, 1905, to August, 1907, they worked together upon the production of the Dreadnought. Jellicoe was promoted Rear-Admiral by seniority on February 8, 1907, and six months later was made Rear-Admiral in the Atlantic Fleet. In October, 1908, he was appointed Third Sea Lord and Controller of the Navy. In December, 1910, he was raised to Vice-Admiral commanding the Atlantic Fleet, and in the Coronation Honours was created K.C.B. In December, 1912, he was recalled to the Admiralty as Second Sea Lord. On August 4, 1914, he was appointed

Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Fleet, with the acting rank of Admiral. From then until the Battle of Jutland on May 31, 1916, he devoted himself to training the Fleet for the inevitable clash, minor engagements taking place at the Heligoland Bight on August 28, 1914, and off the Dogger Bank on January 24, 1915. He remained in command until November 28, 1916, when he was made First Sea Lord. Suddenly at the end of 1917 he was succeeded by Admiral Sir Rosslyn Wemyss, the only intimation that his service was at an end being a letter from Sir Eric Geddes, who had become First Sea Lord. "The dismissal of Sir John Jellicoe," wrote Admiral of the Fleet A. K. Wilson, "is a disgraceful concession to an unscrupulous Press agitation." Raised to the peerage as Viscount Jellicoe of Scapa, eighteen months later, he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament and a grant of 50,000*l*. On February 21, 1919, he left for a year's tour of the Dominions to confer with their Governments on measures for the common defence of the Empire. He was promoted to Admiral of the Fleet on April 3, 1919. From 1920 to 1924 he was Governor-General of New Zealand. On December 5, 1924, at the age of 65, he was placed on the retired list of the Navy. In the New Year Honours, 1925, he was created an Earl. He had been made G.C.B. on February 8, 1915, and G.C.V.O. on June 17, 1916. He was appointed to the Order of Merit as from the date of the Battle of Jutland. After the war he received the Freedom of the City of London, with a sword of honour, and honorary degrees from Oxford, Cambridge, St. Andrews, and Glasgow. He was also awarded a number of decorations from foreign Governments. He served as Boy Scout Commissioner for the County of London, having been Chief Scout in New Zealand when Governor-General there. In 1925 he was elected Chairman of the National Rifle Association, from which post he resigned in 1930, but remained a member of the Council. From February 28, 1928, to 1932, he was President of the British Legion in succession to Lord Haig. In addition to his book, "The Grand Fleet" (1919), which revealed with unimpeachable candour the story of his command, he wrote "The Crisis of the Naval War" (1920), and "The Submarine Peril" (1934). He married, in 1902, Florence Gwendoline, daughter of Sir Charles Cayzer, first baronet, and had four daughters and one son.

29. Sir Joseph Bampfylde Fuller, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, was born on March 20, 1854, educated at Marlborough College, and was placed first in the Indian Civil Service examination of 1873. His first station was Cawnpore where his work in famine administration soon brought him to notice, and he became Assistant Director to Sir Edward Buck, Director of Land Records and Agriculture, United Provinces. In the seventh year of his Indian service he was transferred to Nagpur and placed in charge of the combined Settlement and Agricultural Department. He officiated as Chief Commissioner for a short period in 1894 and again, after a spell of district work in the United Provinces, for some months in the summer of 1898. He had similar acting charge of Assam from May to August, 1900, and then served Lord Curzon's Government as Secretary of the Revenue and Agricultural Department. In that capacity he had a weekly business interview with the Viceroy (Lord Curzon), who sometimes said that he could not "get a word in edgeways" while Fuller was with him. In 1902 Fuller was sent to Assam as Chief Commissioner in replacement of Sir Henry Cotton, and when the Eastern districts of Bengal were linked up with Assam he became, in October, 1905, the first Lieutenant-Governor, holding the charge for ten fateful months. On the refusal of the Viceroy to support his application to the Calcutta University Senate for the disaffiliation of two high schools, Fuller tendered his resignation and, to his amazement, it was accepted. He settled at Winchester where he served on the Bench of magistrates and in municipal and philanthropic affairs. His numerous publications included "Studies of Indian Life and Sentiment" (1910), "The Empire of India" (1913), "Life and Human Nature," "The Science of Ourselves," "Causes and Consequences," "The Law Within," "Etheric Energies," "Man as He Is,"

and "The Tyranny of Mind." His reminiscences, "Some Personal Experiences," appeared in 1930. In 1931 he laid down the dictum in connexion with the Indian Bound Table Conference that experience showed that responsible government could not exist in a country so near to the Equator. He was made C.L.E. in 1892 and K.C.S.L in 1906. He was thrice married: in 1879 to Marie Caldwell (daughter of Colonel Aston), who died in the following year; in 1884 to Sarah Augusta (daughter of A. W. Critchley), who died in 1923; and in 1924 to Gabrielle Marie Adele (daughter of Professor Eugene Rousselin).

30. Charles Adrian Stokes, R.A., R.W.S., the Senior Academician when he died, was born at Southport in 1854. His father, of whom he was the third son, was Scott Nasmyth Stokes, the first Roman Catholic to become an inspector of schools. One of his brothers, Sir Wilfrid Scott Stokes, invented the "Stokes gun," and another brother was Leonard Stokes, the designer of Chelsea Town Hall. Adrian Stokes was intended for the Navy, but entered the office of a Liverpool cotton broker which, however, he left after three months to attend the Royal Academy Schools in London. In 1876, the year in which he exhibited his first picture at the Academy, he went to France and settled at Pont-Aven in Brittany for the serious study of landscape painting, producing during the next few years "A Winter Afternoon in the South of France" and "The Lonely Road." From 1885 to 1886 he was in Paris studying under Dagnan-Bouveret. Then followed a short visit to Denmark, after which he settled at St. Ives, Cornwall, where his more characteristic style began to be apparent. "Upland and Sky" bought for the Tate Gallery in 1888 out of the Chantrey Bequest Fund belongs to this period, but it is in a later Chantrey purchase, "Autumn in the Mountains," bought in 1903, that his peculiar qualities were fully expressed. His progress was from careful naturalism to decorative abstraction, mainly through colour, and he was at home in both oil and water-colours, with a special affection for tempera. He painted in Spain, Holland, Ireland, and Capri, but Tirol provided him with his most characteristic designs. At the Royal Academy Banquet in 1934 he caused a sensation by interrupting the speech of the Prime Minister (Mr. Ramsay MacDonald) on the achievements of the Government to ask "Why not say something about the present exhibition?" In 1909 he published a book on Hungary, and in 1925 "Landscape Painting," an excellent analysis of the methods of great landscape painters of the past. He was elected A.R.A. in 1910, and full R.A. in 1919. He married in 1884 Marianne Preindlsberger, of Graz, Austria, who, as Marianne Stokes, A.R.W.S., was well known for her imaginative paintings and illustrations of peasant life, of children in particular.

DECEMBER.

7. Air Commodore Sir Charles Edward Kingsford Smith, M.C., was born at Hamilton, Brisbane, on February 9, 1897, and educated at St. Andrew's, Sydney, and Sydney Technical High School. At the age of 18 he enlisted in the Signal Engineers, Australian Imperial Forces, and saw service in Egypt, Gallipoli, and France before transferring to the Royal Flying Corps. He was awarded the Military Cross for bringing his machine back to the British lines after he had been severely wounded. Eight months later he became a flying instructor, a post which he held until the end of the war. Returning to Australia, he took up commercial aviation, and was one of the original six pilots with whom West Australian Airways opened in 1921. In 1926 he was a partner in, and pilot to, the Interstate Flying Service at Sydney, and in 1927 made his first record flight round Australia. The following year he made his first trans-Pacific and trans-Tasman flight, with C. T. P. Ulm as relief pilot, and Lieutenant Lyon as navigator, travelling in three stages about 7,300 miles. The 3,138 miles from Hawaii to Suva, Fiji, which took 34½ hours, was the longest flight which had ever been made over water. Kingsford Smith was awarded the Air Force Cross and made

Squadron Leader, Royal Australian Air Force. In 1929, after a previous attempt in which he had been lost in North-West Australia, he flew from Australia to England in 12 days 14 hours 18 minutes, and in June, 1930, with three companions, he crossed the Atlantic in the *Southern Cross*, the first machine to reach New York in an east to west Atlantic flight. He thus became the first man to fly round the world by direct routes over the Pacific and the Atlantic. Later in 1930 he established a solo record between London and Australia. In 1933 he beat C. W. A. Scott's record flight to Australia (8 days 20 hours 44 minutes), his time being 7 days 4 hours 47 minutes. Making a 2,100-mile trans-Pacific flight in long stages from Australia to California in 1934 he became the first man to have flown twice over the Pacific, once in each direction. On November 6, 1935, Kingsford Smith, with J. T. Pethybridge, left Lympne, England, and after halts at Athens and Baghdad, reached Allahabad on November 7, having flown 4,800 miles in 1 day 5 hours 28 minutes. The same evening they took off for Singapore, and were never heard of again. Kingsford Smith, who was knighted in 1933, married, in 1930, Mary Powell of Hawthorn, Victoria, and had one son.

8. Charles Hayden Coffin, singer and actor, was born at Manchester on April 22, 1862, the son of an American dentist. Intending to follow his father's profession, he studied at University College, London, and passed the preliminary examination of the Royal College of Surgeons. Meanwhile he joined the chorus of *Chilperic*, Herve's opera bouffe, which had been revived at the Gaiety, and in January, 1885, he relinquished surgery for the stage, taking up the part of "Captain John Smith" in Grundy and Solomon's comic opera *Pocahontas* at the Empire. Less than two years later he became famous by singing "Queen of my Heart" in Stephenson and Cellier's comic opera *Dorothy*, which ran for more than 900 performances. "O, Tommy, Tommy Atkins," which he sang during the South African War, was even more popular. He also played in *Doris* and *La Cigale* before going to America in 1892. Returning in 1893, he became leading man in the musical comedy company of George Edwardes, scoring successes in *The Gaiety Girl*, *An Artist's Model*, *The Geisha*, *San Toy*, *A Country Girl*, *The Cingalee* and *Veronique*. At the Apollo in 1907 he appeared as "Tom Jones" in Sir Edward German's opera of that name. In Granville Barker's production of *Twelfth Night* at the Savoy (November, 1912) Coffin took the part of "Feste," the Clown, singing "Come Away, come away Death," and the other songs, with beautiful effect. He also played a number of "straight" parts, including the "Examiner" in *Outward Bound*, and for several years was the "Mad Hatter" in Clarke and Slaughter's *Alice in Wonderland*. In 1927 he toured with the Bensonians in *Monsieur Beaucaire* and *The School for Scandal*, and later in the year as the "Pedlar" in *The Damask Rose*. He married Adeline, daughter of Friedrich de Leuw, of Graf rath, Germany.

15. Sir Richard Tetley Glazebrook, F.R.S., first director of the National Physical Laboratory, was born in Liverpool on September 18, 1854, and educated at Dulwich College, Liverpool College, and Trinity College, Cambridge. Graduating as fifth wrangler in 1876, he was elected a Fellow of his College in 1877, served from 1881 to 1896 as lecturer and assistant tutor, and was senior bursar in 1895. After taking his degree, he worked at the Cavendish Laboratory, at which he was appointed a demonstrator, later becoming assistant director. There he took a leading part with Dr. (afterwards Sir) Napier Shaw in organising the teaching of practical physics, and the notebooks they drew up formed the foundation of the "Text-book of Practical Physics," published in their joint names. Glazebrook also published a number of scientific papers, the earlier of which were concerned with the theory of light, and the later with questions relating to the determination of the fundamental electrical units. Leaving Cambridge in 1898 he became Principal of University College, Liverpool, but in the following year he was chosen as the first director of the National Physical Laboratory at Bushy House, Teddington, and held the position until 1919, when he retired under the age limit. For many years he was secretary to the Electrical Standards Committee

of the British Association, and in 1904 attended the Electrical Congress at St. Louis as a representative of the British Government and of the Institution of Electrical Engineers. Of the latter body he was president, 1906-7, and was also President of the Physical Society, 1903-5, and of the Optical Society, 1903-4 and 1911-12. He was Chairman of the Advisory Committee for Aeronautics from its formation in 1909, and also, until 1933, of the Aeronautical Research Committee which succeeded it in 1920. From 1920 to 1923 he was Zarahoff Professor of Aviation and Director of the Aeronautics Department in the Imperial College of Technology. In 1882 he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society (which awarded him a Hughes Medal in 1909 and a Royal Medal in 1931), and of which he was foreign secretary from 1926 to 1929. He was also gold medallist of the Royal Aeronautical Society (1933) and Albert medallist of the Royal Society of Arts. Besides text-books on heat, light, mechanics, and electricity, he was the author of "Science and Industry" (1917), and editor of the "Dictionary of Applied Physics" (1922-23). He was made a C.B. in 1910, received a knighthood in 1917, was promoted K.C.B. in 1920, was created K.C.V.O. in 1934, and held honorary degrees from Oxford, Edinburgh, Manchester, and Heidelberg. He married Frances Gertrude, daughter of J. W. Atkinson, of Leeds, and had one son and three daughters.

17. General Don Juan Vincente Gomez, President of Venezuela, and Commander-in-Chief of the National Army, was born in 1856, an Andino of mixed blood, and had been both ranchman and soldier before he came to power in 1909. When his four-year term as President ended, he refused to allow himself to be re-elected, and instead had Don Victorino Marquez Bustillos elected Provisional President. But before this election a Congress of Deputies from the Venezuelan States had adopted a provisional constitutional statute which provided for the election of a Commander-in-Chief. Gomez became Commander-in-Chief, which meant that with control of the Army he had effective control of the Administration. He was unanimously elected President as well for the term ended April, 1922, but declined to supplant Bustillos, who remained Provisional President and nominal head of the Government. Unanimously elected President again and again in 1922, Gomez took office, but when his second term ended in 1929 he emphatically refused to stand, declaring that he had accomplished his work of keeping Venezuela free from revolution. To make sure, however, he consented to choose a suitable man—Dr. Juan Bautista Perez—and to make doubly sure himself retained the office of Commander-in-Chief. In 1930 there was an attempt at insurrection in Western Venezuela, and a Bishop was deported for attacking the Government's modification of the marriage law. Dr. Perez resigned in 1931, and General Gomez again became President. His constant aim was to give Venezuela, which had experienced nearly fifty revolutions in eighty years, so many years of peace that the habit of it would be ingrained. Roads were built, as much for the transport of troops as for civilian travel, and a public police force and a strong body of secret agents were created. With the more settled conditions, foreign capital was reintroduced, much British capital being invested in the railways, while many oil concessions went to the United States, and Venezuela became one of the world's chief oil producers. Corn became one of the country's great crops, and to encourage cotton growers, Gomez fixed a remunerative price for cotton and imported European machinery for its manufacture on the spot. He did not marry, but is said to have left numerous illegitimate children.

23. Robert Loraine, D.S.O., M.C., actor and airman, was born at New Brighton on January 14, 1876, the son of an actor, Henry Loraine, and after attending the High School, New Brighton, went on the stage in *The Armada* at the age of 13. Engaged by George Alexander for St. James's Theatre, he made his way during 1896-98 from small parts in *The Prisoner of Zenda* and *As You Like It* to "Claudio" in *Much Ado About Nothing*, besides acting in **melodrama** at Drury Lane, and in *Admiral Guinea* at the Avenue. One of his most popular

parts about this time was "D'Artagnan" in *The Three Musketeers*. During the South African War he was a machine-gunner, and won the Queen's medal with three clasps. He then paid the first of many visits to the stages of America, returning in 1902 to play "King Henry V." Back in America, he played, in the autumn of 1905, "John Tanner" in *Man and Superman*, a part in which he afterwards frequently appeared with unvarying success. In 1911 he leased the Criterion Theatre, with *Man and Superman* as his stand-by, and from then until 1914 he acted mostly in America. Meanwhile his interest in aviation was growing, and in March, 1910, he made his first flight at Pau in a Bleriot Type XL, covering a kilometre before crashing and hurting his head. In the next two years he took part in many flying meetings, and was the first man to fly across the Irish Sea. When the war broke out he joined the Royal Flying Corps (Military Wing) as a second lieutenant, and soon going abroad, was seriously wounded. On October 26, 1915, now a captain, he won the Military Cross in a fight against a German Albatross biplane. In May, 1916, he was made Squadron Commander, and in the following year was awarded the D.S.O. Retiring from the Army with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, he returned to the stage in 1919 in one of his greatest successes, *Cyrano de Bergerac*, and in 1920 he played the Australian soldier and his father at two different ages in *Mary Rose*. In recent years he played "Rudolf Rassendyl" in a revival of *The Prisoner of Zenda*, and "Mirabel" in *The Way of the World*, as well as the leading parts in *The Father* and *The Dance of Death*, both by Strindberg. Having taken up cinema acting, making his first English talkie in 1930, he went to Hollywood in 1934 to play in the film *Marie Galante*. He married, in 1921, Winifred Lydia, daughter of Sir Thomas Strangman, formerly Advocate-General, and member of the Legislative Council, Bombay, and had three daughters.

24. Al ban Berg, the Austrian composer, was born in Vienna on February 7, 1885. In 1904 he met Arnold Schonberg, who became his only teacher, though he greatly admired also the work of Gustav Mahler. Berg's first published work was the "Piano Sonata in B minor" (1908). Before the war he evolved his atonal style in a slowly created series of works: "Four Songs" (1909), in which chromaticism and the whole tone scale were used; the "String Quartet" (1910), in which he began to break away from traditional tonality, which disappeared altogether in "Four Pieces for Clarinet and Piano" (1913), and "Three Orchestral Pieces, Op. 6" (1914). *Wozzeck*, his masterpiece, was produced at the Berlin State Opera in 1925. Its power was instantly recognised through all the obscurity of its unfamiliar idiom because of its compensating clarity of construction. A concert performance of it was given in London by the B.B.C. on March 14, 1933. Berg's later works include the "Chamber Concerto for Violin, Piano, and Thirteen Wind Instruments," which was played at the International Contemporary Festival of 1927, and the "Lyric Suite for String Quartet," played in London by the Kolich Quartet in 1932. In *Lulu*, of which the text is condensed from two plays of Wedekind, Berg returned to the psychological opera organised on a precise series of correspondences in musical and dramatic detail. "Five Symphonic Pieces" for orchestra from this unproduced opera were performed in Vienna on December 11, 1934, and in London in March, 1935. Shortly before his death he completed a Violin Concerto dedicated to the memory of Marian Gropius, the daughter of Gustav Mahler. In 1911 Berg married Helene Nabowska.

25. Paul Bourget, French poet, critic, dramatist and novelist, was born at Amiens on September 5, 1852, and educated at the College Saint Barbe and the ficole des Hautes Etudies in Paris for a medical career. The effect of a period of hospital walking may be traced in many of his books. "La Vie Inquiete," his first book, was published when he was 22. Before he was 40 he had produced, in "Andre Cornells," "Mensonges," and "Le Disciple," three novels which were declared by the best French critics worthy to be compared with Balzac, Stendhal, and Flaubert; besides "Physiologie de l'Amour Moderne" (1890), and a beautiful

travel book, "Sensations d'Italie" (1891). In 1893, at the comparatively early age of 41, he was elected to the French Academy. His subsequent work showed a marked deterioration in quality, but for many years he remained a favourite novelist of the fashionable world, most of his psychologically analysed characters being drawn from the nobility, while his most frequent theme was the treachery of women to their lovers. Turning his attention to social problems—he became an ardent Royalist—he wrote two plays, *Le Tribun*, produced in 1911, and (in collaboration with Andre Beaunier) *La Crise* (1912), neither of which were very successful. His medical interest was shown in "La Geole," a study of suicide, in which he constantly quoted technical works on suicidal mania, and in "Anomalies," a book of Freudian short stories. Another aspect of his work was the religious, "Cœur pensif, ne sait ou il va" (1924), having as its main theme the spiritual value of pain. He also wrote an absolutely simple tale, "Laurence Albane." "Edel" established his reputation as a poet, while "Pages de Critique et de Doctrine" and "Nouvelle Pages de Critique et de Doctrine" (1922) proclaimed his ability as a critic. In 1922 he became Curator of the Palace of Chantilly, and in 1923 he was made a Commander of the Legion of Honour. He married Mile. David, who died in 1932.

31. The Marquess of Reading (Rufus Daniel Isaacs), the first Jew to become Lord Chief Justice of England, Viceroy of India, and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was born in London on October 10, 1860, the second son of Joseph Michael Isaacs, a fruit importer, and educated at University College School, afterwards going to Brussels and Hanover, where, besides learning the languages, he studied the methods of foreign merchants. Then for a time he served as "ship's boy" in a tramp steamer, and later as a jobber on the Stock Exchange, until finally he entered the Middle Temple in his twenty-fourth year, and was called to the Bar in 1887, taking silk in 1898. Soon he developed a large practice in *causes cellhres*, the first being the prosecution of the financier Whitaker Wright in 1904. In 1904 he was elected Liberal member for Reading, but in Parliament, like so many lawyers, he was relatively a failure. Essentially a peacemaker, he never took kindly to political strife. From 1905 to 1910 the most famous cases with which he was associated were the "Soap Case" in which Sir William Lever sued a group of newspapers for libel, receiving the then record damages of £50,000; the defence of Robert Sievier on a charge of attempting to extort money from J. B. Joel; and of the London and Lancashire Fire Insurance Company in an action arising out of the Jamaica earthquake in 1908. In 1910 Isaacs was appointed Solicitor-General, a position he held for only a few months to become "Attorney." In June, 1912, Mr. Asquith made him a member of the Cabinet, an honour never before bestowed on an Attorney-General. In the same year he had the most unpleasant experience of his official career in what became known as the "Marconi Scandal." In 1913 he succeeded Lord Alvers tone as Lord Chief Justice, and in January, 1914, was created a baron, taking the title of Lord Reading. In the early days of the war he rendered great service in shaping the financial policy which saved the country from economic catastrophe, and in the autumn of 1915, at the request of the Government, he went to the United States as one of the negotiators of an American loan, a mission which proved to be a turning-point in his career. His success was such that in 1917 he went on a second mission, this time in connexion with the 400,000,000 dollars loan from J. P. Morgan & Company, the functions of which had then been taken over by the American Government, who made it plain that they wanted no one but Lord Reading. Again he was highly successful, and it was not surprising that on the death of Sir Cecil Spring Rice, in 1918, he was appointed High Commissioner and Special Ambassador to the United States, while retaining the office of Lord Chief Justice of England. When he finally came back in 1919 he was loaded with honours, the Government thanking him for "the inestimable value" of his services. At the beginning of 1921 he was appointed Viceroy of India, one of his warmest supporters being Lord Curzon. The supreme fact which confronted

the new Viceroy was that the Montague-Chelmsford **reforms had to be made to** work, and, characteristically, one of his earliest moves **was** to invite Mr. **Gandhi** to a series of personal conversations. After the Prince of Wales had visited India, largely at the Viceroy's own insistence, great pressure was brought on Lord Reading to order Mr. Gandhi's arrest, but he declined to do so until the Governors of two of the largest Provinces, Lord Willingdon and Lord (then Sir George) Lloyd, had threatened to resign. He maintained that unrest could only be cured by removing its causes, and to this end he urged on the Home Government a Turkish policy in harmony with the susceptibilities of Indian Moslems; endeavoured to improve the lot of the people by a reduction of the salt tax, and the abolition of the cotton Excise duty; and showed his strict impartiality by forcing the abdication of two unworthy Ruling Princes in the States of Nabha and Indore. But his most conspicuous accomplishment was in the field of finance, and in the last three years of his Viceroyalty (with Sir Basil Blackett as Finance Minister) the Indian Budget showed an annual surplus. Lord Reading left India in March, 1926, with spontaneous demonstrations of goodwill from British and Indians alike, and four days after his arrival in England was elevated to a Marquessate. At the end of 1927 he became Chairman of United Newspapers, Limited, publishers of a group of Liberal journals, and in a manifesto in the New Year he reaffirmed his allegiance to "the old Liberal faith." At the General Election of 1929 he was one of the group of six eminent Liberals, including Viscount Grey and Sir John Simon, who, regardless of personal predilections, allowed themselves to be associated with Mr. Lloyd George in an electoral appeal in support of his pledge to "conquer unemployment" in the course of a year, but he took no active part in the campaign. He became President of Imperial Chemical Industries, and was deputy Chairman of the London and Lancashire and the Law Union and Rock Insurance Companies, a director of the Marine Insurance Company, the Finance Company of Great Britain and America, and the National Provincial Bank, and Chairman of the Palestine Electric Corporation. As a member of the Indian Round Table Conference he exercised a great constructive influence, notably in January, 1931, when he set out the main outlines of a scheme of All-India Federation with responsibility at the Centre and due transitional safeguards, and he was a member of the Joint Select Committee which in 1933-34 laid down the principles followed in the Government of India Act, 1935. After the fall of the Labour Government in August, 1931, he was appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the National Cabinet of Ten formed to pass a Supplementary Budget. He was President of the Anglo-German Association since its formation in 1929, but resigned in 1933 owing to the treatment of Jews in Germany. He was created G.C.B. in 1915, Viscount in 1916, and Earl in 1917. On June 8, 1926, he received the Freedom of the City of London, in which year he was appointed Captain of Deal Castle, and in **1934** was advanced to the office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. He was also a G.C.S.L., G.C.LE., and G.C.V.O., and an honorary graduate of Oxford, Cambridge, Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Toronto. He was twice married; first, to Alice Edith Cohen, who died early in 1930; and secondly, in August, 1931, to Stella Charnaud, who had been a member of the Viceregal staff in India. He was succeeded by his only son, Viscount Erleigh, K.C.

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