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THE
ANNUAL REGISTER

A
REVIEW OF PUBLIC EVENTS AT HOME
AND ABROAD

FOR THE YEAR

1924

EDITED BY
M. EPSTEIN, M.A., PH.D.

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ONCE again the Editor of THE ANNUAL REGISTER gladly acknowledges his indebtedness to *The Times* for permission to make use of matter published in its columns.

THE FIRST LABOUR MINISTRY.

(JANUARY 22 TO NOVEMBER 4.)

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Prirm Minister	First Lord of the Treasu	} R J MacDonaid.
and Foreign Secretary.		
Lord Chancellor.		} Lord Haldane.
Lord Privy Seal and Deputy Leader of the	House of Commons.	} ^ j -^ Clvnes
Lord President of the Council		} Lord Parmoor.
Chancellor of the Exchequer		} Mr. Philip Snowden.
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Colonies.		Mr. J. H. Thomas.
War.		Mr. Stephen Walsh.
India.		Lord Olivier.
Air.		Lord Thomson.
Scotland.		Mr. William Adamson.
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Board of Education.		Mr. C. P. Trevelyan.
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Minister of Health		Mr. John Wheatley.
Minister of Agriculture and FisJeries		Mr. Noel Buxton.
Minister of Labour.		Mr. Thomas Shaw.
Postmaster-General.		Mr. Vernon Hartshorn.
First Commissioner of Works		Mr. F. W. Jowett.
Chancellor of tlle Duchy of Lancaster		Colonel Josiah Wedgwood.

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Minister of Transport and Paymaster-General	Mr. Harry Gosling.
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Attorney-General	Sir Patrick Hastings, K.C.
Solicitor-General.	Sir H. H. Slessor, K.C.
Financial Secretary to the Treasury	Mr. W. Graham.
Financial Secretary to the War Office	Mr. J. J. Lawson.
Parliamentary Secretary to tJie Treasury, and	Mr. B C S
Chief Whip	p o
Under-Secretaries of State ;—	
Air.	Mr. William Leach.
Colonies.	Lord Arnold.
Foreign.	Mr. Arthur Ponsonby.
Home.	Mr. Rhys Davies.
India.	Mr. Robert Richards.
War.	Major O. R. Atlee.
Health for Scotland	Mr. James Stewart.

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MR. BALDWIN'S SECOND CONSERVATIVE MINISTRY.

(TOOK OFFICE NOVEMBER 7.)

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<i>Lord President of the Council, and Leader of the House of Lords</i>	The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.
<i>Lord Privy Seal</i>	The Marquess of Salisbury.
<i>Lord Chancellor</i>	Viscount Cave.
<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer</i> .	Mr. Winston Churchill.
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<i>Foreign (and Deputy Leader of the House)</i>	Mr. Austen Chamberlain.
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<i>Air.</i>	Sir Samuel Hoare.
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<i>War.</i>	The Earl of Onslow.

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Agriculture and Fisheries
Education
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"Labour
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ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1924.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST LABOUR GOVERNMENT.

THE opening of 1924 found England still under the Conservative Government of Mr. Baldwin which had been defeated at the polls a few weeks earlier. As the Conservatives formed the largest party in the new House of Commons, Mr. Baldwin, acting strictly within his constitutional rights, decided not to resign office till the verdict of the election had been confirmed by a vote in Parliament. The situation was one for which English history afforded no precedent. Never before had a Prime Minister been called upon to resign in favour of the leader of a party smaller than his own. Yet this seemed to be the fate in store for Mr. Baldwin, unless some means could be devised of altering the balance of parties before Parliament met.

Speaking at the National Liberal Club on December 17, Mr. Asquith had announced his intention not to lift a finger to keep the Conservative Government in office. These words were universally taken to mean that the Liberals would support a Labour vote of censure or no-confidence to be moved as soon as possible after the opening of Parliament, and so bring about the fall of the Government. In that eventuality Labour, as the next largest party, would be called upon to take office. Both the Labour and Liberal parties had declared unequivocally that they would enter into no entangling alliances. A Labour Government, therefore, if formed, would be a minority Government—a new departure in British politics. Such was the

anomalous situation which had been created by the 1923 election.

The prospect of a Labour—or, as it was generally termed, Socialist—Government was viewed with boundless alarm by large and influential sections of the community, and frantic cries were raised that it must be prevented at all costs. Movements were accordingly set on foot to unite all the anti-Socialist forces in the country, either by creating a new party, or by engineering a coalition between the Liberals and Unionists. The *Daily Mail* made itself the mouthpiece of this endeavour, and in spite of a stinging rebuff administered to it by Mr. Asquith in his speech at the National Liberal Club, continued to call on the Liberal leader to become the "saviour of society" by joining forces with the Conservatives. The London Conservative Association sought to attain the same end by the opposite means. Soon after the election its president had written to Mr. Baldwin begging him to come to some kind of agreement with Mr. Asquith, and on January 2 the Executive of the Association held a meeting at which it decided to make public statement of its view that the formation of a Labour Government would be directly contrary to the will of the people, and if the Liberals would not support a Conservative Government, then Conservatives should support a Liberal administration "in order that the government of the country might be carried on."

Mr. Baldwin paid no more heed to the London Conservative Association than Mr. Asquith to the *Daily Mail*. His own view, and that of the bulk of his party, was more accurately reflected by *The Times*, which protested emphatically against any log-rolling between Unionists and Liberals for the purpose of depriving Labour of the prize to which it was properly entitled by constitutional usage, and insisted that that party should be given what it called a "fair chance." A number of intrigues were set on foot to oust Mr. Baldwin from the leadership of the Conservative party, but they came to nothing, and he remained the director of its policy. And if the Conservative rank and file was prepared to tolerate a Labour administration, a large number of Liberals looked forward to Mr. MacDonald's premiership with positive satisfaction, feeling no doubt that the causes which they had at heart would be safer in his keeping than in that of their own leaders, so few of whom could show clean records from the Liberal point of view.

That Labour would not budge from the position taken up by it in the Declaration of December 12 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1923, p. 141), which announced its readiness to assume office, was made abundantly clear at a great demonstration held on January 8 at the Albert Hall to celebrate the Labour victory at the polls. Nearly all the Labour members of Parliament were on the platform, and it was taken for granted by every speaker that Mr. MacDonald would in a short time become

Premier. The Labour leader himself took the opportunity of laying down the principles by which he would be guided in the exercise of power. He described his following as a party of idealists who had built their final habitations far away on the horizon, but who were going to walk there, not jump there, taking only one step at a time. Their first great duty would be to establish peace, and he believed that a Labour Government occupying Downing Street was the one thing required to give strength to the morally courageous and power to the peace forces of all sections of Europe. In home affairs also he expressed his intention of relying chiefly on the moral appeal, and of seeking to mobilise all men and women of good will and sound judgment for a united effort. He believed that every decent-minded man and woman in the country was unhappy about the question of unemployment, and would welcome a Government which would find a solution for it. He thought it not impossible to make the wealthy residents in the neighbourhood of the Albert Hall feel as they of the Labour Party felt about the conditions under which masses of their countrymen were housed, so that they would join loyally in the effort to improve them. He used these concrete cases as illustrations of the spirit in which Labour would go to work, and he insisted that his object would be the well-being not of a party but of the nation.

It was remarked by critics of the Labour movement that the proceedings at this meeting commenced with the singing of the "Marseillaise" and ended with that of the "Red Flag." The tone of the meeting was, however, set by Mr. MacDonald, and there was scarcely a remark made during the evening which could be construed even by a hostile observer as an appeal to class prejudice and antipathies. Mr. MacDonald's own speech was hailed a few days later as "pure Liberalism" by Mr. E. D. Simon, one of the new Liberal members for Manchester, who at the same time declared himself ready to support the Labour leader so long as he kept clear of Socialism. Similar sentiments were expressed about the same time by other representative Liberals, and Mr. Asquith, on being asked by certain business men of Paisley, his constituency, to concert with the Unionists measures for combating the Socialistic menace, replied with an unqualified negative. Thus Mr. MacDonald's path to office was kept clear of all the obstacles with which the anti-Socialists sought to encumber it.

Before Parliament met, the British and French Foreign Offices had a passage at arms in which the former again more than held its own. "With the support of the French Governor, General de Metz, a band of adventurers had set up a "Separatist" Government in the Palatinate, and the decrees of this egregious body had, at French instigation, been registered by the Rhine-land High Commission. Before, however, they could come into operation, the British Government, on January 8, sent a strongly-worded remonstrance to the French Government,

insisting that they should first be submitted for consideration to the Legal Advisory Committee of the Commission. M. Poincaré at first demurred, but eventually gave way. At the same time the British Government directed Mr. Clive, its representative in Munich, to visit the Palatinate and report on the Separatist movement. The French again made objections, but were unable to prevent the visit. Mr. Clive found that the allegations of Separatist terrorism exercised with French support were fully justified, but his report did not produce any change in the conduct of General de Metz.

Parliament met on January 8, and after electing Mr. Whitley Speaker, spent a week in the swearing-in of members, so that it did not get to business till January 15. Its immediate task, as every one knew, was to turn the Government out, but owing to the intricacies of its procedure and the peculiar balance of parties this operation required another full week for its performance. Mr. MacDonald at the outset took a step which might have led to still further delay. On Mr. Baldwin proposing, on January 15, that Mr. James Hope should be re-elected Chairman of A Vays and Means, and Captain Fitzroy Deputy Chairman, the Labour leader warned him that these appointments being partisan would not be allowed to pass without a division, and he advised him to leave the matter over, Mr. Baldwin complied, with the consequence that the House reverted for a time to the practice of thirty years previously, when it had been customary to allow a break in the proceedings—familiarily known as the "Speaker's chop hour"—to give the presiding officer of the House an opportunity for rest and refreshment. Fortunately, the daily loss of an hour to an hour and a half for a few days produced no untoward effect.

The King's Speech, which was read on January 15, bore no sign of being the work of an expiring Cabinet. On the contrary, it was longer than the average, and outlined a legislative programme of unusual fullness. In the field of foreign policy it was able to record "definite progress" in the solution of a number of important questions during the interval which had elapsed since the dissolution. The Separations Commission had set up its two Committees, England and France had reached an agreement on the status of the Tangier zone, an agreement had virtually been concluded by Great Britain with the United States on the right of search for illicit liquor, and the Ameer of Afghanistan had taken steps to bring to justice the murderers of British subjects who had taken refuge in his territory. In the field of home policy the speech foreshadowed the introduction of no fewer than seventeen bills dealing with various social needs, such as unemployment, housing, pensions, and agricultural improvement. It made no mention of Protection, but expressed the hope that the promises of Preference to the Colonies given at the Imperial Conferences would be honoured by Parliament.

The programme of social legislation outlined in the speech went far beyond anything to which a Conservative Government had ever yet committed itself, and even, as Opposition speakers were not slow to point out, contained proposals which the Government itself had opposed when made by Labour members in the previous year. On this account it became the subject of much scoffing and sarcastic comment in the debate; Mr. MacDonald asserted that most of its items had been, if not stolen, at any rate borrowed, and Mr. Lloyd George, who followed, characterised it as a rehash of the Liberal election manifesto, or the Labour programme without the seasoning. Mr. MacDonald at once made it clear that this belated repentance was not going to save the Government from its fate. He made a vigorous onslaught on the Government's conduct of affairs, closing with the announcement that in due course Mr. Clynes would move an amendment to the Address in these terms: "It is, however, our duty respectfully to submit to your Majesty that your Majesty's present advisers have not the confidence of this House." Mr. Baldwin, who followed Mr. Lloyd George, admitted that he had no expectation of retaining office, and said that he had in fact aimed at drafting a King's Speech on which all parties could more or less agree. Whatever happened, the King's Government must be carried on, and he promised that, should his party find itself in Opposition, it would indeed criticise, but not in any factious or fractious spirit, and would unite with the others to help in such causes as unemployment or the relief of agriculture.

In the House of Lords Marquis Curzon as spokesman for the Government adopted a somewhat more defiant tone. He characterised as "most unwise" the speech in which Mr. Asquith had announced his intention of letting the Government meet its fate. He also warmly controverted a statement of Mr. Asquith, made some little time previously, that the record of the Government in foreign affairs had been one of unbroken impotence and humiliation, and that England had been reduced to a cipher in the councils of the world. This latter charge was in fact withdrawn by implication by Mr. MacDonald in the course of his speech attacking the Government in the House of Commons; but the reason he advanced was the reverse of flattering to Lord Curzon. The result of the election, he said, and the prospect of a change of Government had once more made Continental statesmen look upon England as a factor to be considered. In the House of Lords, however, there was no one to gainsay Lord Curzon's estimate of his own performances, since Lord Grey, the Liberal leader, had as usual dealt very gently with the Government, and sympathised with its difficulties rather than criticised its shortcomings.

Mr. Clynes moved the Labour amendment on January 17. Both the Labour and Unionist parties were willing that the axe should be allowed to fall with the utmost despatch on the

devoted head of the Government, but the Liberals insisted that there should be a full-dress debate spread over three days. Thus Labour was kept yet a little longer waiting on the threshold of office. Nor was the delay without its justification. There was after all something repugnant to the spirit of the British Constitution in the larger party handing over the reins of office to the smaller, and though there were imperative reasons why the step should be taken, it was fitting that any appearance of precipitation should be avoided.

The feature of the debate was the speech of Mr. Asquith, who immediately followed Mr. Clynes. Circumstances had placed the Liberal leader in the position of "king-maker/" and until he had declared himself there was an element of uncertainty as to the issue of the debate. The party which acknowledged him as leader was far from unanimous in its attitude towards the motion; while the majority felt themselves more nearly akin to the Labour party than to the Unionists, there were a considerable number whose sympathies ran in the opposite direction, and who only waited for a word from Mr. Asquith to vote against the amendment. But they waited in vain; the Liberal leader, now as on December 17, identified himself—whether from policy or conviction—with the forward section of the party, and made himself exclusively their spokesman.

Mr. Asquith began by dissipating any notions that might have been entertained that he had in some way weakened in his attitude in face of the strong pressure which had been exercised on him during the preceding few weeks. "I propose," he said in his second sentence, "to vote, and to advise all my friends to vote for the amendment." Having with these words sealed the fate of the Government, he proceeded, in one of the most successful oratorical efforts of his career, to define the standpoint of Liberalism at that juncture, dissociating it from Unionism, and making it the ally—on terms—of Labour. After writing the epitaph of the Conservative Government as one that would be remembered for confusion, vacillation, and impotence at home and abroad, he pointed out that the so-called two-party system had never been really watertight in England, citing the Peelites and Liberal-Unionist groups as instances, so that government by a minority was not so abnormal as some people imagined. But transference of power to the Labour Party would mean the installation for the first time in England of a Socialist Government; and for this perhaps the mentality of the people was not yet fully prepared. "Few people," went on Mr. Asquith, in sentences punctuated with the applause and laughter of the House, "who have not had the melancholy privilege of reading my postbag during the month, will realise what this prospect means to a large and by no means negligible mass of our fellow-subjects. I have never, in my large experience of postal correspondence, come across more virulent manifestations of an

epidemic of political hysteria. Notwithstanding my own compromising past—I am supposed to have been the associate of rebels and worse than rebels in days gone by—I have during these weeks been cajoled, wheedled, almost caressed, taunted, threatened, browbeaten and all but blackmailed to step in as the saviour of society." By "saving society," Mr. Asquith said, these people meant putting up some kind of combination between Liberals and Conservatives to keep Labour out. He was going to be no party to such a manoeuvre, if only for the reason that it would secure for Labour tens and hundreds of thousands of votes in the country. He reminded the House of the answer given by Adam Smith to a gentleman who had remarked that the surrender at Saratoga in the American War of Independence meant the ruin of Great Britain: "Sir, there is a great deal of ruin in the nation," and he poured ridicule on the idea that the advent of a Labour Government would mean any great national calamity, pointing out that such a Government would be strictly limited by the conditions which the election had created, and that it was idle to talk of the dangers of a Socialist regime in a House of Commons constituted as that one was. Under existing conditions the Labour Party was called upon to carry on the King's Government, and it was the duty of every patriotic man and woman to facilitate their task, so far as this could be done without sacrifice of principle or honour. In the important spheres of social legislation where progressive thought had grasped the same ideals and was ready to proceed to their attainment to a great length on common lines, he saw no reason why there should not be co-operation between the Liberal and Labour parties, and in fact large numbers from all parties, and to this the time and energies of the present Parliament might fruitfully be given.

Mr. Asquith's speech contained nothing for which his hearers had not been fully prepared, yet it made a painful impression on those members who still hankered after some form of coalition between Unionists and Liberals, and he was upbraided by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, more in sorrow than in anger, with neglecting a golden opportunity to place his party on the right path. Mr. Baldwin, however, in making his defence of the Government, boldly asserted that Disraeli had been the pioneer of social reform at a time when Liberals were shackled with the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, and prophesied that the future would lie between Conservatism and Labour, to the exclusion of Liberalism. Mr. MacDonald accepted Mr. Baldwin's estimate of Disraeli, and taunted Conservatives with using the word "Socialism" as a bogey, without trying to understand what it really meant. It was in fact the stock argument of Conservative speakers in the debate that Liberal members had been elected to oppose Socialism no less than Protection. This was admitted by the Liberals, to many of whom the placing of a Socialist Government in power seemed a strange beginning to such a

mission; and the prolongation of the debate was due chiefly to the desire of such members to clear themselves in their own eyes and the eyes of the world—or at any rate their constituents—for taking such a step, seeing that Mr. Asquith had already said all that needed to be said on the subject. The number of Liberal defections proved in the end to be very small. Some ten Liberals voted with the Government, and half a dozen more abstained. The amendment was finally carried at 11 P.M. on January 21 by 328 votes to 256—a majority of 72.

A number of members wished to continue the debate, with the object of bringing in an amendment to the Address condemning Socialism. The Speaker, however, ruled that as the closure had been passed there should be no further debate, and the Address as amended was carried by 328 to 251.

With this step the transference of government from the Unionist to the Labour Party was practically accomplished. A revolution in English politics as profound as that associated with the Reform Act of 1832 had been carried through with a smoothness and rapidity that two months earlier would have been thought impossible. A Party which made Socialism its watchword was already entrusted with the reins of government. This was but the legitimate consummation of a movement which had been gathering strength for some years before the war, but which in the eyes of many had been brought to a stand by the formation of the Coalition. It could easily have been prevented by the renewal of the Coalition or the creation of a new one. The decision lay with Mr. Asquith, and the veteran statesman, in choosing a Labour Government as the lesser evil, proved once more the truth of Disraeli's remark, that "England does not like Coalitions."

Unlike the older parties, Labour in order to obtain office had not had to wait till it commanded a majority in the country. Greatness had literally been thrust upon it, not so much for its own virtues as for the sins of its opponents. That the bulk of Liberals should have preferred enthroning Labour at this juncture, not only to placing the Unionists in power but to sharing power themselves with the Unionists, was a phenomenon as remarkable in its nature as it was far-reaching in its consequences. The reason for it was not to be found in any advances or overtures made by Labour for Liberal support and friendship. On the contrary, almost till the last moment Labour had persistently refused to see any difference in essentials between Liberalism and Unionism, and had treated with disdain Liberal offers of co-operation. If in these circumstances Liberals persisted in turning the other cheek to the smiter, it was because they felt that in this way alone they could still represent themselves in the eyes of the world as a party of progress. The Conservative Party, it is true, through the mouth of Mr. Baldwin, had adopted a programme of social

reform at home and justice and conciliation abroad. But Liberals preferred to judge them by their record in the past rather than by their promises for the future, and decided in favour of a Government which, whatever might be its defects, would be unquestionably progressive.

On the day after the debate, January 22, Mr. Baldwin resigned, and Mr. MacDonald was commissioned by the King to form a Ministry. His plans for doing so were already practically complete, and were put into execution without delay. Mr. MacDonald himself became, in addition to Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs, the leadership of the House of Commons being entrusted to Mr. Clynes, while Mr. Snowden went to the Exchequer. Two of the new Ministers, the Secretary of State for the Navy, and the Secretary of State for India, were men with distinguished records of public service abroad, Lord Chelmsford having been a Viceroy of India, and Sir Sidney Olivier, Governor of Jamaica. Sir Sidney was soon after elevated to the House of Lords, where the Government was already represented by Lord Haldane, as Lord Chancellor, and Lord Parmoor as Lord Privy Seal. Other prominent Trade Union leaders besides Mr. Clynes who entered the Cabinet were Mr. Thomas (Colonies), Mr. Henderson (Home Office), Mr. Shaw (Labour), and Mr. Jowett (Public Works): and for the first time a woman was given a place in a British Government in the person of Miss Margaret Bondfield, who had last year been elected President of the Trade Union Congress, and who now became Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Labour. The Trade Union officials who joined the Ministry gave up their Trade Union posts (though Mr. Henderson retained his position as Secretary of the Labour Party, as this was held to be not incompatible with his Ministerial duties). A similar step was taken by those members—among whom was Mr. MacDonald himself—who were on the Council of the Labour and Socialist International. The question was raised at a party meeting whether any alteration should be made in the salaries of Ministers, and was answered in the negative. Mr. MacDonald, however, took only one salary for his two offices, and the Lord Chancellor consented to accept the same salary as his colleagues—5000Z. instead of the customary 10,000Z.

The new Government was fairly representative of all sections of the composite party which called itself "Labour." Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Snowden, and Mr. Sidney Webb were known as Socialists of the academic or intellectual type; Mr. Clynes, Mr. Shaw and others belonged to the class of trade union officials; Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Trevelyan were prominent among the new recruits from the older parties; while the more advanced Socialists known as the Clyde group were represented by Mr. Wheatley. Mr. MacDonald, however, found himself unable to complete his Cabinet from the active workers of his own party, and he accepted the services of at

least three non-party men—Lord Chelmsford, Lord Olivier, and Lord Parmoor, who joined the Government as departmental heads, "in order," as Lord Chelmsford said, "that the King's Government might be carried on." Even with a majority behind it, such a Cabinet could hardly have been described as Socialist; in face of an anti-Socialist majority it was foredoomed, at any rate in home affairs, to a policy of compromise and surrender.

The Premier's first act was to adjourn Parliament for three weeks, till February 12, in order to give the new Ministers an opportunity of making themselves familiar with the work of their departments, and drafting new legislation in their respective spheres. The Civil Service adapted itself automatically to the change of regime, and the administrative machine continued to work as smoothly as ever. The problem of adjusting relations between the Court and the new Cabinet was somewhat more delicate, but with the exercise of tact on both sides was solved with complete success. A number of the new Ministers protested at the outset that they could not possibly afford the elaborate costume which they would be expected to wear at Court functions. The King thereupon graciously permitted the adoption of a more simple dress. Mr. MacDonald on his side left to the King the appointment of certain of the Court officials.

Mr. MacDonald immediately on his advent to power made his presence felt at the *Foreign Office*. In the field of Anglo-French relations he struck out a new line by addressing, on January 26, a "personal note" to M. Poincaré couched in terms of easy friendship which contrasted strongly with the somewhat censorious formality of his predecessor. After informing his confrère of his accession to office, and sending him his greetings and good wishes, he added that, while grieving to find that there were still so many unsettled points between them causing trouble and concern, he felt sure that by the strenuous action of good will, conflicts could be settled and policies devised in the pursuit of which France and Britain could remain in hearty co-operation, and advance together to establish peace and security in Europe. M. Poincaré replied a couple of days later stating that he was much touched by the British Premier's letter, and expressing almost in Mr. MacDonald's own words his wishes for friendly co-operation between England and France, and for making the *entente* effective and fruitful of the results which it could and ought to bear. This interchange of courtesies made an excellent impression in both countries, and put an end to the friction which had been caused by the delivery of a number of diplomatic "pinpricks" in the preceding months. The first-fruits of the improved relations between the two Foreign Offices were seen on February 9 in the French ratification of the Coblenz agreement of December 14 concerning the railways in the British zone of occupied Germany. By this step the "blockade" of the Cologne area was at length

raised, to the great relief not only of German but also of British industry. In regard also to the questions of Inter-Allied military control and of the Palatinate M. Poincaré showed himself more accommodating than previously.

In regard to Russia Mr. MacDonald lost no time in completely reversing the policy of Lord Curzon, and so redeeming one of the principal pledges given by Labour at the time of the election. On February 1 a Note was despatched to Moscow stating that Britain "recognised the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics as the *de jure* rulers of those territories of the old Russian Empire which acknowledged their authority/" and inviting the Soviet Government to send plenipotentiaries to London to discuss the questions of existing treaties and of claims both between Governments and individuals the settlement of which seemed to be necessary to complete friendly relations and full commercial intercourse. Mr. Hodgson, the British representative in Moscow, was given the status of Charge d'affaires pending the appointment of an ambassador. The reply of the Russian Government was received a few days later. It expressed satisfaction with the contents of the British Note, declared that the Government of the Soviet Union was ready to discuss and settle in a friendly spirit all questions arising directly or indirectly out of the fact of recognition, and to send plenipotentiaries to London for that purpose, and conferred on M. Rakovsky, the Soviet representative in England, the status of Chargé d'Affaires of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at the Court of St. James, pending the appointment of ambassador. The recognition of the Soviet Government was viewed with misgiving in Conservative quarters, but caused lively satisfaction in Liberal and Labour circles.

Before Parliament reassembled, the Unionist Party took occasion to settle the two pressing questions which had been forced on its attention by its defeat at the polls and its ejection from power, the question of its attitude towards Protection and the question of its leadership. On February 9 a meeting of Lancashire and Cheshire Unionists was held at Manchester, under the chairmanship of Lord Derby, at which the action of the late Government in appealing to the country on the Protection issue was severely criticised, and a resolution was passed by a large majority for omitting Protection from the party programme. A full party meeting was held on February 11 in London. Mr. Baldwin, who presided, said that although the motives which swayed the electorate were always complex, yet he could not resist the conclusion that at the last election the country as a whole had decided in a sense hostile to the main Unionist proposal, which was to introduce a change in the British fiscal system. In these circumstances he did not feel justified in advising the party again to submit the proposal for a general tariff to the country, except upon the clear evidence that on this matter public opinion was disposed to reconsider its judgment

of two months previously. For the rest he outlined a programme of social progress similar to that contained in the *King's Speech*, Lord Balfour moved "that this meeting, having heard the statement made by the leader of the party, desires to express its confidence in him and its agreement with the policy he has outlined." This motion was supported by a number of speakers, including Mr. Austen Chamberlain, and carried by acclamation. No further attempts were made after this to displace Mr. Baldwin.

A few days before Parliament met—on February 7—a deputation from the municipal authorities of some of the leading industrial centres laid before the Government their plaint on the subject of unemployment. They were received by Mr. Clynes, who was accompanied by the President of the Board of Trade, the Minister of Labour, the Minister of Transport, and the Financial Secretary to the Treasury. The Lord Mayor of Newcastle and other speakers expatiated on the burden on the rates caused by unemployment, and suggested that the Government should finance local schemes to the extent of 75 per cent. Mr. Clynes was sympathetic but not very helpful. He said that all the State departments represented at the meeting had been doing their best to grapple with the question since the Government came into office, but he would leave it to the Prime Minister to make at the proper time some announcement of the Government's desires and intentions. He assured the deputation that the Government would provide plans, and meanwhile urged the municipalities to continue to be alert and press for a solution of the problem, in order to awaken the national conscience on the duty of the State in the matter.

When Labour was in opposition it had shown itself highly scornful of the Conservative Government's efforts to solve the two most pressing social problems of the day—unemployment and housing—and had boasted of its ability to produce much better solutions if it were given the opportunity. AVhen therefore the House of Commons met on February 12, after the new Ministers had had three clear weeks in which to formulate their ideas, it was in the expectation of hearing some novel and ingenious plan for dealing at least with these two difficulties, if not others also. This expectation was disappointed. The Prime Minister's opening speech contained no definite proposals either on these or other matters; he confined himself to laying down with some precision the general lines upon which Labour would endeavour to carry on the government of the country.

He first of all made it clear that his Government would not resign if defeated in a "snap" division on some matter of minor importance, but only in consequence of a motion of no confidence or an adverse vote on some question of principle. This privilege, he held, would be necessary not only for his Government, but for any Government in future which did not possess an absolute majority in the House. He mentioned with satisfaction the

fact that gilt-edged securities had risen since he took office, and thanked the bank directors and others who by their public statements had allayed the nervousness of the investing public, and counteracted the designs of speculators. He said that the watchword of the Government's policy would be not "tranquillity" but "confidence"—confidence not merely in one section, but on the part of the whole of the nation, and he believed that the Labour Government was in a position to achieve this much better than its predecessor, because of its difference not so much in actual policy as in spirit. He found the King's Speech drawn up by his predecessor a not at all inconvenient quarry, and he would probably draw on it more liberally than his predecessors would have done had they remained in office. He expressed his confidence that the Minister of Health would soon be able to come to some satisfactory arrangement with the building industry which would render possible the production on a large scale of the type of houses required for the wage-earning classes. In regard to unemployment, he laid stress on the fact that the Government had no intention of drawing off large sums from the normal channels of trade for extemporised measures which could only be palliatives. On the contrary, they would try to foster trade by speeding up the Trade Facilities Act and granting export credits. They would also, if possible, appoint a committee to investigate the effect of the National Debt on business. In regard to agriculture, he thought the complaints of the farmers were due to some extent to inefficient book-keeping, which made them think that bad seasons were normal seasons. The Government was against any kind of bounty or tariff, and would try to assist agriculture by reforming rating and supporting co-operation.

Coming finally to foreign affairs, Mr. MacDonald justified the recognition of the Soviet Government on the ground that it was the necessary preliminary to settling the outstanding differences between Great Britain and Russia. With regard to France, his first task had been to create a healthier atmosphere. He paid a tribute to the instant and hearty response of M. Poincare to the approaches which he had made to him on the questions of the Palatinate and the Cologne railways, but declined to say anything on the reparations question till the Committees which were working on the subject had made their statements. The final aim of the Foreign Secretary, he said, must be to secure an agreement on armaments, and he declared his intention of seizing any opportunity that offered of using the League of Nations for the settlement of a dispute between countries.

The debate was opened by Mr. Baldwin, who saw evidence in the speech that the experience of office had already had a sobering effect on the Government, and had made it realise some of its limitations. He pointed out that in the matter of unemployment it was proposing to do no more than the Conservative

Government would have done if it had remained in office—that is, to make the palliatives more palatable. He thought the Government had been unduly precipitate in recognising the Russian Soviet, and warned it against the dangerous characteristics of that body. Mr. Asquith, on the other hand, agreed with the Government that recognition was a necessary preliminary for settling outstanding difficulties with the Soviet. He laid great stress on a minor issue which Mr. MacDonald had only touched upon in the course of his speech—the rescinding by the Minister of Health of the so-called Mond Order in regard to the borough of Poplar. When Minister of Health in Mr. Lloyd George's Government in 1922, Sir Alfred Mond, in response to complaints received from certain ratepayers of Poplar, had issued an Order forbidding the Guardians of that borough to grant out-relief beyond a certain scale. The Guardians had declared from the first that the Order was unworkable, and had persistently disregarded it, thereby rendering themselves liable to surcharges which in course of time amounted to something like a hundred thousand pounds. Neither Sir Alfred Mond, however, nor his successors in the next Government had made any attempt to enforce the Order, and one of the first steps taken by the Minister of Health in the Labour Ministry, Mr. Wheatley, was to rescind it, in order to relieve the Poplar Guardians from their contingent liability. A section of the public had immediately raised the cry of "Socialism/" and Mr. Asquith, who as it turned out was imperfectly informed as to the facts, now in the name of his party warned the Government that he could not support it in administrative action of that kind.

The most trenchant criticism of Mr. MacDonald's speech came from Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who pointed out that there were considerable differences between the office mind and the Opposition mind of the Government. He instanced in particular their attitude to the Capital Levy. From the Labour side also a grave complaint was raised that the Government was neglecting the agricultural worker.

One of the chief points on which information was sought during the debate was the Government's attitude on national defence. Mr. MacDonald said in reply that they were considering the question not merely from the point of view of the strength of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, but also from the point of view of civil and of foreign and international policy. For some time to come the bargaining power of the British Foreign Secretary would depend not on military force, but on the reasonableness of the policy which he presented. But that did not mean that defence would be neglected. With regard to the Capital Levy, he placated Mr. Chamberlain by remarking that it was in the same position as Protection. He thanked Mr. Baldwin for his warning as to the Soviet, but was still hopeful that they should come to a proper business and settled arrangement. Coming to the question of Poplar, he corrected Mr.

Asquith as to the facts, and promised if required to set aside a day to discuss the question as soon as possible.

In the House of Lords the Lord Chancellor, Lord Haldane, expounded the policy of the Government on the same lines as Mr. MacDonald, but in the reverse order, dealing first and most fully with Anglo-French relations. In guarded language he pointed out that while it was right and proper that France should have reparations and security, the methods by which these things were to be attained required investigation. The piling up of armaments must inevitably lead to another war. Nevertheless, until other people reduced their armaments, Britain could not put herself in a weak position. If some kind of common mind could be created among the nations of Europe, then would come the chance of a reduction in armaments. But meanwhile in regard to their own defences there was not under this Government going to be any breach in the continuity of policy by which they had for years been seeking to place their defences on an improved footing. Lord Curzon, on behalf of the Unionist Party, welcomed the declaration that there was going to be continuity of policy in the matter of defence, pointing out that a policy of idealism was not safe in view of the military preparations of the new nations of Europe.

The Government was very soon called upon to explain what it meant by continuity of policy in the matter of defence. On February 19 Sir S. Hoare, who had been Air Minister in the previous Government, moved "that this House, while earnestly desiring the further limitation of armaments . . . affirms the principle laid down by the late Government that Great Britain must maintain a Home Defence Air Force of sufficient strength to give adequate protection against air attack by the strongest force within striking distance." He pointed out the great disparity in Air Force between England and France, and asked whether the Government proposed to take steps to remove it. In reply the Under-Secretary for Air, Mr. Leach, stated that the plan for the increase in the Air Force sanctioned by the late Government would not be interfered with. He made it clear, however, as did also Mr. Thomas, the Secretary for the Colonies, that the Government did not believe that aeroplanes could give "adequate protection" against aeroplanes, and expressed the opinion that the true way to seek safety was by fostering among the peoples a pacific spirit which would lead to disarmament. His concluding remarks were heard with some disquietude by occupants of the Opposition benches, but the matter was not pressed to a division on that evening.

A few days later the difficulties of the Government in reconciling its pacifist principles with the requirements of the hour were brought into light even more forcibly. On February 21 it was announced by Mr. Ammon, Parliamentary Secretary for the Admiralty, in answer to questions, that the Government had decided, in view of the serious unemployment, which was

especially marked in the shipbuilding industry, to proceed with the laying down of five cruisers. The announcement was received with consternation by several Liberal and Labour members, and a Liberal, Mr. Pringle, asked leave to move the adjournment of the House to discuss this decision, a request in which he was supported by nearly all the Liberal members and many of the Labour members present. The Speaker accordingly assented. When the motion for the adjournment came on a few hours later, Mr. Pringle pointed out that the Labour Party's manifesto at the General Election declared their policy to be one of disarmament and reduction of naval and military expenditure, and he asked what had brought about this new declaration of policy. The answer was given by the Prime Minister in person, who in the interval had read a sharp lesson to his more recalcitrant followers on the necessity of party discipline. He first made it clear, in contradistinction to Mr. Ammon, that the building of the cruisers would not be proceeded with without the consent of Parliament. They were, he said, only for replacement, and meant no increase in the country's naval strength. The reason for putting them in hand at once was simply to prevent men from being discharged from the dockyards. This explanation did not satisfy Mr. Pringle and his friends, who carried the matter to a division. The motion was lost by 73 votes against 372. The majority comprised all the Unionists and all the Labour members present except one, and thirty Liberals. The Liberal leaders abstained from voting. Although no Labour members voted against the Government, numbers of them were gravely perturbed at its action, which they regarded as a serious blot on the record of their party.

The only other measure taken by the Government at this time to deal with unemployment was to amend the Trade Facilities Act by increasing from 50 to £5 millions the aggregate of the loans which might be guaranteed under it, and by authorising the actual expenditure of a million a year in interest. The Government's lack of originality was the subject of sarcastic comment from the Conservative benches, but it was pleaded on their behalf that this was only a first step, and that more drastic measures would soon follow. No opposition was offered to this step, nor to the abolition of the "gap" of one week which hitherto had been interposed after every twelve weeks' receipt of unemployment relief. A motion was also passed about this time supporting in principle the giving of pensions to widowed mothers.

In the matter of rent control also the Government showed itself lacking in resolution. On February 22 a new Rent Restrictions Bill was brought forward by a private member, but with the support of the Government, to replace the measure with the same title carried by Mr. Neville Chamberlain as Minister of Health in the previous Government {*vide* ANNUAL

REGISTER, 1923, p. 43). The mover described his Bill frankly as a tenants' Bill, just as the previous one had been a landlords' Bill. It proposed to take away from the landlord every ground of resuming possession of a house except that he wanted it for his own occupation (in which case he would have to provide alternative accommodation), to reduce the percentage of permissible increase in rents from 15 to 10, to allow the landlord only 15 per cent, for repairs, and to extend control to 1928. The Bill was strongly criticised by Mr. Neville Chamberlain, who said that an inquiry ought first to be held into the working of the existing Act. Mr. Wheatley, in supporting the Bill, went out of his way to attack the Conservative party for favouring the rich against the poor; his speech, which was described by one member as "an immoderate speech in favour of a moderate measure," gave much offence to the Opposition. The Government was severely criticised for not itself accepting responsibility for the Bill, and though with the help of the Liberals the second reading was carried by 248 votes to 101, the Bill was held up by the obstruction of Conservative members in Standing Committee for the rest of the Session, and never emerged again into light.

The action of the Minister of Health in rescinding the Mond Order was the subject of a debate in the House of Commons on February 26. There was a Liberal motion, with a Conservative addition, censuring it as calculated to encourage illegality and extravagance. The Liberals were chiefly concerned that the Poplar Guardians should not in future be allowed to break the law with impunity; the Conservatives that the unemployed should not obtain more in relief than the employed earned by working. Mr. Wheatley defended his action with great dialectical skill, showing that the situation left by his predecessors had made the action taken by him the only reasonable course to pursue. Mr. Asquith found the speech more clever than reassuring, and asked the Prime Minister to say definitely whether the Government would make it clear that, though the Mond Order had been rescinded, illegal expenditure by a Board of Guardians neither had been nor would be sanctioned. Mr. MacDonald, challenged to uphold his subordinate, once more, as in the affair of the cruisers, beat a prompt and skilful strategic retreat. He asserted that Mr. Wheatley had not spoken and the Government had not acted in defence of the Poplar administration, and assured Mr. Asquith that no illegal expenditure had been or would be incurred on account of what the Minister of Health had done. With this assurance the bulk of the Liberals were satisfied, and when at 11 o'clock the closure was moved from the Conservative benches they voted against it, helping to defeat it by 67 votes. Thus neither the motion nor the amendment was allowed to come to the vote, and the Government emerged from the debate with a whole skin.

A few days later Mr. MacDonald was for the third time called

upon to perform the delicate operation of drawing off a colleague from a position to which he had advanced with rather more zeal than discretion. Mr. Arthur Henderson, the Home Secretary, who was at this time a candidate in a by-election at Burnley (having been defeated at the General Election) in the course of his campaign made a speech on foreign affairs in which he called emphatically for a revision of the Treaty of Versailles. Mr. MacDonald was immediately asked in the House of Commons from the Conservative benches and also by Mr. Lloyd George whether this was an official statement of the policy of the Government. He answered that the Government was responsible only for the policy outlined in his speech of February 12, and refused to commit it further either for or against the Treaty of Versailles. A couple of days later Mr. Ronald McNeill, who had been Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the previous Ministry, again raised the question, and drew upon himself a stinging rebuke from the Premier for seeking to compromise the Government in order to influence the result of a by-election. The truth was that not only the Labour Party, but the great mass of the people regarded a drastic revision of at least the economic clauses of the Treaty as urgently necessary, but it was generally recognised that, in view of French susceptibilities, the word "revision" should be studiously avoided.

On February 26 the Government's Indian policy was announced by Lord Olivier, the Secretary for India. Unusual interest attached to his statement, owing to the situation which had recently arisen in India. The elections held there a few weeks earlier had given a great majority in favour of the "Swaraj" or Home Rule movement, which counted a number of warm sympathisers among the Labour Party in England. These would have been glad to see the Government throw over the Montagu-Chelmsford system of Indian administration which had been instituted a few years earlier, and make India more or less self-governing. The Government, however, here as in the matter of defence, showed itself averse from making any violent innovations. Lord Olivier condemned in strong terms the manifesto of the Swaraj Party which claimed Home Rule for India and opposed co-operation with the British authorities. He asserted roundly that India was not yet ripe for democratic self-government, and rejected uncompromisingly the suggestion of a round-table conference which might conceivably recommend such a step. What the Government would like, he said, was practical proposals for establishing closer contact and better understanding with those elements in India which were willing and even anxious to help the Indian Administration to work the reformed system initiated three years previously. Lord Olivier's warning to the Swarajists was warmly endorsed by Lord Balfour, but his speech did not give satisfaction to the more advanced sections of the Labour Party.

Mr. MacDonald was not so pre-occupied with saving the Government in the House of Commons that he allowed his attention to be diverted for a moment from the vital problem of Anglo-French relations. His correspondence with M. Poincaré at the end of January had established an equilibrium which had every prospect of enduring till the Committees which were investigating German finances should have issued their reports. But the course of events in France presented him with new opportunities of which he did not fail to take advantage. During February the franc fell persistently in value till it stood at over 100 to the pound sterling. This phenomenon profoundly shook the faith of the French public in M. Poincaré and his Ruhr policy, and impressed on that statesman the necessity for a change of tone if not of policy. Mr. MacDonald adroitly utilised the weakness of the French Premier to make him listen to some very candid criticism of his whole line of action. On February 21 he addressed to him a letter in which, under pretext of "carrying a stage further the exploration of the points that had in the past raised difficulties between the two countries," he set forth with remarkable frankness the suspicions which were raised in the mind of the British public by M. Poincaré's persistence in his Ruhr policy. "It is widely felt in England," it said, "that, contrary to the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, France is endeavouring to create a situation which gains for it what it failed to get during the Allied peace negotiations. . . . The people in this country regard with anxiety what appears to them to be the determination of France to ruin Germany and to dominate the Continent without consideration of our reasonable interests and future consequences to European settlement. They feel themselves apprehensive of the large military and aerial establishments maintained not only in Eastern but also in Western France. They are perturbed by the interest shown by your Government in the military organisation of the new states of Central Europe. Finally, they question why all these activities should be financed by the French Government, in disregard of the fact that the British taxpayer has to find upwards of 30,000,000/. a year in interest on loans raised in America, and that our taxpayers have also to find large sums to pay interest on the debt of France to us, to meet which France has herself as yet neither made nor propounded, so far as they can see, any sacrifice equivalent to their own."

Mr. MacDonald's letter opened and closed with expressions of the warmest personal regard, and M. Poincaré, as also the French Press in general, accepted in excellent part the unpalatable home truths which it contained. As was to be expected, it did not cause M. Poincaré to deviate a hair's-breadth from his settled policy. In his reply, he warmly defended France against Mr. MacDonald's charges, and reiterated France's intention not to evacuate the Ruhr till she had received her due,

nor the Ehineland till the terms of the Treaty had been carried out. But Mr. MacDonald's letter contained the strongest official intimation which had yet been given to France of the dangers of the Poincare policy, and so may have contributed not a little to the condemnation of it pronounced a few weeks later by the French electorate at the polls.

On March 4 the Opposition succeeded in extracting from the Government a statement on air defence somewhat more satisfactory from their point of view than that given by Mr. Leach in the House of Commons a couple of weeks earlier. The Marquess of Londonderry moved in the House of Lords a resolution almost identical with that brought forward by Sir S. Hoare in the other House on February 19, urging that Great Britain must maintain a Home Defence Air Force of sufficient strength to give adequate protection against air attack by the strongest Air Force within striking distance of her shores. He declared himself profoundly dissatisfied with the statement made in the House of Commons by Mr. Leach, with its intimation that there would be no change in the country's air policy 'for the time being,' and called on the Secretary for Air, Lord Thomson, to reassure the public by stating that the policy of the late Government would be carried out in full. Lord Thomson, while paying lip service to idealism and expressing a hope that international agreement would obviate all necessity for a race in air armaments, made it clear that he meant to adhere strictly to the lines laid down by his predecessor and to spare no effort to make the Air Force an effective line of defence for the country. The Lord Chancellor confirmed his colleague's remarks by stating that the policy of the Government was to keep armaments in a state of efficiency until other nations were ready to co-operate in the policy which the Prime Minister was pressing at that very time of getting rid as quickly as possible of the tremendous burden which was weighing nations down.

It was perhaps no mere coincidence that the very day which followed this surrender on the part of the Government witnessed a serious revolt among its followers. The occasion was the second reading of the Trade Facilities Bill. Mr. Maxton, a Labour member for Glasgow, took strong exception to the proposal to guarantee a further 3,000,000/. to the Sudan Cotton Plantation Syndicate, on the ground that this private enterprise was not sufficiently under public control. In the course of his remarks he taunted the Financial Secretary to the Treasury with being the "new apologist for Capitalism." He was supported by other Labour speakers, and in the division no fewer than 43 Labour members voted against the Bill, which, however found abundant support on the Conservative and Liberal benches.

While Labour's advent to power coincided with a propitious turn in Anglo-French relations, at home it was accompanied by a series of Labour troubles due to causes equally independent

of the change of Government. The end of January happened to be the time when a number of long-drawn disputes between employers and employed in certain vital industries were coming to a head, and failure to settle them by discussion led to a succession of strikes and stoppages of national importance. The first of these was a strike of railwaymen, due to an attempt to reduce wages. Towards the end of 1923 the Eailway Wage Board, after due consideration of an appeal from the railway companies, had issued an award recommending considerable reductions of wages. Two of the railwaymen's unions—the National Union of Eailwaymen and the Railway Clerks' Association—accepted the reductions without demur, but the third, the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, instituted a ballot. The members of this society were the most skilled and highly paid among the railway workers, and stood to lose most by the award. The ballot went against acceptance, and as the employers refused to enter into negotiations for revising the award and insisted on bringing its terms into force on the date fixed, namely, midnight January 20, as though its terms had been compulsory, the society resolved to strike. A strongly-worded appeal was addressed to it by Mr. Thomas and Mr. Cramp on behalf of the N.U.E. not to deal a blow at the principle of collective bargaining, but it produced only an acrimonious rejoinder from the secretary of the A.S.L.E.F., Mr. Bromley, and the strike threat was duly carried out.

Fortunately for the public, the enginemmen in the N.U.E., of whom there were a considerable number, remained loyal to their agreement, so that the railway companies were enabled to maintain skeleton passenger services and to secure the food supplies of the large towns. Thus there was no general "hold-up," as in the strike of 1911, nor was the inconvenience even so great as during the strike of 1919. But the transport of goods was seriously impeded, and in a few days industry, particularly in the coal-fields, began to feel the effects. The two railway unions indulged in an exchange of recriminations which threw a somewhat lurid light on the jealousy existing between different branches of labour. After eight days the companies, in deference to the representations of an emergency committee appointed by the Trade Union General Council, made a declaration that they had never contended that the decisions of the National Wage Board were obligatory. With this, and certain concessions in the matter of wages, the men declared themselves satisfied, and work was immediately resumed.

No sooner had one dark cloud rolled away from the Labour sky than another even more threatening appeared on the horizon. On the same day that the railwaymen returned to work, the Transport and General Workers' Union, representing most of the dock labourers at British ports, sent a letter to the employers making certain claims, and giving notice of a strike on February 16 unless in the meantime a satisfactory settlement

were arrived at. The chief claims were that the dockers' wages should be raised by two shillings a day, and that dockworkers should have as far as possible a guaranteed week, as under existing conditions they often found work for two or three days a week only. The men complained that while their wages had been reduced concurrently with the fall in the index figure of the cost of living, the employers' profits had not diminished, and they asserted that money enough was available to increase the wage fund considerably. The employers on their side, while recognising the hardship to which the men were subjected by the casual nature of their employment, considered that the cost of guaranteeing them a weekly wage should be made a charge on all branches of transport which were fed by the docks, and not on them alone. After a fortnight's negotiation the employers offered the men a shilling a day increase in wages and an inquiry into the question of a guaranteed week. This offer the men summarily rejected, and negotiations were broken off. The Minister of Labour then intervened, and brought the parties together again, but without result; and the strike came into operation on the date fixed, when about 100,000 men ceased work, and the shipping trade of the country was brought practically to a standstill.

In order to protect the public from the profiteering for which the hold-up of imports offered so favourable an opportunity, the Government immediately issued a communique stating that there was no reason for the raising of food prices owing to the strike, and at the same time asked the Law Officers to draft emergency preventive measures. It also showed its concern by appointing, under the Industrial Courts Act of 1919, a Court of Inquiry to inquire into the causes and circumstances of the dispute and report thereon. The Court began its proceedings forthwith, and on February 20, the third day of the strike, the two parties gave evidence before it. This afforded an opportunity of bringing their representatives together once more, with the result that an agreement was reached in the small hours of February 21. Contrary to general expectation, however, this did not yet mean the end of the strike. The men's delegates, on hearing the terms obtained for them by their representative, Mr. Bevin, hesitated to accept them till they should have consulted their Trade Unions, and for a few anxious days the prospects of peace hung in the balance. The men, however, finally agreed to the terms offered, and resumed work on February 26, fortunately before the stoppage had exercised any serious effect on the food supply.

The trouble which had been brewing for a long time in the coal industry came to a head in the middle of March. The National Wage Agreement was due to expire on April 17, and the miners had indicated clearly that they would not renew it without substantial alterations. The owners took steps betimes to deal with the situation, and on March 12 made an offer to

the miners of not inconsiderable advances in wages, especially for the lowest paid men. The Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation on March 14 rejected these terms as inadequate, and called upon the Government to pass a Minimum Wage Act to secure for the miners a wage commensurate with the cost of living. Unfortunately for the miners the Minimum Wage Bill which had been tabled by a private member had to be dropped owing to the confiscation by the Government of private members' time. The Government at first in return promised to bring in a Bill of its own dealing with the subject immediately after the close of the financial year on March 31, and before the expiration of the National Wage Agreement. But in order if possible to save it from the necessity of such a step, which might be construed as taking sides in an industrial dispute, Mr. Shinwell, the Secretary of the Mines Department, made strenuous efforts to bring the two parties together once more, and set up a Court of Inquiry, which inspired such confidence in the miners that in the end Government action was found to be unnecessary.

Owing to the ravages of an epidemic of foot-and-mouth disease which had been raging over the country for months, the Government during February was forced to ask the House of Commons for permission to exceed the sum usually allowed for expenditure in combating animal diseases, viz. 140,000Z. Some idea of the havoc wrought by this visitation was given in a statement made to the House of Commons on February 18. From this it appeared that since the previous August, when the first case occurred, there had been 2,600 outbreaks in 37 different counties in England and Wales and 11 in Scotland, involving the slaughter of 89,000 cattle, 30,000 sheep, 42,000 pigs, and 110 goats. The estimated expenditure on compensation alone was over 2,850,000Z. Matters had so far improved in January that the Ministry decided that the isolation policy might safely be adopted instead of slaughter. From that time the epidemic gradually subsided, and practically disappeared early in the summer.

Among the activities of the Prime Minister at this time none attracted more general attention than the delivery of an address on March 6 to the Free Church Assembly at Brighton, on the relation between Christianity and Socialism. Unlike so many prominent Socialists, he refused to see any conflict between the two systems; on the contrary, he looked on one as the outcome of the other. Socialism, he said, had two values—as an electioneering cry and as a philosophy and system of life. In the latter aspect he regarded it as based on the Gospels. It was the Christian faith which gave them the courage to believe in truth and justice and the moral categories; and the competition in armaments would not cease till they discovered a nation so full of Christian courage that it would say: "The only security we can have is the security of cherishing the moral categories,

justice, fair play, honesty, and uprightness/' Religious circles were very favourably impressed by the tone of Mr. MacDonald's address, particularly by his defence of the " Scotch Sunday " as a wholesome and beneficent institution, affording a much-needed opportunity for earnest and detached thought.

The estimates for 1924-25 were published in the first week in March. The Civil Service Estimates were for 227,572,828/. against 251,670,000/. in the previous year—a reduction of 24,097,177/. The Army Estimates were 45,000,000/. against 52,000,000/., and the Navy 55,500,000/. against 58,000,000/. Against these reductions was to be set an increase of 2,000,000/. for the Air Force—from 12,000,000/. to 14,000,000/.

Parliament went into Committee of Supply on March 7, and a Unionist member immediately moved a reduction in the vote on account for the Civil Service in order to challenge the action recently taken by the Government in reducing from 26 per cent, to 5 per cent, the duty on imported German goods under the Reparations Recovery Act of 1921. The effect of this step, it was alleged, would be to transfer the main burden of reparations payments from the shoulders of the German Revenue to those of the British taxpayer. The Government was vehemently criticised by Mr. Lloyd George for parting with a formidable weapon of negotiation for the approaching conference. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Snowden, pointed out that the reduction had been necessitated by Germany's inability to pay more, and had been made purely in the interests of the British trader from whom the Government collected the levy. On the other hand, to have repealed the duty altogether would, he admitted, have been to throw away a weapon of bargaining. He suggested, as Sir John Simon had done before him, that the chief reason why the late Government had not taken the same step four months earlier, when the German Government ceased to reimburse its exporters, was because it favoured a Protectionist policy. Sir John Simon, on behalf of the Liberals, supported the Government's action, and the motion to reduce the Vote on Account was defeated by 70 votes.

The further discussion of the Estimates revealed painful discrepancies between the Government's professions when in Opposition and its performances when in office. On March 10, it was severely catechised by Opposition speakers on its unemployment policy. Dr. Macnamara, looking to the provision for unemployment in the Estimates, could not find any evidence of the handling of the problem with that " bigger, bolder and braver grasp " which the country had been led to expect. Mr. Baldwin drew a disquieting picture of the state of trade and its prospects. The slight improvement which had recently manifested itself was, he feared, due merely to the large orders which had been placed by the railway companies and others, and which were anticipatory and not repeatable. He asked what

was the Government's remedy, and quoted statements from various members of the Government which seemed to show that in spite of their professions they had no precise plan for solving the problem, and were not even agreed with one another. He demanded to know what was the policy of the Government, because in its election manifesto the Labour Party had stated that it was the only party which had a positive remedy for unemployment. If, he concluded, they had such a remedy, they would have the support of the House and the country, and their name would be blessed; but if they had not, they would find that this problem would in time break them, as it would break every Government that failed to deal with it.

The Governmental reply, made by the Minister of Labour, Mr. Shaw, was in the last degree evasive. He affirmed that six weeks of government after the Estimates had been already prepared were scarcely enough to test either the record or the capacity of the Government. He laid stress on the good intentions of the Government and on the arrangements it had made for accelerating work, but when asked by a member whether it had any new proposals for finding work for the unemployed, he could only answer "Wait and see." From this point his speech, which was mainly an amplification of what he had already said, was interrupted with a constant stream of ironical cheers and laughter from the Unionist and Liberal benches, and in the end he had to fall back on the admission that the one remedy for unemployment was the revival of the country's foreign trade, and that they must wait for the result of the Government's efforts at world pacification.

The next day, March 11, the Air Estimates were considered, and the Unionists in the House of Commons heard with great satisfaction from the Under-Secretary for Air, Mr. Leach, what they regarded as a palinode of the speech which had so gravely disturbed their equanimity a few weeks previously. Many friends of the Government, said Mr. Leach, were asking how a Labour Government could justify itself in demanding an increase of air armaments. He gave two answers. One was that the expenditure on armaments as a whole was being decreased. The other was that to urge the disarmament of Great Britain irrespective of what other countries might do was not a practical proposition, and he did not for a moment delude himself into thinking that the country would ever accept it. International disarmament was his party's watchword, but they did not propose to make the country defenceless by acting alone. He tried to turn the tables on his opponents by pointing out that it was one of his bitterest critics, Major-General Seely himself, who had been Under-Secretary for Air and Vice-President of the Air Council in 1919-20 when the Home Defence Air Force was scrapped. He showed that the Government was faithfully carrying out the programme laid down by his predecessor, save in one item, that the scheme propounded by Commander Burney

for an airship service to the East, which had practically been accepted by the previous Government, was not to be proceeded with until it had once more been carefully considered. Major-General Seely defended himself against the imputation made by Mr. Leach by pointing out that he had in fact resigned his post as Air Minister because he believed that Mr. Churchill, who was then Minister of War, was sacrificing the Air Force to the Army, and because the air expansion was not rapid enough for his views. Sir S. Hoare complained that both Lord Thomson and Mr. Leach, while accepting the programme which he had initiated, did not seem to show any enthusiasm for it, and a Unionist member sought to pin the Government down to a declaration that "in the national interests it was essential that the Air Force should ensure adequate protection against the strongest force within striking distance." This resolution was, however, defeated.

A couple of days later (March 13) the Government again received a sharp reminder that it could not expect to have its own way unless it first secured the consent of at least one of the other parties to its proposals. Owing to sparing use of the closure it was falling behind with business, and saw itself in need of extra time for discussing the Estimates if it was to be ready with the Budget on the proper date. To obtain this allowance the natural course would have been to appropriate the tinkle of private members. The Government was loth to do so, however, as this would have meant the scrapping of a Miners' Minimum Wage Bill to which Labour members attached great importance. It proposed therefore to suspend the 11 o'clock rule. Questions addressed by Unionist and Liberal members elicited the fact that, should the proposal be adopted, a motion of some Labour members to reduce the Army by 150,000 men would come on for discussion after 11 o'clock. A number of Liberals joined with the Unionists in objecting to the debating of so important a question at so late an hour, when private members' time was still available, and voted with them against the motion, which was lost by 234 votes to 207. As this, the first defeat of the Government was on a question of tactics and not of principle, it did not, in accordance with the rule laid down at the beginning of the session by the Prime Minister, entail the Government's resignation, but it showed perhaps more clearly than anything that had gone before that the Labour Party, though it held office, was not in power.

In introducing the Army Estimates the Secretary of State for War, Mr. Walsh, found himself able to endorse the policy of his predecessor without any of the qualifications or reservations made by his colleagues in the Air Ministry. While the Estimates were 45,000,000/. against 52,000,000/.—a reduction of 7,000,000/.—the number of troops was 152,592 as against 154,536, a reduction of little more than 2,000. The Minister considered that the necessity of finding garrisons for their distant possessions as

well as protecting their own shores made this figure a minimum, and in his opinion rendered the size of the army really a non-party question. He mentioned incidentally that no fewer than 13,000,000 medals had been distributed for service in the late war. Before the House went into Committee of Supply an animated discussion took place on the pensions of professional ex-ranker officers. During the election, pledges had been given by a number of candidates, including Mr. Kamsay MacDonald, in favour of according these officers equal treatment with other officers as regard pay and pension. Now, however, when a motion to this effect was brought forward, the Prime Minister opposed it on the ground that conditions were not always on all fours. When questioned as to his pledge, he explained that it had been given in inadvertence and without proper understanding of the question, and he complained strongly of the whole practice of exacting pledges from candidates at election time. The motion was defeated by nineteen votes only. When the vote for 161,000 men came on in Committee, an amendment was moved by a conscientious objector, Mr. Ayles, and seconded by an ex-Service man, Mr. Thurtle, to reduce the Army by 150,000 men—to disarm, in fact, regardless of consequences. The speakers obtained a respectful hearing, and sympathy was expressed with their objects, but they found in the division lobby only 13 supporters against 347 adverse votes. The Vote was then carried.

The discussion of the Navy Estimates raised two questions on which there was an acute division of opinion. After long and thorough consideration and consultation with the Dominions, the Government had decided not to proceed with the construction of the naval base at Singapore which had been commenced by their predecessors. The decision was announced by the Parliamentary Secretary, Mr. Ammon, in introducing the Estimates, and the Prime Minister intervened early in the debate to state the Government's case. He admitted that from the point of view of naval defence there was much to be said in favour of the scheme, which was in no sense contrary to the Washington Agreement. But these considerations had to be over-ruled by others of wider import. The Government were convinced that if they fortified Singapore their action would exercise a most detrimental effect on their general foreign policy. It was their chief object to establish confidence and allay the international suspicions and anxieties which were existing that day, and it seemed clear to them that to continue the development of the naval base at Singapore would hamper the establishment of that confidence and lay their good faith open to suspicion. Regarding the views of the Dominions, he stated that Canada and the Irish Free State had expressed no opinion; Australia, New Zealand, and Newfoundland had warmly urged the continuation of the work; and General Smuts, on behalf of South Africa, had given his whole-hearted approval to the Government's proposal, which he characterised as a bold move towards

enduring peace. He therefore felt that he had a large measure of sympathy in the Dominions with his international policy. He admitted that should the condition of world politics create the necessity of putting into operation a strategy of complete naval defence in the Pacific and providing for Imperial defence primarily by armaments, the whole question would have to be reopened. But their whole object was to prevent such a condition arising. "This country," said Mr. MacDonald, in words which gave the clue to his whole foreign policy, "has a short time—I am afraid it is only going to be a short time—during which it can rest absolutely sure that no war will overtake it within a limited number of years. We can use that time by merely trusting to the development of military defence, or in keeping military affairs down to the nucleus, and while maintaining the country's forces at the highest point of efficiency, showing the same energy and the same decision in pursuing other methods of security, such as agreements, good will, arrangements, disarmament and steps towards disarmament." The Government proposed to adopt the latter course; and if they failed, and had to go back to other considerations, he was convinced that there was no member on either side of the House who would not profoundly regret it.

In the House of Lords a statement on similar lines was made by Lord Chelmsford, and provoked an immediate counter-demonstration from the Opposition. Lord Curzon moved "that this House, believing that the development of a naval base at Singapore as approved by the recent Imperial Conference is urgently required for the protection of our commerce, the security of our Dominions, and the future maintenance of peace, deeply regrets the decision of the Government not to proceed with the proposal." The Government's action was supported by the Liberal leader, Lord Grey; nevertheless the motion was carried by 56 votes to 19. In the House of Commons further discussion of the subject was postponed till the Eeport stage of the Estimates, owing to lack of time; meanwhile the Government had to endure an onslaught from the Liberal benches on its proposal to lay down five cruisers to relieve unemployment in the dockyards. On this matter it had the support of the Unionists, and held its own by 804 votes to 114, some seventeen Labour members being included in the minority.

For the second time within a few weeks the Prince of Wales was, on March 15, thrown from his horse owing to somewhat too venturesome riding, and rather nastily bruised. The incident gave rise to some adverse comment in the Press, and in Parliament a member asked the Speaker whether he could not remonstrate with the heir to the Throne against his exposing himself to unnecessary risks. The Speaker replied in the historic words of one of his predecessors, "I have no tongue to speak save as the House shall direct me," and the matter was

not pursued further. The Prince, however, took the hint, and began to use more caution.

On March 22 public feeling in England was deeply stirred by the news of an incident in Ireland which recalled ominously the Anglo-Irish embroilments of a couple of years previously. A party of soldiers from the British force stationed on a small island just outside Queenstown, on going ashore on leave, was fired on by three men in Irish uniform with a machine-gun from a motor-car, and one of them was killed and several wounded, while the assailants escaped in their car. President Cosgrave at once wired to Mr. MacDonald his horror at the crime, and promised that no efforts would be spared to bring the perpetrators to justice; while all parties in Ireland united in denouncing the outrage. In the House of Commons on March 25, Mr. Thomas, the Colonial Secretary, stated that the Government accepted the repudiation of the crime by every political party in Ireland, and regarded it as the act of irresponsible individuals whom the Irish Government could be trusted to bring to justice. Owing to these timely declarations, public feeling was calmed, and although the murderers were not discovered, the incident did not affect the relations of the two countries.

On March 25 the Unionist party made its threatened attack in the House of Commons on the Government's Singapore decision. Its chief spokesman was Sir liobert Home, who criticised the Government's action as a blow struck at the unity of the Empire. The Empire, he said, could not be an Empire unless there was an absolutely safe means of communication from one end of it to the other. There was only one such means of communication, and that was the British Navy, which was the real link connecting all the Dominions. The Navy could only operate if it had convenient bases, and for this purpose Singapore was of the utmost importance for British interests. He denied that the construction of the base would throw any suspicion on the good faith of Britain in the matter of disarmament. What was there wrong in the creation of larger docks for the accommodation of larger ships? And what about the other forms of disarmament—the Government's decision as to the air, and the cruisers'? He refused to believe that the motives behind the Government's decision were as alleged. The Government's message was not addressed to the Chancelleries of the world; it was not a large gesture to the world, but a backward nod to the people who sat behind the Prime Minister. It was a sop to the pacifists who gave him their votes on the ground that he was going to scrap armaments, and who were now growing restless at his naval and air preparations. The Unionist Party would not support proposals which, while weakening the security of the Empire and estranging the loyal sentiments of their fellow-citizens overseas, only served to make a surrender of the present responsibilities of Ministers to their profligate pledges in the past.

In defending the Governments action, Mr. Ammon, the Parliamentary Secretary for the Admiralty, repeated the arguments used by Mr. MacDonald a few days previously, reinforcing them by reference to a statement of the Leader of the Opposition in the Australian Parliament, that Australia was in no danger of an attack. He admitted, however, that should this step evoke no response in any part of the world, the question would have to be considered afresh. Sir John Simon on behalf of the Liberals promised support to the Government, which he believed was boldly taking the proper course. There never had been a time, he said, when there were so many people who were firmly convinced that military preparations led only to war. It was far better that the British nation should now by its policy contribute to the moral forces of the world than that by enormous outlay of doubtful ultimate value they should in effect declare that the pursuit of peace by way of disarmament and international agreement was useless and impossible. Towards the end of the debate, Mr. Thomas quoted cables which had been received from the Labour parties in Australia and New Zealand heartily supporting the Governments decision. The Unionist motion for a reduction in the vote on account was in the end decisively defeated by 287 votes to 211.

The efforts of the Unionist Party to re-establish internal harmony were about this time seriously disturbed by the activities of Mr. Winston Churchill. A vacancy having occurred in the Westminster xbbey division in London owing to the death of the sitting member, the local Unionist Association, after considering Mr. Churchill's claims, nominated a candidate of their own whom Mr. Baldwin supported. Mr. Churchill, however, presented himself as an independent anti-Socialist candidate, and received support from Lord Balfour and a number of Unionist members of the House of Commons. He all but wrested the seat from the official candidate, and the split in the Conservative ranks enabled the Labour candidate also to come within measurable distance of victory. Undeterred by his defeat, Mr. Churchill continued his efforts to form a middle party with anti-Socialism for its watchword, and to enrol supporters from both the Unionist and Liberal parties in Parliament.

While the Government was discussing matters of high Imperial policy in Parliament, events occurred which forced it to undertake some immediate social legislation at home before its plans were fully elaborated. Taking advantage of certain decisions given in the Law Courts, landlords about this time began to evict tenants without compunction, and as the housing accommodation, in spite of building activity, was still inadequate for the population, a great outcry was caused. The Eents Bill which had recently been introduced by a private member (*vide* p. 16), and which would have dealt with the matter, was meeting with much obstruction in the special committee to

which it had been referred and had little chance of becoming law in the present Session. On March 24 the question was raised in Parliament, and Mr. MacDonald promised to introduce a Bill immediately.

On the same day also (March 24) a promise was made to introduce a London Traffic Bill for the purpose of co-ordinating transport and traffic machinery in the metropolis. A Bill for this purpose had been prepared by the preceding Government in the previous summer, but it had been postponed on account of more urgent affairs. Now, however, its introduction was rendered imperative by the outbreak of a tram and bus strike on March 22 which took practically the whole of these vehicles off the streets throughout the London area, to the immense inconvenience of the population. The Government immediately set up a Court of Inquiry. This body in an interim report issued on March 24 stated that the demands of the men for an increase of 8s. per week were fully justified, but that the traffic undertakings were unable to earn sufficient to meet the claim, and urged the Government to press forward legislation to co-ordinate control. The Government's Traffic Bill, which was frankly an emergency measure designed to appease the strikers, was introduced on March 26. It entirely failed to achieve its object. Far from showing a more conciliatory attitude, Mr. Bevin, the men's spokesman, announced that, if the men's demands were not granted in full in the meanwhile, the Tube railway men would be called out at midnight on March 28.

The Prime Minister stated in the House of Commons that the Government recognised its responsibility to consider the needs of the London public, and that an Emergency Committee of the Cabinet was meeting at once to present proposals for dealing with the situation. On March 28 the Government's Traffic Bill came up for its second reading. It was strongly criticised from the Liberal and Labour benches, but passed with Unionist support. At the same time Mr. MacDonald used all his personal influence to keep the negotiations going between the two parties, and fortunately for the London public the Tube men remained at work until a settlement was finally reached. On March 31 the men accepted the employers' offers, and returned to work the next day, after London had been for ten days without any trams and without its regular service of buses.

The settlement of the London traffic strike created on the whole more discontent in the Labour world than it allayed. Its effect was to place the 'bus conductors, who were doing unskilled work, in a superior pecuniary position to skilled engineers who owing to the depressed condition of their industry had to accept wholly inadequate wages. It thus brought into relief the advantage possessed by men in "sheltered" trades—trades that is which had not to meet foreign competition—over those in "unsheltered" trades, and accentuated the unrest

already prevailing among the latter. Further, it created an evil precedent by increasing the wage-bill of the tram and bus men beyond what the industry could bear, and saddling the public with the responsibility for the balance. The success of the busmen immediately stimulated the building operatives engaged on the Exhibition at Wembley to demand higher wages under threat of bringing operations to a standstill, and the middle classes, which were growing used to a Labour Government, again became apprehensive.

The returns for the financial year issued on its concluding day, March 31, showed that there was a surplus of 48,324,073*l.* Eevenue had amounted to 837,169,284*l.*, or nearly nineteen millions more than the Estimates, the largest excess being in respect of income tax. Expenditure amounted to 788,430,000*l.* or nearly 28,000,000*l.* less than the original estimate, and over 40,000,000*l.* less than the revised estimate. The chief savings had been 16,200,000*l.* on the Fighting Services and 12,300,000*l.* on the Civil Services. The floating debt had been reduced by 35,432,000*l.* and now stood at 774,475,500*l.* Concurrently with the issue of this return the Government took an important step towards lightening the burden of war debt by offering to convert 200 millions of the 5 per cent. War Loan 1929-47 into 4½ Conversion Loan 1940-44 at 303*l.*

In the midst of his labours of mediation between the parties in the traffic strike, Mr. MacDonald had found time to make an important statement on foreign affairs. On March 27, he was questioned by Mr. Asquith regarding recent French activities in the Euhr and the Rhineland. The Liberal leader wanted to know whether in the opinion of the Government certain agreements recently made by the French with Ruhr industrialists did not contravene the Treaty of Versailles, and whether they would not have the effect of preventing the stabilisation of German currency and materially injuring British interests; further, whether the French were not violating the Treaty in the Saar basin also. Mr. MacDonald stated that the Government had examined the agreements referred to, and had come to the conclusion that they did not actually contravene the Treaty, though they might easily be made the occasion for a redistribution of reparations settlements, in which case the Government would at once protest. As to the Saar, the Government's hands were tied by previous commitments. Dealing with the general question of Anglo-French relations, Mr. MacDonald said that France could never get security by any series of special pacts, but only by the guarantee of some co-operative organisation, of the wide scope and moral authority of the League of Nations. If that was their aim, then the thing to be done first was to settle the problem of reparations. The problem of security with a full agreement on reparations to which Germany would be a willing partner was very small and presented few difficulties. But with an agreement between the Allies and a sulky Germany it was a

very great one. If they could clear up the immediately present difficulties, chief among them those created by the occupation of the Ruhr, then would be the time to put all their weight behind a completed League of Nations, and to take active steps for bringing about general disarmament. This was not a mere dream, since there was a stronger body of opinion to-day in a responsible official position, on both sides of the world, which was anxious to support a Government working for that end than there had ever been in the history of the world before.

The debate was signalled by an unexpected outburst from Mr. Lloyd George, in which both France and the Prime Minister were assailed with equal vehemence. Mr. George described as a "portentous document" the recently published French Yellow Book containing the French justification for the Eühr enterprise, and said that French pretensions were equivalent to an entirely new Treaty; while he charged the British Government with being hostile to the whole policy of reparations, and with already having given away 7,000,000*l.* by its reduction of the percentage duty on exports. Mr. George's speech was deeply resented by Labour members, and he was severely taken to task by subsequent speakers for his ill-timed display of spleen.

On April 1 the Treaty of Lausanne with Turkey, which had been signed in the previous July, at last came before the House of Commons for ratification. The Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ponsonby, explained that ratification was required in the case of this Treaty owing to a Bill and a definite resolution arising out of its clauses, but the Government proposed to make it a practice in the case of all treaties, whether their terms required it or not, to lay them on the table of the House and invite discussion of their contents, so as to avoid the possibility of secret treaties or clauses of treaties being brought into existence. The ratification was opposed by a number of Liberal members who were obviously still swayed by the Gladstonian tradition of antipathy to Turkey. Mr. MacDonald was constrained to remark that they did not seem to be aware that the old Turkey was dead and a new Turkey had taken its place. He was not enamoured of the Treaty, but he thought that Turkey, if approached in the proper way, might be induced to work it in a generous spirit.

The debate was concluded on April 9. Opposition to the Treaty as before came mainly from the Liberal and support from the Conservative benches. A virulent attack on the Treaty was delivered by Mr. Lloyd George in a speech which, like his criticism of the Premier's statement of foreign policy a few days earlier, was devoid of constructive suggestion. He complained that the Dominions had been ignored in the framing of the Treaty, objected to the surrender of the Capitulations, and laughed to scorn most of the provisions of the Straits Convention. He maintained that the policy of partitioning Turkey had been the policy both of the Liberal Government

and the Conservatives, and that, as far as it meant the severing of the Turkish from the non-Turkish elements, it was a sound policy and accorded with the war aims of the Labour Party also. As between the Turks and the Greeks he said that the former were their foes and the latter their friends, and he wanted to know why in the Conference they had not stood by the Power which gave them some help in the war, and had sacrificed it to the Power that tried to thwart them in their life-and-death struggle and nearly succeeded in doing it. Mr. Baldwin twitted Mr. Lloyd George with regarding himself as the only genuine begetter of treaties and with unwillingness to see a Treaty made by anyone except himself, and said that history alone would tell whether the infant born at Lausanne might not live to be healthier and stronger than the one born at Versailles. Mr. MacDonald begged the House to ratify the Treaty without delay, so that he could impress upon the Turks their obligation to fulfil their contract. To speakers who had urged that the Straits Convention should be reserved for further consideration, he pointed out that the Treaty had to be accepted or rejected as a whole, and to except one part would mean the reopening of the whole question *de novo*. In reply to the charge that the Dominions had not been consulted, he maintained that they had agreed unreservedly beforehand to accept any settlement which Great Britain might make, and that in fact their representatives at the Imperial Conference had seen the terms and accepted them. After some further Liberal obstruction in Committee the Bill for ratifying the Treaty passed both Houses of Parliament and received the Royal Assent on April 15.

On March 31 the Minister of Health introduced a Bill fixing the remuneration of medical men under the Insurance Act in accordance with the award of the Court of Inquiry issued on January 24, which had recommended that the capitation fee should be 9s., and that this should remain in force till 1927. The Bill, he announced, had the approval of all parties concerned, and in Parliament also it met with little opposition, and became law in due course. Another matter of social importance—that of the evictions—was not settled so easily. In accordance with the Prime Minister's promise on March 24, the Minister of Health now introduced an Evictions Bill. Whereas under the existing law landlords could evict tenants when they required the houses for themselves or their children, the Minister now proposed to make it a condition of their doing so that they should satisfy the Court that greater hardship would be caused by refusing such an order than by granting it. Not content with this he introduced a provision depriving landlords of the power of evicting for non-payment of rent where it appeared to the Court that the non-payment was due to the tenant's inability to obtain employment.

The fate of this proposal brought into clear relief the impotence of the Government to legislate on the lines of its avowed

policy. Mr. Wheatley defended it in Parliament by expatiating on the sufferings of the unemployed and glozing over the hardship to landlords, and Mr. Maxton, one of the Clyde-side members, urged the Government to persist with the measure, and if defeated on a division to appeal to the country on it. That defeat would be unavoidable was made certain by the uncompromising opposition of the Conservative and Liberal spokesmen, Mr. N. Chamberlain and Mr. Asquith. Caught between two fires, the Government extricated itself by the unheroic course of allowing the Bill to be talked out, and thus the Minister of Health's first attempt to deal with the housing problem ended in fiasco.

On the same day (April 2) the anti-Socialist majority in the House of Commons again emphatically asserted its predominance and humiliated the Government by passing with 325 votes to 160 a motion declaring that a capital levy would prove disastrous to employment. The mover, Colonel Guinness, admitted that the Prime Minister had said that a capital levy could not be enacted in the present Parliament; but he wanted to know what the Labour Party would do if they had an independent majority. Mr. Clynes, in reply, stated that a capital levy could not be imposed by any Government which did not feel that there was a decided majority of the people behind such a proposal. He was convinced that ultimately the country would turn to this remedy for its finances because there was no other, but he accepted the view that the proposal must at all times be judged on grounds of expediency and not as a class question.

In the matter of agriculture also the Government had to confess its inability to carry out the declared policy of the Labour Party. Questioned as to the action which the Government proposed to take for dealing with the depression in agriculture, Mr. Buxton, the Minister of Agriculture, contented himself with adopting a negative attitude. The Government were not going to introduce Protection and were not going to give a subsidy to the farmers. The ideals of Labour in regard to agriculture were not at present realisable, and therefore, after stating what the Government was doing to encourage co-operation and reduce rates, he invited the other side to say what other schemes within the possibilities of the present Parliament could be devised for making things more immediately prosperous for the farmers. A Unionist speaker was provoked to complain that the Minister appeared to forget that he was no longer in Opposition, and that the responsibility for producing a policy rested on him. The Minister was fortunately able to report that agriculture was distinctly on the up-grade, and that there was an extraordinary demand for farms, while there was little unemployment among regular workers, though wages in some parts were distressingly low.

Another social matter which demanded the urgent attention

of the Government at this time was unemployment insurance, as large numbers of persons were due to fall out of benefit in a few weeks, and legislation was necessary to protect them. Mr. Shaw, the Minister of Labour, introduced a Bill on April 8, to extend the 26 weeks provided for by the law to 41 weeks, at the same time somewhat increasing the scale of payment. He hoped that the interval would give him time to introduce an extended Bill dealing with all aspects of Unemployment Insurance. He estimated that the extension which he was now proposing would cost the insurance fund between two and two and a quarter millions up to the following October. Fortunately the Fund was well able to bear the strain, and the prospects of repaying the balance advanced by the Treasury were favourable. There was some criticism from Unionist benches on the Government's lack of originality in dealing with unemployment, but owing to its urgency and its financial harmlessness the Bill had a smooth passage.

On the same day (April 8) the House of Commons turned for a short time from the consideration of social evils at home to that of Imperial development in the heart of Africa. A Unionist member, Sir S. Henn, proposed the sending of a special Commission to East Africa to report on the possibility of co-ordinating policy and services throughout the territories of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Nyassaland, and North-East Rhodesia, and to advise on the programme of future economic development, especially cotton-growing and railway construction. The Secretary for the Colonies, Mr. Thomas, said that whatever differences there might be in the House on fiscal matters, they were all agreed that the more self-supporting they were within the Empire, the better it was for all concerned. He promised to appoint the Commission, with the proviso that in doing so he would be making no reflection on the existing Administrations. He also stated incidentally that the underlying principle of what was called the White Paper which had been issued by the previous Government and which laid down the main lines of British policy in those regions was that they had a trust and an obligation to the natives. The Commission was duly appointed, and visited Africa in the course of the summer.

The problem of the evictions, simple as it seemed on the surface, caused the Government extraordinary embarrassment, and brought it to the verge of downfall. Determined as it was not to abandon the cause of those whose eviction was the result of unemployment, its first idea was that, as it was not allowed to make the housing of these persons a charge on the landlords, it should make the rent payment a charge on the local authorities. The Clyde members, however, insisted that the burden should be borne by the State, on the ground that in Scotland, where the trouble was worst, the local authorities were too poor to provide the money. To obtain State funds for this purpose would have required a money resolution and

the drafting of a new Bill, which the Government was anxious to avoid. It therefore sought to tinker the existing Bill in such a way as to meet the requirements both of the Opposition and of its own followers. On April 2, the day after the second reading of Mr. Wheatley's Bill had been "talked out," Mr. Chamberlain moved an amendment which would practically have deleted the obnoxious Clause 1, which seemed to give facilities to unemployed persons to live rent free. Mr. Clynes, on behalf of the Government, made a statement which left the House in complete bewilderment as to the Government's real intention. The debate was adjourned till April 7, and by that time, after long and anxious deliberations, the Cabinet had prepared an amendment of its own, providing that no eviction order should be issued till the tenant had had a reasonable opportunity of applying to the local Poor Law Authority for relief, and the authority had had an opportunity of considering any such application.

The second attempt of the Government to settle this question ended in worse failure than the first. Mr. Baldwin expressed the willingness of his party to co-operate with the Government in producing a workable measure in Committee, but declared that the speech of the Prime Minister in introducing the amendment, so far from elucidating; the confusion in which matters had been left by the debate of the previous Wednesday, had plunged the House into a "more profound tenebrosity." Mr. Asquith, drawing a phrase from the same "Johnsonian dialect," said that he believed the expression "inspissated gloom" described the mental condition of every member not on the Treasury Bench. In the voting, while the Labour Party supported the second reading of the Bill and the Conservatives opposed it, the Liberals were divided; about 40 voted for the Bill and 25 against, while the rest abstained. The result was that the Government was defeated by 221 votes to 212. Asked by Mr. Baldwin what action he proposed to take, Mr. MacDonald said that a situation had arisen such as he contemplated in the first speech which he delivered as Prime Minister in the House. He blamed the House severely for throwing out the Bill on the second reading instead of amending it in Committee, and said he declined to make Parliamentary precedents that would establish a way of doing things which was most improper. Sir W. Joynson-Hicks retorted that the House had decided to give the Government a lesson not to throw on it the responsibility for licking their measure into shape, and he resented the imputation that the Unionist Party had voted against a Bill to prevent evictions; while Mr. Lloyd George made a similar protest on behalf of the Liberals.

The next day the Prime Minister admitted in the House that the Government Bill was dead, and stated that, much against their will, they had decided to take in hand the private Bill of a Liberal member (Mr. E. D. Simon), dealing with

evictions which had already been read a second time unopposed, and try to shape it according to their own ideas in Committee. Some questions addressed to Ministers a few days later elicited the fact that the actual figures for evictions in the Clyde district, while showing that there was hardship, were far from bearing out the pathetic picture painted by Mr. Wheatley in his appeal to the House a few days earlier to pass his Evictions Bill. This deprived the Government of all excuse for proposing drastic measures, and they contented themselves with amending Mr. Simon's Bill in the direction of greater simplicity, making it rather less than more favourable to the tenant. Even so they were unable to put it through before Easter.

In regard to the wider aspects of the housing problem the Government was even slower in getting to work. On April 16 the Minister of Health explained to the House of Commons the steps which the Government had taken and the progress they had made in the preparation of their housing proposals. While he described the Housing Act of 1923 as wholly inadequate to meet the situation, he was not able as yet to point to any definite advance which he himself had made on the policy of his predecessor. The two steps for which he could and did claim credit were purely preparatory. One was the procuring of a comprehensive report from representatives of the building industry and of the manufacturers of building material on the possibilities of erecting new houses during the next ten or fifteen years. The other was an interview with representatives of the local authorities of the country in which he had explained the principles which the Government thought it necessary to observe in giving practical effect to the report he had mentioned. Mr. Wheatley characterised the Report as "extraordinarily valuable," but this opinion was not shared by the Opposition, and it was strongly attacked by various speakers, and notably by a Liberal member, Mr. Masterman, as recommending the establishment of a building trust or monopoly which would keep prices up and production down. The agreement of the local authorities to the Minister's schemes was also by no means a foregone conclusion. Thus for all practical purposes, whatever ideas Mr. Wheatley might be elaborating for the future, the policy of Mr. Neville Chamberlain still held the field.

While the Government was wrestling wearily with the evictions problem at home, two matters of supreme importance in foreign policy became ripe for further consideration—Anglo-Russian relations, and German reparations. On April 10, the first-fruits of Britain's recognition of Russia were seen in the arrival in London of a delegation sent from the latter country to take part in an Anglo-Russian Conference. It was headed by Mr. Rakovsky, the Soviet Charge d'Affaires in England, and was thoroughly representative of Russian political and economic interests. Its coming was viewed with no little mistrust in anti-Socialist circles, and the Government's wisdom in

inviting it had been gravely questioned in a debate in the House of Lords a few weeks earlier. Now too (April 13) a note of warning was issued by the leading bankers of London, in a memorandum addressed to the Prime Minister setting forth what in their view were the means for the restoration of Russia's credit in Great Britain. These included an agreement between the two countries on the recognition of debts, an arrangement for the restitution of private property to foreigners, the institution of a proper legal system in Russia, establishing the sanctity of private contract, guarantees against the confiscation of private property, freedom for private trade, and the cessation of propaganda against the institutions of other countries.

The Conference began on April 14. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in his opening speech, defined its scope and added some weighty remarks on the attitude of his Government towards Russia—a subject on which much nervous apprehension was felt in Conservative quarters. He said that the Conference was complementary to the formal act of *de jure* recognition recorded in Mr. Hodgson's Note of February 2. That recognition, he now took occasion to point out, was quite unqualified; they had no wish to recede from the position taken up or to avoid any of its consequences. Their tasks at the Conference were mainly three: first, to liquidate the past, by settling claims and counterclaims as between the two countries; secondly, to discuss the various treaties still nominally in force between the two countries; thirdly, to provide as far as possible for peaceful and profitable relations in the future by substituting a commercial Treaty for the trade agreement, and similar steps. In addition there would have to be a very frank discussion on what had been alluded to in correspondence between the two Governments as "propaganda" or "hostile activities," to see whether difficulties of that kind could not be prevented from recurring under their new relations.

Having outlined the work before the Conference, and explained its *modus operandi*, Mr. MacDonald added some significant remarks on the spirit in which he approached its proceedings. He spoke, he said, not only as the head of that party in the country which had shown itself most consistently and wholeheartedly in favour of recognition, but as the head of a Government which was genuinely prepared to show to Bussia all the consideration which it properly could, and as representative of the country which was best able to assist Russia in her economic reconstruction. He asked the Russian delegates to meet him in the same friendly spirit, and not to let themselves be influenced by attacks made on them in this country any more than he was by attacks made on him in Russia; he referred in particular to a violent diatribe recently uttered by Zinovieff, the head of the Third International, to which the Government's attention had been pointedly called in the debate in the House of Lords a short time previously. At the same

time Mr. MacDonald made it abundantly clear that he approached the Conference from a strictly national and not an international standpoint. "You will not expect me," he said, "to give way upon anything which would be regarded by my countrymen as the paying of an improper price for agreement, and I shall not do it, nor do I expect that of you." Within those limits, however, he was sure they could come to terms, and justify the hopes of many millions who were looking upon that meeting with so much expectation.

Mr. Eakovsky, in reply, stated that the importance attached by his Government to the Conference was shown by the fact that his Delegation was invested with full political authority to take on the spot all necessary decisions. He expressed the entire willingness of his Government to come to an understanding with Britain not only on the questions outstanding between them, but also on questions of wider import, such as international disarmament and the authority of the League of Nations. He did not think that the difference in the social structures of the two countries need be any obstacle to their political and economic collaboration, as was shown by the progressive development of Anglo-Soviet commercial relations, and he emphasised the necessity of mutual non-intervention in internal affairs. He did not allude in his speech to the bankers' manifesto, but in published statements he expressed strong disapproval of the document, as did also representatives of the Labour Party in England.

The Anglo-Russian Conference afforded the Government an opportunity of redeeming itself from the ignominy which seemed to dog its attempts to assert itself in home affairs; and it was equally favoured by the new development which now took place in the reparations situation.

On April 9 the Committees of Experts which had been investigating Germany's finances at last issued their long-awaited Reports. This was the occasion for which Mr. MacDonald had declared himself more than once to be waiting, in order to come to closer grips with the problem of restoring Europe. The circumstances were in many respects more favourable than he could have dared to hope. Not only had the Reports been signed unanimously by the experts, but they had been accepted unanimously and without hesitation by the Separations Commission, and the German Government had also expressed its general assent to the plan proposed. Mr. MacDonald gave the first public intimation of his attitude on the matter in the House of Commons on April 15. Asked by Mr. Baldwin whether he had any statement to make on the Experts' Reports, he said that in the Government's opinion these Reports constituted an unbiased and carefully thought-out endeavour to aid the Governments concerned in their task of reaching a settlement, and that there would be a universal desire that they should be used for that purpose. He emphasised the fact that the

principal report, that of the first Committee, presided over by General Dawes, was presented by its signatories as an indivisible whole, and that they renounced all responsibility if certain of the recommendations were accepted and others rejected. The Government, he said, attached so much importance to agreed recommendations which could be brought into immediate operation that it was prepared to support the scheme in its entirety, provided all the other parties concerned were willing to take the same course; and already on the 10th inst. they had communicated that view to the Governments interested, including the United States. Mr. Baldwin assured the Prime Minister that he would have the united support of the British people in the attitude he had taken up—a statement which was fully confirmed by the tone of Press comment on his speech.

The next day a convenient opportunity was given to the Premier of adding an important rider to his statement on the Experts' Reports. Major-General Seely asked him whether he could not see his way to take a step to limit air armaments and stop the race in them which was now beginning, adding the significant remark that he was informed that the present was a propitious moment for lifting the burden from all the peoples of Europe, especially France and England. The Premier replied that as soon as they could clear away some of the pressing difficulties of Europe, the danger of armaments must be faced. He was prepared to make approaches if he felt there was the least chance of their obtaining a welcome, and if any invitation was extended to him by any other Power to help in bringing about such an arrangement, he was sure the whole House was with him when he said that his door was open to such an invitation.

A. few days before the Easter recess the House of Commons voted a supplementary Estimate of 70,000*l.* for providing members with free railway passes first class between London and their constituencies. A similar proposal had been negatived in 1922, but now the House on a free vote decided in favour of the measure by 245 votes to 112. On April 11, it passed by 169 votes to 129 the second reading of a Bill for extending the period of Summer Time to six months and making it permanent.

On April 11 the shipbuilding industry in Great Britain was brought to a standstill by the issue of lock-out notices to the members of fifteen trade unions employed in shipyards. About 100,000 men were affected. The employers took this step in consequence of a strike in the Southampton shipyards, which had already lasted some eight weeks and in which the men persisted in defiance of the orders of their own trade union executives. After a few days the Southampton men offered to return to work if the employers would enter into negotiations to discuss their grievances. The employers consented, and the lock-out was raised on April 24, after the Easter holidays.

On the same day (April 11) was announced the decision of

the miners on the terms offered by the employers some months before to replace those of the existing agreement which expired on April 17. On a large poll there was a majority of some 16,000 against acceptance. The Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation at once reported the result of the ballot to Mr. Shinwell, the Secretary for Mines, and on his recommendation the Ministry of Labour set up a Court of Inquiry, similar to that which had dealt with the traffic dispute, to investigate the question of wages in the mining industry. The vote against acceptance being much less than two-thirds of the whole, there was no question of a general strike, and temporary arrangements were made between the masters and men, pending the issue of the Committee of Inquiry's Report.

The uneasiness felt in Conservative quarters at the situation in India found expression on April 15 in a motion of Viscount Curzon, stating that the House viewed with anxiety recent events in India, and regretted the lack of a clear statement of policy by the Government. The mover referred pointedly to statements of members of the Government expressing sympathy with the Swarajist or Home Rule movement in India. The Under-Secretary for India in his reply did not go beyond the statement made by Lord Olivier a few weeks earlier. He asked the House to wait for the result of the inquiry which was now being conducted in India into Indian grievances, and the motion was not pressed to a division.

On April 16 Parliament rose for the Easter recess. After three months of office the Government was still placing its programme of social legislation somewhere in the future; whether it would survive long enough to make its ideas actual was already a matter of uncertainty. It depended for its existence on the support of the Liberals, and this was daily becoming more problematical. Almost from the first some members of the Liberal Party had consistently joined with the Unionists in opposing the Government; and even the more progressive section was finding it increasingly difficult to co-operate with the Labour Party. At a Liberal Party meeting held on April 15, several members expressed resentment at the hostility shown by Labour in the House towards the Liberal Party, and at the way in which Labour attacked Liberals in the constituencies. Mr. Lloyd George expressed the view that the time had arrived when Liberals should reconsider their position in relation to the Government. He was supported by Mr. Asquith, and it was agreed that the question should be considered again immediately after the Easter recess. A few days later (April 22), at a public meeting in Wales, Mr. George stated that at the Parliamentary meeting there had been "a revolt against humiliating conditions under which the Liberal Party was expected to keep in power a Government that never concealed its hostility towards that party, and seemed to regard it as an offence which ought to be kicked out of the way." He appealed

to the Labour Party to reconsider the attitude they had adopted for the past three or four months "before it was too late"; but he failed to indicate what steps the Liberals would take if his appeal was disregarded.

The Labour Party was not unduly perturbed by the storm rumblings within the Liberal camp. Addressing a large Labour meeting at York on April 20, in connection with the Independent Labour Party's Conference in that city, the Prime Minister said that there was more falsehood than truth in the dictum, which they were never allowed to forget, that Labour was in office but had no power. Whoever was in office had opportunity, and opportunity was always power. Had they not recognised Russia? Was Singapore still being pursued? His duty, he said, was clear. It was, in accordance with the principles of the Labour Party, to carry on the business of the country, and to keep off a General Election which nobody wanted, and which, if it came, would settle nothing yet. He saw no reason why the country should be bothered with a General Election for two or three years. It would take at least two years to put Europe on a peaceful footing, to carry out their League of Nations programme, and to get industrial relations established in a normal way. When the time came for them to appeal to the country, he would do so without misgiving as to the capacity of the party to fulfil the responsibility which he believed would then be put upon it.

Whether and how much Labour would gain at the next election was a question on which prophesying was still futile, but there could be no doubt that as a result of his first term of office as Premier, Mr. MacDonald had greatly strengthened his hold both on his own following and on the public at large. At the Independent Labour Party Conference there were great searchings of heart over the action of the Government in laying down the five cruisers; nevertheless Mr. MacDonald's leadership was endorsed with enthusiasm. With that section of the public which judged politicians from personal rather than party considerations, he had become without question the most popular figure in British politics; he was in fact in a fair way to fill the same place in the public eye as had been occupied by Mr. Lloyd George in the heyday of his influence. His appeals to moral sentiment touched the public imagination much in the same way that Mr. George's appeals to other feelings had touched it in former days. The Press, as he acknowledged, had been very good to him; and the nation was now prepared to co-operate with him in an effort to secure a "victory of peace" as wholeheartedly as, a few years before, it had helped Mr. Lloyd George to win a victory of war.

CHAPTER II.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE LIBERALS.

THE beginning of the summer season of 1924 in England was signalised by the opening of the great British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, on the outskirts of London. Such an Exhibition had been projected as far back as 1913, but the outbreak of the war had compelled the abandonment of the scheme for the time being. It was, however, taken up again after the war, and was now realised on a scale of unprecedented grandeur. No less than 12,000,000/. was spent on the erection of the buildings, and the exhibits were reckoned to be worth as much. The purpose of the Exhibition was to display the resources and possibilities of every part of the Empire, and the Governments of nearly all the Dominions, Colonies, and Dependencies had lent their active assistance to the promoters. The erection had not proceeded without numerous hitches, owing to labour and other troubles, and at the end of February grave doubts were entertained as to whether the opening could take place on the appointed day, April 23. By means, however, of a determined effort on the part of all concerned, the leeway was sufficiently made up to allow of the arrangements being carried out as originally planned.

The Exhibition was formally opened by the King in person amid a ceremony of great brilliance and solemnity, in the presence of over a hundred thousand spectators. The Prince of Wales, as President, in asking the King to declare the Exhibition open, touched on the "adverse factors" with which the promoters of the Exhibition had had to contend, not least of which was the inclement weather. The King in his speech said that the Exhibition might be said to reveal the whole Empire in miniature, containing within its 220 acres a vivid model of the architecture, art, and industry of all the nations which came under the British flag. It gave to the world a graphic illustration of that spirit of free and tolerant co-operation which had inspired peoples of different races, creeds, institutions, and ways of thought to unite in a single commonwealth, and to contribute their varying national gifts to one great end. Their thoughts, he said, went back to the Great Exhibition of 1851, and to the brilliant hopes of the growth of international peace and friendship with which it was inaugurated. Their own object was not quite so ambitious, and for that reason perhaps more likely to be attained. They believed that this Exhibition would bring the peoples of the Empire to a better knowledge of how to meet their reciprocal wants and aspirations, and that where brotherly feeling and the habit of united action already existed, the growth of inter-Imperial trade would make the bonds of sympathy yet closer and stronger. And if the Exhibition led to a greater development of the material resources of the

Empire and to an expansion of its trade, it would at the same time be raising the economic life of the world from the disorganisation caused by the war. A prayer was offered by the Bishop of London, and before leaving the Exhibition the King was presented by the Duke of Devonshire, Chairman of the Executive Council, with a gold globe resting on four lions, on which the Dominions and Dependencies were depicted in gold of a different colour.

Shortly before Parliament reassembled, the text was published of the replies of the British, French, Italian, and Belgian Governments to the Note of the Reparations Commission on the Report of the Committee of Experts. The British reply stated that the Government accepted and would do everything in their power to give practical effect to the recommendation of the Commission that the Allied Governments should adopt the conclusions of the Committee in regard to matters falling within the jurisdiction of those Governments. These matters were specified as the restoration of the economic and fiscal authority of the German Government over the whole of German territory, the steps necessary to give binding effect to new guarantees and controls, and the inclusion of all the financial liabilities of Germany under the peace treaty in a single annuity. Belgium and Italy concurred with England in accepting the Committee's recommendations unreservedly. M. Poincare also gave a nominal acceptance, but with certain qualifications which rendered it nugatory. Although delay was dangerous, owing to the economic exhaustion of Germany, the British Government did not take any immediate step to overcome M. Poincare's opposition, as France was on the eve of a General Election, the result of which might be conceivably to drive him from office and replace him with a more pliable negotiator.

Parliament reassembled after the Easter recess on April 29, and on the same day Mr. Snowden, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, introduced his Budget in a speech which earned general commendation for its lucidity and comprehensiveness. It contained only the faintest reflection of those tenets which were supposed to distinguish Mr. Snowden from the financiers of the other parties. Its watchword was not Socialism but Free Trade, and its principal objective was to realise what Mr. Snowden himself called "the great Radical ideal of the free breakfast table." In one all-important field, that of finance, as Mr. Asquith immediately pointed out, it failed to reveal any difference between the Labour and Liberal Parties; and this fact had an important bearing upon their subsequent relations.

The total expenditure for which Mr. Snowden budgeted was 790,026,000/. against 816,616,000/. in the previous year. This was made up of 305,000,000/. for the National Debt Services, 45,000,000/. for Sinking Funds (against 310,000,000l. and 40,000,0002. respectively), 34,840,000l. for other Consolidated Fund Services (against 30,470,000/.), and 405,186,000l.

for Supply Services (against 436,146,0002.). The Supply Service Estimates, Mr. Snowden explained, were inherited by the Labour Government from their predecessors, but they also had their responsibility for them. The Estimates for the fighting Services were 115,300,000l., a reduction of nearly 7,000,000l. The net increase in the Consolidated Fund Charges was due to increased local taxation grants owing to the Agricultural Bates Act.

In estimating revenue to meet this expenditure, Mr. Snowden said that he had felt justified in being rather optimistic. Employment, he said, though still very bad, was improving; and trade was showing flickering but hopeful signs of recovery. He therefore estimated a Customs revenue of 127,500,0002. and an Excise revenue of 140,000,0002., making 267,500,000/. in all. This was nominally 428,000l. less than the actual receipts of last year, which were 7,000,0002. above the estimate, but after making all necessary adjustments so as to compare like with like, it meant an increase of about 6,000,0002. or $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. Tax duties on the existing basis he estimated at 436,000,0002., as against 426,000,0002. estimated the previous year and 435,441,0002. actually received. Non-tax revenue {e.g. Post Office) he estimated at 109,000,0002. This would make the total revenue on the existing basis of taxation 828,100,0002. or 38,074,0002. above estimated expenditure.

In disposing of this surplus, Mr. Snowden aimed chiefly at cheapening the cost of living for the poorer classes. He proposed first and foremost to reduce the duty on sugar (which was still fourteen times the pre-war rate) from 25s. 8d. per cwt. to 11s. 8d. per cwt., equivalent to a reduction from $2\frac{3}{4}$ d. to $1\frac{1}{4}$ d. per pound, to come into operation immediately. He mentioned that Mr. Baldwin had desired to take a similar step a year previously, but had refrained out of fear that the operations of sugar rings would deprive the consumer of the benefit. He thought that owing to the revival of beet-sugar production this danger could now be disregarded. The next relief for the poor consumer was to be a reduction in the duty on tea from 8d. to 4d. per pound, with similar reductions in the duties on cocoa, coffee, and chicory. Dried fruits and sweetened table waters would also be cheapened, and the entertainment tax abolished on seats below 6d. and reduced on seats from 6d. to 1s. 3d. Further, the inhabited house duty and the corporation profits tax would go, but there would be no alteration in the rates of income-tax or super-tax.

Besides eschewing all hint of Protection, Mr. Snowden in his speech struck two important blows for Free Trade. He stated that the Government did not intend to proceed with the proposals for Imperial Preference drawn up by the Imperial Economic Conference in the previous year, and enthusiastically adopted by Mr. Baldwin's Government. They had never believed, he said, that the interests of the Empire could be best served in the long run by a system of tariffs, and had repeatedly

expressed such views in the House and the country. They greatly regretted any disappointment that might be caused to the Dominions and the Colonies, but for that the late Government must bear the responsibility. Further, the Government would not renew the so-called McKenna duties on imported motor cars and motor cycles, musical instruments, watches and cinematograph films beyond August 1, and even this interval was only granted as a concession to traders to clear off their duty-paid stock.

The total cost of the reductions in taxation was estimated by Mr. Snowden at 34,050,000Z., in the current year, leaving a surplus of 4,024,000Z. which he felt bound to keep. Even so, he did not suppose he had sufficient to meet all the expenditure outside the public Estimates which Parliament would sanction during the year. The Government, for instance, and the whole House was committed to the removal of the thrift disqualification for old age pensions, and he expected there would be calls also for housing and unemployment. This was the only hint of Socialism in Mr. Snowden's speech, and he immediately relapsed into sound Liberalism by stating that he hoped by unremitting vigilance during the year to effect economies without impairing efficiency.

Mr. Snowden claimed for his proposals that they gave some relief, to every man, woman, and child in the country. The Budget, he said, was vindictive against no class and against no interest. He had distributed relief in such a way as to confer the greatest benefit on the greatest number; in a way which, he believed, by increasing the purchasing power of the people, would stimulate trade and industry; and he had kept in mind always the vital necessity of maintaining unimpaired national credit, on which the very existence of the country depended.

In the debate which followed both Sir Eobert Home, for the Conservatives, and Mr. Asquith, for the Liberals, expressed peculiar gratification at the way in which the National Debt was being reduced, though the former pointed out that the credit for this operation belonged so far to the predecessors of the present Government. Mr. Asquith called the Budget a "Free Trade Budget/" and declared himself to be in hearty agreement with its main features. The next day, however, in a more studied speech, Sir Kobert Home presented it in a less complimentary light. He stigmatised it roundly as an "electioneering" Budget, and said that this was the common opinion. While it was the first Budget of a Socialist Government, no one could describe it as a Socialist Budget; it was conceived rather in the spirit of John Bright, who had been one of the most ardent opponents of Socialism. Sir Robert criticised the Budget on the ground that it did not aim at a just proportion between direct and indirect taxation. Before the war the proportion had been roughly 52 per cent, direct and 48 indirect; at present it was something like 63 to 37, and the Budget

proposals would make the discrepancy even more striking. He anticipated that the Government's schemes for old age pensions, housing and unemployment, would involve a considerable deficit in the course of the year. He was still doubtful whether the national credit was safe in the hands of the present Government, because the Labour offices were pouring out a stream of literature entirely contradictory to the declarations of Ministers on the sanctity of industrial capital and the need for maintaining the nation's credit. He asked whether the abolition of the McKenna duties was the price which the Government had to pay for Liberal support, and in regard to Imperial Preference wondered whether the attitude of the Government and the Liberal Party was not determined by the theory of Cobden, that Free Trade would gradually and imperceptibly loosen the bonds that bound the Colonies to England.

Mr. Thomas, the Colonial Secretary, immediately repudiated the suggestion that the Labour Party was a less jealous guardian of the Empire's unity than the Conservative. He pointed to the fact that in the last ten weeks two new Labour Governments had come into office in the Empire, and said that out of 32 resolutions passed by the Imperial Conference 28 were being put into operation by the Government. Mr. Graham, the Financial Secretary of the Treasury, rejected the theory that direct and indirect taxation ought to be more or less equal, and said that this year only 5·1 per cent, would be raised in indirect taxation on articles of an unmistakably food character—the lowest figure for about twenty-four years. Mr. Snowden, in closing the debate, said that if the Labour Party had come into a "lavish inheritance," it had at least known how to make use of it. He claimed that indirectly the Budget was doing much to relieve unemployment, because it put 30,000,000Z. more into the hands of the people to stimulate and encourage trade. He also assured the House that he had made adequate provision in the Budget to pay for the scheme of old age pensions which the Government intended soon to introduce. On the discrepancy between the Parliamentary and propaganda voices of Ministers both Mr. Snowden and Mr. Graham discreetly said nothing.

While the Budget united the Liberal and Labour Parties in an invincible phalanx in defence of most of its provisions, there was one point in which it was vulnerable. On the question of retaining or dropping the McKenna duties, the Cabinet itself had been divided. Mr. Snowden had wished to let them fall at once, while Mr. MacDonald had favoured their renewal, and their retention till August 1 represented a compromise. From the moment that their abandonment was threatened, a storm of protest had been raised by and on behalf of the motor industry which had been built up as a consequence of the duties levied on foreign importations. The cry was heard that a large number of workmen would be thrown out of employment, and

there were many Labour members who, in spite of their Free Trade principles, attached great weight to this argument. In response to a request from Mr. Baldwin, the Government set aside May 12 for a discussion of this point.

The Liberal Party in the House of Commons, in accordance with the decision taken just before the recess, met on April 30, the day after the introduction of the Budget, to consider its relations to the Government. Liberal resentment against the Labour Party, to which Mr. Lloyd George had given public and forcible expression during the recess, had been considerably modified by the Budget, which was regarded as a triumph of Liberal principles, and an earnest desire was shown by the meeting to co-operate with the Government. As the best means of securing a *modus vivendi* between the two parties in the constituencies, the adoption of proportional representation recommended itself, and it was decided to invite the Government to give official support to the Proportional Representation Bill which was to be introduced by a private member a couple of days later. The Labour Party immediately held a special meeting to consider the invitation, and decided by a large majority that no facilities should be afforded by the Government, and that the question should be left to a free vote of the House.

When the motion was brought forward on May 2, Mr. Asquith confessed that it was only at a late stage of his political life that he became a convert to the idea of proportional representation, though not so recently as the previous Wednesday. He denied that he was supporting proportional representation out of party spirit, though the party to which he belonged was for the time being the greatest sufferer from the evils of the present system. Mr. Henderson, on behalf of the Government, adopted a stiff attitude, and refused to have anything to do with the proposal. He said that had the main proposal of the Bill been the alternative vote, both the Government and many of his Labour colleagues would have been much more favourably disposed to it. Replying to a Liberal interjection, he challenged the Liberal Party to throw the Government out, and said that if they were to be threatened with dismissal every time they refused to take the course desired by the Liberals, he could only retort by saying, "Get on with the job." The challenge was not taken up by any speaker from the Liberal side, and the Bill was rejected by 238 votes to 144. Nearly all the Liberals present voted in the minority, along with a number of Labour members (including several Ministers) and a handful of Unionists.

From this moment there was no longer any pretence of amity between the Liberal and Labour Parties. As Mr. Asquith said a few weeks later: "The Liberals have no reason to love the Government, not the slightest." For the next few months the attitude of Liberals towards the Government was that of being "willing to wound, but yet afraid to strike/" and time

after time they deliberately refrained from turning the Government out because they did not judge the moment opportune for testing their strength in the constituencies. The Government on its side was careful not to take any step which would render Liberal support impossible, and so maintained its equilibrium, though somewhat unsteadily, for the rest of the Session.

On May 1 M. Theunis, the Belgian Prime Minister, and M. Hymans, the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs, crossed over to London from Paris, where they had interviewed M. Poincare earlier in the week, and proceeded without delay to visit Mr. MacDonald at Chequers, in order to discuss with him the possibilities of united Allied action on the Experts' Reports. The discussions were kept strictly private, but on leaving London on May 4 the visitors declared that they were returning with a favourable impression, and M. Hymans, in an interview given at Ostend, said that, judging from the conversations he had had with Ministers, it seemed to him that an Inter-Allied Conference was nearer than might be thought. The British Ambassador a few days later informed M. Poincare officially of the conversations between Mr. MacDonald and the Belgian Ministers, while a much fuller report was sent to him from Brussels. On May 9 it was announced that M. Poincare himself had accepted an invitation from Mr. MacDonald to visit him at Chequers on May 20.

On May 2 and the succeeding days, Mr. Baldwin gave a series of addresses to Conservative meetings for the purpose of strengthening the unity of the party and making known its principles and policy. At the first of these, the annual demonstration of the Primrose League Grand Habitation, held at the Albert Hall and presided over by Lord Curzon, Mr. Baldwin's principal theme was the need for maintaining the unity of the Empire. He admitted that other parties beside his own were proud of the Imperial connexion and heritage. But to preserve this, wisdom was required as well as pride, and, judging from the performances of the present Government, he doubted if such wisdom was to be found outside of the Conservative Party. Mr. Baldwin was everywhere well received, and his position as leader of the party seemed to be assured. His three speeches were shortly afterwards issued in pamphlet form by the National Unionist Association, under the title "Looking Ahead," as a comprehensive statement of Unionist policy. Mr. Winston Churchill, who a few weeks earlier, at the Abbey by-election, had posed as a rival, now seemed to aspire no further than to acting as a lieutenant. Addressing a great Conservative meeting at Liverpool on May 7, he proposed that they should return to the arrangement offered to the Conservative Party by the National Liberals in February, 1922, namely, a strong united Conservative Party with a Liberal wing co-operating in whatever way might be found most conducive to national and common

interests, and, in particular, for the defeat of Socialism at the polls. Mr. Baldwin in a speech delivered at the Queen's Hall on May 9, welcomed Mr. Churchill's suggestion, saying that co-operation among those who believed in the broad lines of policy laid down in the King's Speech and amplified by himself in the preceding week would, he believed, contribute materially to the defeat of Socialism whenever it was put as a clear and single issue to the electors.

In the Report stage of the Budget debate (May 6) Unionist members tried to obtain new preferential reductions in the duties on Empire-grown tea, cocoa, and sugar, but without success. Mr. Snowden again showed himself an uncompromising Free Trader. He raised a momentary cheer from the Unionists by saying that the preference which had been given to Empire-grown sugar during the past five years had undoubtedly been beneficial, but dashed their hopes by adding "to the West Indian planters." He denied that the consumer got the benefit, or that the quantity of Empire-grown sugar had increased to any extent in consequence of the preference; while in regard to tea, he said that the Indian and Ceylon tea companies did not require encouragement, as it was quite an ordinary thing for them to declare dividends of from 100 to 150 per cent.

When the Navy Estimates came up for discussion on May 7 the Government was pressed from various quarters to institute an inquiry into the best and most economical way of adapting the dockyards to existing naval needs. A Unionist member, Commander Burney, impressed on the Government the necessity of making preparations in case Mr. MacDonald's disarmament gesture did not obtain the success which it deserved and which they all desired to see. Chatham was particularly instanced as a place which, owing to its exposed position and the development of modern offensive weapons, had become unsuitable as a naval dockyard. The Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty took occasion in reply to state that the resolutions passed by the United States Senate in regard to a further conference to consider the question of a reduction of armaments had been noted with very great friendliness and pleasure by the Government, which would do all it could to show a reciprocal desire to enter into negotiations or discussions, no matter by whom they were started. He promised that the point raised by Commander Burney should be carefully considered, but he gave no undertaking to institute an inquiry.

On May 7 an anti-Zionist Peer, Lord Raglan, raised the question of the administration of Palestine in the House of Lords, asking the Government whether they were aware that the Emir Abdulla's rule in Transjordan was tyrannical and unpopular, and whether it was their policy to reconcile the people of Palestine to Zionist tyranny by establishing a worse tyranny in Transjordan under the Emir Abdulla. Lord Arnold, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, protested against the

insinuation conveyed in the words "Zionist tyranny," and paid a tribute to the fairness and impartiality of the High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel. He intimated that the Government would continue the policy of their predecessors towards the country. With regard to Transjordan he was not prepared to say that the present state of affairs could be regarded with unmixed satisfaction, or that there was no room for improvement, but the Government were fully alive to their responsibilities in mandated territories, and would do their utmost to place matters on a satisfactory footing.

On May 5 the Eviction Bill which the Government had taken over from a Liberal member passed its third reading, and tenants were in consequence able to breathe more freely. But a measure for dealing with the problem of providing housing accommodation for the poorer classes seemed as far off as ever. Mr. Wheatley was still interviewing members of the building trades, but no tangible result of the negotiations was yet in sight. The continued failure of the Government to produce any concrete plans for dealing either with this problem or with that of unemployment was causing serious perturbation to the rank and file of its supporters. At a meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party on May 7, Mr. Shaw was pressed to reveal his plans, but could only repeat his dictum that "remedies for unemployment could not be produced like rabbits out of a hat; " there was little hope of doing anything until the Government acquired a freer hand for dealing with private property.

More resourceful than his colleague, Mr. Wheatley immediately afterwards made definite progress in the elaboration of his housing scheme. On May 8 and 9 he received in conference representatives of the local authorities of Great Britain, and obtained their assent to a number of proposals, the chief of which was that the Government would provide a subsidy of 9l. per house for forty years on the understanding that the local authorities would provide a further subsidy of 4l. 10s. per house for forty years, the rents to be, as far as possible, equivalent to those now prevailing in each locality for working-class houses built before the war. Having already come to an agreement with the building trade, he was able to express the hope that he would propose a Housing Bill to Parliament before Whitsuntide. On the allied subject of rent restriction the Government made no promises. On May 14 Parliament decided to proceed no further with the Rent Restrictions Bill which had been introduced by a Labour member some months earlier with the Government's blessing, and which was still being held up in the Standing Committee by the shameless obstruction of the Conservative members. The Conservatives defended their conduct on the ground that the Government ought to define its attitude towards the Bill, and had no right to shirk responsibility in such a matter.

The Court of Inquiry concerning miners' wages which had

been set up at the end of March reported on May 9. It found that the wages paid to day-wage workers under the late agreement were substantially less than the equivalent of their pre-war earnings, while owners' profits in some collieries were in excess of pre-war profits, and it recommended the renewal of negotiations between the two parties. This advice was followed a few days afterwards, but meanwhile the Executive of the Miners' Federation requested the miners' members of Parliament to urge the Government to support the Bill for the nationalisation of the mines which was to come up for its second reading on May 16. By May 15 the representatives of the coal-owners and the Miners' Federation had already come to an agreement, by which the minimum wage was raised from 20 to 33 per cent, above the "standard" wage.

A week later a Labour member brought in a Bill for the nationalisation of the mines. Mr. Shinwell stated that the Government could not accept responsibility for the Bill as no mandate had been secured at the election for nationalisation, but it was heartily in sympathy with the vital principle embodied in the measure. The most vigorous criticism of the Bill came from Mr. Lloyd George, who saw in its proposals "a concrete example of the new Socialism which was to be put into operation as soon as the Labour Party got a majority." Under the Bill, he said, the real controller of the mines would be not the State but the Miners' Federation. He admitted that there was much in the industry which needed rectification, but claimed that the scheme put forward by the Coalition Government in 1919, and rejected by the miners, would have provided and could still provide a much better remedy than the present Bill. It was remarked that, as on a previous occasion when he attacked Socialism, Mr. George drew cheers chiefly from the Unionist benches. The Bill was rejected by 264 votes to 168. Some three or four Liberals voted for the Bill and a great many abstained.

On May 29 the miners' delegate conference in London accepted the coal-owners' revised terms by 473,000 votes to 311,000. The opposition came mainly from South Wales, Scotland, and Lancashire. The new agreement, which was for twelve months as from May 1, followed the main lines of the 1921 agreement, but with provisions somewhat more favourable to the men, ensuring a higher minimum wage in all districts, better treatment for the day-wage men, higher wages in the more profitable coalfields, and publication of more details of costs of production.

On May 9 Mr. Buchanan, a Labour member from Glasgow, moved the second reading of a Bill for giving Home Rule to Scotland. He stated that the Bill had the support of 56 out of the 74 members for Scotland, and a Liberal member, Mr. MacPherson, said that his party would support the Bill, which was largely the same as that which he himself had introduced in

1914. The Secretary for Scotland, Mr. Adamson, said that the Government gave to the general principle of the Bill their approval, and were prepared to appoint a Committee to examine the question and report to the House if the Bill passed its second reading, as he hoped it would. When, however, the debate was due to close at 4 o'clock, a number of Unionists rose to speak, and the Speaker refused the request of the Labour members to apply the closure, in order that the motion might be put. A number of the Clyde members thereupon became highly excited, and baited the chair in a manner reminiscent of the "scenes" with which the last Parliament had been familiar. Unable to quell the disorder, the Speaker at last found himself obliged to adjourn the House, and no more business was done that day. To the discomfiture of the Clyde members, the Premier refused to set aside another day for debating the question, which was thus shelved indefinitely.

On May 12 the King and Queen of Eumania visited London, and were enthusiastically greeted by the public. At a State banquet held the same evening at Buckingham Palace, King George, in welcoming the guests, recalled the visit of King Carol more than thirty years previously, and after referring to the services of Eumania in the war, expressed his appreciation of the wise and eloquent assistance given to his Ministers by the Bumanian representatives at the Conference of Lausanne. The King of Eumania in his reply referred to the emotion felt by his Queen (a granddaughter of Queen Victoria) in revisiting her native country, and thanked King George for the kindness shown to his youngest son, who had studied at Eton and was now in the British Navy. Their Majesties during their stay were entertained to lunch at the Guildhall and visited the Wembley Exhibition. King Ferdinand left on May 15, but the Queen stayed longer. In the course of the royal visit Mr. Duca, the Eumanian Foreign Minister, had interviews with Mr. MacDonald.

The debate on the McKenna duties, originally fixed for May 12, took place a day later. Mr. Baldwin moved that it was inexpedient to remove the duties on the ground that they had preserved much employment. This was the line taken by all the Conservative speakers, but Mr. Snowden professed to see in the motion an indication of a desire for a general tariff on manufactured goods; if this was not the intention of its supporters in the House, it was at any rate that of a number of employers who had been carrying on a raging propaganda outside. He minimised the effect which the repeal would have on employment, and maintained that there would at worst be no more than a temporary dislocation. The Government, he said, had decided to repeal the duties because they were in honour bound to do so by the pledges which they had given to the country, and they meant to stand or fall by the decision. This announcement practically made the motion one of no

confidence, and muzzled Labour members who might otherwise have voted for it. One Labour member, Mr. Purcell, the representative of Coventry, actually did say that the Union men in that city believed that the McKenna duties ought to be maintained, but he refrained from voting against the Government. A Liberal member, Major-General Seely, moved an amendment that at least two years' notice should be given of the repeal of the duties. In the end 252 voted for the motion and 317 against—a majority of 65 for the Government.

On May 14 the Prime Minister communicated to the House of Commons the decision of the Government in the matter of airships. After careful examination they had, he said, decided to reject the scheme put forward by the Airship Guarantee Company, commonly known as the Burney scheme, as being likely to entail the creation of a virtual monopoly, besides being open to objection both on financial and technical grounds. At the same time the Government shared the view of its predecessor that a constructive programme of airship development should be carried into effect as soon as possible, and it accordingly proposed to initiate forthwith a comprehensive programme of lighter-than-air research and experiment at Cardington, to undertake the construction of a new airship of a capacity of 5,000,000 cubic feet, to build a terminal and an intermediate base overseas, and to give the Airship Guarantee Company the first offer of a contract for the construction of a second ship for commercial purposes. It was estimated that the net expenditure involved under this scheme for the next three years would not exceed 1,200,000Z. In the House of Lords a week later (May 21) a number of speakers refused to accept Lord Thomson's view that the Government scheme was an improvement on the Burney scheme; nevertheless they allowed it to pass.

On the same day (May 14), in the House of Commons, Mr. Leach, in moving the second reading of the Auxiliary Air Force and Air Force Reserve Bill, gratified the Unionists by adopting what one speaker called "a slightly more martial note" than in his previous speeches on defence. He admitted that until the nations agreed otherwise, he saw no escape from the duty of asking Parliament to provide for defence, much as he disliked the task. Nor did Mr. Leach's conversion stop at this point. A short time afterwards the question of bomb-dropping in Iraq was brought up in Parliament, and, to the consternation of many members of his party, he actually defended the practice as humane and necessary.

On the same day also (May 14) the Parliamentary Secretary of the Overseas Trade Department, Mr. Lunn, asked for leave to increase from 100,000Z. to 600,000Z. the Government guarantee to the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley. He said that the overdraft of the Exhibition on the date of opening was added 379,000Z. for constructional making a total of approximately

2,600,000Z. Lloyds Bank had agreed to allow the Exhibition such an overdraft on condition that the Government increased its guarantee by 500,000/!. He pointed out that over 20,000 men were being employed on the work, and this was a real relief of unemployment which was saving the Government money in another way. Over a million visitors had already been to the Exhibition, and it was estimated that if the total reached 30,000,000, the expenses would be more than covered. Complaints were made in the debate of profiteering at the Exhibition, and a Liberal moved an amendment to reduce the amount of the guarantee from 600,000/ to 200,000Z., on the ground that it was not the business of the Government to concern itself with overseas trade. This view was emphatically repudiated by Labour speakers. Mr. Thomas, the Colonial Secretary, said that the Government was disturbed at the profiteering that was going on, and was determined to stop it. He asserted that the Exhibition was a magnificent success, and was confident that not a penny of the guarantee would be called for. Mention was made in the debate of the unsatisfactory conditions imposed on employees at the Exhibition, and the matter was taken up by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress.

On May 19 the House of Commons witnessed the unusual spectacle of Unionist members hounding on the Government to a more lavish expenditure on social objects. Mr. Graham, the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, asked leave for incurring an outlay of about half a million for making increases in pre-war pensions in order to meet the increased cost of living. He admitted that these increases were only a small instalment of the full scheme of pensions reform to which the Government was pledged, but said that to modify or remove the restrictive conditions imposed by the Act of 1920 would involve an outlay which the Government were not prepared to shoulder at the present time. This admission gave occasion for a great display of righteous indignation on the part of Unionist members, who stigmatised the Bill as niggardly, mean, and an absolute violation of the promises and pledges of the Labour Party. It did not find a single supporter, and in the end Mr. Graham asked leave to withdraw it, and promised to bring in an amended resolution without delay. The new resolution was duly brought forward on June 5, and found no more favour than its predecessor, owing to the niggardly character of its concessions. Mr. Snowden, however, insisted—as the most orthodox Liberal Chancellor might have done—that the taxpayer had to be considered, and Mr. Baldwin advised his party to accept the resolution for fear lest otherwise they might get nothing at all. The resolution was therefore agreed to, and the Government again emerged safely from a situation which at times appeared highly threatening.

The King's readiness to adapt himself to the new social and

political conditions created by Labour's advent to office^{<™} ^as strikingly shown by his appointment of Mr. James Brown, a Labour member of Parliament and a miner by occupation, as High Commissioner to represent his Person and Throne at the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland at Holyrood Palace on May 19—an office which hitherto had always been performed by a Peer. The aristocracy emulated the Sovereign in democratic spirit, and titled gentlemen and ladies did not disdain to follow in the suite of a working miner and his wife. Mr. Brown carried out his functions with becoming dignity, and worthily upheld the traditions of his office; and an affair which was awaited with some trepidation in many quarters passed off in a way that gave general satisfaction.

After four months' experience the Minister of Labour, Mr. Shaw, confessed in the House of Commons on May 20 that he had no hope of remedying unemployment by initiating new schemes of labour during his term of office. On the strength of an actuarial estimate which he had had prepared, he said he was anticipating that the number of unemployed would remain at about 1,000,000 for the next two years, and would in the following year not sink below 800,000. Accordingly in his new Unemployment Insurance Bill he did not aspire to do more than provide more liberal and continuous maintenance for the genuine unemployed. According to his new proposals, young persons between 14 and 16 would be included in the scope of the insurance scheme, and the rate of maintenance would be raised from 15s. to 18s. for men and 12s. to 15s. for women, while the allowance for children would be doubled. The second reading was allowed to pass without a division, though Sir P. Lloyd-Graeme stated on behalf of the Unionists that its financial provisions would have to be most carefully scrutinised in Committee (where in fact the original provision for insuring young persons between 14 and 16 was withdrawn). Dr. Macnamara taunted the Government bitterly with its failure to make good its boasts of improving on its predecessors. Supposing, he said, that he when Minister of Labour had proposed those increased benefits without adding a single new scheme of work, they would have said to him: "You are making money relief, not work, your main objective. Your schemes provide work only for one out of every twelve people unemployed. When are you going to find work for the other eleven?" It was time for the Prime Minister, when speaking on unemployment, to mention his predecessors with praise instead of abuse, and admit that, with the best intentions, the most they could do was to follow in their footsteps, leaning even more heavily on the doles which they denounced.

Criticism of the Government's policy developed into an organised attack a couple of days later (May 22), when Sir W. Joynson-Hicks moved to reduce the salary of the Minister of Labour by 100Z., on the ground that the Government had flagrantly broken its election pledges. Mr. Shaw again failed

to point out any advance made by the Government so far on the schemes initiated by its predecessor for providing employment, though it was still cherishing big ideas for the future. He took credit for the fact that since the beginning of the year there had been a reduction of 240,000 in the number of the unemployed, but was promptly reminded that in the corresponding period of the previous year there had been a reduction of 280,000, due purely to seasonal causes. Liberal speakers characterised Mr. Shaw's speech as gravely disappointing, and Dr. Macnamara sorrowfully remarked that they would have to take up once more the burden of "gingering up" the Labour Party on unemployment. Miss Bondfield, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour, adopting a bolder tone than her chief, threw the blame for the Government's inaction on the Liberals themselves. The Government, she said, could not embark on its own policy in a House in which it did not possess an effective majority; it believed that lands, mines, railways, and main roads should be a national responsibility for the national welfare.

¹¹ "Are you going to the country on that?" interjected a Conservative. Miss Bondfield retorted that they had been to the country many times on that programme, returning each time with increasing numbers, and it was open to the House to send them to the country whenever they liked. The majority of Liberals present shrank from taking up the challenge, and when the closure was moved, it was refused by 244 votes to 210, so that the motion was "talked out."

The failure of the Labour Party to solve the problem of unemployment naturally strengthened the loyalty of Liberals to their own programme. The meeting of the National Liberal Federation at Brighton, which commenced on the same day that Mr. Shaw revealed his impotence in the House of Commons, presented a marked contrast in spirit and character to that of the previous year at Buxton. There the main achievement of the Federation had been to perpetuate the rift within the party; this year it succeeded in framing a distinctive programme of social reform which was adopted with enthusiasm by all sections of the party. The principal resolution asserted that industrial unrest, and most of the evils connected with unemployment, could be prevented by the adoption of the Liberal industrial programmes and particularly by pressing forward the Liberal policy of security through insurance. Sir John Simon, who moved the resolution, mentioned, as Liberal remedies for stimulating employment, Liberal financial policy, taxation of site values, temperance reform, education, and a national system of comprehensive insurance. The debates were animated and harmonious, and lent no colour to the idea so assiduously promulgated by the other parties, that the Liberal Party was moribund and on the verge of dissolution. Since the General Election, it is true, Liberalism had been at a discount in the constituencies; at two important by-elections — Burnley and

West Toxteth—Liberals had not ventured to put forward a candidate of their own, and at the "Westminster Abbey election the Liberal candidate had secured less than 300 votes. But the proceedings of the Federation showed that the party had not the slightest intention of giving up the ghost as yet.

The delicate topic of the relations of the party to the Government were dealt with by Mr. Asquith at a public meeting held in connexion with the Federation on May 23. He said that after five months of trial they had no reason to repent of the experiment they had made in putting Labour into office, in spite of the fact that there had been profound and well-grounded disappointment both at some of the things which the Government had done and its vacillation in regard to things which it ought to have attempted. So long as the Government continued to proceed on the same lines, Liberals had no motive for joining with the Tories in ejecting it. Their business for the moment was two-fold: first, to keep a vigilant watch in the House on what was being done or neglected, next, by diligent work and propaganda outside to prepare the mind of the country for the battle which would be waged in the constituencies between Liberalism on the one hand and Socialism and Protection on the other, "so soon as the present unstable and precarious situation crumbled to pieces." He did not take very seriously the signs of dissension in the Liberal camp. It was nothing new for Liberals to vote in different lobbies; he himself, in his early days, had occasionally been a mutineer "even under the austere and appalling frown of Mr. Gladstone." He paid a tribute to the co-operation of Mr. Lloyd George, and said that the reunited Liberal Party was working together with the utmost cordiality and good comradeship.

Mr. Asquith was given an early opportunity of putting his principles into practice. The Conservatives, acting on the maxim that "it is the duty of an Opposition to oppose," refused to accept the vote of May 22 as final, and continued to press their attack on the hapless Minister of Labour. The debate, which was then talked out, on the vote to reduce the Minister's salary, was renewed by them on May 29. The Government, as was to be expected, made the question one of confidence, and the Liberals were called upon to decide whether or not the time had come for turning them out. The question caused great searching of heart in the Liberal camp, and the final decision was not reached till the last moment, during an interval in the debate itself. Mr. Lloyd George was for voting against the Government, but in the end he deferred to Mr. Asquith, who was for the opposite course, and this ensured a sufficient number of Liberal votes against the motion to secure its defeat. The truth was that even the Conservative Party were not anxious to precipitate a Cabinet crisis at the present juncture, conscious as they were that they had no alternative policy on the matter of unemployment, and they would not have pressed their

motion had they not been tolerably certain that it would be rejected.

The defence of the Government was made by the Prime Minister himself, and he was wise enough to put no unnecessary embarrassment in the way of the Liberal leader. He admitted that in the end the only thing that could be of real help and value was a normal condition of trade, and mentioned as schemes that could be pushed forward more vigorously the building of arterial roads, the development of electrical power, and afforestation—matters on which Liberal speakers had laid particular stress in the previous debate. Mr. Asquith after hearing the Premier's speech, while criticising severely the Government's faults of omission, said he was prepared to give it a little more time, and to vote for the Minister of Labour's salary, but only on the understanding that the vote was to be kept open and they were to have the opportunity of an independent scrutiny later on. The motion to reduce the Minister's salary was eventually lost by 252 votes to 300. Eight Liberals voted with the Conservatives, and about 100 with the Government. The rank and file of the Labour Party loyally supported their leaders, but at their party meeting made no secret of their chagrin and disappointment at the Government's failure to carry out its election pledges.

Among the reasons which weighed strongly with all parties for not desiring a General Election or change of Government at the present juncture was the anxiety to avoid any step which might affect unfavourably the foreign situation. Mr. MacDonald had since his accession to office, with the approval of the nation, been diligently preparing the way for an Anglo-French Conference, and even his opponents were loth to do anything which might interfere with the success of his efforts. Public opinion in England had declared itself clearly in favour of the Dawes Beport; and Mr. MacDonald could be trusted, perhaps more than any other British statesman, to press wholeheartedly and unreservedly for the execution of the scheme embodied in that document. His continued presence at the Foreign Office was the strongest guarantee to other nations that England stood by the Beport, and this was a fact of cardinal importance in view of the General Elections which were just then impending in both France and Germany.

The result of those elections, which took place early in May, was a remarkable change in the Parliamentary situation in both countries. In Germany the Democratic parties came back with a majority indeed, but not a majority sufficient to secure the adoption of the Dawes scheme, if the other parties opposed it. In France M. Poincaré's supporters returned in a minority which precluded the possibility of that statesman remaining in office after the meeting of the Chamber on June 1. In these circumstances Mr. MacDonald adopted a course which somewhat bewildered the public and exposed him to some criticism **even**

from his friends. M. Poincaré, as was natural, as soon as the result of the election was known, decided to cancel his proposed visit to Chequers, and Mr. MacDonald thereupon wrote him, on May 14, a personal and unofficial letter, couched as before in terms of the warmest friendship, asking whether it would be possible to pursue at any rate tentatively the exploration of their problems. This letter was crossed by one from M. Poincaré, dated May 14, in which he made it clear that, while nominally accepting the Experts' Report, he was "of the same opinion still" on all important features of French policy in the Ruhr and the Rhineland. The next day he answered Mr. MacDonald's letter, stating that he was ready to continue with him the study of the urgent problems of the situation, and asking for his observations on his previous letter. By this time, however, Mr. MacDonald had thought better of the matter; and on May 23 he replied again in terms of almost effusive warmth and cordiality, that he was awaiting the establishment of the new Government in France to take up where it had been interrupted a consideration of points not yet agreed on. A formal acknowledgment from M. Poincaré on May 25 closed the correspondence, which was published by the Foreign Office a few days later. Mr. MacDonald had not committed himself in any way, but the eagerness he had shown to meet M. Poincaré and the value which he had set upon a personal discussion with him were exploited by the supporters of that statesman in France in a manner which can scarcely have accorded with Mr. MacDonald's intentions.

On May 23 the Foreign Office made the welcome announcement that as a result of direct negotiations between the Prime Minister and Signor Mussolini it had been decided to conclude an agreement regarding Jubaland on the lines laid down by Lord Milner and Senator Scialoja some years previously. This step removed a source of friction which for years had been causing ill-will against England in Italy. Although England acknowledged in principle its obligation to cede territory to Italy in Jubaland in accordance with a pact made during the war and confirmed by the Treaty of Versailles, Mr. MacDonald's predecessors in office had insisted on linking up this question with that of the Dodecanese, on which the divergence of views was more marked. In February Mr. Ponsonby had stated that an early settlement of the Jubaland question could not be expected because Italy wanted to exclude the question of the Dodecanese from the negotiations. Subsequently, however, Mr. MacDonald, after studying the matter, came to the conclusion that the two questions could be separated, and in April dispatched an offer to Rome which was duly accepted. Cordial relations between Italy and England were further strengthened at this time by a visit of the King and Queen of Italy to London from May 23-25.

In fields of social legislation other than unemployment the

Government about this time made a somewhat better show of redeeming its election pledges. Unlike Mr. Shaw, Mr. Buxton as Minister of Agriculture and Mr. Wheatley as Minister of Health proved themselves to be not entirely barren of constructive proposals for dealing with the urgent problems which came within their spheres. On May 28 the Tribunal which had been set up to inquire into the situation of agriculture and the question of agricultural wages issued its report. One member of the Tribunal, Professor MacGregor, pointed out that the fundamental difference between British and foreign agriculture was not in the efficiency but in the size of this industry in relation to all other industries. He said that unless agriculture was subsidised, the quantity of arable land under cultivation was likely to decline in the next ten years from fourteen and a half to twelve million acres, and the number of men employed in the industry from one and a quarter to one million; but he was inclined to think that this was not necessarily prejudicial to the national welfare. Agricultural wages were stated by the Tribunal to be higher in England than in most European countries, but this was no reason why they should not be increased, in order to stop the rural migration, whether to the towns or to the colonies.

A few days later (June 2) Mr. Buxton introduced his Agricultural Wages Bill, which embodied the suggestion of the Tribunal to establish local wages committees, and also proposed to establish a central wages board for fixing minimum wages for the agricultural worker. Both proposals were strongly opposed by the Conservatives, who moved the rejection of the Bill on the ground that supervision from London was undesirable and that there was no fund of profits in the industry from which higher wages could be paid. On the other hand, a Liberal member, Mr. Acland, while admitting that farming on the whole was carried on in England at a loss, held that after the industry had paid rates and taxes the first charge must be a reasonable living wage for those engaged in it. This highly Socialistic view was not disowned by his fellow-Liberals, and the Conservative motion for rejection was defeated by 245 votes to 214.

The Minister of Health on his side, after a long succession of false alarms, at length on June 3 treated the House of Commons to a detailed statement of his proposals for dealing with the housing problem. On that day he introduced a resolution to make financial provision for the outlay involved in the actual Housing Bill which he intended to bring in immediately after, but the main features of which he outlined at once. The problem itself he defined to be the provision of houses to let at rents which the working classes could afford to pay. The Act of 1923 had failed to achieve this, and was in fact hardly meant for this purpose. Since the Act had come into operation in July, 4645 houses had been built and 12,738 were under con-

struction, making a total of 17,383 houses either completed or under construction by local authorities for the purpose of letting; whereas, taking into account the annual wants arising from depreciation of property and growth of population, something like 100,000 new houses would be required annually to prevent the shortage from increasing. Housing conditions to-day were for the people who lived in the worst conditions considerably worse than they were twelve months ago. It was necessary for the State to take the matter in hand because no one in private enterprise would build working-class houses to let on any terms. His proposal therefore was to make a fifteen-year agreement with the building industry for an annual average production of some 150,000 or more houses. To finance this project he required an annual subsidy of 91. per house—121. 10s. in certain agricultural areas—for forty years, the amount to be revised every three years for houses still to be built. The annual State expenditure at the peak he calculated at 34,000,000l.

Mr. Wheatley's proposals were subjected to searching criticism both by Conservative and Liberal speakers. The chief obstacle to the production of houses, it was pointed out, was not want of money but dearth of skilled labour. There were for instance only half as many bricklayers as before the war. • Nevertheless the financial resolution was allowed to pass without a division, with the addition of a Liberal amendment providing that contributions might be withheld "in the absence of adequate arrangements for the necessary increase in the supply of labour and materials at reasonable prices." As a pendant to his Housing measure, Mr. Wheatley also introduced a bill to prevent excessive charges for building materials, but this made no further progress during his term of office.

About this time developments in Ireland compelled the Government much against its will to intervene in the internal affairs of that country. Although nearly two years had passed since the ratification of the Irish Treaty, the boundary between the two States in the country had not yet been definitely settled. On April 26 the Free State Government informed the British Government that it saw no hope of coming to an amicable agreement with Ulster on the matter, and asked that, in accordance with Art. 12 of the Treaty (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1921, p. 87), a Boundary Commission should be established, the decision of which should be final. On April 29 the British Government informed the Government of Ulster that it was taking steps to find a Chairman for the Commission, and asked them to appoint their representative. On May 10 the Governor replied that his Minister respectfully declined to appoint a representative. The Government thereupon took steps to ascertain what were the exact legal and constitutional powers which it was bound to exercise under the Treaty. At the same time Mr. MacDonald made a further effort to secure an amicable

agreement by inviting the Premiers of Southern and Northern Ireland, Mr. Cosgrave and Sir James Craig, to discuss the matter with him personally. The interview took place at Chequers on May 31, but led to no definite result. On June 4 the Prime Minister explained the position fully in the House of Commons, and the next day announced that he had secured the services of Mr. Feetham, a judge of the Supreme Court in South Africa, to act as Chairman of the Commission.

On June 23, and again on June 26, the Colonial Secretary, in answer to questions, stated that the Irish Free State Government had applied to send a separate representative to Washington, and that the British Government had assented to the proposal. He said that this request was clearly within Art. 2 of the Irish Treaty, and the Government had no hesitation in acceding to it, in the same way that the Government of the day had agreed to a similar application from Canada in 1920. In the House of Lords the action of the Government was strongly criticised by Lord Selborne and Lord Curzon, who pointed out that Canada had not taken advantage of the privilege accorded to her, and that the Prime Ministers of the other Dominions had at the Imperial Conference objected to such action. Lord Haldane replied that it was impossible to govern the Dominions otherwise than in accordance with their own will and their own wishes. The unity of the Empire was kept on a basis of freedom, and if Australia and New Zealand chose to ask for diplomatic representation at Washington, he could see no way of refusing them.

In a debate on the working of the Empire Settlement Act raised by a Unionist member on May 28, Mr. Lunn stated that up to March 31, 55,000 persons had been settled in the Dominions under the Act. He admitted that the progress made was disappointingly slow in view of the hopes which had been entertained at the passing of the Act, but he believed that by means of more generous financial arrangements with the Dominions, particularly Australia, it would be possible to quicken the rate considerably. He mentioned that the demand for assisted passages overseas was much greater than could be met, not because the Government had not the money—they had only spent 452,000*l.* out of the 4,500,000*l.* allowed by the Act—but because the Dominions were not prepared to absorb settlers without capital. A return issued soon after by the Board of Trade showed that unassisted emigration to the United States, chiefly of skilled workmen in depressed trades, was taking place on a considerable scale.

At the end of May Sir Percy Cox, on behalf of Great Britain, opened negotiations with Turkish representatives at Constantinople over the question of Mosul. Within a week the negotiations broke down, and the Government found itself in a quandary because, owing to the non-ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne, the Turks refused to refer the matter to the League of Nations, as stipulated in the Treaty. The delay

in ratifying the Treaty had been caused by the action of Canada, which was withholding assent on the ground that it had not been properly represented at the negotiations. The opponents of the Treaty sought to make capital against it out of the supposed slight to which Canada had been subjected, and just before the Whitsuntide recess (June 6) forced a debate on the subject in the House of Commons. By that time, however, the Prime Minister was able to announce that Canada had acquiesced in the Treaty. He took occasion, however, to utter a grave note of warning on the constitutional question that had been raised by Canada's action, of the precise status of the Dominions in the field of treaty making and foreign policy. He pointed out that the wording of the resolutions of the last Imperial Conference on the subject was not watertight or definite, and required to be supplemented. He expressed a hope that the matter would be explored by a special sub-committee of the Imperial Conference. It was important, he said, that while practising consultation whenever possible, they should safeguard the power of rapid decision. Unfortunately the Chanak telegrams had caused a great change of mind in the Dominions, destroying the confidence which they had formerly reposed in the mother-country, and this called for the creation of new machinery. He had no proposals to make at present, but the Government were watching the matter, and he might submit proposals later on.

On June 5 and for several days following the population of London, for the third time in five months, was seriously inconvenienced by a stoppage in the city's communications. The arm affected was the tube railways, the service on which was dislocated by a strike of railway shopmen. The Government was loudly called on to intervene, but declared itself to be powerless in the matter because the strike was entirely unofficial and there was no authorised body with which it could negotiate. The chief object of the unofficial Strike Committee was to get itself co-opted by the Executive of the N.U.R., and to force that body to support the strike. While condemned by the great mass of the public, it was warmly supported by the small Communist Press of Great Britain, which saw in the strike a triumph for its own propaganda. The joy of the Communists was, however, short-lived. Both the Union and the employers steadfastly refused to recognise the Strike Committee, and within a week most of the men had returned to work.

On June 6 Parliament adjourned for ten days for the Whitsuntide recess. The interval was utilised by the Liberals to carry on an intensive campaign in the constituencies with the object of making known to the electorate the good work which the party had accomplished in Parliament under the present administration in the cause of progress. There was in the Liberal camp a not unjustifiable desire that a so-called Socialist Government should not be allowed to claim all the credit for

legislation which followed Liberal lines and bore little or no trace of Socialism, and the time seemed to be ripe for proving that Liberals, and not Labour were the true party of progress. The chief Liberal spokesman was Mr. Lloyd George. At a great meeting at Llandridnod Wells, at which he incidentally restored unity to Welsh Liberalism, he defined Liberal policy as opposition to monopoly, whether of the old vested interests or of the Trade Unions. At the same time, however, Sir John Simon was placing disarmament in the forefront of the Liberal programme, and insisting on the futility of all social reforms until this issue had been settled. Mr. Asquith, meanwhile, in dignified aloofness, allowed his lieutenants to hold the field. Lacking effective guidance the Liberal Party failed to improve its position in the country, and found little encouragement there to try the hazard of a General Election. It remained, however, united, and continued for the rest of the Session to exercise a dominating influence on Parliament's legislative activities.

On June 14 the first exhibition took place at the Stadium at Wembley of the "Rodeo" performance of Canadian cowboys and cowgirls. For some weeks previously an excited controversy had been carried on in the Press as to whether steer-roping and other parts of the performance did not involve cruelty to animals. At the very first performance one of the steers had the misfortune to break its leg, and the large crowd present broke out into angry cries of protest. The steer-roping competition was thereafter held in private, but as accidents continued to happen it was discontinued after a week, not, however, until the organiser had been served with a summons by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. After hearing the case the Court exonerated the organiser.

No sooner had Parliament resumed after the Whitsuntide recess (June 16) than the Liberal Party exhibited itself in the role which Mr. Lloyd George had selected for it, as the protector of the public from monopoly. The first matter considered by the Commons was the Bill for the Regulation of London Traffic, introduced in consequence of the bus strike in March. This Bill had been inherited by the Labour Government from the Conservatives, and in the eyes of many Liberal and Labour members threatened to create a monopoly in the passenger traffic of London. A Liberal member accordingly moved a new clause designed as a safeguard against this danger. The Government Whips were put on against it, but as the Conservatives abstained from voting, it was carried by a majority of 63, many Labour members voting with the Liberals. On June 26 the Government was again defeated by 27 votes, in trying to keep out a Liberal amendment.

The Commons immediately afterwards turned their attention to the Finance Bill. The Conservatives determined to test the feeling of the House on Imperial Preference, and Mr. Baldwin tabled a series of ten resolutions embodying the fiscal proposals

which he had promised the Dominion Premiers at the Imperial Conference in October to lay before Parliament. The first of these was simply "that dried fruits now subject to duty be duty free if of Empire origin;" the next three, relating to tobacco, wine, and sugar, merely extended existing preferences; while the others, dealing with fruit, honey, and canned fish, were undisguisedly Protectionist. They were the subject of a full-dress debate in the Commons lasting over two days, June 17 and 18. In order to secure the unbiased opinion of the House, the Government took off its Whips, but early announced its own intention of voting solidly against the resolutions.

Mr. Baldwin's speech in favour of the resolutions, delivered on the second day, was remarkable chiefly for an ingenious attempt to persuade his opponents that the first four, and especially the first, did not conflict with the principle of Free Trade. He further sought to recommend them by saying that Imperial Preference had not been an issue at the General Election, and that if the resolutions were rejected the future of the whole Empire would be gravely imperilled. Mr. Asquith retorted that such an idea showed a strange conception of the stability of the Empire and the foundations on which it rested, and he asserted emphatically, from his own experience, that the country's condemnation of Protection at the Election included these Preference proposals. The Protectionist danger which lurked under the innocent wording of the first four resolutions was ruthlessly exposed, not only by Mr. Asquith and Sir John Simon, but also by the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Nevertheless a number of Liberal and Labour speakers thought them worthy of acceptance on one ground or other, and the voting in the end was surprisingly close, the first resolution being defeated by 6 votes only, and the next three by 20 or under. Mr. Lloyd George was among those who paired in their favour.

In introducing the vote for the Board of Trade on June 19, Mr. Sidney Webb, the President of the Board, stated that trade conditions were more promising than at the same time last year. During May exports, which had averaged between 63,000,000l. and 64,000,000l. per month during 1923, amounted to 70,000,000l. and the volume of imports was greater than in any month since 1920, the increase being largely in raw material, particularly cotton and wool. He considered this a hopeful sign, but refrained from further prophecy. Mr. Lloyd George thought that there was not yet any ground for optimism in regard to trade prospects, and he expressed apprehension as to what would happen if the Dawes Report was put into operation and Germany was furnished with credits for procuring raw materials. He called for a full and impartial inquiry by the Board of Trade into the whole trade position. Mr. Webb informed him that the Government had the matter in hand, and he hoped soon to announce the scope and personnel of the Committee which

would make the inquiry; preparations were also being made for a census of production. Unlike Mr. Lloyd George, he was not afraid of Germany doing more trade and becoming more prosperous, but he agreed that England should put her own house in order by improving her equipment, as so many foreign countries had done since the war.

On June 23 Mr. Wheatley moved the second reading of the Housing Bill which in the guise of a financial resolution had already been discussed by the House a few weeks earlier. The essentials of the Bill, he said, were a treaty with the building industry, a treaty with the local authorities, and a charter for the tenant. Parliament was asked to guarantee financial support for fifteen years towards the erection of houses in order to enable the building industry to extend its resources in men, materials, and finance, and so become once more a powerful pillar of the nation. The industry, on the other hand, undertook to provide houses in certain numbers and at reasonable prices. The Government, Mr. Wheatley held, had done everything short of nationalisation to ensure the production in abundance of necessary materials, while every provision had been made for keeping costs down. This was not the opinion of the Conservative Party, which moved the rejection of the Bill on the ground that it did not meet the difficulties either as regards labour or materials, that it discouraged private enterprise and ownership, and threw an excessive burden on the State and the local authorities. The Liberals liked the bill hardly more than the Conservatives, but as they had no better scheme of their own for producing working-class houses, they did not judge it a suitable issue on which to turn the Government out. Most of them accordingly voted against the Conservative amendment, which was defeated by 209 votes to 206. They moved, however, that the Bill should be committed not to a Standing Committee, but to a Committee of the whole House, so that they could introduce amendments, and this was carried against the Government by 315 votes to 175.

The Government's Finance Bill, being free from all taint of Socialism, had a fairly easy and rapid passage through the House of Commons. On one point, however, it gave the Government a nasty fall. The Liberals moved that the entertainment tax should not be levied on shows given for educational and philanthropic purposes, and carried their point in the teeth of the Government, which thus suffered its seventh defeat. Apart from this no substantial change was made in the Bill. Mr. Snowden early disposed of his surplus by introducing, on June 26, a bill to revise the limit for old age pensions at an estimated cost of four millions for the first year. This proposal became law before Parliament rose, on August 7.

On June 18 Mr. Lansbury in the House of Commons called the attention of the Government to a statement made by Mr.

Justice McCardie in trying a libel action brought by Sir M. O'Dwyer against Sir C. Sankaran Nair, to the effect that in his opinion General Dyer, in giving his notorious shooting order at Amritsar three years previously, had acted rightly, and had been wrongly punished by the Secretary of State for India. Mr. Lansbury raised the question whether Mr. McCardie could not be removed from the bench for making so injudicial a statement, but the Prime Minister pointed out that the words were an *obiter dictum* and not part of a written considered judgment, and however unfortunate in their effect on India they did not constitute a moral delinquency which would justify an address to the Throne petitioning the Judge's removal. At the same time he stated that the Government associated itself emphatically with the decision taken by the Government of the day in respect of General Dyer. As public opinion in India, which naturally was greatly excited by Mr. McCardie's remarks, continued to be inflamed, Lord Olivier on July 17 sent to the Government of India a despatch in which, in order to correct any misapprehension that might have been created, the Government expressly dissociated itself from the view of the learned Judge that military action for dispersing an unlawful assembly might be determined by the moral effect which the officer taking it thought that it might have on other persons elsewhere, and reaffirmed the principle laid down by Mr. Montagu in 1920, that military action in support of the civil authority should be confined to the use of the minimum force necessary.

Mr. Lloyd George was again the spokesman of the Liberal Party at a great demonstration held at Belle Vue, Manchester, on June 28, at which the audience was estimated at 20,000. Mr. George described it as the finest Liberal meeting since 1910. He compared the state of the political atmosphere to the physical state often experienced by aviators in quiet and sultry weather when after sailing along serenely for a time they suddenly flew into a "pocket," which caused them to drop dangerously. The Conservative Government had come to grief in this way in the previous year, and it behoved Liberals to be prepared for a similar contingency befalling the present Government. The peculiarity of the present situation, said Mr. George, was that every one was professing Liberal principles. He was sure, however, that the Conservatives would revive the cry for Protection at the first opportunity, and as for the Labour Party, though they were bringing in Liberal Bills, their heart was not in the work, and therefore it was not possible that they could do it well. A short time afterwards an unofficial Committee which had been got together by Mr. Lloyd George issued a book called "Coal and Power," which set forth Mr. George's ideas for developing the country's electrical resources. The book created some stir, but its proposals were adversely criticised by experts, and it succeeded no better than Mr. George's speeches in rallying the country to a Liberal Party united under his leadership.

On July 7 the Prime Minister announced the decision of the Government with regard to the Channel Tunnel scheme, a memorandum on which had been laid before them by the House of Commons Channel Tunnel Committee. The memorandum stated that fully four hundred members supported the scheme, some, however, with the proviso, to which the Committee assented, that the approval of the naval and military authorities and of the Committee of Imperial Defence should first be given. This body had accordingly been consulted, and after a thorough investigation had reported adversely to the scheme. From the point of view of security the Committee, while not wishing to overstate the risks, were advised, as their predecessors had been advised, that there was undoubtedly an element of danger involved, and there appeared no room for doubt that the existence of a tunnel would add something to the anxieties of those responsible for national defence, and to the country's commitments and expenditure. And, as Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman had said in 1907, even if the military dangers were guarded against, there would still exist in the country a feeling of insecurity which would lead to a constant demand for increased naval and military expenditure. On the civil side the only advantage of importance would be the facilitating of passenger traffic, but this would be at the expense of the steamship services. The number of workers for whom the tunnel might provide employment directly and indirectly was estimated at not more than 12,000 in Great Britain and as many in France. These advantages were not held to be commensurate with the disadvantages from the defence point of view, and the advice of the Committee, which the Government felt bound to accept, was that the scheme should not be proceeded with.

In the course of the summer friction developed between the Foreign Office and two countries in which hostile feeling towards England had long been rampant—Mexico and Egypt. The underlying cause of the trouble with the former country was the persistent refusal of Britain to recognise the revolutionary Government of General Obregon—a course of action which caused some surprise in England also, and for which no explanation was offered. The attitude of the British Government was accurately reflected in the behaviour of its representative in Mexico, Mr. H. A. C. Cummins, which so irritated the Mexican Government that on May 13 it addressed a request to Mr. MacDonald to withdraw him at once, stating as a reason that he had addressed insulting letters to it on the subject of the attacks made by brigands on Mrs. Evans, an Englishwoman owning land in Mexico. As Mr. Cummins stayed on, this request was followed by a more peremptory note on June 14, threatening that if Mr. Cummins did not surrender himself, His Majesty's Legation would be broken into. Mr. MacDonald on June 16 and again on June 19, referred in Parliament in terms of strong condemnation to the action of the Mexican Government. He read Mr.

Cummins's letters to show that they were perfectly proper and contained nothing to which the Foreign Office could object. He made an official request to the Mexican Government to take no further step till the arrival of a mission from Sir Thomas Hohler which was on the point of proceeding to Mexico for the purpose of bringing about more friendly relations between the two countries. The Mexican Government refused, and Mr. MacDonald thereupon persuaded the American Government to arrange for the safe withdrawal of Mr. Cummins, and to take charge of the Legation and the archives. Mr. MacDonald denounced the behaviour of the Mexican Government as highly discourteous and wholly inexcusable; he did not, however, take any further step beyond cancelling the visit of the Hohler mission.

The affair with Mexico was followed by a much more serious embroilment with Egypt, arising directly out of the "continuity of policy" pursued by the Government in foreign affairs, apart from the questions of Kussia and reparations. In consequence of the Labour Party's declarations when in Opposition, its advent to power had inspired in Egypt hopes that England would withdraw from the Sudan. To dispel these hopes once and for all, Lord Parmoor in the House of Lords on June 25 stated emphatically that the Government was not going to abandon the Sudan in any sense whatever. This statement was welcomed by the Marquis Curzon as "thoroughly satisfactory," but it aroused violent resentment in those, both in England and in Egypt, who expected different things of a Labour Government. Zaglul Pasha, the Egyptian Premier, protested vehemently, and was with difficulty dissuaded from resigning his office. On June 80 Mr. MacDonald made a statement in Parliament which opened the door to discussion with Egypt of the status of the Sudan and expressed the hope that Zaglul would visit London to confer with him on the matter. Some Labour members sent a telegram to Zaglul begging him to accept the invitation. On July 10 there was a discussion of the subject in the House of Commons which revealed general agreement that the Sudan should not be placed under the domination of Cairo. The Premier repeated that he was most anxious to enter into negotiations with Zaglul, and again expressed the hope of seeing him in London. He said that he appreciated Zaglul's difficulties, but asserted emphatically that the *status quo* in the Sudan could not be changed till the negotiations were completed, at the same time paying a tribute to the excellent work done by British officials in the country. His speech did not make it easier for Zaglul to accept his invitation, and the Egyptian Premier for a considerable time abstained from committing himself. Mr. MacDonald meanwhile had his hands full with more important affairs, for preparations were now in full swing for the long-desired international conference on reparations.

CHAPTER III.

THE LONDON CONFERENCES.

THE first step of practical importance which Mr. MacDonald was able to take towards putting into operation the Dawes Report on reparations was to entertain M. Herriot, the new French Premier, at Chequers on June '21 and 22, and to discuss with him the possibilities of Anglo-French co-operation. As in his public speeches, so in this interview M. Herriot showed himself far more in sympathy with the British outlook than his predecessor had been; consequently substantial progress resulted from his visit. An official communique issued by the Foreign Office on June 22 stated that though no definite conclusions could be arrived at pending consultation with the Belgian and Italian Governments, the conversation had revealed general agreement between the French and British points of view, and on the part of the two Prime Ministers a common determination to meet the difficulties which beset their countries by continuous co-operation. It was agreed that, subject to the convenience of the other Allies, a Conference should be held in London not later than the middle of July for the purpose of definitely settling the procedure to be adopted. The two Prime Ministers also agreed to pay a brief visit to Geneva together at the opening of the Assembly of the League of Nations in September. In Parliament the next day Mr. MacDonald stated that the proposed Inter-**Allied** Conference would deal solely with the Dawes Report, and that only when that was put into operation would they go on to discuss Inter-Allied debts. He also reassured anxious questioners by stating that the Dominions would be consulted in such a way as to make them feel that they were partners with England in all that was done.

The communique was received with general satisfaction in England, but in France it was bitterly criticised in Nationalist quarters. M. Herriot himself, in commenting on it in the French Parliament, added some glosses which made it appear to go further in support of France's claims than Mr. MacDonald had admitted in the House of Commons; and the *Independence Beige* published an interview with the French Premier in which he was reported to have said that he had received a firm promise to the effect that, as in 1914, in the event of a premeditated attack by Germany, England would be at the side of France and Belgium, and that he had the assurance of a definite pact binding England, France, and Belgium. On his attention being called to the alleged interview in the House of Commons on June 26, Mr. MacDonald denounced in strong terms reports that had appeared in certain newspapers regarding the conversations at Chequers, and said that the official communique covered the whole ground. He denied absolutely that there was any kind of an undertaking with regard to a defensive military

alliance so far as his conversations with M. Herriot were concerned, and said he had no information either that M. Herriot gave the alleged interview or that he was correctly reported.

Mr. MacDonald's next step was to issue invitations to Belgium, Italy, and Japan to attend a Conference in London on July 16, to consider means for putting the Dawes Report into execution. The invitation, which was not immediately made public, was currently reported to be accompanied by a Memorandum setting forth the British view of the matter, and containing among other things the suggestion that any sanctions which might eventually have to be applied under the Dawes scheme should be entrusted not to the Reparations Commission, like those under the Treaty of Versailles, but to some other body to be determined by the Conference. No sooner did the Parisian Press obtain wind of this than the Poincarist faction sought to make party capital out of Mr. MacDonald's outspokenness. His words were twisted into an assertion that the Versailles Treaty was to be amended in order to fit in with the Dawes scheme, and on the strength of this interpretation the whole idea of the Conference was attacked with unmeasured bitterness. M. Herriot was denounced for having betrayed the interests of France, and so strongly were Parliament and the public impressed by the outcry against him that his position was seriously threatened, and the holding of the Conference itself was jeopardised.

The French Premier in this emergency turned to his British colleague for assistance, and addressed an urgent appeal to him to come over to Paris immediately. On July 7 Mr. MacDonald made a long statement in the House of Commons for the purpose of justifying the procedure he had adopted, and proving to critics on both sides of the Channel that France had not been victimised in any way. He commenced by saying that he was not going to allow, if he could help it, any mischief-maker on either side of the Channel to destroy the prospects of a settlement between France and Britain. He proposed, therefore, in accordance with the French Premier's suggestion, to go to Paris the next day. Meanwhile he hoped to convince the House that there was no foundation whatever for the outcry which had been raised—not only in France but in certain newspapers at home—and which was endangering a very promising international situation. He denied that the so-called Memorandum, to which so much exception had been taken, contained anything which went beyond the conversations held at Chequers. The invitation had been received with the greatest satisfaction by Belgium, Italy, and Japan; if it had not been sent to France, that was because M. Herriot had already at Chequers promised to send representatives; this was in accordance with the precedent set at former Conferences. He denied that the British Government was engineering any plot to get rid of the Reparations Commission or otherwise to make alterations in the Treaty

of Versailles. **He** was very anxious that, **if they could** come to an agreement about the Experts' Report, they should supplement it by an agreement between the Allies that in the event of a wilful default on the part of Germany after she had accepted the Report, they should stand shoulder to shoulder in imposing her responsibility upon her. And if they were going to do that, then surely it was right that they should raise the question who was going to decide, *in* regard to the Experts' Report, whether Germany had wilfully defaulted or not. He had made it clear that any agreement come to on that point would be in addition to and not in substitution of anything that had been agreed to or imposed under the Treaty of Versailles. All that had been done hitherto was that the two Governments had taken up a sort of first position from which further negotiations could take place. The British Government had stated its view, but that did not in any way bind France. Mr. MacDonald would have liked the House to take his word for the contents of the Memorandum, but under some pressure he undertook to have it laid before members in a couple of days. Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Asquith declared themselves to be quite unenlightened by Mr. MacDonald's statement, but reserved criticism of it till they should have seen the document and till he should have returned from Paris.

Conformably to his announcement, Mr. MacDonald went to Paris on July 8, and spent several hours on that day and the next in consultation with M. Herriot. The result of their interviews was seen in a communique issued on July 9, a few hours after Mr. MacDonald had left Paris for London. This document, which, it was announced, was to take the place both of the British Memorandum already sent out and of a French Memorandum which had been drawn up but not yet issued, showed that the British and French Prime Ministers had agreed on a surprisingly large number of points, and seemed to warrant M. Herriot's remark to a company of journalists, that the *entente cordiale* was stronger than it had been at any time since the Armistice. The two Governments, it said, recognised, in connexion with the carrying out of the Experts' Report, the importance of the economic and financial points of view, and particularly the necessity of establishing conditions which would give confidence to subscribers to the loan. This necessity was held to be not incompatible with respect for the Treaty of Versailles, violation of which would not only shake confidence in the solemn undertakings of nations, but would pave the way for a fresh conflict. The arrangement to be reached ought not to affect the authority of the Reparations Commission, but the two Governments would jointly endeavour to have an American appointed to the Reparations Commission in case the Commission should have to declare a default on the part of Germany. In that case too the Governments concerned would confer together as to the means of carrying out measures for their own

protection and in the interests of the lenders. Other points of agreement were mentioned, but these, significantly enough, did not include any reference to a protocol or instrument independent of the Treaty of Versailles. On the all-important point, therefore, of superseding the Reparations Commission, it was evident that Mr. MacDonald had given way.

Mr. MacDonald on the next day supplemented the communique by a statement in the House of Commons. French opinion, he said, was unwilling to allow the Experts' Report to be regarded as a substitute for provisions of the Versailles Treaty, but was willing to accept it as a new and better way of dealing with reparations. The Government, therefore, while it would not waive its expressed views on the work and powers of the Reparations Commission hitherto exercised, could agree not to try to settle this difference as a preliminary to putting the Experts' Report into operation. The French Government had desired to associate with the Report the question of Inter-Allied debts, but to that he could not agree. In regard to the question of security, he had made it clear that no proposal of the nature of a military pact could be entertained, but repeated his desire to continue conversations on the subject. The purpose of the joint statement issued was simply to make the Conference possible, and details would be settled there with the assistance of the* proper experts.

On the same day that the Premier left for Paris (July 8), the Foreign Office issued a White Paper containing the invitations to the London Conference sent to Italy, Belgium, Japan, and other minor Powers, and the so-called Memorandum, which turned out to be a note despatched by Sir Eyre Crowe, Permanent Secretary to the Foreign Office, to Count Peretti della Rocca, Director of Political Affairs at the French Foreign Office, on June 24, suggesting five points to be embodied in the instrument or protocol which it had been agreed to draw up, pledging all parties, including Germany, to give effect to the recommendations of the Dawes Report. The invitations to Italy, Japan, and the United States also had been preceded by a telegram on June 23, stating that the chief business of the Conference would be to draw up such a protocol, and expressing the view of the British Government that the duty of deciding whether Germany had committed a breach of the terms of the Report could not properly be entrusted to the Reparations Commission, since the functions of that body were strictly determined by the Treaty of Versailles. This apparently was the proposal which had caused such a ferment in Paris, and which Mr. MacDonald, during his visit to that city, found it advisable to withdraw.

The holding of the Conference having thus been assured, it was preluded by a debate in the House of Commons in which both Mr. MacDonald's diplomatic methods and the Dawes Report itself were brought up for trial. Mr. Asquith, who opened,

was inclined to be critical of the "new diplomacy." He doubted, judging from the latest example and its results, whether they were not in danger of more harm than good from "the substitution for the old system of ambassadorial interchange of this new procedure of the tea-table and the railway station, tempered and supplemented by sporadic and often ambiguous communications to the Press, under which they had neither full reticence nor full publicity, but often a misleading mixture of both." However, he commended Mr. MacDonald for having saved both the domestic situation in France and the existence of the Conference, and having ensured its opening in a clear and friendly atmosphere, even at the cost of giving up certain points on which he had at first insisted. Mr. Asquith went on to add that the question of security, though not included in the agenda of the Conference, to a large extent conditioned any settlement that might be arrived at, and stated his view that the British Empire should guarantee both to France and Germany to use all its powers against either State which pressed a quarrel against the Allies without calling into use the machinery of the League of Nations. Mr. Baldwin, who followed, referred scornfully to the election cry of the Labour Party, that if they came into power they would revise the Treaty of Versailles, and proclaimed triumphantly that experience of office had brought the Government to a maintenance of the full continuity of the foreign policy of the country with regard to their handling of the Treaty and the settlement of the questions arising out of it. He thought that Mr. MacDonald's references to the Dawes Report as containing something that went beyond the Treaty had needlessly alarmed French opinion, and said it would be a great relief, not only to France but to the House of Commons, to know that the impression was false. He called attention to the alleviations for Germany provided by the Report, and asked the Prime Minister to take steps, if they got so far at the Conference, to see that German industry should be penalised, by taxation or otherwise, to no less an extent than their own industry would be by the competition which was bound to result from the loan to which they would be asked to subscribe.

Mr. MacDonald in replying pointed out to Mr. Baldwin that at the Inter-Allied Conference on Reparations in London and Paris in December, 1922, and January, 1923, from the Report of which he quoted, the Conservative Government of the day had itself proposed in the plainest terms the supersession of the Reparations Commission for certain purposes, so that Mr. Baldwin had no ground for accusing him on that score. He recognised that France must have every security she wanted about the Treaty, but they must be careful that France herself did not extend the legal provisions of the Treaty. Further, they had to induce investors to subscribe a loan to Germany of 40,000,000/., and it was doubtful if they would accept the security merely of the Reparations Commission. The position

he took up, and which was clearly adumbrated in the agreement come to at Paris, was that the creditor who was to be created should have a security satisfactory to him. That was a matter for negotiation, as was also the appointment of an arbitrator, while as to sanctions, there would be no programme laid down at the Conference, but, if they came to an agreement, a united declaration of the interest of the Allies in seeing that Germany fulfilled her obligations.

Mr. MacDonald's explanations satisfied the Liberals better than either the Conservatives or his own followers. Mr. A. Chamberlain criticised his diplomacy on the same lines as Mr. Baldwin, and said that the result of the 1923 Conference ought to have been a lesson to him not to repeat the error of Mr. Bonar Law in proposing to supersede the Reparations Commission. A number of Labour members denounced the Dawes Report *in toto*, saying that the whole policy of seeking an indemnity was a mistake, and only created unemployment in England. However, in spite of these apprehensions, the Foreign Office Vote was in the end agreed to without a division, and the Prime Minister was allowed to enter the Conference as representative of a nominally united House.

On July 10 the Conference was formally opened by Mr MacDonald in the presence of the delegates from France, Belgium, and Italy, and the London Ministers of the other Powers interested in Reparations, viz., the United States, Japan, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Portugal, and Greece. Mr. MacDonald, in his introductory speech, stated the British point of view with great frankness and precision. The Report of the Dawes Committee, he said, not only by its ability but by its unanimity placed an imperative obligation on all of them to put it into operation without delay. In some of its proposals the Report might be debatable, but they had been warned by the experts that it must be taken as a whole, and whoever studied it would be bound to come to the same conclusion. The Committee drew a sharp distinction between economic and political considerations, and concentrated on the former; could they do better than discuss the application of the report in the same spirit as that in which it was conceived? The Dawes scheme was not in itself a final solution of all their problems, but they could clear the ground by first putting it into execution. After expatiating on the merits of the Dawes scheme, Mr. MacDonald emphasised the necessity of unity among the Allies. Without unity there could be no security, and without security there could be no peace. Unity, however, could not be reached except upon agreements which commanded the intelligent and moral assent of the nations; and heavy would be the responsibility of anyone who did not strive with might and main to arrive at such an agreement.

Mr. MacDonald having declared the Conference open, speeches were made by M. Herriot, Mr. Kellogg, Signor de

Stefani, Baron Hayashi, and M. Theunis, expressing their willingness to do all in their power to make the Conference successful. On the proposal of M. Herriot, Mr. MacDonald was made Chairman of the Conference, which thereupon appointed three Committees, one to deal with the problem of the body which was to decide, if need arose, on the declaration of Germany's default; one with the restoration of German economic and fiscal unity, as postulated in the Report; and one with the methods of transferring German payments to the creditor countries.

Some difficulty arose over the question of the representation of the British Empire at the Conference. The other nations objected to the British Empire having more than three delegates. It was at first intended that these should be Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Snowden, and Mr. Thomas as representative of the Dominions and India. Canada, however, claimed the right to independent representation, and in fact had sent a special delegate. It was finally arranged—not till after the Conference had actually opened—that representatives of any Dominion so desiring and of India should become members of the British Empire delegation on a panel system, and that delegates so appointed should be privileged to be present at the Conference debates even when it was not their turn to sit as members. In informing the House of Commons of this arrangement on July 18, Mr. Thomas was careful to point out that this plan was a special one adopted for the present Conference, and was not to be regarded or quoted as a precedent.

In spite of the great differences which former discussions had revealed between the British and French points of view, the First Committee, which dealt with the declaration, if necessary, of Germany's default, was able by the end of the week (July 19) to come to an agreement. It recommended that, in addition to the Agent for Payments under the Experts' scheme, a representative of investors in the loan should be appointed who would also watch the progress of payment, and that he along with the Agent for Payments should determine whether there had been any wilful default by Germany. They would notify their decision to the Reparations Commission, on which would then devolve the function of formally declaring the wilful default of Germany and informing the Allied Governments. With this agreement the chief difficulty in the way of the Conference seemed to have been surmounted; but the delegates proved to have reckoned without their host. The bankers, led by Mr. Lamont, of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., immediately declared that the security offered in the new agreement or compromise for the loan of 40,000,000Z. which they were asked to float did not satisfy them, owing to their mistrust of the Reparations Commission. Nor was this the only hitch in the work of the Committees. In the Second Committee the French representatives insisted that some 4,000

French and Belgian employees should be retained on the Euhr railway system even after evacuation, and to this the British were unable to agree, so that no unanimous recommendation went before the Conference. In consequence of these two setbacks the plenary meeting of the Conference held on July 23 did not bring a final agreement materially nearer. The only steps it took were to appoint a Fourth Committee to consider the question of inviting the Germans to the Conference, and to extend the powers of the Third Committee so that it might report on the question of deliveries in kind by the German Government.

The holding of the Conference coincided with the visit to England of the American Bar Association along with its President Mr. C. E. Hughes, the United States Secretary of State. Although Mr. Hughes took no official part in the Conference, he was in frequent consultation with its members, and at a dinner given in his honour on July 21, he took occasion to refer to it in words which were generally regarded as an authoritative statement of America's attitude. He said that Europe could count on their interest and assistance in the measures necessary to ensure its economic rehabilitation. Such assistance would take the form of disinterested advice, and later of participation in the absolutely essential loan. It was indispensable that methods should be contrived and dispositions made which would enable such assistance to be rendered. All discussions would be futile unless the arrangements made ultimately satisfied the investing public. They appreciated the difficulties, but they believed that the Dawes plan opened the path of confidence and prosperity. Failure would invite chaos, in which there would be no gain to anyone. There was no substitute for goodwill, and that would be promoted by making possible the economic satisfactions to which all industrious peoples were entitled, and by holding out promise of release from the almost intolerable burdens which the Great War had placed on bent shoulders. Mr. Hughes's speech came at a timely moment when a spirit of pessimism was beginning to prevail with regard to the Conference, and was followed by renewed efforts to make it a success.

For more than a week the Conference marked time while the French experts drafted and submitted to the First Committee a new scheme for dealing with the eventuality of a German default. They proposed, while leaving the decision on this matter in the hands of the Reparations Commission in the first instance, to allow an appeal by any member of it to an arbitral tribunal of three, with an American chairman, whose decision should be final. This was accepted by the First Committee, but the British members of the Third Committee objected to a further French proposal, to allow arbitration in case the Transfer Committee which was to be set up under the Dawes scheme should be equally divided on the question of the utilisation of German

payments. The plenary Conference met on August 2 to receive reports from the First and Third Committees, but not from the Second, which had made no progress with the question of withdrawing the French railwaymen from the Ruhr. The British delegates at the Conference did not uphold the objections of their experts on the Third Committee, and endorsed all the French proposals; whereupon the Conference immediately issued the long-delayed invitation to Germany to send delegates to London.

This meeting marked the end of the first stage of the Conference—the stage which had been taken up with the work of securing a "united front" for the Allies in their dealings with the German representatives. Owing to the objections raised by the bankers to the first form of agreement reached, this task had taken not one week, but nearly three, and had not been accomplished without far-reaching concessions on both the French and the English sides. In informing the House of Commons on August 4 of the results of the Conference to date, Mr. MacDonald adopted a slightly apologetic tone, and simply stated, without trying to justify, the retention of the Reparations Commission as a body qualified to declare default on the part of Germany, in spite of the fact that in the British and American markets confidence in the Commission as a judicial body had been completely forfeited. In reference to the unsettled question of the French withdrawal from the Ruhr, he expressed the hope that the effect of the agreement would be to create a new spirit of co-operation on both sides, so that points which had been left open owing to the impossibility of settling in the present state of the public mind might become negotiable by a change in that mind. Replying to a question of Mr. Lloyd George, he stated that while on some points he had unwillingly found himself compelled to give way, he would allow nothing to stand finally in the agreements which would indicate that he had sanctioned any of the steps taken by France since January 11, 1923. He would very much have liked to apply the method of arbitration to disputed points in the interpretation of the Treaty of Versailles, but he was afraid that in the present state of public opinion in France that was impossible.

While Mr. MacDonald was busy with the Conference, the House of Commons was engaged in getting through the Government's legislative programme for the Session. Three bills of major importance—Mr. Wheatley's Housing Bill, Mr. Shaw's Unemployment Insurance Bill, and Mr. Buxton's Agricultural Wages Bill—had managed to pass their second reading much as the Government drafted them; but in their later stages the Liberals insisted on drastic alterations being introduced before they would give their support.

Mr. Wheatley's Housing Bill entered on its Committee stage on July 16. In order to avoid defeat, the Minister of Health, in spite of some truculence of language, considered it advisable

to accept a number of Liberal amendments, and on the second day of the discussion he considerably simplified matters by conferring with the Liberal and Conservative spokesmen, Mr. Masterman and Sir K. Wood, and indicating on which of the Opposition proposals he would be willing to make concessions. In the end, out of 70 amendments tabled by the Liberals, no fewer than 65 were accepted by him in the course of the debate and incorporated in the Eeport stage of the Bill. The chief effects of these were to break down the power of trusts and restore private enterprise and the speculative builder, to permit the municipalities to sell freely the houses they built, and to secure the benefit of the 12£. 10s. subsidy for more than 50 per cent, of rural parishes, and for thousands of small men who had built under the Act of 1923.

Thus amended, the Bill came up for its third reading on July 25. It still utterly failed to satisfy the Conservatives, who moved its rejection on the ground that it called for a greatly increased subsidy without any security that it would provide houses at rents which could be paid by the poorer section of the community, and that it arranged for the erection of great numbers of houses without any guarantee that the necessary additions of labour and material would be forthcoming. That these or similar fears were still entertained by the Liberals was made clear by Mr. E. D. Simon, who predicted that the houses built by public money would be occupied by privileged tenants at uneconomic rents. Nevertheless, after all the labour they had spent on amending the Bill in Committee, the Liberals could not stultify themselves by voting against it, and they assisted the Government to carry it through by 226 votes to 131.

On July 18 the Unemployment Insurance Bill (No. 2) was read a third time, not before the Minister of Labour had brought down on the Government its eighth defeat by opposing a Liberal amendment to the effect that the power of industries to "contract out" of unemployment insurance should not be abolished, as provided in the Bill, but only suspended till the expiration of a year from the close of the so-called "deficiency period"—i.e., till a year after the Unemployment Insurance Fund should have repaid the money it had borrowed some time previously from the Treasury. On the question of payment of benefit to persons thrown out of work by a strike in which they did not directly participate, the Minister, to the disgust of some of his followers, accepted a Liberal amendment to the effect that the person so thrown out of work should not receive the benefit if he were pecuniarily interested in the strike. The Bill confirmed the rates of benefit provided in the interim Bill of March, viz., 18s. per week for men, and 15s. for women, with 2s. for each child, while the waiting period was reduced from a week to three days, and the gap was abolished.

It was on its Agricultural Bill that the Government was

called upon to make the heaviest sacrifice. The proposal to create a Central Wage Board had been decisively rejected in Standing Committee, and for some time the Government was in doubt whether it was worth while proceeding with the Bill thus shorn of its most characteristic feature. They decided in the end that half a loaf was better than no bread, and duly carried the Bill through its remaining stages. On the third reading, on July 28, Mr. Buxton said that the Bill was a very different one from the Bill which he had introduced, but there was still a great deal of good in it. He expressed his satisfaction that the most distressing cases of extremely low wages were now about to be removed. Owing to the unattractive conditions of the industry, there was a rapid drift of population from the villages to the towns, and from the point of view of the farmer, if from no other, it was imperative to deal with those conditions, not in course of time but quickly, because the shortage of labour was already very severe in many parts. Fault was found with Mr. Buxton not only for withdrawing the proposal for a Central Wage Board, but also for failing to put in the Bill a stipulation for a minimum wage of 80s.; nevertheless, being recognised on all sides as better than nothing, it was allowed to pass as an agreed measure.

In the House of Lords on July 21, Lord Olivier announced the Government's intentions in respect of the report on the Indian Services presented by Lord Lee's Commission a couple of months earlier. He said that the Government fully agreed with the Commission on the need for increasing the pay of the services, owing to the rise of the cost of living in India. In regard to the educational, agricultural, and veterinary services, the transfer of which to Provincial Governments as recommended in the Report, it had been decided to suspend recruitment in England for the present, but there was to be no suspension of the Indian Civil Service open competition in London, which would be held in August as usual while the examination for the police service had already been held. It could not be expected that any final decision on the report involving issues of such magnitude would be taken before six months, and this would allow time for a discussion in the Assembly in India. With regard to the general Indian policy of the Government, Lord Olivier reiterated his opinion of the political futility of the methods adopted by the Swarajist party in the Bengal Legislature, and said that the Government would not touch the existing constitution in India till it had received the report of the Committee of Inquiry which it had set up to investigate the working of the Government of India Act.

The taking of the Education Vote on July 22 afforded the President of the Board of Education, Mr. Trevelyan, an opportunity of surveying educational conditions in the country. He pointed out that there was no reduction on the Education Estimates for the previous year, viz., 41,900,000/., although

the births in the country had declined from 948,000 in 1903 to 758,000 in 1923, so that the number of children at school was constantly decreasing. If he had been content to maintain the same services as in the previous year, he said the Estimates might have undergone considerable reduction, but he was leaving room for expansion and improvement, and including a sum of between 500,000/. and 750,000/. for new and productive expenditure. In doing this he was merely interpreting the prevailing discontent at the financial parsimony which had in the past stopped progress and threatened the standard of education already attained. After paying a tribute to one of his predecessors, Mr. Fisher, for having created the instrument which now rendered progress possible, the Minister said that the new educational policy had the approval of nearly the whole of the Press, and the local authorities had also shown their willingness to support it. He had asked for a determined effort to reduce the size of classes throughout the country, for a higher standard of staffing in the elementary schools, a steady increase in the use of trained teachers, and the replacement of the worst class of school building. He was at that moment having a complete survey of the country made, and he intended to make clear in the autumn what school buildings could only be allowed a limited period of continued existence. There had been during his term of office a bound forward in educational activity. In the whole of last year the approved expenditure for the building of elementary schools had amounted to 1,097,000/.; for the first six months of this year it was 838,000/. In the whole of the financial year 1923-24, only 30 new secondary schools had been approved, whereas in the last six months 40 new schools had been added to the number. He was prepared to encourage local authorities to adopt the continuation school system, and announced that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was willing to hand over to him for the purposes of juvenile education nearly half a million which might otherwise have gone on the insurance of young people, if the original proposals of the Unemployment Insurance Act had been carried.

On July 23 the Postmaster-General announced that the Government had decided to adopt the main recommendations of the Donald Committee—as embodied in its Report of February 28—in regard to an Empire wireless service, viz., that the State through the Post Office should own all wireless stations for communication with Overseas Dominions, Protectorates, Colonies, and territories, and that the Post Office should operate, directly under an improved business organisation, an Empire Wireless Station in Great Britain. He also stated that the Government was prepared to co-operate with the Marconi Company in the trial of a new system of short-wave directive stations—known as "beam" stations—for which Canada, South Africa, and Australia were also willing to allow facilities.

The Government at this time published a letter which it

had sent to the Secretariat of the League of Nations containing its formal refusal to entertain the proposal for a Treaty of mutual assistance which had been drawn up under the auspices of the League. This step was adversely criticised by Earl Grey and Viscount Cecil in a debate in the House of Lords (July 24). Lord Grey charged the Government with having dismissed one more attempt to promote security in Europe, Lord Parmoor stated the reasons by which the Government had been guided. It was, he said, impossible for any Government in this country to carry out a successful policy of disarmament without the united loyalty of all the Dominions. With the exception of Ireland, all the Dominions had expressed opposition to the proposed Treaty, and they therefore could not think of adopting the scheme. There were also other reasons, equally strong. Every objection which the United States had taken to entering the League would be emphasised and strengthened if this Treaty were adopted. Criticism of the proposed Treaty had come from every official body in the country. England having reduced her armaments to a minimum, was it seriously proposed that they should give power to an outside authority to determine the force they should place at the disposal of the Council of the League to carry out the provisions of the mutual treaty? The Treaty was based on the theory that one must use force before one could have friendliness or security, but this he denied wholly. Lord Cecil characterised as astonishing the allegation of the Government that the proposed Treaty would increase armaments, and also demurred to the doctrine that because the Dominions dissented from a proposal it ought necessarily to be dropped. Lord Balfour, on the other hand, thought the Government had acted rightly, though he described as illusory the proposal contained in the Prime Minister's letter, for an assembly of all the nations to devise a scheme by which armaments might be diminished, unless it were dealt with in a spirit of which at present he saw no sign. The suggested Pact was again decisively repudiated by the Premier and Lord Parmoor at the meeting of the League of Nations at Geneva in September.

On July 29 the vexed question of the representation of the Dominions at International Conferences was discussed in the House of Commons in connection with the Colonial Office Vote, but without bringing a solution appreciably nearer. The difficulties of reconciling Imperial unity with the according to the Dominions of equality of status were forcibly expressed by Mr. Lloyd George, who said that the matter was of vital moment to the unity, the strength, and the continued existence of the Empire. He said that the proceedings in 1917, 1918, and 1919, when the Dominions were called practically into the Cabinet, into the Council of the Empire, involved a greater constitutional change than was generally apprehended, so much so that it had been difficult to get the Departments quite to accept the full

meaning of the change. Mr. Thomas in reply quoted a telegram which he had sent to the Dominions on behalf of the Government on June 23, and which, he thought, expressed the views of the House of Commons as a whole. The Government, it said, felt as a result of its experience since taking office that the system in practice had two main deficiencies—first, that it made immediate action extremely difficult, particularly in the sphere of foreign policy; secondly, that conclusions reached at and between Imperial Conferences were likely to be reversed through changes of Government. They therefore asked for suggestions from the Dominions, being themselves of quite an open mind on the subject. It was unfortunate that in the interval they had been confronted with the problem of the Dawes Eeport Conference, and for this they had to make a provisional arrangement which he admitted was not satisfactory, and which, as had already been announced, was not to be taken as a precedent. They had therefore invited the Dominions to a Conference which they hoped would take place in October. Outsiders, he said, were inclined to gloat over these domestic differences in the Empire, but he wanted to make it clear that they would not be allowed to weaken it and that a remedy for them would be found. Mr. Thomas shortly afterwards paid a visit to South Africa, and succeeded in persuading the new South African Premier, General Herzog, to agree to South Africa being represented at such a Conference; but difficulties were still raised by other Colonies, and nothing further was heard of the proposed Conference for the rest of the year.

On July 30 a vote of 2,919,000? for sundry Middle Eastern services came up, and a reduction was moved by Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy, a Liberal who usually voted with the Government, as a protest against the Treaty with Iraq which was awaiting ratification. The speaker's view, that England should clear out of Mesopotamia unconditionally as soon as possible, was supported from the Labour benches, but Unionists encouraged the Government to maintain continuity of policy in the Middle East. The Colonial Secretary said this was the only opportunity which the House would have during this Session of discussing the Treaty before ratification, in accordance with the promise of the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. In view of the support accorded to the Treaty, he asserted that the Government would without hesitation treat the discussion as sufficient to warrant them in ratifying it. The Government, however, would not be bound by the rider added by the Constituent Assembly of Iraq to its ratification of the Treaty, that such ratification was conditional on Mosul being incorporated in the boundaries of Iraq—a question on which negotiations with Turkey were still going on. Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy did not press the matter to a division in view of what he termed the "unholy alliance between the Government bench and the Conservative Party."

On the same day (July 30) the Liberals availed themselves of the right on which they had reserved to themselves some weeks before, of discussing the Vote for the Ministry of Labour in order to review the Government's unemployment policy. Mr. Snowden, *on* behalf of the Government, made an elaborate statement of their plans. Five million pounds, he said, was to be spent on the reconstruction of main trunk roads, while a further road programme had been approved amounting to 13,500,000Z., of which the Government contribution would be 10,400,000Z. Legislation was to be introduced in the autumn to give the Electricity Commissioners compulsory powers as proposed in 1919, and 10,000,000/. was to be spent by the State to standardise frequency of current; the Severn barrage scheme was to be revived, and the sugar beet industry encouraged by excise duties and subsidies; while 3,000,000/. was to be laid out on municipal works schemes in the ensuing winter. Dr. Macnamara severely criticised the Government for failing to do anything which would relieve the needs of the unemployed in the immediate present; and Mr. Lloyd George evoked loud Opposition cheers by sarcastically remarking that when the Labour Party before the General Election said that they had schemes thought out, planned, and considered in every detail as a remedy for unemployment, they meant the schemes prepared by other parties, Unionist and Liberal. Nevertheless the bulk of the Liberals did not judge that the time was yet ripe to force an appeal to the country, and they helped the Government to defeat by 46 votes a motion for reducing the Minister of Labour's salary.

On July 30 it had been announced that the House of Commons would rise for the Autumn recess a week later, on August 7, but at the last moment the Government's plans were thrown into uncertainty by the turn of events in Ireland. On July 31 the Judicial Commission which had been appointed a few weeks earlier reported that according to the Irish Treaty the Boundary Commission could not be constituted if one of the parties concerned—as in this case Northern Ireland—refused to appoint a Commissioner. Mr. Thomas, in informing the House of Commons the next day of this report, stated that the Government had no doubt that it had been the intention of Parliament when it ratified the Treaty that the Boundary Commission should be appointed, and they felt bound in honour to secure, as far as lay within their power, that that intention should be carried into effect. They were still not without hopes, even at that late stage, that the Government of Northern Ireland might see their way to appoint a representative on the Commission, but if not then the Government proposed forthwith to introduce legislation to give effect to what was the undoubted intention of the Treaty, "regardless," as he said, with a veiled reference to the Conservative Die-Hards, "of any consequences to themselves." Mr. Lloyd George immediately

assured him of the support of the Liberals. Mr. Baldwin remained silent; but the challenge to the Die-Hards was taken up by Mr. E. McNeill, who said that the assumption of the Government that this was a mere drafting oversight in the Treaty, and that the honour of the country was involved in rectifying that oversight, was an idea by no means universal, and one that would be hotly contested.

Before resorting to legislation, the Government made a last effort to induce Ulster to change its mind. On August 2 President Cosgrave and Lord Londonderry, who acted as Prime Minister of Northern Ireland during the illness of Sir J. Craig, were at Downing Street, and had long interviews with the Premier and Mr. Thomas. When they left, the path to an agreement still seemed to be open, but on their return home they found their supporters averse to any concessions, and President Cosgrave wired to London insisting that legislation to appoint the Commission should be carried through forthwith. Many members of the Cabinet, including the Premier, were strongly opposed to rushing so important and contentious a measure through the House of Commons at the fag-end of the Session, when all members were anxious to get away. On the other hand, to flout the Irish President's request might have given a dangerous impulse to the Eepublican movement in Southern Ireland. In this emergency Mr. Thomas and Mr. Henderson crossed over to Dublin on August 4 to induce the Free State Ministry to consent at least to the postponement of the final stages of the proposed Bill till the House of Commons should re-assemble for the Autumn Session in October.

Mr. Cosgrave gave no definite undertaking, but as a result of his conversations with the English Ministers the Government felt that it could safely adjourn Parliament on the date originally fixed, August 7. In order to convince Southern Ireland of England's good faith in the matter of the Treaty, it decided to lay before the House immediately a Bill for appointing a Boundary Commission in Ireland, and to give an undertaking to convene Parliament on September 30 instead of October 28, if it should seem necessary, thus shortening the recess by four weeks for the express purpose of hastening the passage of the Bill. Mr. Thomas, who with his colleague had returned from Ireland on August 5, in introducing the Bill on the next day said he could not pretend that the Free State Government had in any way desisted from its view that the Bill ought to be passed into law forthwith; nevertheless he hoped to satisfy their people that England meant to keep faith with them. Meanwhile he appealed to the Press and people of England to refrain during the interval until the House met again from any action that might awaken old suspicions or inflame old prejudices. Not many minutes passed before the need for this caution was demonstrated. Sir J. Simon, in assuring Mr. Thomas of Liberal support, asked him whether he had pointed out to the

Government of Northern Ireland that under the Irish Free State Agreement Act of 1922 the opportunity to contract out of the Irish Treaty was given it by the same article as provided for the appointment of the Boundary Commission, so that it was claiming to accept the advantage of that article without the burden imposed by it. Ominous cries arose from the Conservative benches at this home-thrust, and to prevent a tumult the Speaker judged it advisable to disallow all further questions.

On the resolution of the Vote for the Admiralty Office being taken on July 31, Mr. Amery made a strong appeal to the Government to reconsider its decision with regard to Singapore on the ground that this was not a well-considered means of making a "moral gesture" to the world on disarmament. Conversely Liberal members again accused the Government of setting the pace in another race of armaments by proceeding with the building of new cruisers. Mr. Ammon replied that the question of Singapore was precisely where it had been left when last discussed in the House, and the Government saw no reason for reversing their decision. He refused to take seriously the Liberal charge, pointing out that, in view of the large number of cruisers which had recently gone and were soon going out of commission, the five cruisers laid down by the Government were a replacement not at all commensurate with the decrease.

Concurrently with the Session, the Anglo-Russian Conference which had opened in April also drew to a close. It had on various occasions formed the subject of questions in Parliament, chiefly from Unionist members who were afraid that the Government might be too complaisant to Russian demands. One of these questions, on June 18, elicited from the Prime Minister a declaration, of which much was heard subsequently, that on no account would Britain guarantee a loan to the Russian Government. On July 7, just before the Prime Minister made his statement on the approaching Conference on reparations, Unionist members had expressed their impatience at the long-drawn negotiations, and had pressed the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who had been conducting them, for some definite information. Mr. Ponsonby complained that the debate came at a very awkward moment, as negotiations had just reached the critical stage. He admitted that proceedings at the Conference had not gone so rapidly as he would have liked, owing partly to the dilatory methods of the other side, and he gave a brief account of the meetings of the Soviet delegates with a Committee of bondholders during June, which had aroused considerable public interest. This, he said, had been his own idea, but after there had been two meetings, he discovered that the Committee did not really represent the bondholders, and could not promise or accept anything on their behalf, so the discussion had proved abortive. Apart from this, the Conference had had a certain number of plenary sittings,

but had proceeded more by way of conversations than formal conference; and he hoped to be able to lay certain agreements before the House before the Summer recess. The way in which he eventually fulfilled this promise created a political sensation which formed a turning-point in the career of the Labour Government.

On August 5 the Anglo-Soviet Conference, at a protracted sitting of twenty hours, had finally come to an agreement on all points at issue but one—the compensation of owners of property nationalised by the Soviet Government. Despairing of being able to reconcile the British with the Russian view on this matter, and considering that a Treaty which left this point unsettled would be futile, the Government issued an official announcement that the Conference had broken down. Before, however, any statement could be made in Parliament, four Labour members with pronounced Russian sympathies—Messrs. Purcell, Wallhead, Morel, and Lansbury—brought the delegates together again, and with their assistance a formula was found which satisfied both parties. The Conference was in this way saved, and to the general astonishment Mr. Ponsonby on August 5 announced to the Commons that a Treaty had been drafted between England and Russia, and would be signed the next day.

The Treaty, as described by Mr. Ponsonby, was as extraordinary as the circumstances in which it was framed. It consisted of two parts, a commercial Treaty and a general Treaty. The commercial Treaty followed the normal lines, securing for English goods most-favoured-nation treatment. It contained one new departure in stipulating diplomatic immunity for a certain number of the Soviet Union's trade delegations and their offices. The general Treaty renewed a number of treaties made with the old Russian Government, and drew up a Fisheries Agreement. With regard to the question of debts and claims, on which interest chiefly centred, England had obtained an admission of liability from the Soviet Government, and an assurance on their part that they would negotiate with the bondholders. With regard to the miscellaneous claims and disputed properties, further investigations would be made. Only one more point was added by Mr. Ponsonby, but it was the point which gave the Treaty its peculiar character and one which by its nature could not fail to arouse heated controversy. When half at least of the bondholders were satisfied with the terms, and when the Government was satisfied with the lump sum reached in the settlement of the miscellaneous claims, then these agreements would be embodied in a subsequent Treaty, arising out of which the Government would submit to Parliament a proposal guaranteeing a loan to the Soviet Government.

The Treaty thus outlined was immediately, as was to be expected, denounced uncompromisingly by the Conservative Party,

led by Mr. Ronald McNeill, who said the proposal to guarantee a loan contradicted express assurances given by the Prime Minister. Mr. Lloyd George joined in the attack on the Treaty, characterising it as a "fake," and as being dangerous not so much in itself as in what it might subsequently involve. On the debate being continued next day Sir R. Home asked the Prime Minister if, in view of the strong opposition to the Treaty manifested in the debate, he would refrain from signing it till empowered to do so by Parliament. Mr. MacDonald emphatically refused to take so unprecedented a course, and duly signed the Treaty on August 7. Yet, apart from its contents, the form of the Treaty might have been held to justify a departure from ordinary practice. As the Soviet Union of Republics had no titular head, it was not thought fitting that on the British side the King's name should be introduced into the Treaty, and the document was signed simply in the name of the Governments of Great Britain and Northern Ireland—a procedure which was held by some authorities to render it invalid.

This last act of the Government was the most open exhibition it had yet given of its Socialist proclivities. Up to this point it had adhered with striking fidelity to the path marked out for it by Mr. Asquith in the speech which put it in office, of "pursuing in common with other parties the ideals which progressive thought had grasped." Now for the first time it showed an intention to kick over the traces, and follow its own bent. Hitherto, as its critics constantly pointed out with scorn, it had been Socialist only in name. Its legislation had been largely moulded by the Liberal party, and had been of the stamp commonly known as Liberal, though, in the irony of the situation, no Liberal administration could have been trusted to carry out such a programme. If Labour government had made a difference, it was rather in the social than in the political sphere. But the Russian treaty was taken by the other parties as a sign that Labour desired power as well as office; and from that moment the Government's days were numbered.

The rise of Parliament left Mr. MacDonald free to devote his whole attention to the Reparations Conference, but owing to the new turn which it had taken, he was for some days unable to take any active part in shaping its course. When the German delegates arrived on August 5, they at once addressed themselves not to him but to the French and Belgian representatives, taking up the thread of Mr. MacDonald's unofficial but highly important conversations with M. Herriot on the subject of security.

Brushing aside questions of future provision against a problematical default, they came at once to the issue on which depended both Germany's willingness to accept the Allied scheme and the success of the loan—how soon could the French

troops be got out of the Ruhr? For some days the Conference stood aside while the German and French delegates tried to come to an agreement on this knotty point. Their discussions proved more fruitful than the most sanguine could have dared to hope a short time previously. M. Herriot, having at his elbow not M. Poincare but Mr. MacDonald, showed himself willing and even eager to liquidate the Ruhr adventure at the earliest possible moment. In less than a week, and after a hurried visit to Paris to consult with his colleagues, he was able to propose the evacuation of the Ruhr within a year, provided Germany fulfilled her obligations under the Dawes scheme. On the Germans hesitating, he added an offer to evacuate Dortmund and raise the customs barrier at Mannheim and other places immediately. With this proposal the Germans, though far from satisfied, closed (August 16), under strong pressure from Mr. MacDonald and the American representatives.

With this problem solved, the Conference was wound up with extraordinary rapidity, as agreement had already been reached on all points involved in the Dawes scheme proper. The final meeting was held on the very day on which the Germans and French came to their arrangement. Its chief business was to agree to a protocol registering the agreement of all the parties represented to the Dawes plan, and stating that certain agreements (which were attached to the protocol as annexes) had been drawn up and signed, which were necessary to enable the plan to be brought into operation. The protocol further stated that representatives of the contracting parties would meet in London on August 30 for the formal signature of the documents, which were for the present only initialled provisionally.

Speeches were made by Mr. MacDonald, who presided, M. Herriot, Mr. Kellogg (the American Ambassador), Herr Marx (the German Chancellor), and other representatives of the Powers interested. Mr. MacDonald, who addressed the delegates as "my friends," began by congratulating them on the success of their labours. It was now their duty to make the work accomplished fruitful for good. The agreement reached must be taken as a whole, and those who were critical of this or that detail should ask themselves what was the alternative. What had been accomplished was the first really negotiated agreement since the war; it was not the result of an ultimatum, and every party represented was morally bound to do its best to carry it out. The agreement might be regarded as the first Peace Treaty; it had been signed with the feeling that they had turned their backs on the terrible years of war and war mentality. Referring to the agreement reached between France, Belgium, and Germany for the evacuation of the Ruhr, he said he wished to impress on the German people—who might not be too happy at the results obtained—that they had created a system which enabled them to watch the working of the Dawes plan, and to

come together to rectify mistakes as soon as they were discovered. The time of national isolation was, in short, ended. If their **work** restored some confidence and hope so that they faced the future in the spirit of co-operation, it would lead to far greater solutions than the document they had signed. They had a long way to go before the goal of European peace and security was reached. "The all-important thing to-day," he concluded, "is that we should be sure we are on the right road. I think that in our deliberations here we have found it."

This was not quite Mr. MacDonald's last word on the work of the Conference. A day or two later he made public a letter which he had addressed to the French and Belgian Premiers after their exchange of letters with the German Chancellor on the evacuation of the Ruhr, in order to make clear the position of the British Government on the matter. In spite of his having urged the German delegates to accept the French offer, he affirmed once more that the British Government had never recognised the legality of the occupation of the Ruhr. They had hoped that the occupation would be ended as soon as the Dawes Report was put in operation. An arrangement, however, having been made by which the occupation might be extended for another twelve months, the British Government, without prejudice to the position which they and their predecessors had taken up, noted the agreement, and urged most strongly that the Governments concerned should take every possible step to hasten the evacuation, as, in the opinion of the British Government, the continued occupation might jeopardise the arrangements agreed to at the London Conference. This letter, as was natural, was strongly resented by the Opposition party in France; nevertheless it did not prevent M. Herriot from obtaining a decisive majority both in the Chamber and the Senate for ratifying the London Agreement. Shortly afterwards Mr. MacDonald had the satisfaction of seeing the Agreement accepted by a two-thirds majority in the Reichstag, so that his labours in connection with the Conference were crowned with complete success.

From the British point of view the chief value of the Conference was that it re-established complete amity between England and France. This new amity was based not, like that of five years previously, on comradeship in arms, but on a common desire to heal the wounds of the war and to prevent the outbreak of fresh wars. It required therefore to be cemented by a policy of disarmament; and the British and French Premiers were but continuing the work they had done at the Conference when a few weeks later they made a joint proposal on this subject to the Council of the League of Nations.

The prospect of the Dawes scheme being realised, while welcomed by the greater part of the British public, aroused serious misgivings in certain commercial and industrial circles which feared an intensification of German competition as a

result of the loan of 40,000,000?. to be granted under the scheme. Mr. MacDonald had on various occasions shown himself alive to this danger, and before leaving London announced that a Committee would be set up to advise the Foreign Office on the subject—a promise which he never fulfilled. The Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation discussed the effect which German deliveries of coal might have on the British coal industry, but determined not to formulate any view till they should have interviewed the Prime Minister. The Owners* Association, on the other hand, while anxious as to the future of the export trade, considered that the situation had been brought about by causes independent of the Dawes scheme, and saw no reason for approaching the Government.

About this time the friction already existing between Great Britain and Egypt, so far from diminishing, became aggravated by the turn of events in the Sudan. On August 9 disorders broke out in that country, and British troops were employed to quell them. On August 15 the Egyptian Government issued a communique in which the British action was strongly reprehended, and at the same time presented to the British Government, through a member of the Egyptian Legation in London, a protest against the proceedings in the Sudan, with a demand for the immediate formation of an Egyptian-Sudanese Commission to examine the situation. In reply the bearer of the Note was informed that the Government fully endorsed a communication made to the Egyptian Government at Alexandria by the Acting British High Commissioner, to the effect that the British Government was responsible for the maintenance of order in the Sudan, and intended to support the Sudan Government in taking steps which it might think necessary for the preservation of public security. The Government, it was added, looked on the disturbances in the Sudan as the direct result of the exaggerated claims in respect of the Sudan advanced by the Egyptian Government, and of the attacks made on the British Administration in the Egyptian Press and Parliament. During the next fortnight there was a further exchange of Notes, which brought matters no nearer to a settlement. It was immediately afterwards stated that the proposal for personal negotiations between Mr. MacDonald and Zaglul Pasha had fallen through. Zaglul, however, instead of returning to Egypt, remained at Paris, and Mr. MacDonald, while attending the League of Nations Conference at Geneva, issued another invitation to visit him in London towards the end of the month. Zaglul this time accepted, and friction ceased for the time being.

On September 2 the Prime Minister left London for Geneva, in order to attend the meetings of the Assembly of the League of Nations as British delegate. His colleagues were Lord Parmoor and Mr. Henderson. Speaking to a Press representative before departing, he said that he felt very keenly the tremendous importance of the League, and he had really decided

to go over not for the purpose of making speeches—though he would have something to say—but to try to demonstrate by his presence how much confidence he had in the power of the League to do good work, and how anxious he was that every national delegation should be as strong and representative as possible. Questioned on the subject of disarmament, Mr. MacDonald said that all along he had worked on the principle of arbitration in the matter of disarmament against the pact of mutual assistance.

The annual Congress of the Trade Unions was held on September 1 and the succeeding days at Hull. It was presided over by Mr. A. A. Purcell, M.P., who in his opening address expressed the hope that the Labour Government, having undone the mischief caused by previous Governments, would now concentrate on the programme for which the Labour Party had been called into being. The chief work of the Congress was to adopt an "Industrial Workers' Charter" which had been drafted by the General Council,—a collection for the most part of principles which had been adopted year after year in the past by the Congress, and which were now brought into the domain of immediate practical politics. The nationalisation of mines and minerals, though included in the "charter," was moved separately by the Secretary of the Miners' Federation. Much of the time and energy of the Congress was taken up with the question of securing co-operation between British and Eussian trade unionists. At the second day's sitting Mr. Pollitt, the leader of the Communist section in the Congress, stigmatised as "weak-kneed" the action of the British delegation to the Vienna International Trades Union Congress in June in voting against the admission of Russian trade unionists, and called on the Congress to urge the new General Council to use its influence with the Amsterdam International in order that at a coming conference all organisations affiliated to Amsterdam could meet all organisations affiliated to Moscow with a view to bringing about the unity of the international trade union movement. The President said he would like the Congress itself to decide on this point, and after an animated discussion the Congress turned down the proposal by deciding to proceed to the next business. An attempt to bring in a motion to the same effect the next day as an emergency resolution, though countenanced by the Standing Orders Committee, was decisively defeated by the Congress. On the other hand, and as if to leave the door still open for closer co-operation with Eussia, the Congress, on the fourth day, gave a warm welcome to five Russian trade unionists who were in England in connection with the Anglo-Soviet Conference, and listened with marked attention to an address from their leader, Mr. Tomsy, who in a speech of studied moderation and considerable power said that while the Eussians could not give up the ideas for which they had lived and fought and shed their blood, they could unite with the

workers of the whole world in a struggle against exploitation. Mr. Tomskey's speech produced an immediate effect. Acting on a suggestion which he had thrown out, the General Council submitted to the Congress a request for authorisation " to take such steps as will bring together the different elements of the Labour movement in Europe in an effort to establish that solidarity which will make for world peace; " and this was granted by the Congress without discussion.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FALL OF THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT.

WITH the close of the London Conference political activity was suspended for a time to allow of the customary summer vacation. This year, however, the lull was much shorter than usual. The Irish situation was viewed with grave anxiety in England, and early in the recess its possible developments were being eagerly canvassed by politicians and in the Press. At the beginning of September a body of some twenty members of the House of Commons, drawn from all three parties, toured the boundary district, and on September 16 addressed a letter to the Press stating their unanimous opinion that a satisfactory settlement could best be arrived at by direct mutual agreement between the parties in Ireland, and that the negotiations should if possible be entered into before any Boundary Commission was set up. This was but one of a number of well-meant unofficial efforts to bring about a better state of feeling between the two sections of the Irish people. The Unionist leaders during the same period conferred earnestly on the best course to adopt in the emergency, and Mr. Baldwin himself visited Ireland to see Sir James Craig, the Ulster Premier. On September 9 Lord Balfour communicated to the Press a confidential letter which Lord Birkenhead, then a member of the Government, had written to him on March 8, 1922, when the Irish Treaty was under consideration, assuring him that there was no danger of a Boundary Commission making drastic alterations in the existing border between Northern and Southern Ireland. Lord Balfour added that the letter effectually allayed his doubts as to whether the Treaty had inadvertently done an injustice to Northern Ireland in respect of the boundary, thus conveying a hint to the Government there not to oppose the Commission.

The Irish question did not stand alone in keeping political interest alive during the vacation. The Russian Treaty engaged the public attention almost equally, and long before Parliament was due to meet began to be exploited by both sides for electioneering purposes. The Labour Party represented it as the sovereign cure for unemployment; the opponents of Labour saw in it a proof that Mr. MacDonald had been " captured by

the extremists." This cry was used with telling effect by Mr. MacDonald's opponents to counteract the prestige which he had won by his successful conduct of the London Conference and his general handling of the reparations problem. The "extremists" were certain members of the Labour Party who were known to be partial to the Russian Soviet regime, and to the economic doctrines of Karl Marx. They were charged with having unduly influenced Mr. MacDonald not only in the matter of the Russian Treaty, but also in another matter which, though of far less intrinsic importance, was pressed into equal prominence by those who wished to discredit the Premier and his administration.

The Director of Public Prosecutions had in July called the attention of the Attorney-General to an article in the *Workers' Weekly*, a journal which described itself as the "official organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain," exhorting soldiers, sailors, and airmen to refuse to turn their guns on their fellow-workers either in a military war or a class war. The editor in charge, E. J. Campbell, was brought to trial under the Incitement to Mutiny Act on August 5, when the preliminary hearing was taken. The next day questions were asked on the matter and protests raised against the prosecution by certain Labour members in the House of Commons. At the second hearing of the case, on August 12, counsel for the prosecution, to the general surprise, stated that no evidence would be offered against the defendant because "it had been represented that the object of the article in question was not to seduce men in the fighting forces from their allegiance, but that it was comment on armed military force being used by the State for the suppression of industrial disputes." No hint was given as to who had made this representation, but in a statement issued from the offices of the *Workers' Weekly* it was asserted that the editor's defence was not that suggested by the prosecution, but "justification," and that the withdrawal of the charge was made on the sole responsibility of the Labour Government under severe pressure from Labour members of Parliament, an assertion to which no official denial was forthcoming. A Unionist member of Parliament, Sir K. Wood, at once announced publicly his intention of raising the question when Parliament met, and this count was added to that of the Russian Treaty in the indictment against Mr. MacDonald of "extremism."

Thus before September was half through, it was evident that the Government would have to fight for its life as soon as Parliament reassembled, and this made all parties anxious to see the question of the Irish Boundary Commission settled as soon as possible. Any hopes which had been entertained that Ulster might after all be induced to modify its attitude were disappointed. Lord Balfour's letter was coldly received in Belfast, and had no effect on public opinion there. Shortly after its publication Sir James Craig stayed at Cleve-on-Thames

for a few days on his return from the Continent, and there saw most of the members of his Cabinet; and on September 16 he issued from there a statement which showed him to be still uncompromisingly hostile to the idea of a Boundary Commission. The Government therefore saw itself compelled to resort to special legislation in order to secure the establishment of that body; and so, in accordance with the resolution passed by the House of Commons just before rising, the Speaker, on September 19, summoned Parliament to meet on September 30, instead of October 28, as originally intended.

Although feeling in England was still running high on the Irish question and sympathies were sharply divided, a strong and successful effort was made on both sides to keep the matter out of the arena of partisan conflict, and to make the preservation of peace in Ireland the first consideration. But the Russian Treaty¹ was already being canvassed as an election issue, and a vigorous campaign was being conducted in the country for and against it for the express purpose of catching votes. Three views with regard to it found vigorous expression in the Press and on the platform. The Conservative Party as a body was for its rejection, not on the ground that it was in itself a bad Treaty, but that the Soviet Government was not a fit body with which to enter into an agreement of any kind. The Labour Party as a body warmly supported the Treaty as the first step towards the procuring for Russia of a loan which would enable her to become a large purchaser of British goods. Of the Liberal Party, some members inclined to the Conservative view, others to the Labour view, but the majority, while desiring an agreement with Russia, objected to the clause in the proposed Treaty respecting a loan as meaningless and misleading, and awaited further explanations when Parliament met.

Mr. Lloyd George was for a time the protagonist of the opposition to the Treaty, and he spared no effort to crystallise the opinion of his party against it. Addressing a largely attended Liberal meeting at Penmaenmawr on September 10, he defied the Government to proceed with its ratification. At a time of unexampled commercial depression like the present, he said, when they needed all their surplus cash to finance their own trade and develop their own resources, it was an act of criminal recklessness to guarantee huge sums of money to be spent in another country by a Government whose principles were predatory and destructive of all legitimate enterprise. He knew that in voting against the guarantee they should be challenging the Government on a major issue which was an integral part of their programme. The challenge, however, was theirs, deliberately thrown on the floor of the House of Commons; and if the Liberal Party were to shirk the challenge, it would forfeit the confidence and respect of the nation. In regard to the Irish

¹ For text of Russian Treaty, v. under Public Documents, in Part II.

Boundary Commission, on the other hand, Mr. George stated that he found himself in complete accord with the Government, and that Liberals were pledged to give them all the support in their power to carry through their policy.

A week later, on September 18, Lord Grey, addressing the Liberal Summer School at Edinburgh, adopted the same attitude towards the Treaty as Mr. Lloyd George, and expressed the hope that the House of Commons would reject it. The Party as a whole, however, still refused to commit itself. Mr. Asquith remained silent, and the Liberal Press continued to be divided. Meanwhile, on September 15, the Government organised an extensive campaign throughout the country in which, though it was nominally in support of their general policy, attention was to be concentrated chiefly on the Russian Treaty and the benefits which it would bring in its train.

Mr. Asquith at length broke his silence on September 20, in a letter to a correspondent who had asked him what in his view should be the attitude of the Liberal Party to the so-called "Treaty" with the Soviet Government. He associated himself without reserve with the protests of Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Grey, Sir John Simon, Sir Alfred Mond, Mr. Runciman, and other prominent Liberals, against the proposal that Parliament "should afford the countenance even of an anticipatory and contingent sanction to the guarantee by the taxpayers of Great Britain of a loan of undefined amount on unspecified conditions to the Soviet Government"—a proposal which (so far as he was aware) found no precedent in British history. It was absurd, he said, to pretend that the Liberal attitude in the matter was dictated by hostility to the present Government of Russia, or by any indisposition to arrive by negotiation at an equitable adjustment of outstanding claims, and the opening out of industrial and commercial relations. The vice of the vital part of the Draft Treaty—that which related to the loan—was that it "settled nothing, left the whole future to the chapter of accidents, and provided no security worth the name, either for the just treatment of British claims or for any advance of British credit." In conclusion he said that there was no reason to fear that British Liberals were about to enlist in an anti-Bolshevist crusade. Their object in the matter was that their relations with Russia should be put on business-like lines—an object which could not be attained by "crude experiments in nursery diplomacy."

Mr. Asquith's letter, while committing the Liberal Party to uncompromising hostility to the Treaty as it stood, conveyed a clear hint that a modified form of it might receive their support. The suggestion seemed not to be lost on the Labour Party, which hitherto had judged the attitude of the Liberals from the utterances of Mr. Lloyd George. The Cabinet held a long meeting on September 22, the very day on which Mr. Asquith's letter was published, and contrary to the general expectation, based on the speeches of Ministers during the previous week,

did not take up Mr. George's challenge to make the Treaty as it stood an issue by which it would stand or fall, but stated simply that it had considered "miscellaneous business." Mr. Clynes, speaking the next day, noted the points in which Mr. Asquith agreed with the Government, and remarked that his letter differed considerably in tone from the speeches of Mr. George. On September 24, the newly-elected General Council of the Trade Union Congress, while expressing its whole-hearted support of "the treaties and agreements discussed and accepted at the London Conference by the Russian and British Governments," decided to appoint a special delegation to visit Russia to investigate the industrial, social, and political conditions now prevailing in that country. Several members of the delegation, notably Mr. Purcell, were notoriously pro-Russian in their sympathies, but the fact of its being sent could be taken as an indication that Labour attitude towards the Treaty was still subject to revision.

The authoritative declaration of Labour's view was at length given by Mr. MacDonald at a great public meeting which he addressed at Derby on September 27. He defended the Russian Treaty with great warmth, pointing especially to the benefit which the Scottish fisheries had already derived from the improved relations with Russia. Mr. Asquith's sneer of "nursery diplomacy" he answered with a gibe at the "nursery criticism" of his opponents. But on the question of a loan he spoke in a tone considerably different from that used by Russian statesmen and by some of his own lieutenants. There was to be no question, he said, of the British Government giving Russia a loan. The Russians would have to go on the market themselves, and the Government would guarantee just as much as they could raise in this way, and no more. The only benefit of the Treaty in this matter would be to increase their credit and help to stabilise their currency. Further, he pointed out that the Government would not recommend Parliament to guarantee the loan till they had agreed to the conditions. He did not say that the Treaty itself involved the granting of a loan to Russia, or was even the first step to such a grant. Thus on the essential point, Mr. MacDonald met Mr. Asquith half-way.

About this time the public received striking proof that, whatever Mr. MacDonald might be now, he had been anything but an "extremist" three or four months previously; that in fact he had then been if anything more in sympathy with the "capitalists" than with the extremists in his own party. A new edition of his book "Socialism, Critical and Constructive," first published in 1921, came out with a preface dated June, 1924. This proved to be little more than a vigorous attack on Socialism as conceived by the general public and as preached by some of its best-known advocates. The signatory of the Russian Treaty was found saying that "Russian Bolshevism

was but an interlude in Tsarism," and that the revolutionary frame of mind created by the war had been a serious menace to the Socialist spirit of common service. Mr. MacDonald proceeded to remind the Trade Unions that profiteering was not confined to the so-called "profiteers" but had infected all sections of the population, and that the trade unionist could not advance his interests at the expense of society. He declared further that "public doles, Poplarism, strikes for increased wages, and limitation of output not only were not Socialism but might mislead the spirit and policy of the Socialist movement." The Socialist, finally, was declared to look with misgiving on some recent developments in the conflict between Capital and Labour. Had it been Mr. MacDonald's purpose to provide shot and shell for his political opponents to use against his own followers, he could hardly have written more effectively; and coming in the midst of the campaign on behalf of the Kussian Treaty his denunciation of Bolshevism caused no small embarrassment to the Labour Party.

At the same time a private transaction of Mr. MacDonald's came to light which at first sight did not seem to accord either with his Socialist professions or the requirements of his office. A London paper which had been scrutinising company shareholders' lists disclosed the fact that some months earlier Mr. MacDonald had received from Sir A. Grant, a director of the well-known biscuit firm of McVitie & Price, 30,000 one pound preference shares in the firm, and that a little later, when the birthday honours had been conferred in June, Mr. Grant had been made a baronet. Mr. MacDonald denied that the gift had anything to do with Mr. Grant's honour, which had been earned by distinguished public service. With regard to the shares, he explained that they had been given out of pure friendship—he and Mr. Grant had been boys together—to endow him with a motor car, which otherwise he would be unable to afford and which in view of his multifarious engagements he urgently needed. Mr. MacDonald's reputation for disinterestedness freed him from all suspicion of mercenary motives; but Opposition papers criticised as a grave indiscretion his action in conferring a title on a man from whom he had just before received a personal favour.

While the Labour Party was being subjected to these trials by the conduct of its leader, the Conservative Party strengthened its campaigning power by the formal inclusion in its ranks of Mr. Winston Churchill, who after wearing the Liberal label for twenty years was on September 22 adopted as candidate of the Conservative Party in Epping. A few days later he was enthusiastically welcomed by a large and representative gathering of Scottish Conservatives at Edinburgh, at which Lord Balfour presided and Sir Robert Home also spoke. Mr. Churchill endeavoured in his speech to prove that the differences between Conservatives and Liberals were of minor importance compared

with their common hostility to Socialism. This idea found favour both with the Conservative and the Labour Parties, but the Liberals themselves refused to see the matter in the same light. Mr. Churchill's own declaration of faith afforded them ample ground for drawing a sharp line of distinction between him and themselves. He professed himself still, it is true, a Free Trader, but he supported the Safeguarding of Industries Act and Imperial Preference; further he criticised the abandonment of the Singapore base, and above all he declared himself opposed to making any agreement at all with the Soviet Government. Liberals of the advanced school might properly hold that these were not minor matters even as compared with Socialism; on the contrary, Socialism itself was only a theoretical issue so long as the Labour Party could not command a clear majority in Parliament over the other parties combined. Mr. Churchill somewhat shifted his ground the next day by laying stress on the great need of the country for stable majority government during the next few years, an idea which, as was soon to be shown, was already working strongly in the mind of the electorate.

Following the Speakers summons, Parliament met on September 30, with the sole object of discussing the Irish Free State (Confirmation of Agreement) Bill which had been introduced by the Government at the end of the last Session to enable them to appoint a Boundary Commission, in accordance with the terms of the Irish Treaty of 1922. There was a crowded attendance, both on the floor of the House and in the gallery. The second reading was moved by Mr. MacDonald. He laid stress on the fact that when Parliament, by a virtually unanimous vote, had given statutory effect to the Treaty in March, 1922, it had been fully aware of all that that document imported, including the unfettered powers of the intended Boundary Commission. Ejection of the Bill would practically mean allowing the Treaty to lapse; and all the considerations that could be urged to-day in favour of such a course had been fully before the House in March, 1922, and not a single member who voted in those divisions could have done so without knowing what he was doing. Everybody meant the Treaty to be operative. No one meant it to be a dead letter by reason of a technicality; and the whole object of the present Bill was to remove this technical flaw. He warned the House of the consequences which might follow if his plea was rejected. Who, he asked, would then undertake to face the situation in Ireland? What would be said about Britain's word, not only in Ireland but elsewhere? If, on the other hand, the Bill was passed with the full support of all parties, not as a Government Bill but as a bill of honour, there might never be any need to bring it into operation at all, as he and the Secretary for the Colonies would still neglect no chance to obtain an agreement, if that were possible.

Mr. Baldwin demurred to Mr. MacDonald's assumption that the House had been of one mind in passing the Treaty. What, he asked, had been in the mind of the signatories, in the mind of Mr. Bonar Law, in his own mind? It was that the Boundary Commission meant a Commission for dealing with the rectification of a boundary, and that only. Recognising, on the other hand, that the setting up of a Boundary Commission was fully in accordance with the spirit of the Treaty, he did not propose to oppose the second reading of the Bill, but to move amendments on the Committee stage. If these were not accepted, or were ruled out of order, then the responsibility for what was in the Bill would rest on the Government, and the Conservative Party would consider what its action would be at a later stage. Mr. Baldwin was followed by Mr. Asquith, who held that the framers of Article 12 in the Treaty meant that the boundary of the Six Counties should not be as determined by the Act of 1920, but as might be determined by the Commission, to which Parliament deliberately gave the power of interpreting the nature and scope of its functions. He thought therefore that the Government had come to a perfectly right decision, and on behalf of his party promised the Bill undivided support,

The rejection of the Bill was moved by an Ulster member, on the ground that it would enable territory to be transferred from one Irish State to another without the consent of the Ulster Parliament. Neither this speaker nor the Ulster speakers who followed him departed from the tone of studied moderation in which the debate had hitherto been couched; but when the discussion was resumed on the next day the first speaker, a Liberal, Captain Benn, struck a provocative note, and the temper of the House remained on edge for the rest of the sitting. Controversy raged round the question whether Ulster had received any kind of pledge that she would not be deprived of territory. Mr. Lloyd George denied emphatically that there had been any such pledge, but was somewhat taken aback by a quotation which was flung at him from a letter written by Lord Carson a couple of days previously, stating that he, Lord Carson, had at one time received a letter from Mr. George assuring him that the Six Counties would be permanently excluded from the Act. Mr. Lloyd George said he would like to see that letter, and repeated his denial that any such pledge had been given; nor was Lord Carson able eventually to substantiate the charge. The debate was wound up by Mr. Thomas, who said that the Government had done all they could to avoid the necessity of introducing the Bill. Unfortunately, however, Sir James Craig and Mr. Cosgrave, though both reasonable men, were faced with factors which they could not control, and so their negotiations had broken down and the Government had to intervene. In answer to a suggestion from Mr. A. Chamberlain, Mr. Thomas stated that they would try to appoint a Commissioner who should be as representative of

Ulster as of the British Government. He referred in conclusion to the sacrifices made by men like Michael Collins and Arthur Griffiths on behalf of the Treaty, and called on the House to be loyal to those who had been loyal to them.

The Ulster amendment for the rejection of the Bill was defeated by 291 to 124, and the motion for the second reading was then agreed to. In the Committee stage the Conservatives moved an amendment that the Commissioners to be appointed should not substantially alter the area of Northern Ireland as fixed by the Act of 1920. Mr. Thomas and Mr. Lloyd George pointed out that this would practically mean an alteration in the Treaty, and warned the Conservatives against giving Southern Ireland any ground for impugning Britain's good faith; nevertheless the amendment was rejected only by 257 votes to 207. When the final stage was reached, Mr. A. Chamberlain, in the absence of Mr. Baldwin, announced on behalf of himself and his colleagues, that "they could not reconcile it with the gravity of the situation to jeopardise the Bill on the third reading." A division was insisted on by the Ulster Unionists, but they secured only 99 votes against 251, and the Bill was thus safely through the Commons.

While the Government was successfully piloting the Irish Bill through Parliament, manoeuvres for securing its early downfall were being conducted by both Opposition parties outside of Parliament. At a Liberal Parliamentary Party meeting held on October 1, Mr. Asquith made a speech on the Russian Treaty which showed that he had shifted somewhat from the standpoint he had taken up in his letter of September 22, and come more into line with Mr. Lloyd George. Speaking with unwonted decision, he informed the meeting that he and his colleagues had carefully considered the part of the Treaty containing the proposal for a guaranteed loan, and had come to the conclusion, not only that the party could not support such a proposal, but that the decision on it could not be postponed. Mr. Asquith pointed his objections to the Treaty by quotations from the speeches of Kamenev and other Bolshevik leaders, which showed that their idea of what the clause on the guaranteeing of the loan implied differed widely from Mr. MacDonald's. The determined tone of Mr. Asquith, whose physical and mental alacrity did not seem to be in the least affected by the weight of years—he had recently celebrated his seventy-second birthday—silenced all opposition,—and indeed the majority heartily concurred with him—and it was agreed to put on the paper a resolution in his name declaring among other things "that this House is unable to approve a Treaty which threatens to divert resources urgently needed for national and Imperial development, and contemplates that the British taxpayer should be made liable for further loans to the Russian state as the condition upon which claims of British creditors should be recognised or met by the Soviet Government." This

was equivalent to a demand for the excision from the Treaty of that very clause which was its chief recommendation in the eyes of the Labour Party in England and the Soviet Government in Kussia,—a demand which seemed to put an accommodation between the Government and the Liberals out of the question.

Having thus threatened the Government with eviction within six weeks, the Liberals were at once called upon to decide whether they should not rather carry out the operation within as many days. Before the Irish Bill was introduced, on September 30, the Attorney-General had been asked in the House to give his reasons for dropping the prosecution of the editor of the Communist organ, the *Workers* Weekly*, a few weeks previously. In reply he gave a variety of reasons—that the accused had a good war record, that he was not the responsible editor, that the article was a quotation, and that the Government did not want to make martyrs. On Conservative members pointing out the discrepancy between this statement and the explanation given by the Crown prosecutor at the time of the withdrawal, Labour members became unruly, and had to be sharply called to order by the Chair. After a number of questions had been put, Mr. Baldwin asked whether, in view of the deep interest felt in the matter, a day could be set aside for further discussion when Parliament met again at the end of October. Mr. MacDpnald suggested that it should be dealt with in the present Session, on one of the days when the Irish Bill was being considered in the Lords; and this was agreed to. The Unionists thereupon next day tabled a vote of censure on the Government for its conduct in the matter.

The Liberals at their party meeting on October 1, before knowing of the Unionist motion, had expressed their willingness to join in a "reasonable" motion criticising the Attorney-General, but they hesitated to support a vote of censure, partly because they did not think the matter of sufficient importance to warrant so serious a step, and partly because they were averse to turning the Government out before the Irish Bill had been disposed of and the Boundary Commission established. They accordingly sought a way out of the difficulty by tabling an amendment to the Unionist motion, suggesting that a Select Committee should be appointed to investigate and report on the withdrawal of the prosecution.

Between the Unionist motion on the Campbell case and the Liberal motion on the Kussian Treaty the fall of the Government now seemed to be imminent, and all parties pressed on their preparations for a General Election. The National Unionist Association opened its annual conference at Newcastle on October 2, and at a mass demonstration held in the evening the Duke of Northumberland, who presided, turned to the Conservative leader for a "call to arms." Mr. Baldwin, however, hardly rose to the occasion, and treated his hearers to a disquisi-

tion on the importance of a settled and contented Germany as the most effective barrier of "Western civilisation against Bolshevik aggression. His lieutenants, however, were more alive to the chances of the hour, and sounded the call to battle. "What the country wants/" said Mr. Neville Chamberlain at Rugby on October 4, "is a strong and stable Government with sufficient numbers behind it to enable it to carry out its policy through a full Parliamentary period. Nobody could suppose that the Liberal Party were going to be returned in sufficient numbers to form a Government, and therefore Liberals, if they want to see a Socialist defeat, would do better to give their votes to the Conservative Party." "As far as I am concerned," said Mr. Amery at Birmingham, "I do not care whether the Government is killed this week or at the beginning of next month, so long as it is killed."

Mr. MacDonald tried hard to show that the threatened election was none of his seeking. In an interview which he gave to the editor of the *Review of Reviews* on October 3, he said that the Liberals, in putting down their amendment to the Campbell motion, were merely playing the party game. The issue, if it was to be tried, should be tried by the House of Commons as a whole, not a Select Committee on which the Government's opponents would hold a majority. In regard to the Russian Treaty he asked why the Liberals, if they did not object to the principle of a Treaty, had made no attempt to approach the Government and see what could be done in the general interest. Had they made such an approach, he added, they would have found the Government not unwilling to consult with them. Mr. Lloyd George, speaking at a great Liberal demonstration at Leicester on October 6, ridiculed Mr. MacDonald's charge that the reason why the country was menaced with the third General Election within two years was because the other parties, and especially Liberals, were indifferent to the national interests and prepared to sacrifice them. The real reason, he asserted, was that a body of extremists behind the Prime Minister had forced him to take a course to which he himself had been opposed some time previously. In appealing to the country for a "free hand," the Government were appealing practically for a free hand to be bullied by their extremists; they stood for class government, a thing which Liberalism had always opposed.

The Cabinet met on October 6, to consider how it would face the situation created by the motions on the Campbell case. It decided to treat not only the Unionist vote of censure but also the Liberal amendment as an issue on which it would stand or fall. Mr. MacDonald underlined this decision the next day in his opening address to the Labour Party Conference at the Queen's Hall, London. The Liberal Party, he said, had "laid a trap" for the Government. A vote of censure was plain dealing, but the amendment was in its form and origin equally

a vote of censure, "conceived in a spirit of mediaeval crookedness and torture." It was a *manoeuvre* to make the Government go down, but he and his colleagues were determined to surrender nothing of the rights of a Government. If there was to be an election, the responsibility would not be theirs. This was an opinion from which the Liberals vehemently dissented, and while declaring that they did not desire an election, they refused to avert the danger of one by withdrawing their amendment.

The debate which had thus unexpectedly been made pregnant with the fate of the Government took place on October 8. Sir Robert Home moved "that the conduct of His Majesty's Government in relation to the institution and subsequent withdrawal of criminal proceedings against the editor of the *Workers' Weekly* is deserving of the censure of the House." He based his indictment principally on statements made in Communist quarters, and which had all the appearance of being true, that the prosecution had been withdrawn in consequence of pressure brought to bear on the Government by certain Labour members of Parliament and others. Sir P. Hastings followed with a lengthy explanation in which he sought to take the whole responsibility for what had been done on himself. He said that after ordering the prosecution to be instituted he had received information which made him think that it ought to be withdrawn, and the Premier, on being acquainted with the facts, had concurred with him in this opinion. He maintained that his conduct had been fully in accordance with the traditions of his office. Sir J. Simon, who followed, said that the Attorney-General's speech had satisfactorily explained his own conduct, but had left the House in complete confusion as to the part which the Prime Minister and other Cabinet Ministers had really played. He therefore persisted in moving the amendment which stood in his name, that a Select Committee of ten should be appointed to investigate and report on the circumstances leading up to the withdrawal of the prosecution, at the same time saying that the exact composition of the tribunal was a matter of indifference, so long as there was an impartial inquiry. The Prime Minister then proceeded to fill the gap which had been left by his colleague, as far as he was allowed to do so without divulging Cabinet business, and assured the House that whatever opinions were expressed at the Cabinet meeting which had preceded the withdrawal of the prosecution, they were not expressed by way of giving mandates or instructions, and did not originate either from party or personal considerations. He repeated the opinion which he had expressed in his speech to the Labour Conference on the previous day, that the amendment was very unfair, that there was a large amount of meanness about it, as a Select Committee appointed by proportional representation from parties could not give an impartial decision on what had been shown to be a

partisan matter. Mr. Asquith, after some good-humoured raillery at the Government's thin skin, and after recalling the precedents of the Jameson Eaid and Marconi Committees, repelled the Premier's imputation on the fairness of Select Committees, and further offered that if a Select Committee was appointed his party would not ask for a single place on it. No response was vouchsafed by the Government to this offer.

After a few more speeches had been made a dramatic turn was given to the debate by the intervention of Mr. Baldwin, who had been for some time in earnest consultation with his colleagues. The admissions of the Government, he said, were sufficient to show that the political considerations deprecated by the Prime Minister had played their part in the affair. It was obvious to him that the tactics of the Government were to defeat the vote of censure by Liberal votes and the amendment by Conservative votes, and so ride off in triumph. He rose to say that his party were not going to be the dupes of such a procedure, and that therefore, while making no reflection on the honour of the Attorney-General, they considered that the right way of meeting the case, after having listened to the evidence put forward, was to give their support to the amendment, which sought a committee of investigation. By this tactical stroke Mr. Baldwin secured the defeat of the Government, which remained as defiant as ever. The bulk of the Conservatives voted with the Liberals against the censure motion, which was defeated by 359 votes to 198, and for the Liberal amendment, which was carried by 864 votes to 198. Two Conservatives, two Nationalists, and fourteen Liberals voted with the Government.

Having himself made the Liberal motion one of confidence, Mr. MacDonald had no option after it was carried but either to resign or seek for a dissolution of Parliament. He chose the latter course, and early next morning interviewed the King, who had hurried back from Balmoral in anticipation of the crisis, and obtained his consent to dissolve Parliament. A few hours later he informed the House that Parliament would be prorogued the same afternoon, and that the election would take place on October 29. The announcement took the Opposition parties by surprise, and in the House of Lords Lord Buckmaster asked the reason for such "extraordinary haste." The Lord Chancellor replied that there was nothing more disturbing to the country than a prolonged and protracted General Election, and that they had been assured that it was the desire of the commercial and the general community to get rid of the election as fast as possible.

While in Parliament the Government was being charged with subservience to Communist influence, the Labour Party Conference was taking drastic steps to banish such influence from the party counsels. In addition to reaffirming the decision of several previous years against the affiliation of the Communist

Party to the Labour Party, it passed a rule making members of the Communist Party ineligible for endorsement as Labour candidates either for Parliament or for any local authority. Both these resolutions were passed by overwhelming majorities. A third resolution laid down that no member of the Communist Party should be eligible for membership of the Labour Party; on this the voting was nearly even. At the same time the Executive Committee of the Party, in its Report to the Conference, emphatically repudiated the political principles, methods, and designs of Communism.

In fixing the earliest possible date for the dissolution, the Government, as Mr. MacDonald informed the Commons, had acted on the assumption that the House of Lords would immediately pass the Irish Bill, to which it had given a second reading the previous day, without alteration. His confidence in the public spirit of the House of Lords was not belied. On their going into committee on the Bill, Lord Carson moved an amendment, that confirmation of the Bill should also be required from the Parliament of Northern Ireland. This was warmly supported by other members, and if put to the vote would no doubt have been carried; but on being appealed to by the Marquis of Salisbury, who was also opposed to the Bill, not to provoke a conflict with the other House, Lord Carson withdrew the amendment, saying that he would be content with having his protest entered in the records of the House. The Bill was thereupon passed and received royal assent the same afternoon at six o'clock, just before the prorogation, so that the dissolution of Parliament was not allowed to jeopardise Britain's relations with Southern Ireland, as it might have done had the Boundary Commission been left in suspense.

The Parliament which thus brought its labours to a close had been elected barely ten months before, and had commenced its activities only eight and a half months before. It was the first British Parliament in which no single party, or regular combination of parties, possessed a majority. It had been enabled to function only by the support consistently given by one of the Opposition parties, the Liberals, to the Labour Government; and this support was naturally conditional on the Government's abstaining from the promotion of measures which conflicted with Liberal principles. The more active spirits of the Labour Party had chafed at this arrangement almost from the beginning; and the bulk of the party was by this time willing, if not anxious to see it brought to an end. Mr. MacDonald himself, to judge by the regretful manner in which he at first spoke of the need for an election, was not of this mind; but the Liberals, in calling on him to delete from the Eussian Treaty the clause concerning a loan, had practically made his retention of office impossible without a new mandate from the country. In the interests of the public he might have waited till this issue had been raised and debated in Parliament;

but when the Liberals, somewhat inadvertently, offered him an opportunity of defying them some weeks earlier, he seized it without hesitation, and deliberately rode to a fall on an issue in which there was no difference of principle between his party and theirs. Thus the dissolution of Parliament was brought about several weeks before its proper time, and on a matter which the public understood but vaguely and in which it was little interested.

The Liberals were bitterly accused in Labour circles of having formed a "plot" or "conspiracy" to turn Labour out of office and put the Conservatives in. They retorted that Mr. MacDonald had chosen of his own free will to make the Campbell motion one of confidence, and that the appeal to the country was entirely of his own seeking. They represented this motion, and the one on the Kussian Treaty, as intended solely to prevent the Government from falling under the influence of the extremists in the Labour camp. Instead of trying to disarm this suspicion, the grounds for which were in truth very slight, Mr. MacDonald went out of his way to strengthen it, principally by precipitating the election. Slowly but surely large masses of the public which hitherto had been favourably inclined towards him came to believe that the Tory view of his character was after all correct—namely, that he was a dangerous extremist who ought never to have been entrusted with office; and this idea gave a powerful impetus to the Tory cause at the expense not so much of the Labour Party as of the Liberals, who had to bear the odium of having put them in office.

On October 1 the Premier had at length found time in the midst of his multifarious engagements to give his long-promised interview to the Executive of the Miners' Federation on the subject of the harm that might accrue to British mining from German coal deliveries under the Dawes scheme. While sympathising with the apprehensions of the miners, Mr. MacDonald held out no hopes of modifying the scheme, and no more was heard of the matter. How strongly the public in general favoured the scheme was shown by the fact that when the British portion of the German External Loan was offered for investment on October 15, the whole sum—12,000,000?—was heavily over-subscribed in a single morning.

While Parliament was in session, Mr. MacDonald's attention at the Foreign Office had been occupied with the maintenance of British¹ interests in Iraq and in Egypt. During September, Turkish bands had carried out raids into Iraq, and British aeroplanes from the garrison at Mosul had been used to repel them. Turkey protested, and Britain justified its conduct in a Note which, by a strange irony, was read in summary by Lord Parmoor to the League of Nations Conference at Geneva on September 25, in the midst of his labours on the drawing up of an agreement for universal peace. The Note pointed out that the raids had been carried out into territory, including the *vilayet* of

Mosul, which was unquestionably under British administration, and protested against the flagrant violation by the Turks of solemn undertakings given by them in an instrument which had been duly ratified and brought to the League of Nations for registration. Fethi Bey, on behalf of Turkey, disputed the British interpretation of the Lausanne Treaty regarding boundaries, and said that Turkey had never ceased to maintain her rights in regard to Mosul. She was, however, prepared to accept any frontier on a basis of a referendum of the population. In the House of Commons on September 30, Mr. Thomas, replying to questions, insisted that there was no question of a state of war between Turkey and Britain. He said that a series of protests had been made to the Turkish Government against alleged infringements of the Iraq frontier, and the British authorities in Iraq had been empowered to take all measures necessary to prevent incursions by Turkish forces. The Government had brought these events to the notice of the Council of the League, as provided by Article 11 of the Covenant, and had asked the Turkish Government to order all Turkish forces to be withdrawn from Mosul and the small area to the north of it.

The Turks paid no attention to the British request, and their troops continued to occupy the territory which they had seized. After a fortnight of waiting the patience of the Government was exhausted, and on October 9 it sent a peremptory Note to Turkey demanding the immediate withdrawal of the invading force, under pain of action being taken by the British commander in Iraq. To this the Turks replied that they could not withdraw their troops as, according to their own view, they had not infringed on the *status quo* which, according to their agreement with Britain, was to be observed till the frontier should be fixed by the Council of the League of Nations. They offered, however, to refer to the Council for immediate decision the question of what constituted the *status quo*, on which there seemed to be a difference of opinion. To this the British Government consented, allowing the Turkish troops meanwhile to remain where they were; and by the middle of October the crisis had blown over.

In dealing with Egypt, Mr. MacDonald's diplomatic methods failed to secure any better result than those of his predecessor. In accordance with his undertaking, Zaglul Pasha came to London on September 23, and in the course of the next few days had several interviews with the Prime Minister. A number of conversations were devoted to the creating of the requisite "atmosphere," but as soon as the discussion became strictly practical, on October 3, it showed agreement to be unattainable. Zaglul would not budge from his demands that Britain should withdraw her troops from the Suez Canal and cede the Sudan to Egypt. Mr. MacDonald, who on the same morning had received a visit from Lord Allenby, refused to make any concession on either point. Zaglul accordingly departed from England forthwith, leaving matters precisely where they had been.

Mr. MacDonald made clear his position in a despatch to Lord Allenby issued from the Foreign Office on October 7. He stated that he had left the Egyptian Premier under no illusion as to the position which the Government was compelled to take up with regard to Egypt and the Sudan. No British Government could divest itself wholly, even in favour of an ally, of its interest in guarding such a vital link in British communications as the Suez Canal; and as to the Sudan, there could be no question of Britain abandoning the country till its work there was done.

Mr. MacDonald opened the election campaign in general, and his own party's campaign in particular, with a speech at Glasgow on October 13. It consisted mainly of a tirade against the Conservative and Liberal Parties for joining together to turn the Government out on a trivial issue. The motive assigned by the Labour leader was one which both parties heard with no little astonishment. "It is our success that is our trouble," he said. "Had we made a mess of things, how happy they would have been. If I had made a mess of Europe, if my friend Wheatley had made a mess of it, we would not have been out. They would have given us a much longer tether." Mr. Asquith, in opening the Liberal campaign the next day at the Queen's Hall, described Mr. MacDonald's speech as a piece of "amazing rhodomontade," and compared the speaker to the Poll Carmichael of whom Dr. Johnson had said: "She was wiggle waggle, and I never could persuade her to be categorical." The Liberals, he said, had spent a great deal of their time and energy in saving the Government from the pits they had dug for themselves, and they got for their pains gibes from one quarter and ingratitude from another. Mr. Baldwin opened the Conservative campaign the next day, also at the Queen's Hall. He said that until the Labour Party could purge itself of its extremist elements, as the majority desired to do, it could never play its part as a patriotic and constitutional party. In a speech the next day which was broadcast over the country, he said that what the country needed was a sane, common-sense Government, not carried away by revolutionary theories or hare-brained schemes—by which he probably meant Mr. Lloyd George's schemes for developing electric power in England.

In the earlier stages of the campaign the Campbell case occupied a prominent place in election oratory, but it was gradually thrust into the background to allow of the attention of the electors being concentrated on more permanent issues. Poremost among these was the question whether power should again be entrusted to a Government which professed Socialist principles. The manifesto of the Labour Party talked of the "forward march towards a really Socialist Commonwealth," and mentioned, among the steps which it would take for reaching this goal, the nationalisation of the mining industry, of electrical power, and of the whole of the country's system of transport, along with bulk importation and distribution by the Government

of foodstuffs and household necessities, as a means towards establishing reasonable and stable prices. No mention was made of the Capital Levy, and in regard to the Russian Treaty a pledge was given that no loan should be guaranteed to Russia till compensation had been secured to British subjects for their losses in that country and till Parliamentary authority had been given for the guarantee of the loan. The Socialism contained in this programme was not of an extreme type; but it was sufficient to unite the Liberals with the Conservatives in a determination to turn the Government out. In his speech at the Queen's Hall, Mr. Asquith had said that "in their view, as Liberals, the establishment of such a Commonwealth as proposed by the Socialists would be the death-blow to personal liberty and the enthronement in its place of one of the worst forms of class domination." Mr. Lloyd George, who followed him, was no less explicit. "If Toryism stands alone," he said, "fighting the extremists of the Socialist Party, it will not be long before the existing order is overthrown."

The bulk of the Liberal Party shared the sentiments of their leaders, and so found themselves espousing a common cause with the Unionists. In a considerable number of cases this community of purpose led to more or less active co-operation. A few Liberal candidates formally allied themselves with the Conservative Party as anti-Socialists or "Constitutionalists," and in addition a number of prospective Conservative candidates stood down in constituencies where a three-cornered contest might enable a Labour member to be returned on a minority vote. One of the Liberals in whose favour this arrangement was made was Mr. Asquith himself. On the other hand, Liberals stood down in about a hundred constituencies in which there had been three-cornered contests in the previous election; and in some cases the avowed intention was to make matters easier for the Conservative candidate.

Nominations of candidates were made on October 20. There were only 32 unopposed returns, as against 50 in 1923. The Speaker, Mr. Whitley, and Mr. Baldwin were among the number. For the 583 contested seats there were 1393 candidates—the same number as in 1923 for 18 seats less. The Unionists increased the number of their candidates from 500 to 518, and the Labour Party from 420 to 500, but the number of Liberals (not including 10 ex-Liberals who stood as "Constitutionalists"), dropped from 443 to 333. There were 41 women candidates against 34 at the previous election. Of the contests 217 were between Unionists or Constitutionalists and Labour; 47 between Liberals and Labour; and 48 between Unionists and Liberals; while in 251 all three parties joined.

In view of the small number of candidates put forward by the Liberals, it was practically certain from the outset that they would come back to Parliament the least of the three parties, and it was hardly possible to take seriously the state-

ment which closed their election manifesto that "the country had an opportunity of putting in power a Liberal Government." The struggle for office lay between the two other parties, with the odds heavily in favour of the Unionists. The utmost that the Liberals could aspire to in the new Parliament was a power of veto such as they had exercised in the last one. What this would mean under a Unionist administration was shown by the differences between the Unionist and Liberal election programmes. Mr. Baldwin in his election address followed much the same line as in the previous year. He again pointed to unemployment as the most pressing problem of the day, and proposed as a remedy, not indeed a general tariff, but the application of the Safeguarding of Industries Act or analogous measures which in Liberal eyes equally conflicted with the principle of Free Trade. He also strongly advocated Imperial Preference and spoke with great reserve of reduction of armaments. The Liberal manifesto, on the other hand, criticised even the Labour Government for its failure to reduce armaments, and also advocated a policy of taxation of land values attacking vested interests which the Conservative Party would be bound to defend. As in the previous year, its programme held a middle place between those of the two other parties, and eschewed the Imperialism of the Conservatives no less than the Socialism of the Labour Party.

Speaking at Paisley on October 20, Mr. Asquith defended the Liberal-Conservative "pact." Both the older parties, he said, found themselves, as they believed, confronted with a common danger which, without any loss of identity or any compromise of principle on one side or the other, they were making reciprocal sacrifices to avert. For his part, he saw nothing in such a procedure which violated in any way the most rigorous code of public honour and political consistency. At the same time he paid a tribute to the "whole-hearted loyalty" with which the former Unionist candidate had withdrawn from Paisley. His admission delighted, for opposite reasons, both Conservative and Labour circles, but was not welcomed by that large section of the Liberals which in spite of all rebuffs still found itself more in sympathy with Labour than with Unionism. Sir John Simon indignantly denied that there was any "pact" in his own constituency, Spen Valley, though no Conservative candidate was standing there; and some rather too outspoken references of Mr. Baldwin to Imperial Preference immediately started the Liberals on the cry of "dear food" as an election move against the Tories.

As in the previous election, but to a much greater extent, Liberal and Conservative candidates had occasion to complain of rowdiness on the part of Socialists. Sir A. Mond was shouted down at Hackney and Sir E. Home at Glasgow, and in several parts of the country Liberal and Conservative meetings were broken up or violently disturbed. Some candidates

were even personally assaulted on their way to or from meetings. It was not till October 24 that Mr. MacDonald, in response to repeated calls from the other side, issued an appeal to his followers to desist from such conduct. He knew, he said—repeating an unfortunate phrase used by Lord Balfour some years before—that they were subjected to great provocation by the misrepresentations of their opponents, but he asked them nevertheless to control their tempers, or, if they could not do that, to stay away from meetings. Other Labour leaders condemned rowdiness and appealed for fair play in much more outspoken language.

As the campaign proceeded, the prospects of the Unionists improved almost daily. Mr. Baldwin allayed the apprehensions of the Liberals in the matter of Protection, and inspired confidence by his sober and statesmanlike exposition of Unionist policy. Mr. MacDonald, on the other hand, filled his speeches with declamation on the loftiness of his own motives and the obliquity of the other side, and failed to give any clear and coherent statement of Labour policy. His language displayed a certain wildness and intemperateness which seemed to justify the charge brought against him of having gone over to the "extremists." There had been nothing at any time in his conduct to justify such a charge, and before the campaign was over he showed decisively that, however he might denounce the bourgeois parties in words, he was in spirit as strongly opposed to "extremism" as the soundest bourgeois. But this very act he performed in so peculiar a way as to make himself more mistrusted than ever by the anti-Socialists and to drive masses of voters into the Unionist camp.

On October 25, five days before the polling date, there appeared in the Press a communication which had been sent by the Foreign Office the previous evening to M. Bakovsky, the Chargé d'affaires of the Soviet Union in London, on the subject of a letter alleged to have been sent on September 15 by Zinovieff, as head of the Third International at Moscow, to the Communist Party in Great Britain, and which had come into the hands of the Foreign Office. The Foreign Office letter subjoined a copy of this letter, and characterised it, quite correctly, as "containing instructions to British subjects to work for the violent overthrow of existing institutions in this country, and for the subversion of His Majesty's forces as a means to that end." M. Kakovsky was informed that the Government could not allow such propaganda, and must regard it as a direct interference from outside in British domestic affairs, contrary to the solemn pledge given by the Soviet Government in the agreement of June 4, 1928. "The Government," went on the Note, "could not accept the contention that whilst the Soviet Government undertakes obligations, a political body as powerful as itself is allowed to conduct a propaganda which is in direct violation of the official agreement." The Note was signed by a

permanent official of the Foreign Office, Mr. J. D. Gregory, in the absence of the Secretary of State, but it was asserted on good authority that Mr. MacDonald was fully acquainted with its contents and had authorised its despatch.

The publication of this letter created perhaps an even greater sensation than the original conclusion of the Treaty with Russia had done two or three months before. It was described as a "bombshell," since it seemed to render futile the whole Labour campaign on behalf of the Treaty. The Labour Party was somewhat reassured by the prompt issue by M. Eakovsky of a letter stigmatising the Zinovieff letter as a "clumsy forgery," and offering to submit the question of its authenticity to an impartial tribunal. This constituted a challenge to the Foreign Office, which had obviously treated the letter as genuine. A number of members of the Cabinet (which had been kept in complete ignorance of the affair) immediately accepted M. Eakovsky's word, and by implication disavowed the Foreign Office Note. Mr. MacDonald himself, however, remained silent. In the speeches which he made on October 25 (Saturday), and the earlier part of October 27, he made no reference to the subject. Meanwhile Opposition speakers proclaimed jubilantly and without fear of contradiction that the Russian Treaty had been "blown to smithereens."

Mr. MacDonald at length threw a certain amount of light on the affair in a speech delivered at Cardiff on the afternoon of October 27. The supposed letter of Zinovieff—the "red" letter, as Mr. MacDonald called it—did not find its way into the Foreign Office till October 10, and was not put into the Department till the 14th. It was sent to him at Manchester on the 15th, and received by him on the 16th. "On the morning of the 16th I minuted that the greatest care would have to be taken in discovering whether the letter was authentic or not. If it was authentic it had to be published at once, and in the meantime, while investigations were going on, the draft letter to Rakovsky would be prepared, so that when the authenticity was established no time would be lost in making our protest to the Soviet Government." This minute was received in the Department on the 17th. The first draft of the Government Note was sent to him on the 21st, but not received by him till the 23rd. On the 24th, he looked at the draft, and sent it back in an altered form, expecting that it would come back to him again with proof of authenticity, but instead it was published the same night. These were the only new facts that Mr. MacDonald communicated, to the accompaniment of praise of the Government for the prompt and business-like way in which it had dealt with the affair, and abuse of his opponents for circulating false rumours.

Mr. MacDonald's statement showed him to be considerably at variance with those of his colleagues who, on seeing the letter in the Press, had expressed doubts of its genuineness, and had

accepted Rakovsky's repudiation without hesitation. The Prime Minister, on the other hand, still treated the authenticity as an open question, and talked of having the matter probed to the roots as soon as he returned to London. He seemed to be unaware how extraordinary his action appeared to the world. He pointed out that the task of controverting Bolshevik theory and ideas in England had hitherto been performed exclusively by members of the Labour Party. "If there is any menace in this Zinovieff letter," he said, "if it is authentic, then the one safeguarding Government is the Labour Government which has already handled the thing." When asked how this attitude squared with support of the Kussian loan, Mr. Macdonald resorted to general statements about the necessity of keeping Eussia within the European state system.

Although Mr. MacDonald had declared that he had no fault to find with the Foreign Office officials, yet his insinuation that they had acted independently of his instructions was hotly resented by Conservative speakers, who represented it as a grave slight on men who were not in a position to defend themselves. Labour speakers on their side sought to make capital out of the fact that the *Daily Mail* had boasted of having forced the Premier's hand by threatening to publish the Zinovieff letter, which had come into its possession by some illicit means. But they could not gainsay the fact that their leader, by picking a quarrel with Eussia, had dealt a fatal blow at the Treaty, and so thrown away their trump card in the election.

If the Zinovieff "revelation" was injurious to the Labour prospects, it was disastrous to the Liberals. It made numbers of weak-kneed and wavering Liberals more than ever afraid of the "Socialist menace," and drove them to vote Conservative as the surest means of combating it. The swing of the pendulum was clearly discernible even before the election. During the closing days of the campaign Mr. Baldwin made a tour of South-East Lancashire, a district which had gone strongly Liberal at the last election, and was received everywhere with an enthusiasm which astonished him. The augury proved correct; as on so many previous occasions, this district provided an index to the feeling of the country as a whole.

Polling took place without incident on October 29, and resulted in a victory for the Conservatives beyond their wildest expectations. They gained altogether 161 seats—103 from the Liberals and 58 from Labour. Against this they lost only 6 seats—all to Labour. Thus they were 155 seats to the good on balance, and came back to Parliament with 413 members,—a majority of 211 over the other parties combined. Labour won 16 seats from the Liberals and lost 9 to them, so that their representation in the new House was 151 against their previous 193. Of Liberal candidates only 40 secured election, and not a few of those only with the aid of Conservative votes given under the "pact." Six "Constitutionalists," one

Communist, one Irish Nationalist and three other independent members completed the new House.

The Conservative gains were distributed more or less evenly over the whole of the country. By a curious irony the conspicuous exception was the great stronghold of Conservatism, the Birmingham district, where all the Conservative majorities were reduced and one seat was actually lost. Conspicuous among the new Conservative members was Mr. Winston Churchill. The Liberal "casualties" affected equally the right and left wings of the Party; Mr. Pringle, a strong sympathiser with Labour, was ousted by a Labour candidate, and Major-General Seeley, a vehement anti-Socialist, by a Conservative. To the general surprise Mr. Asquith, in spite of Conservative support, was defeated by his Labour opponent at Paisley. The only Liberal leaders who came back to the new House were Mr. Lloyd George, Sir A. Mond, and Sir J. Simon. Only one member of the Cabinet—Mr. Jowett, the Minister of Works—was defeated, but a number of under-Secretaries lost their seats. Of the eight retiring women members only the three Conservatives—Lady Astor, the Duchess of Atholl, and Mrs. Philipson—retained their seats, and they were joined by one Labour member, Miss E. Wilkinson.

The most striking fact which emerged immediately from the election results was the practical disappearance, at anyrate for the time being, of the Liberal Party from Parliamentary life. Such a result was wholly unexpected, and was not at all welcome to the Conservatives, who profited by it. It was due in part to the caprice of the ballot-box. Whereas nearly one vote in five had been cast for Liberal candidates, Liberal members in the House numbered less than one in fifteen. Even so, however, the Liberal vote in the constituencies had fallen by over a million and a quarter—from 4,262,204 to 2,929,571—while the Conservative vote had increased by over two millions—from 5,497,426 to 7,864,402 and the Labour vote by over a million—from 4,372,474 to 5,508,482. It was obvious that vast numbers of electors who in 1923 had voted Liberal on the tariff issue had this year voted Conservative on the anti-Socialism issue, and in this way, as was claimed by the Conservatives, expressed their resentment, along with members who had not voted at all at the last election, against the Liberal leaders for putting Labour into office and allowing it to remain there so long. Several of the defeated Liberals had been among the most effective speakers in the previous Parliament, and it was admitted on all hands that the new House was the poorer for their absence.

On October 31 the Air Ministry announced that Air Marshal Sir John Salmond had been selected to fill the post about to be created with effect from January 31 next of Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Air Defence of Great Britain. The creation of such a command was in pursuance of the scheme drawn up by the Conservative Government in 1923 for the defence of the

United Kingdom against air attack. The scheme embraced the formation of 52 squadrons, together with the necessary ground defences to be provided by the Army.

The verdict of the election having been unmistakable, the Cabinet at its next meeting on November 4 decided to resign at once. The King thereupon sent for Mr. Baldwin, who had returned to London from the country the same afternoon. Thus after an interval of less than a year the country again found itself under a Conservative Government with a clear majority in both Houses of Parliament.

Just before its resignation the outgoing Ministry issued the report of the Cabinet Committee which, conformably to the announcement of the Prime Minister, had been set up on October 31, to inquire into the authenticity of the Zinovieff letter. The Committee consisted of Mr. MacDonald, Lord Haldane, Lord Parmoor, and Mr. Henderson. They stated that, after hearing the departments concerned, they found it impossible on the evidence before them to come to a positive conclusion on the subject. The original letter had not been produced to or seen by any Government department, and action had been taken on what was not claimed to be more than a copy. In the short time available the Committee had been unable to obtain further light on the matter.

This inconclusive statement was the whole fruit of Mr. MacDonald's promised efforts to "probe to the roots" the matter of the Zinovieff letter. It could be variously interpreted as either exonerating or censuring the Foreign Office officials, and it left the public uncertain how far Mr. MacDonald identified himself with them. Nor was it calculated to heal the breach in Anglo-Russian relations which had been caused by the Foreign Office Note. Thus those who had expected that the Labour Government would bring about a real friendship between Britain and Russia were disappointed. In the matter of Russia, as in that of reparations, Mr. MacDonald had been in action—whatever he may have been in speech—the exponent rather of the Liberal than of the Labour policy, but a more fearless and conscientious exponent than any Liberal leader would have been likely to prove himself. In internal affairs also the Labour Ministry had done little more than keep the country going on the lines of the King's Speech introduced by Mr. Baldwin—a remarkable document which in a way portended as great a revolution in British politics as the advent of Labour to office. But Mr. MacDonald took in earnest what with the Conservatives was suspected of being mere window-dressing, and in his whole-hearted devotion to the cause of social reform set a standard which succeeding Governments, of whatever party, would not be able to ignore.

Among Mr. MacDonald's colleagues, two, Mr. Snowden and Mr. Thomas, left office with enhanced reputations. Mr. Snowden as Chancellor of the Exchequer had won the respect

and confidence of financial circles, and Mr. Thomas at the Colonial Office had shown great breadth of view, and in particular by his tact and good sense had contributed not a little to the successful settlement of the thorny question of the Irish Boundary Commission. The Labour administration had throughout maintained excellent relations with the Civil Service, and with the Court, and in these respects had refuted Mr. Churchill's charge that Labour was "unfit to govern." Closer contact with Monarchy had served to modify Labour prejudices against the institution, and it was remarked that at the election the Labour members who had held posts in the King's household were returned to Parliament with increased majorities.

CHAPTER V.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

WITHIN two days of receiving the King's summons, Mr. Baldwin had made a sufficient number of appointments to form a practically complete Cabinet. He gave important posts to three prominent members of the old Coalition Government, Mr. Austen Chamberlain becoming Foreign Secretary, Lord Birkenhead Secretary for India, and Mr. Winston Churchill, Chancellor of the Exchequer. The last-named appointment gave offence in certain Conservative quarters, as did also the omission from the Ministry of Sir [EoLv.it](#) Home. The Exchequer had been offered in the first instance to Mr. Neville Chamberlain, but he had preferred to go back to his earlier office of Minister of Health. As finally constituted, the Cabinet contained six members of the House of Lords. A new departure was made by leaving the Postmaster-General out of the Cabinet, and giving the post to a Minister who was less a politician than a business man.

On November 1 the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley was formally closed by its President, the Prince of Wales. Addressing an audience of several thousands which had gathered at the Stadium in spite of most inclement weather, he said that the hope expressed by the King in opening the Exhibition, that it would bring the peoples of the Empire to a better knowledge of how to meet their reciprocal wants and obligations, had been well fulfilled. The people of the home country had learnt from it the resources and possibilities of the Empire, and the people from overseas had gained not only a better knowledge of the manufacturing resources of this country, but also a more sympathetic understanding of the problems which faced the Empire in the social organisation, the development, and the defence of its lands, The fellowship established in connexion

with the Exhibition had done much to help its work of inter-Imperial education, and to provide that its lesson should not be forgotten.

Some time before the closing of the Exhibition a strong movement was set on foot for its re-opening in 1925. On the Dominions being approached, the Governments of New Zealand, South Africa, and India declined for various reasons to participate. Nevertheless the idea was persevered with, and was viewed with favour by the new Government. Mr. Baldwin in his Guildhall speech stated that the Government did not intend to allow this great enterprise to come to an untimely end if it could possibly help, and on November 17 Mr. Amery, the new Secretary for the Colonies, announced that the Government looked forward confidently to the renewed assistance of those who had carried the Exhibition so far, and were prepared on their part to do substantially more than they had done in the past, and to co-operate more actively in the way of easing in some measure the burdens which others had borne. On November 24 it was definitely decided by the Executive Council of the Exhibition to continue it during 1925.

The invitations to the Lord Mayor's Guildhall banquet on November 10 had been sent to the outgoing Cabinet, but Mr. Baldwin became Premier just in time to be the guest of the evening. Although he had not yet consulted with his Cabinet, his speech gave several indications of the policy he intended to pursue. Referring first to the election which had just taken place, he said that neither he nor any one of his colleagues was under any misapprehension as to its significance. "We know that it is the testimony of our fellow-countrymen in favour of ordered progress and not of stagnation; we know that it is a decisive vote against minority government; and we know that we have received support from many of those who at ordinary times might have given their support to other parties. But they have endeavoured to put into power a rational Government, and it is in the exercise of that trust that we shall endeavour to deserve their confidence." In foreign policy they stood by the Peace treaties, and would cultivate good relations with foreign countries on the basis of those treaties. At the same time they fully accepted and welcomed the results of the London Conference, and trusted that the admission of Germany to the League of Nations in a manner consonant with her own dignity and with the obligations of the Covenant would not be long delayed. Mr. Baldwin paid a tribute to the inestimable value of the League of Nations as a clearing office for international disputes as illustrated recently in the case of Mosul. On the questions of Egypt and Russia he judged it premature to make a statement. The authority of the Viceroy would be supported in India, and certain questions affecting the Dominions, such as preference and defence, would have to be reviewed. In domestic matters he cautioned the people against expecting too

much from the Government; the redemption of the people must come from themselves, and happy would they be if they could show them the way, and help them to help themselves.

A few days before the Guildhall banquet—on November 6—Mr. MacDonald had been entertained at a dinner by the Executive of the Labour Party in conjunction with the General Council of the Trades Union Congress. Mr. Henderson, who presided, said that the dinner had been organised in the shortest possible time, one of the reasons for their gathering being that within a few hours of the declaration of the poll a certain section of the Press had begun to play a "stunt" with regard to their parliamentary leader similar to the "Balfour must go" stunt of some years before. He believed, however, that the spirit and unity of their gathering represented the spirit and unity of the entire movement so far as that particular matter was concerned. Mr. Clynes, after paying a tribute to Mr. MacDonald's work on behalf of the Labour Party both in and out of office, said that he had no rival for the leadership of the party, and there could be no question of supplanting him; his colleagues knew better than to give his job to any other man. Mr. MacDonald in replying said that, according to the Press, he had been responsible for bringing them into some difficulties, but they were showing that night that they did not take quite the same view, and that even if they did, their generosity was equal to all the tests that might be put upon it.

The Labour Party, in truth, was not dissatisfied with the result of the election. It had increased its poll considerably, and looked forward with confidence to obtaining a clear majority at the next election in a few years' time. The Liberal Party, on the other hand, could see in the election nothing but a disaster threatening its very existence. Its future was discussed by Mr. Asquith at a luncheon given in his honour at the Eeform Club on November 10. The veteran leader, while recognising the gravity of the situation, was yet able to give his party a message of encouragement and hope. He compared the present defeat of the party to that which they experienced in 1895, when, as now, the political quidnuncs saw in them "all the symptoms of a political invalid in a state of hopeless decline." He said now, as he had said then, that the Liberal Party would continue the fight, and there was no reason for any man among them to fail in heart or hope. He admitted that the growth of the Labour Party in the last ten years was a phenomenon of portentous significance, but he denied that the function of an independent Liberal Party was not therefore as necessary as ever. He repudiated the suggestion that the Liberal Party should drift into and be ultimately absorbed by the other two political combinations. He maintained that Liberalism had distinctive principles and ideals—otherwise it would be nothing but an "organised hypocrisy"—and that it would be fatal for the future of the country if their politics degenerated into what

might be represented as a perpetual duel between Conservatism on the one side and Socialism on the other. He impressed on his hearers the necessity of using propaganda as an instrument for winning the electorate, holding up as an example the activities of the Labour Party in this field. He also laid stress on the need of democratising the party machinery, and stated that an expert Committee had been appointed to go into this question.

The next day a meeting of about one hundred defeated Liberal candidates was held at the National Liberal Club under the presidency of Mr. Pringle. It was decided to continue the existence of the party, and to place the views of defeated candidates before the Committee mentioned by Mr. Asquith. Strong dissatisfaction was expressed at the failure of Mr. Lloyd George to place at the disposal of the party a sufficiently large sum from the fund still left over from the Coalition and National Liberal war chest. Within the next few days certain members of the party expressed their determination not to recognise Mr. George as their leader in the new Parliament. In spite, however, of these signs of disunion, the Executive Committee of the National Liberal Federation decided soon after (November 20) to convene a national conference in January, to run not less than five hundred candidates at the next election, and to raise a fighting fund of 500,000/.

The first step taken by the new Cabinet was to appoint a Committee under the presidency of Mr. A. Chamberlain to inquire into the authenticity of the Zinovieff letter, which the late Government had left an open question. As the result of its inquiries, Mr. Chamberlain on November 21 sent a letter to M. Rakovsky, stating that the information in possession of the Government left no doubt in their mind of the authenticity of the letter. The Note further went on to say that the activities of which the Government complained were not confined to one particular letter, but extended to a whole body of revolutionary propaganda of which the letter was a fair specimen, and which was sometimes conducted in secret and sometimes not concealed. The Note concluded with an admonition to the Soviet Government to ponder well the observations in Mr. MacDonald's Note of October 24, about its relations with the Third International and their effect upon its arrangements with England.

This letter was accompanied by two others from the Foreign Office. One contained a curt intimation from Mr. Chamberlain that the Government found themselves unable to recommend the Treaties with the U.S.S.E. signed by their predecessors on August 8 to the consideration of Parliament, or to submit them to the King for ratification. The other, signed by Mr. Gregory, dealt with the Note sent by M. Rakovsky to Mr. MacDonald on October 27, denouncing the Zinovieff letter as a forgery and demanding an apology and the punishment of those involved in the forgery. This Note had appeared in the Press in London

and in Moscow, but M. Rakovsky was now informed that it was not to be found in the records of the Foreign Office, and that Mr. Chamberlain had no intention of departing from Mr. MacDonald's decision, that the Note in question was one which the Government could not consent to receive.

On November 28 M. Rakovsky presented two letters in reply to the Notes addressed to him from the Foreign Office on November 21. The first expressed the regret of the Soviet Government at the rejection of the Anglo-Russian Treaties, and asserted that that Government had displayed the maximum of goodwill and of concessions in working out a basis of agreement, and therefore could not take any of the responsibility for the feeling of discontent which the decision of the British Government would cause in both countries. The second letter stated that the Soviet Government was inclined to consider the declaration issued by the Committee of Mr. MacDonald's Cabinet on November 4, that no "original document" had been seen by anyone, as destroying the grounds on which the accusation of bad faith, had been based, and as an actual withdrawal of the accusation. It was therefore exceedingly surprised that the present British Government had found it possible completely to ignore the fact established by its predecessor, and that, after having declined the offer for an investigation of the document by an impartial court, it made vague statements, unsupported by evidence, that the "document" was genuine. The Soviet Government could not accept such unproven allegations. M. Rakovsky further went on to assert that there existed on the territory of Great Britain political organisations engaged in the fabrication of false documents concerning the Soviet Government, and expressed his regret that it should base political acts affecting the relations between the two countries on unverified documents emanating from doubtful sources, and so place those relations at the mercy of malevolent persons and organisations. As for the Third International, M. Rakovsky declared that this body was completely independent of the Soviet Government and could not be controlled by it.

In Home affairs the first act of the new Cabinet was to set up a Royal Commission on Food Prices, with Sir Auckland Geddes as Chairman, "to inquire into the conditions prevailing in the wholesale and retail trades in articles of food of general consumption so far as they affect prices, particularly having regard to the difference between the prices received by producers and the prices paid by consumers, and to report what action, if any, could usefully be taken." In making the announcement (November 21), Mr. Baldwin cautioned the public not to expect too much from the labours of the Commission, as prices of food depended largely on causes which the Government could not control.

If the first act of the new Government in foreign affairs had been to put an end to the Anglo-Russian *rapprochement*, its

second was to put an end to the *status quo* in Egypt, a step to which it was provoked by an outrage of a peculiarly dastardly character. On November 20 the Sirdar of the Sudan, Sir Lee Stack, was shot at and fatally wounded by a gang of assassins in the streets of Cairo. The British Government at once dispatched a Note through Lord Allenby stating that it considered this murder to be the natural outcome of a campaign of hostility to British rights and British subjects in Egypt, which the Government of that country had not discouraged. The Government had been warned of the consequences of failing to stop the campaign, and the murder of the Sirdar proved that they were unable or unwilling to protect foreign lives. His Majesty's Government therefore required that the Egyptian Government should (1) present ample apology for the crime, (2) bring the criminals to justice, (3) forbid and suppress all popular political demonstrations, (4) forthwith pay a fine of 500,000Z., (5) order within twenty-four hours the withdrawal from the Sudan of all Egyptian officers and the purely Egyptian units of the army, (6) notify the competent department that the Sudan Government would increase the area to be irrigated at Gezira from 300,000 feddans to an unlimited figure as need might arise, (7) comply with certain demands of the British Government, separately specified, for the protection of foreigners. Failing immediate compliance, the Government threatened to take at once appropriate action to safeguard their interests in Egypt and the Sudan.

The next morning Zaglul replied to Lord Allenby that he would accept the demands relating to the Sirdar's murder—the first, second, and fourth—and also the third, requiring the suppression of political demonstrations. But the other three, which affected the sovereignty of Egypt, he rejected. "Within an hour and a half Lord Allenby rejoined with a Note stating that, in view of Zaglul's refusal to comply with the fifth and sixth requirements in the British Note, instructions were being sent to the Sudan Government to effect the withdrawal from the Sudan of Egyptian officers and army units, and that they were at liberty to irrigate the Gezira area to an unlimited extent. A demand was made that the indemnity promised should be paid the next day before noon. This was done, but as no further move was made by Zaglul, Lord Allenby ordered the Customs Offices at Alexandria to be seized, while ships of the Mediterranean fleet were sent to Egyptian waters. Zaglul Pasha thereupon resigned, and was succeeded by Ziwari Pasha, who soon afterwards accepted all the British demands.

The British action was the subject of much cynical comment in the Press of foreign countries, finding support in Italy alone on the somewhat uncomplimentary ground that it justified that country's action in regard to Greece in the previous year. On November 25 the Independent Labour Party issued a strongly worded protest against making a political assassination the

occasion for asserting new Imperialistic claims. Mr. MacDonald, speaking in his constituency on November 28, said that the Government's handling of the affair had done the country great damage in the eyes of the world. It was a mistake to mix up just and proper indignation against murder with certain political matters that could only be settled by agreement. The democratic genius and experience of Labour would have led it to handle the situation in such a way that an agreement would have issued and not a successful ultimatum. On the other hand, Mr. MacDonald agreed that it was impossible for Britain to consent to Egypt treating the Sudan as if it were her own property, because it was not. He hoped Great Britain would ask the League of Nations for a mandate making her responsible for the administration of the Sudan.

In defence of the Government, Mr. Amery, speaking at Birmingham, asserted that the assassination of the Sirdar had merely hastened an assertion of British rights and responsibilities which was long overdue. He thought that all sane Egyptians, and the rest of the world, recognised that the consequences of their firm action would be to bring back peace, sobriety, and truly responsible government to a country which for the last few years had been dominated by a handful of irresponsible agitators. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, on December 3, referring to a suggestion that what had occurred might be made a matter of inquiry by the League of Nations, said that clearly this matter did not come within the provisions of the Covenant which invited or suggested interference by the League; nevertheless he would gladly give the Council of the League any information they desired on the subject. He went on to quote passages from Mr. MacDonald's dispatch to Lord Allenby after the breakdown of the negotiations with Zaglul in October, charging Egypt with disloyalty to the *status quo*, and stating that the conditions created by her attitude could not be allowed to continue.

On November 25 the Home Secretary, Sir W. Joynson-Hicks, received a deputation from the National Citizens' Union on the subject of alien immigration. Lord Askwith, who introduced the deputation, said that in 1923 the total number of aliens who left the country exceeded the number of those who entered by 2,778, and expressed the fear that in the first nine months of 1924 things had been very different. The Home Secretary assured the deputation that there was not any laxity on the part of his staff in dealing with alien immigration. In the first nine months of this year 321,451 aliens had been given leave to come in, 1827 had been refused and 311,576 had left the country, leaving a balance, from their point of view, on the wrong side of nearly 10,000. His inquiries went to show, however, that the immigrants came in the summer and the early part of the year, and went largely out in the autumn and winter months, so that the balance might not improbably be

reduced by December. There were now 272,862 registered aliens in the country—a few hundreds less than in 1922 and 1923. Efforts, he said, were being made to do away with the *visa* system in certain countries, but the Home Office regarded it as a most important barrier, and he hoped it would not be broken down for some years to come.

On November 27 the Government announced its decision to summon in the near future a Conference representing land-owners, farmers, and workers with a view to arriving at an agreement on the main features of a national agricultural policy. The Conference would be asked to consider what measures could be taken (1) to maintain and (2) to increase the area of arable land in England and Wales, and by what further measures the economic maximum production of food from all the agricultural land of the country could be stimulated. The Ministry of Agriculture announced a few days later (December 1) that the Conference would consist of six representatives of landowners, farmers, and workers respectively, to be nominated by various organisations representative of each interest. Meanwhile it had received a communication from the National Farmers' Union inquiring whether the Government still accepted the view expressed by Mr. Bonar Law, and again by Mr. Baldwin in 1923, that a fall in the production of foodstuffs could be prevented only in one of two ways—by a subsidy or by protection, and, if the Government contemplated a subsidy, what was the limit to which they would go; further, whether in the event of a tariff or a subsidy being enacted, a better guarantee could be given than in 1920, when the Government's promise to farmers was repudiated after six months. The Minister of Agriculture replied that the position of the agricultural industry had greatly improved since the farmers went begging for help from Mr. Law and Mr. Baldwin, and that in present circumstances the prospects of the Conference would be seriously prejudiced by any attempt to prejudice or restrict its deliberations in the manner suggested. The correspondence continued for some little time, but in the end the Union consented to participate in the Conference.

Shortly after his accession to office, Mr. A. Chamberlain was approached by the historian, Dr. Seton-Watson, with a request to throw open the archives of the Foreign Office to students to a date considerably later than at present allowed, or alternatively to publish an official collection of documents relating to the Great War on lines similar to the series which was being issued by the German Government, and which, with its unanswered allegations on the subject of the origin of the War, was doing great injury to British reputation. Mr. Chamberlain in his reply, dated November 28, stated that Mr. MacDonald had already during his term of office given instructions which substantially met Dr. Seton-Watson's suggestions, and it only remained for him to confirm them. He therefore informed him that, as soon

as the consent of the self-governing Dominions had been secured, the records of the Foreign Office would be thrown open to research down to 1878, instead of 1860, as hitherto, and that a collection of documents bearing on the origin of the Great War would be edited for the Foreign Office by Mr. G. P. Gooch and Mr. H. W. V. Temperley, who, it was hoped, would be in a position to begin work at an early date.

On November 29 the negotiations for a Commercial Treaty between Great Britain and Germany, which had been going on for some time, were brought to a successful termination in London. Germany granted Great Britain most-favoured-nation treatment, while the British Government undertook to introduce a Bill in Parliament as soon as possible to remove all restrictions still imposed on Germans as ex-enemy aliens, so that no discrimination should be made between them and other foreigners. The question of the 26 per cent, reparation levy on imports was left open, the British Government refusing to consider any proposal contrary to the principle of the levy itself or to the rules of the Dawes Report. An obligation was given to remove restrictions on imports and exports in both countries. The Treaty was signed on December 2 by the Government on behalf of Great Britain only, though the Dominions, India, and the other parts of the British Empire were accorded the right of adhering to the Treaty at any time.

On December 2 Liberal members of the House of Commons, to the number of 40, met to elect a sessional Chairman. A motion was brought forward that, pending Mr. Asquith's return to Parliament, the Chief Whip should act as Chairman at party meetings. To this an amendment was moved that Mr. Lloyd George should be appointed Chairman. The motion was finally defeated by 26 votes to 9, and the amendment carried by 26 votes to 7. On the next day, at a party meeting, a resolution was adopted, with one dissentient, that the Liberal Party, recognising its duty to act as a Liberal Opposition, should resist uncompromisingly every motion or measure which did not accord with Liberal principles, from whichever quarter it was proposed. At the close of this meeting it was announced that a number of members of the Liberal Parliamentary Party, consisting chiefly of those who had opposed Mr. Lloyd George, had formed themselves into a Kadical group, without however seceding from the main body, and would work and act together in furthering Liberal principles in the House of Commons and the country. Mr. Runciman became Chairman of the new group.

On December 3 the Labour Parliamentary Party also met to elect its officers for the session. There was some plain speaking on the subject of the Zinovieff letter, which was still held, in spite of the Government's finding, to be a "palpable forgery," and the publication of which, with the Foreign Office reply, was calculated by most speakers to have cost the party some fifty seats at the election. Mr. MacDonald was re-elected

Chairman of the party, not, however, without opposition from the advanced section, led by Mr. Maxton. An executive of fifteen, with Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Clynes, and Mr. Spoor as *ex officio* members, was appointed to be the governing body of the party.

On December 4 a great demonstration was held at the Albert Hall to celebrate the Conservative victory at the polls. Mr. Baldwin made a speech which in certain respects bore a striking resemblance to the one made by Mr. MacDonald in the same place to celebrate a similar event eleven months earlier (v. p. 3). He said that the Conservative Party was no less dissatisfied than the Labour Party with many of the present-day features of the national life. Their victory at the polls was a summons to face those evils, and as far as possible to remove them without shaking the national fabric to its foundations. Unemployment, he thought, could only be remedied by an improvement in trade, but there were two measures of reform which the Government was going to put through to the uttermost of their power. They had to get rid of the shortage of houses and the disgrace of the slums. They might have to force their way through the jungle of interests which were involved in the slums of the large towns, but they had behind them in their magnificent recruitment of young members sufficient driving force to put anything through. But, unlike the Socialists, they wanted the people to own their own homes, and would devise every fair means they could to extend the class of occupying owner. Referring to Egypt, Mr. Baldwin said that while the Government had taken prompt action to stop the campaign of hatred and outrage in that country, it had no desire to restore the Protectorate or undermine the rights of the Egyptian Government. The grant of independence remained unrevoked, the reservations were still open to negotiation, and the Government would do all in its power to promote a friendly settlement.

On December 6 it was announced that the Government, in general agreement with the Government of India, had accepted the main recommendations of the Lee Commission (v. p. 82) for the improvement of pay and pensions in the superior Civil Services of India, and the grant of free passages, with effect as from the previous April 1. In addition the Government announced its decision to transfer to the Government of India the duty of making appointments to certain Central Services, and to local governments that of making appointments to Services operating only in transferred Departments. Further, the Government decided, in accordance with the recommendations of the Eeport, to accelerate the rate of Indian recruitment with a view to procuring a proportion of 50 Indian to 50 British members in the Indian Civil Service in about 15 years.

On December 4 Mr. Austen Chamberlain left London to attend the meeting of the League of Nations Council at Rome. On his way he stayed a short time in Paris, and had an interview

with M. Herriot, in which certain matters requiring an immediate solution were settled. Mr. Chamberlain arrived in Eome on December 6, and next day had a long interview with Signor Mussolini. On December 8 Mr. Chamberlain spoke before the Council of the League. He said that his presence there on that day, at a moment of some inconvenience to his colleagues, was caused by the desire of the new British Government to show its respect for the League, its high sense of the value of the work which the League had done, and the hopes which it cherished for its future success. His absence from home for that purpose had been facilitated by the goodwill of the Parties in Opposition, and by their desire that the respect of Great Britain and of the British Empire for the League might be marked by his presence there that day. On December 10 Mr. Chamberlain interviewed the Pope and Cardinal Gasparri, and he returned to England on December 12.

Parliament met on December 2 for the swearing-in of members and the re-election of Mr. Whitley as Speaker. The formal opening was performed by the King in person on December 9. The King's Speech, which was of unusual length, followed the lines of the Unionist election programme. In the domain of foreign affairs it further informed Parliament that the Government had begun the examination of the Protocol for the pacific* settlement of disputes drawn up at the last Assembly of the League of Nations.¹ The announcement was made that the enlarging of the Naval Base at Singapore would be proceeded with. In regard to home affairs, the first place was given to the mention of a Bill for safeguarding employment in efficient industries where the need for such exceptional action should be established. In regard to housing, emphasis was laid on the view that the encouragement of the private builder and the occupying owner was an essential element in the successful treatment of the problem; and Ministers were stated to be engaged on inquiries into the possibility of combining with existing systems of insurance provisions for improved old age pensions and pensions for widowed mothers.

The Address was moved by Mr. E. G. Ellis, a representative of the younger school of Conservatives of whom there were a large number in the new House. He said that two facts seemed to emerge from the election—that the people were still content to accept the Constitution as it stood, and that the mass of the nation was convinced that the experiment of minority government had not been successful. The Speech from the Throne might be taken as an indication of what they were expected to do during the next two or three years. Some of their opponents said that there existed in the Conservative Party a torpid and constricted element whose negative courses would inevitably smother all the efforts of the younger men. They were wrong;

if that element had ever existed, it had now disappeared. The spirit which animated Unionist members was one of natural caution begotten of the hard facts of life, open to conviction, and always responsive to the spirit of the age.

Mr. MacDonald, in opening the debate, devoted a considerable part of his speech to criticising the election methods of the Conservative Party in connection with the Zinovieff letter. He expressed satisfaction that after all the fulminations against Bolshevism the Government had decided to maintain the trade agreement, and expressed the desire that normal relations between Kussia and Britain should not be interrupted. He hoped that the Government's decision on the Protocol would not be unduly delayed. He accused the Government of trying, by its proposed Bill on the safeguarding of industries, to introduce Preference by underhand means. He hoped the Foreign Secretary, when he returned, would tell them the substance of his interviews with M. Herriot and Signor Mussolini, and insisted upon the necessity of fair dealing with Egypt. Mr. Lloyd George supported Mr. MacDonald in the main, and added some further criticisms. He blamed the Government for having in its Note to Egypt put in the demand for unlimited water supply. He regretted the absence from the King's Speech of any reference to Inter-Allied debts. With regard to the Protocol, he asked to what extent it would commit Britain to engage in hostilities in any part of Europe. He was sorry that the Government had rushed to a decision about Singapore so quickly. In regard to agriculture he was not at all sure that a Committee representative of all the interests was the best form of inquiry. He had, he said, been delighted with the Prime Minister's speech at the Albert Hall, especially his statement about cleaving his way through the vested interests. He regretted, therefore, that Mr. Baldwin had in the King's Speech given sinister indications of a desire to ramble in the desert of Protection. They had just concluded an admirable Trade Treaty with Germany; were they going to carry a measure which would render it futile?

Mr. Baldwin in replying said that the question of Inter-Allied debts had been omitted from the King's Speech because it would have required too much space, but he hoped that it would be discussed in the course of the debate, and that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would make a statement. In the matter of Singapore they had not yet come to a decision on the length of time over which the works would be spread nor as to the respective contributions of Britain and the Dominions interested. In regard to Protection he said that he stood by a pledge given by him in a recent speech, that he would not introduce Protection into this Parliament, nor use the Safeguarding Act as a wedge for introducing it. Dealing with election speeches on the Eussian question, Mr. Baldwin was denying that his side had used undue violence, and claiming that in angling for votes

he had always used a "clean bait," when a Labour member held up a Unionist leaflet displaying a skull and cross bones, and asked if he called that a clean bait. Mr. Baldwin replied that a similar thing had been done in the last Parliament—he was afraid from his own benches—but he deprecated such matters being brought into the House of Commons, and pleaded for more reticence in the future. Proceeding, Mr. Baldwin said, in answer to some questions of Mr. MacDonald, that the Government was carefully bearing in mind the Washington Convention on Labour Legislation, and was giving close attention to the mining situation at home; it was also watching very closely the effect of the Dawes Report on certain industries in Britain.

When the debate was continued the next day, Sir J. Simon raised in more detail the question of Inter-Allied debts which had been touched upon by Mr. Lloyd George. He referred to the remark made by Mr. Bonar Law in 1922, that for Britain to pay her debt to America without receiving anything from outside sources would impose on her an intolerable burden, and asked what was the view of the present Government on the matter. They were entitled to ask for a statement without delay because of the negotiations now going on in New York for the discharge of France's liability to America. Mr. Churchill in reply intimated that he would probably broach the subject at the Conference of Allied Finance Ministers to be held in Paris in January on the working of the Dawes scheme. He said that there were two main factors which would determine British policy in this matter—the Anglo-American debt settlement of February, 1923, and the Balfour Note of July, 1922. The debt settlement, whatever might have been thought about its wisdom at the time, was irrevocable, and it had certainly placed Britain in an extraordinarily strong position for future negotiations. The Balfour Note had stated that if they could not obtain the obliteration of the debts they themselves owed, then they should ask just as much from Europe as the United States might require from them. Not much reliance was to be placed on German reparation payments; and they therefore considered it essential that any payments made by Britain's debtors in Europe to their creditors in the United States should be accompanied by proportionate payments to Great Britain. Mr. Snowden and Mr. Eunciman expressed their approval of Mr. Churchill's statement of policy, and hoped that he would not fail to bring up the matter of Inter-Allied debts at the approaching Conferences.

In the course of the debate on the Address in the House of Lords, Lord Curzon took occasion to reaffirm his belief in the authenticity of the Zinovieff letter. He said that the Government Committee which went into the matter had had before it every document bearing on the case. The chain of evidence was complete from the issue of the letter at Petrograd down to its

arrival in this country; and the finding of the Committee was unanimous. In the course of his speech he inquired somewhat sarcastically what was the position of the Liberals in the House of Lords—whether they opposed the Government or the Opposition. Earl Beauchamp, who a few months before had replaced Earl Grey as Liberal leader in the Upper House, replied that the Liberals were out to oppose the Government where they thought they were wrong; and he expected they would get much more opposition from the Liberal benches than from the Labour peers.

On the next day (December 10) in the House of Lords Lord Parmoor gave some information on the League of Nations Protocol in the framing of which he had himself played a considerable part. He said that the intention of the Protocol was to make aggressive war, as far as might be, impossible. Forty-nine nations had agreed to it, and up to the present sixteen, including France, had signed it. He held that there was nothing in the Protocol which went outside of the terms of the Covenant of the League, and thought that certain of its provisions would greatly attract American opinion; and in the name of his colleagues he strongly impressed on the Government the supreme importance of approving the document. Marquess Curzon, in reply, said that the Government had already commenced their examination of the representations received from the Admiralty and other Departments. The examination would be close and prolonged, and he doubted if the investigations could be completed by next March, when, according to the papers, the Protocol was to be discussed by the League of Nations Council.

On the third day of the debate in the Commons Mr. Baldwin, in answer to a question, stated that the Government did not propose to hold any inquiry into the Campbell case, as after the verdict of the election it saw no useful purpose in opening the matter. One point, however, he considered needed particular mention. The late Government had given instructions that no political prosecutions should be directed by the Attorney-General without the sanction of the Cabinet. Such an instruction, in the opinion of the Cabinet, was unconstitutional, subversive of the administration of justice, and derogatory to the office of Attorney-General. The Government had therefore directed the instruction to be excised. This statement roused strong Labour protests, and Mr. Thomas asked whether an opportunity would be given next session of discussing the matter. Mr. Baldwin said that he would consider it, and meanwhile Mr. MacDonald gave notice of a motion on the subject.

On the next day, in dealing with the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill, a Labour member, Mr. Scurr, moved that the Aliens Restrictions Act of 1919 should be allowed to lapse. He was supported by another Labour member, Mr. Davies, who protested against the alarmist attitude which the Home Secretary had taken up in regard to the treatment of aliens. Sir W.

Joynson-Hicks in reply said the effect of the motion would be to throw the shores of this country open to all kinds of undesirable immigrants, and to prevent their deportation if they settled here. With regard to aliens in the country, he reminded his own friends that the great majority came here with the permission of the British Government of the day, and he did not therefore propose to exercise his powers harshly and turn them out. With regard to new immigrants, again, he was not prepared at the present day, with something like 1,200,000 unemployed in the country, to allow an alien under any circumstances to come into this country to seek work; he was determined to make it difficult and not easy for aliens to do harm to the citizens of this country. The motion for dropping the Act was finally defeated by 176 votes to 37.

On the resumption of the debate on December 15, a Labour amendment to the Address was moved "regretting the policy that was being pursued by the Government with regard to Egypt and Russia." The mover was Mr. Trevelyan, who deplored the suggestion, amounting almost to an accusation, in the British Note to Egypt of personal guilt against Zaglul Pasha and his Government in respect of the murder of Sir Lee Stack, and criticised the Government for dropping the whole Russian Treaty, and not merely the proposal for a guaranteed loan. • Mr. Austen Chamberlain began his reply with a reference to his visit to Rome. He said that on bidding adieu to his colleagues on the Council of the League of Nations he had wished them *au revoir* at their March meeting, and he appealed to the House to continue to show to the Foreign Secretary for the time being the indulgence which they had already accorded to him in order that they might be properly represented on the League of Nations and pay due respect to that body. With regard to the conversations which he had had with representatives of various States, he would say that these had been conducted in the spirit of the League itself, and he could assure the House that the attitude of the various Ministers who engaged in them was entirely pacific. He had dealt with some minor matters, but had not attempted to settle the great issues that obviously confronted them.

Coming to Mr. Trevelyan's speech, he said that he had conversed with statesmen of many countries in the course of the last week or ten days, but to hear a really anti-British declaration he had had to come to the British House of Commons. His own experience had been that the British attitude on Egypt had met not merely with acquiescence but with sympathy on the part of those whose good opinion they desired and valued. He said that the whole foundation of the Government's present policy in Egypt was the despatch sent by Mr. MacDonald to Lord Allenby in October, and he made a number of quotations from it. Britain, he proceeded, had no desire to terminate the Condominium, but they must, after their past experience, take the

powers which they found to be necessary, and without which they could not discharge the duties for which they were liable. Consistently with this, they wished to recognise the independence of Egypt and maintain the *status quo*. There was at that moment a Government in Egypt which was friendly to Britain, and he hoped that they would eventually arrange their affairs amicably with them to the satisfaction of both sides. There was, therefore, on the threshold no case to take to the League of Nations. Dealing with the demand for unlimited water from the Nile, which was the point in the British Note most generally and severely criticised, Mr. Chamberlain admitted that the Government had gone too far. He pleaded in excuse that when one was obliged to act in a great hurry it was not always possible to choose the happiest phraseology, and he promised to invite the Egyptian Government to join with them in an inquiry under a neutral Chairman as to the amount of water available for the Sudan after making allowance for Egypt.

Turning next to the Zinovieff letter, Mr. Chamberlain first stated his opinion that Mr. MacDonald had acted perfectly correctly in publishing the letter when he did, and that he accepted what he understood was his view of the publication of the Note to M. Rakovsky that it was due to a misunderstanding for which no one could be properly blamed. He said that the Cabinet Committee had seen every witness they thought necessary and had before them all the documents and information they desired, and had found the evidence for the authenticity of the letter conclusive, and after dealing with some points of detail announced that he would refuse to discuss the matter any further. Dealing in conclusion with the Russian Treaties themselves, he pointed out that Italy's agreement with Russia had not led to any great expansion of trade between the two countries. He did not know whether it might be possible at some future time to take up fruitfully negotiations with Soviet Russia again, but he did not think the present time was opportune for such a step or even for preserving normal diplomatic relations.

Mr. MacDonald, who followed, expressed his satisfaction that his successor at the Foreign Office had adopted the method of personal contact in diplomacy. He warned the Government that it would not be able simply to drop the League of Nations Protocol without putting anything in its place to meet the demands of France and the small nations for security. He expressed surprise that Mr. Chamberlain had found in his despatch to Lord Allenby a basis for the Government's handling of the Egyptian situation. That despatch was merely a refusal to accept what was practically an ultimatum from Zaglul, it was not the basis of an ultimatum from the British side. He cautioned the Government against the danger of being led by imperceptible steps to deprive Egypt of her independence, even while eschewing any definite intention of doing so. He also warned them against leaning on unpopular Governments in

Egypt. He thought that a League of Nations representative might well be called in to advise in the negotiations which would no doubt soon be opened between the British and Egyptian Governments. Coming to the Zinovieff letter, he thanked Mr. Chamberlain for the statement he had made about his (Mr. MacDonald's) position in the matter. He asserted emphatically that whatever misunderstanding there might have been with regard to the Note to M. Bakovsky, it was not due to any disloyalty on the part of the Foreign Office officials. He was still not convinced that the letter was authentic, chiefly because a copy had got into the hands of a London newspaper as well as the Foreign Office. He deplored the action of the Government in cancelling the Anglo-Bussian Treaties, and thought it constituted a dangerous precedent. Mr. Fisher, on behalf of the Liberals, hoped that the Government's aversion to the methods of Moscow would not deter them from trying to make some arrangement for the advantage of British fishermen in Russian waters and of creditors of the late Bussian Government. He also thought that the Government ultimatum to Egypt had been far too strong, and made some suggestions for utilising the machinery of the League of Nations in framing an Anglo-Egyptian settlement. In the main, however, he approved the Government's policies in regard to Egypt and Bussia as against the Labour amendment, which was lost by 363 votes to 132.

On December 16 Mr. Wheatley moved an amendment to the Address regretting that the Government were committed to a policy of leaving the solution of the housing problem mainly to private enterprise and the operation of occupying ownership. He adduced figures to prove that the private builder exploited the public, and that while he could provide houses which the wealthier classes would buy, he would never build houses which the poorer classes could rent. Mr. Neville Chamberlain in replying disputed Mr. Wheatley's statements of fact. For the twelve months ended September 30 last, he said, 110,000 new houses had been built, 95,362 or 86 per cent, of them by private enterprise. Of all these houses, upwards of 90,000 were of a rateable value of under 26l. a year, and so well within the reach of the working classes. Further, from January 1, 1923, to December 1 of this year, 7,866,000Z. had been advanced under the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act, enabling 10,168 houses to be purchased by their occupiers. Mr. Wheatley's Act, which had increased the subsidy by 165Z. per house, could, he maintained, never add a single house to the number which would have been built without it, because the limiting factor was not want of capital but shortage of labour, and this Mr. Wheatley did nothing to remedy. After due consideration, he said, he had decided to drop the Bill introduced by Mr. Wheatley for controlling prices and costs of materials, as there was no reason to believe that the manufacturers were overcharging. In conclusion he spoke with favour of the experiment of steel houses

introduced by Lord Weir, and promised a grant to any local authority which would erect them. After some debate the amendment was defeated by 356 votes to 136.

In the House of Lords on December 16, Lord Newton expressed alarm at the large number of Russians who were admitted into the country in connexion with the Russian Mission and Trade Delegation, and about whom, he said, the one thing certain was that they were here for the purposes of political propaganda. Lord Curzon, in replying, proved his suspicions to be groundless. The Home Office, he said, examined most carefully every application for admission, and then only granted permission for a limited period. Since 1921 some 340 visas had been granted to Russians connected with the Missions or Trade Delegations and 500 to others. Some of these might have occupied themselves in activities foreign to the purpose for which they had been allowed to enter ; but it must be remembered that if the Russian Government wanted to conduct propaganda in this country they need not employ their own countrymen, but could employ non-Russian foreigners, or even Englishmen. Generally speaking, the activities of any Russians whom there was reason to suspect were carefully regarded by the Government, but during the years to which he was referring no occasion had arisen on which it was judged necessary to exercise the power of deportation against them.

On the last day of the debate on the Address (December 17), Captain Wedgwood Benn moved a Liberal amendment regretting that the King's Speech foreshadowed the introduction of tariffs and preference. He asked the Prime Minister to declare clearly what were the Government's positive proposals in this matter. Mr. Baldwin in reply indicated that a Bill would be introduced next year entitling any industry which could prove itself substantial and efficient to general protection against unfair competition from abroad. He also announced that it had been decided to set up an Imperial Economic Committee to devise the best methods for marketing Empire produce in the United Kingdom, and that it was proposed to allocate about 1,000,000Z. a year to this purpose. Mr. Snowden denounced Mr. Baldwin's safeguarding of industry proposal as being merely protection under another name, and said it was the most impractical and ridiculous suggestion for a tariff that ever emanated from the brain of a tariff reformer. Mr. Lloyd George agreed that the Prime Minister's proposal meant a complete change in the fiscal system of the country. The Safeguarding of Industries Act had been introduced originally merely to deal with a temporary emergency due to the depreciation of foreign exchanges, and it had been directed against particular countries, not against all alike. This new proposal was a not very straightforward method of putting on a general tariff. Mr. Churchill, in replying for the Government, said that the mandate given by the electorate was to give effect to the policy of Imperial Preference

without the imposition of taxes on food, and to bring in the safeguarding of industries without the institution of a general tariff. The Government was going to execute that mandate, but it declined to be drawn prematurely into definitions of the Bill which it would subsequently introduce.

The amendment was negatived by 331 votes to 151, and the Address was then agreed to.

On December 18 in the House of Lords, Marquess Curzon, replying to Earl Beauchamp, said that the date fixed in the Treaty of Versailles for the evacuation of Cologne was January 10, 1925, but then only on condition that the Treaty had been faithfully carried out by Germany. An Allied Commission had been inquiring for over two years into the military situation in Germany, but owing to the persistent obstruction it had met with it could not possibly send in its report by January 10, so that there was no hope of the evacuation taking place by that date, much to the regret of the Government, which had not the slightest desire to continue the occupation.

On the same day Mr. Baldwin informed Mr. MacDonald in the House of Commons that, in the view of the Government it was the duty of the Attorney-General, when considering a prosecution likely to involve matters of public policy, to inform himself of the views of the Government or the appropriate Minister before coming to a decision. Considering this a sufficient recantation on Mr. Baldwin's part, Mr. MacDonald withdrew the motion of which he had given notice for discussing his earlier statement on the subject.

Immediately afterwards Parliament rose for the Christmas vacation and the year closed without further political incident. An atmosphere of complete political calm had succeeded the ferment with which the year opened and the excitement which accompanied its course. The country as a whole was content to see the chief direction of affairs in the hands of a leader who derived his political inspiration from Disraeli, and Mr. Baldwin's Government had every prospect of a long lease of power.

FOREIGN AND IMPERIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

LITTLE need be said concerning the constitutional development of the League of Nations during 1924 except that there has been a marked tendency during the year for Governments to send to meetings of the organs of the League their responsible Ministers of State. At the Fifth Assembly, for example, there were no fewer than seven Prime Ministers, including the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and France, and sixteen Foreign Secretaries, apart from a considerable number of other Cabinet Ministers in office. The year was also notable for the fact that the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs for the first time acted as British Member of the Council.

Largely as a result of this tendency, there has been a great increase in the authority and prestige of both the Assembly and the Council. There has also been increasing efficiency in the work of the various technical and expert commissions, whose co-operation with the national administrations of the various Members of the League becomes continually more effective.

Of the general work accomplished by the Members of the League through its machinery during 1924, undoubtedly the most important is the "Geneva Protocol" prepared by the Fifth Assembly. [For the text of the Protocol, see under Public Documents in Part II.] For four years the League through two technical commissions had been endeavouring to work out a practical policy to fulfil the obligations of Article 8 of the Covenant by which all League Members undertook to reduce their national armaments. These efforts had led to no practical result. The first approach towards agreement was made at the Third Assembly in 1922 when resolutions were adopted laying down the principle that disarmament and guarantees for security must go together. In the succeeding year the Temporary Mixed Commission prepared a draft treaty—known as the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance—for the purpose of giving practical effect to this principle. During 1924 the British Government came to the conclusion that the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance was not acceptable, though the French Government made it plain that they would regard it as

a satisfactory guarantee for French security. Moreover, the French Government were not prepared to take the measures necessary to bring about the reconstruction of Germany until they had some assurance that a revived Germany would not be free to embark on a war of revenge against France at an early date. At the London Conference on Separations, therefore, M. Herriot accepted a very liberal policy towards Germany on the basis of an assurance from the British Prime Minister that the question of French security would be considered and dealt with at the Fifth Assembly of the League. It was accordingly with this undertaking from the British Government towards France, and with warm French support for the general scheme of the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, that the Assembly began its consideration of disarmament.

The work of the Fifth Assembly on this subject was embodied in the Geneva Protocol. It consists of three parts which relate respectively to Arbitration, Security and Disarmament. The reason why security and disarmament are linked together has been explained already. Arbitration was a third necessary part, because a number of states were unwilling to agree to the creation of a system of international military guarantees unless they had assurance that these guarantees would only be used against a state which was genuinely guilty of aggression. They believed that such guarantees could be found in a general system for the pacific settlement, by compulsory means, of all international disputes, or, as it was loosely called in Geneva, by a general system of "compulsory arbitration." To secure the unanimity which was required, therefore, any scheme for disarmament had to embody the three elements which have been mentioned.

The most important provisions of the Protocol relate to "arbitration," that is to say, to the compulsory and pacific settlement of all international disputes. It provides that all disputes which are capable of settlement by the application of legal rules—disputes which are commonly known as "justiciable"—shall be referred on the demand of any one party to the Permanent Court of International Justice. If there is any difference of opinion as to whether there are legal rules which cover a given dispute this difference shall also be decided by the Permanent Court itself. It was expected by the authors of the Protocol that a great number of international disputes would thus be dealt with by judicial process; the more so since international law is at present being developed with great rapidity. For such disputes as are not dealt with in this way, that is to say, for "non-justiciable" disputes, the Protocol provides that in the first place the Council shall fulfil the same functions which it at present fulfils under Article 15 of the Covenant. Its duty under this Article is to seek by all the means in its power to effect a settlement of non-justiciable disputes by common agreement between the parties, and to this end it is empowered to

make any inquiries which it thinks desirable, to conduct negotiations between the parties, and to propose compromise solutions which in its view would provide a just settlement of the dispute. If, however, it fails to secure agreement among the parties by its conciliation, each of the parties is, under the Protocol, given a right to demand a compulsory arbitration, the result of which is binding upon all the parties to the dispute. In this respect the Protocol goes considerably beyond the provisions of the Covenant, and criticisms have been made on the ground that compulsory arbitration is not a suitable means for the settlement of non-justiciable disputes. In reply to these criticisms it is usually said by supporters of the Protocol that the right of compulsory arbitration is not a normal method of procedure, but is merely a safety-valve when all other means of averting war have failed. They add that since there is an almost universal desire for the acceptance of compulsory arbitration, arbitral awards rendered under the Protocol would carry great weight with the parties and with international opinion in general. It was also believed by those who drafted this part of the Protocol that it would go very far towards removing many of the causes which in the past have led to war.

With regard to security the provisions of the Protocol are in some respects even more drastic. Under the Covenant an ultimate right of war is in certain narrowly restricted cases still allowed. Under the Protocol this right of war is in every case abolished, and the signatories undertake in no case to go to war unless they are called upon to do so by the Council of the League in order to repress an act of aggression committed by a recalcitrant state. The signatories also agree in case of any such aggression to apply against the aggressor state all the measures which are provided for under Article 16 of the Covenant, *i.e.*, economic and financial pressure, and if it be required action by means of land, naval, and aerial forces. It is sometimes said that the Protocol goes far beyond the Covenant in imposing specific obligations in respect of sanctions upon its signatories. This does not appear to be the case. Every signatory of the Protocol merely undertakes that it will "loyally and effectively" carry out the undertakings it has already given by accepting Article 16. No one disputes that the Covenant involves an obligation to use both economic and military means for the repression of a state which goes to war in breach of its terms. The Protocol does no more than define more precisely the circumstances in which these measures shall be co-operatively applied. It leaves each individual signatory state free to decide at the moment what assistance it can give in order loyally and effectively to carry out its promise. It is plain therefore that the Council of the League would have no right to dispose of the British Fleet, as has sometimes been suggested.

On the other hand, the Protocol would greatly increase the

restraining power of the Covenant against potential aggressors in various ways. It would make plain to the Government of any state contemplating aggressive war that if necessary the rest of the world would co-operate in military action in defence of its intended victim. It also provides for the preparation in advance of plans to facilitate the immediate and effective carrying out of the economic blockade for which Article 16 provides. In addition, the Protocol secures effective control of the existing military alliances which have been made by various states in Europe, since it provides that no state may take military action in pursuance of such an alliance until the Council of the League has called upon it to do so. This provision that the Council must determine, in accordance with certain quasi-automatic tests, which the Protocol provides, when aggression has occurred, and that it must summon the various members of the League to take part in measures of repression which may be needed, removes the greatest defect in the system of the Covenant.

With regard to disarmament the Protocol provides that a Conference shall be held at an early date ; the actual date which it mentions is June 15, 1925, but it is, of course, certain that it will not meet then. For this Conference the Council is instructed to prepare a general programme which is to include a definite plan for the reduction of armaments by all the states which take part in it, and for the preparation of this general programme the Council is to set up a special committee of experts. It was intended that this committee should be set up by the Council at its last meeting in December, 1924. This proved impossible for the reason that the British Government asked for a postponement of the question.

Even if the Protocol were not finally adopted by the Governments of the Members of the League, its mere preparation would constitute a great international event. Its ultimate fate is still uncertain owing to the hesitancy of the new British Government which came into power shortly after the end of the Fifth Assembly. It still seems probable that even if the Protocol has to be amended to meet the views of Great Britain, something on the same general lines will ultimately be adopted. It is, of course, natural that other Governments should hesitate before they accept such serious obligations as it involves until they know what is the attitude of the British Empire, which includes more than a quarter of the human race. In spite of this important consideration, however, seventeen Governments had already signed the Protocol up to the end of 1924, and one of the Governments had actually ratified its signature.

Apart from the Protocol the League did a considerable amount of important political work during the course of 1924. The Council had to consider the legal questions which had been raised in connexion with the Corfu dispute between Italy and Greece in the preceding year. These questions affected the

interpretation of the Covenant on points to which many Governments attached importance, since they held that the Italian contentions during the Corfu crisis had constituted a definite challenge to the authority and competence of the League to deal with international disputes. In order to advise it on the proper answers to be given to these legal questions the Council appointed a sub-committee of Jurists, on which Lord Buckmaster, an ex-Lord Chancellor, served as representative of the British Government. The Jurists' Committee drew up a unanimous report which the Council in due course adopted. This report will serve to strengthen the Covenant, and will, it is hoped, suffice to prevent any similar challenge to the competence of the League in the future.

The Council had to deal with two frontier disputes arising out of the peace settlement made at Paris in 1919. The first related to the district of Javorina on the frontier between Poland and Czechoslovakia (see ANNUAL REGISTEE, 1923, p. 147). During 1923 the Council had consulted the Permanent Court of International Justice as to the proper settlement to be made, and during 1924 it was able to make a final arrangement to which both parties gave their willing adhesion. A question which had seriously disturbed the relations of Poland and Czechoslovakia was thus disposed of.

The second frontier question related to the dispute between Yugoslavia and Albania as to the possession of the Monastery of St. Naoum. In connexion with this again the Council took the opinion of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and on the basis of their advice it awarded the Monastery to Albania, a decision which Yugoslavia readily accepted.

Another dispute of importance related to the port of Memel. The genesis of this question was described in the ANNUAL REGISTEE for 1923 (p. 146). The expert Commission of Inquiry appointed by the Council in December, 1923, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Norman Davis, late Under-Secretary of State in the United States administration, duly proceeded to Memel and investigated the whole question on the spot. As the result of its inquiries it was able to produce a unanimous report in which it put forward a draft Convention for the acceptance of Lithuania and the Allies. Under this Convention the economic interests of the outside world, and in particular of Poland and Russia, were adequately protected, while the very complicated system of government proposed for the town of Memel by the Allied Powers was replaced by something much simpler and more effective. At a meeting of the Council in March, 1924, the Lithuanian Government accepted this Convention and the Allied Governments shortly after gave it their adhesion. A question which the Allies had failed to settle during four years of difficult negotiations was thus solved.

The work done by the Council of the League for the economic restoration of Europe was continued during 1924. The

scheme for the financial restoration of Austria continued on the whole to give satisfactory results. During the year certain difficulties arose, partly owing to the fact that Austrian bankers lost a great deal of money by unjustifiable speculation on the fall of the French franc [see under Austria]; partly as a result of the fact that the Austrian Government did not carry out in their entirety the administrative reforms upon which the League scheme was based. These difficulties are now being overcome, and in any case they were not at any moment sufficiently serious to imperil the ultimate success of the work. During 1923 a scheme similar to the Austrian scheme had been prepared for Hungary, which followed the Austrian example in asking for the assistance of the League. This scheme was given its final form and was definitely accepted by the various powers concerned at the twenty-ninth session of the Council in March, 1924. It resembles the Austrian scheme in that it places the whole financial administration of Hungary under the control of a League High Commissioner who has very wide powers. To this post the Council of the League appointed Mr. Jeremiah Smith of Boston, U.S.A. Mr. Smith immediately succeeded in gaining the confidence of every section of Hungarian opinion. The Hungarian scheme differed from the Austrian, however, in that it involved no Government guarantee for the international loan which was to be raised on the money markets of the world, while it also provided that a certain fixed sum should be paid by Hungary every year to the Separations Commission in execution of the reparation clauses of the Hungarian Treaty of Peace. It was anticipated by many experts that these two differences would prevent the Hungarian loan from having the success on the money markets which had been achieved in the previous year by the Austrian loan. Events did not justify this view, however, for when the Hungarian loan was floated in London, New York, Paris, Rome, and elsewhere, it was very heavily over-subscribed. The working of the scheme up to the end of 1924 was thoroughly satisfactory. The Hungarian currency was stabilised, the taxation system showed every sign of rapid recovery and there are good grounds for believing that the recovery of Hungary will be even more rapid than that of Austria.

The third work of economic reconstruction carried out by the League during 1923 related to the settlement of refugees in Greece. The general features of the scheme prepared for this purpose by the Council of the League and by the Greek Government, were described in the ANNUAL ECGISTEE for 1923 (p. 145). The International League Commission for which it provides was set up, and its work was begun with an initial sum of 1,000,000Z. sterling advanced by the Bank of England. During 1924 the work done with this first instalment gave such satisfaction that the Bank of England agreed in May to make ^{^ ^ ^} advance of a similar amount, and the Financial C

the League advised that a definite loan for the total amount required—12,500,000.—should be floated as soon as the political conditions in Greece showed sufficient stability. It was judged by the Financial Committee that this stability had been achieved in November, and the loan was accordingly floated. The greater part of it was offered to the London and New York markets, and in both it was very heavily over-subscribed. As a result the League Commission has now sufficient funds to establish in reproductive work on Greek soil the whole of the million refugees who were thrown in a state of destitution upon a small and exhausted country two years ago; and those who know Greece well believe that the ultimate result will be greatly to increase the wealth and productive power of the country.

The administrative work of the League has continued without particular incident. To the Governing Body of the Saar Commission a new (Spanish) member was elected in March, 1924, and immediately succeeded in gaining the confidence of the Saar population. Unfortunately he died before the end of the year and was replaced by a Czechoslovak. In connexion with the Protection of Minorities great progress was made by the settlement of all the outstanding minority questions in dispute between Poland and Germany. The Polish Government after long negotiations with the Council of the League made full compensation to the German colonists in respect of whose expropriation the Permanent Court of International Justice had adjudged them to be in default of their obligations. All the outstanding questions relating to the nationality of Germans in Poland were settled by a comprehensive Convention agreed to after negotiations which took place under the presidency of a League representative, M. Kaeckenbeeck. The Rumanian Government also brought its legislation into accordance with its treaty for the Protection of Minorities, after representations made to it through the agency of the League. Various complaints have been received concerning the ill-treatment of minorities in Serbia, but so far the Council of the League has not found it possible to take action.

The Technical Commissions of the League have continued to do admirable work. The Financial Committee have had a large share in the work of economic reconstruction above described. The Economic Committee has carried a good deal further its preparation of a comprehensive programme for removing unnecessary economic barriers between different countries. The Health Committee has organised a number of exchanges of public health officers of different countries, developed its service of epidemiological information, established a permanent epidemiological office at Singapore, and conducted an intensive inquiry into the means by which malaria can be combated in various countries of Southern Europe, including Russia. The Transit Committee has secured a large number

* and ratifications for the eight conventions which it

prepared at its conferences in 1920 and 1923. The White Slave Committee has also done most important work by collecting valuable memoranda from different Governments concerning the system of "licensed houses/' The result of these memoranda is to show that the system of licensed houses cannot be defended on grounds of public health. Concerning the illicit traffic in opium and other drugs two most important conferences were summoned in November, 1924. The work of these conferences had been carefully prepared by the Advisory Committee of the League, but, in spite of that, agreement on a plan for preventing the illicit traffic proved difficult to obtain. When the year closed it seemed doubtful whether any means could be found for conciliating the views of the British representatives with those of the influential American delegation which had come with the approval of the U.S. Congress to take part in the work of the conferences.

CHAPTER II.

IRELAND.

NORTHERN IRELAND.

IN the affairs of Northern Ireland the Boundary difficulty dwarfed during the year all other political issues. At the invitation of Mr. Bamsay MacDonald, President Cosgrave and Sir James Craig had met in London on February 2 for a friendly consideration of the matters involved, but after a single sitting the Conference adjourned; and when it was resumed on April 24 a few hours' discussion showed that there was no possibility of a settlement by consent. In response to the Free State demand that the provisions of the Treaty should be enforced, the British Government appointed Mr. Justice Feetham, a member of the South African Judiciary, Chairman of the Commission. The Government of North Ireland declined to nominate a third Commissioner, and on the question being referred by the British Cabinet to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council this body decided that unless the Northern Parliament appointed its Commissioner the Boundary Commission could not be set up under the existing law. In a manifesto issued after the pronouncement of the Committee, Sir James Craig described its findings as a complete vindication of the attitude of his Cabinet. He added that he still stood by his offer to meet the President of the Executive Council of the Free State "in a friendly spirit, and, with the aid of expert opinion, to settle the irritating question of the boundary and other correlated matters."

In view of the ruling of the Privy Council that Ulster's refusal to nominate a Commissioner was *a casus improvisus*, the Labour Government decided to introduce legislation to amend

the defect. Following this announcement Mr. Baldwin and Sir Worthington-Evans crossed to Belfast in the middle of August where they had interviews with Sir James Craig. Meanwhile arrangements were made in the Six Counties for demonstrations of protest against the proposed Bill, and in the last week of September largely attended meetings were held in Enniskillen, Omagh, and Belfast. On October 7, a couple of days before the measure received the royal assent, Sir James Craig, speaking in the Northern Parliament, said the unanimous policy of the Cabinet was that if the Boundary Commission came to a decision which could not be accepted by the Northern Parliament, he would resign and place himself at the disposal of the people to defend any territory that they considered to be unfairly transferred from them.

After the Confirmation of Agreement Bill became law, Mr. J. E. Fisher, a prominent Ulsterman and a former editor of the *Northern Whig*, Belfast, was appointed third Commissioner on October 24. The first meeting of the Commission took place in London on November 6, and a few weeks later its members made a tour of the border areas.

Like the Free State, the Northern Government have pursued during the year the policy of reducing the number of their political prisoners, and comparatively few internees now remain in custody. A certain amount of friction was created in February over the release of Mr. Cahir Healy, the Sinn Fein member for Tyrone and Fermanagh. He was re-arrested a few days after his discharge from Larne for having violated an order prohibiting him from entering his native town of Enniskillen, but a week later the Government withdrew the prohibition and the incident ended. More serious issues were raised by the Nixon affair which took place during the same month. A constabulary court of inquiry, summoned to investigate charges against District Inspector Nixon of having made a political speech at an Orange Lodge in contravention of disciplinary regulations, found that it had no authority to compel witnesses to attend. Having dissolved the court, the Minister for Home Affairs dismissed Mr. Nixon by administrative order, a decision which was strongly resented by a large section of the Orange Institution.

Nationalists in the Six Counties still maintain their attitude of refusing to recognise the Northern Government. The policy was given a new development in May by the decision in several counties to take no part in the election of local governing bodies. This boycott was organised as a protest against the scheme for the revision of electoral areas under which Nationalists allege that constituencies have been so parcelled out as to deprive them of their full voting power. While refusing to sit in the Belfast Parliament the Northern minority continued to send two members to Westminster for the joint constituency of Tyrone and Fermanagh. It was generally assumed that these seats would be retained by Nationalists in the elections that followed

the defeat of Mr. Kamsay MacDonald's Government. Mr. de Valera, however, willed otherwise. He announced his intention of putting up Republican candidates for one of the Belfast divisions and all the county constituencies, as a protest against the policy of partition. Northern Nationalist opinion which is strongly pro-Treaty was almost unanimously opposed to Republican intervention in the contests, the effect of which must be to split the vote in Tyrone and Fermanagh. Finally it was decided that Nationalists should abstain, with the result that the Republican candidates were hopelessly beaten in every constituency. As against a Nationalist poll of 44,000 in Tyrone and Fermanagh at the 1923 General Election, Mr. de Valera's nominees mustered only 6,800 votes, and Sir Charles Falls and Mr. J. A. Pringle, K.C., the Unionist candidates, were returned by large majorities.

By way of heartening his followers during the election campaign, Mr. de Valera, who is a member for Down in the Northern Parliament, determined to cross the border in order to address his constituents, though he was informed by the Belfast authorities that an order was in existence which prohibited him from entering certain areas in the Six Counties. Disregarding the warning he was arrested at Newry on October 25, and after being detained for the night was escorted by armed police over the border. A few days later he reappeared at Derry where he was again captured and sentenced to a month's imprisonment.

A welcome proof that those in authority are satisfied that the danger of outbreaks of disorder in the Six Counties is now negligible was the announcement during Christmas week that the Curfew Order which prohibited people from being abroad after midnight in any part of Northern Ireland had been revoked. Save for two brief intervals, Curfew restrictions had been enforced in Northern territory for nearly four and a half years.

The Northern Parliament did not attempt during the year legislation on the scale of the Education Act, the administration of which has given rise to keen controversy between the Ministry and the representatives of the various Protestant Churches. Many useful measures, however, were passed into law, not the least valuable being the Marketing of Eggs Act which, by licensing wholesale egg-dealers who agree to meet the requirements of the Government as to testing, grading, and packing, promises to have very profitable results for the farming community. The Loans Guarantee Acts have extended to 5,000,000/. the maximum amount which the Ministry of Finance is empowered to guarantee loans for carrying out works of a capital nature calculated to promote employment.

One of the notable events of the year was the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York who landed at Bangor on July 19. Their Royal Highnesses who were the guests of the Governor

(the Duke of Abercorn) at Baronscourt were enthusiastically welcomed by the people of the Six Counties, and the Duke of York received the freedom both of Belfast and Londonderry.

The formal opening of the Coalisland Colliery, Tyrone, will it is hoped mark a new development in Ulster industrial enterprise. For generations coal has been dug in the district, but it is now proposed to mine on a large scale. Sir Samuel Kelly who organised the scheme is confident of raising 10,000 tons a year, and experts agree that the coal is of excellent quality.

Belfast established during the year the first Irish broadcasting station with a call sign of 2 BE and a wave length of 43.5 metres.

THE IRISH FREE STATE.

In the first days of the New Year quotations opened on the Dublin market for the National Loan, and the price immediately advanced from 95 to 109, a declaration of popular confidence that did much to increase the prestige of the Government. Unemployment, it is true, was bad; farmers were suffering heavily from agricultural depression; the reign of law was still little more than a name in numerous areas where armed bandits raided banks and levied contributions from the civil population with practical immunity. The country recognised, however, that Ministers were grappling boldly with their problems, and though the policy of retrenchment was anything but palatable it could not be denied that severe economies were necessary if the administrative system was to find itself once more upon an even keel. The Government may have blundered, but at least they did not lack courage, as was shown by their decision to make a 10 per cent. cut in the salaries of elementary teachers and to reduce old age pensions by a shilling a week, the result of which, as they were well aware, would be to provide electoral capital for their political opponents.

With the collapse of Irregular resistance it became possible to effect great savings in army expenditure, and the estimates for 1924 showed a reduction from over 10,000,000Z. to something less than 4,000,000Z. This of course entailed demobilisation on a formidable scale, and certain elements in the officer corps sought to take advantage of the discontent thus created for their own purposes.

In the first week of March Ireland was startled by an ultimatum signed by two prominent officers, Major General Liam Tobin and Colonel C. F. Dalton, demanding under threat of armed action by the I.E.A. organisation the suspension of demobilisation and the dismissal of the Army Council. This was followed in some military centres by the desertion of small parties of officers who carried with them machine-guns, rifles, and ammunition. Fortunately the great majority of the officers remained loyal and the rank-and-file were wholly untouched by

the conspiracy. At the meeting of the Dail on March 11, five days after the issue of the ultimatum, President Cosgrave declared that the challenge of the mutineers was one which no Government could ignore, but Mr. Joseph McGrath, in announcing his resignation as Minister of Industry and Commerce, insisted that the crisis had been brought about by "muddling, mishandling, and incompetence" on the part of the Minister of Defence. It was arranged to set up a Committee of Inquiry to investigate Mr. McGrath's charges, and General Eoin O'Duffy was appointed Inspector-General of the Forces with practically plenary powers. On March 19 a raid by troops on a Dublin public-house resulted in the arrest of ten leaders of the mutineers, but as the Army Council, consisting of General Sean MacMahon, General G. O'Sullivan, and General O'Murthuile, had ordered the arrests without informing General O'Duffy, the Executive Council removed them from their posts. The Minister of Defence, General Mulcahy, resigned as a protest against these dismissals, and his portfolio was taken over by President Cosgrave until November 21 when the appointment of Mr. Peter Hughes was announced. The report of the Army Inquiry which was issued in June made it clear that the mutiny was the outcome of a long-drawn-out quarrel between hostile factions. One set of officers banded themselves together under the title of the I.E.A., and to counter their activities certain members of the Army Council organised a rival association, the Irish Republican Brotherhood. Later in the year the Oireachtas enforced a new oath on army officers prohibiting membership of secret societies.

After his resignation from the Ministry, Mr. Joseph McGrath succeeded in attaching to himself nine other members of the Dail who set up as an Opposition Party under the name of the National Group. Their professed object was to act as the left wing of the Treaty Party, but their Parliamentary tactics were not very happily conceived, and their influence on affairs was small. Throughout the summer several attempts were made at the instance of Mr. John Devoy, the Irish-American revolutionary, to heal the breach in the Government ranks. The National Group, however, insisted as a condition precedent upon the reinstatement of officers who had resigned during the Army crisis, a demand which the Government refused to accept. Ultimately on October 29 Mr. McGrath resigned from the Dail, in his own words "as a sacrifice in the interests of national unity/" and was followed into retirement by eight of his nine followers.

On March 21, in the worst phase on the Army Crisis, the country was horrified by a barbarous and unprecedented outrage. As a party of unarmed British soldiers were landing at Queens-town, now renamed Cobh, from their depot on Spike Island, two machine-guns opened fire on them at point-blank range from a Rolls Royce car containing four men dressed in Free State uniforms. One soldier was killed and twenty-four wounded, and the murderers, after a burst of fire, happily

ineffective, at a British gunboat in the harbour, drove off at top speed. The crime was denounced by all political sections, including the Republicans, but though the Government offered a reward of 10,000/. and later as a result of their investigations published the names of four men who are said to have been responsible for the outrage, they failed to make arrests, and the murderers were by the end of the year still at large.

The surprise of the Budget which was introduced on April 25 was the decision of the Minister of Finance to inaugurate a system of tariff protection with the object of benefiting Free State industries. Amongst the articles upon which import duties are now levied are boots and shoes, confectionery (including jam), glass bottles, cocoa preparations, and soap and candles. It was evident from the comments of the Farmers' Party in the Dail that the scheme is not looked upon with much favour by the agricultural interest. A sixpenny tax for delivering parcels posted outside the Free State created more friction and discontent than the tariff experiment. "Whereas the annual expenditure was 36,340,000/. the revenue amounted only to 27,587,000/., but, according to the Minister of Finance, had the payment of compensation claims which are a non-recurrent charge been excluded, the deficit would have been limited to half a million sterling.

As with Northern Ireland one of the main political issues in the Free State during the year was the Boundary difficulty. After the breakdown of the abortive London Conference on April 24, Mr. Cosgrave demanded that the British Government should carry out the Boundary provisions of the Treaty. This was followed by the appointment as Chairman of the Commission of Mr. Justice Feetham, who arrived in England on June 30. Having consulted the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on the legal position, Mr. MacDonald decided that legislation would be necessary to appoint a member of the Commission to represent Northern Ireland in default of an appointment by its own Government, and it was agreed that concurrent measures to give effect to this provision should be passed both by the British and Free State legislatures. There was sharp criticism in Dublin of statements by British ex-Ministers who had signed the Treaty as to the interpretation placed by them upon Article XII., but in spite of the Labour Party the Confirmation of Agreement Bill was passed rapidly through all its stages in the Dail and the Senate, and became law on October 24. In addition the Senate, on the motion of its vice-chairman, Senator Douglas, adopted a resolution to the effect that the interests of the country would best be served by an agreed solution of the outstanding problems affecting the relations between the Irish Free State and the Northern Government. This is an endorsement of the powerful appeal for appeasement issued a few months previously by the veteran Fenian, John Devoy, in the course of which he declared that a settlement by

consent was the only solution, adding that force was now out of the question and would be equally disastrous to North and South. The first meeting of the Boundary Commission was held in London on November 6, and a few weeks later the members made a tour of the border areas. While this tour was in progress a letter addressed by Mr. Chamberlain to the League of Nations was published which stated that the British Government did not consider that the Anglo-Irish Treaty which had been registered at Geneva by the Free State comes under Article 18 of the League Covenant. The Free State has officially replied that the registration of the Treaty is strictly in accordance with its obligations as a member of the League.

When the year opened nearly 2,000 Eepublican prisoners were still held in jails and internment camps. As conditions improved releases became more frequent, and by the middle of July, when Mr. de Valera and Mr. Stack were liberated, only a few hundreds remained against whom charges of specific breaches of the criminal law were pending. Many of these men were tried and found guilty by civil juries, but finally on November 8, the Government declared an amnesty for offences committed during the period between the signing of the Treaty and Mr. de Valera's "Cease Fire" order of April, 1923. The amnesty was issued on the eve of a series of five by-elections which*resulted in the capture by Kerepublicans of South Dublin and North Mayo, though the victory was due less to any notable increase in their voting power than to apathy in the ranks of the Government supporters.

The Oireachtas has been for the most part engaged with schemes of social reform and economic development. Good results have already been achieved by the operation of the Court of Justice Act which remodelled on new lines the Judicial system; and the amalgamation of all railway undertakings whose lines are wholly within the Free State was concluded, and came into force with the New Year (1925). Bills for the grading of butter and the stamping of eggs have been passed, and the Government are contemplating a considerable scheme of water-power development from the Shannon, plans for which have been drafted by the German firm, Siemens-Schuckert. Irregularities led to the dissolution of the Dublin and Cork Corporations together with many local bodies. For the present the duties of these bodies are being discharged by Commissioners appointed by the Central Government.

The outstanding feature in the Labour situation was the struggle between the Irish Transport and General Workers and Mr. James Larkin's new organisation, the Workers' Union, for the control of Dublin labour. On his return from Moscow in the autumn Mr. Larkin developed a new plan of campaign by ordering his followers in certain industries to withdraw their labour as a protest against the employment of members of the rival society. The Transport Union retorted by supplying

workers to fill vacancies in firms where no question of wages or conditions of labour were in dispute, and when finally it met and defeated the threat of a dock strike intended to hold up the Christmas trade the Larkinites for all practical purposes were beaten out of the field.

Agricultural depression was accentuated by a wretched harvest. Though the whole country suffered heavily, and the adverse trade balance assumed formidable proportions, the calamity affected most severely the poverty-stricken areas of the western seaboard where even in normal times the majority of the inhabitants have a difficult struggle to make ends meet. To add to their misfortunes the wet weather made it impossible this year to save the turf, and many districts found themselves in mid-winter not only on the shortest of short commons but without the means of keeping their cabins warm. The Government provided supplies of coal and turf for the worst areas, arrangements were made to supply food to school children, and schemes of relief work were organised, but the plight of large communities in Connaught and Clare was more critical than it has been since the disastrous shortage of 1879.

CHAPTER III.

FRANCE AND ITALY.

FRANCE.

EVERY year since 1914 has been heavily charged for France from the political point of view, but few years have seen so many momentous changes as must be registered in 1924.

At the beginning of the year M. Poincaré was in power, and he appeared to have every chance of winning the elections for the renewal of the Chamber which were to take place in May. The elections for the renewal of a third of the Senate, which were held in January, showed no material changes either on the side of the Eight or of the Left.

The French troops were solidly settled in the Ruhr. General Degoutte, their commander, had declared that if necessary they would stay there for a thousand years. Certainly there seemed to be little prospect of an evacuation. The Germans in the autumn of the previous year had abandoned passive resistance without producing any alteration in French policy. The country appeared to be almost unanimously supporting M. Poincaré in his demand for full reparation payments, and in default, the working of the Ruhr on behalf of the Allies.

The Radical Party in Parliament, it is true, had made certain reservations, but on the whole had never ventured to oppose the main thesis of the Government. The occupation of the Ruhr in these circumstances was producing a state of mind in

Germany which might have expressed itself in an outburst of violence. There was an international uproar about the misguided attempts of local officers and officials to foster a Separatist Movement in Ehineland and in the Palatinate, and M. Poincaré refrained from any condemnation of these blunders.

The relations between France and England were as bad as they could be. The Baldwin Government, in which Lord Curzon was Foreign Secretary, had exchanged a voluminous correspondence with the Poincaré Government, and this correspondence had in the end assumed a somewhat acrimonious character. But at the beginning of 1924 the Baldwin Government was about to resign. It had been beaten in the elections and was only awaiting the assembling of Parliament to give way to its successor.

It may be taken, in the light of subsequent events, to be a most fortunate fact that the Conservative Party was for several months in 1924 out of office in England. Without any reference to party prejudices, one is bound to say that the unpleasant relations between M. Poincaré and Lord Curzon had resulted in a diplomatic deadlock. The coming of the Labour Government relieved the situation. The tension was broken and it was possible to begin to reknit the Franco-British Entente. M. Poincaré immediately received from Mr. Eamsay MacDonald, who succeeded Mr. Baldwin and who became his own Foreign Secretary, assurances of friendship, and M. Poincaré replied in a guarded but friendly manner. It was clear that the two men could work together.

At the same time, Mr. MacDonald was counselled by the French Socialists to proceed slowly and cautiously, and to await the French Elections, which were due in May, before pressing for a settlement of the vexed reparations problem which, after being discussed in conference after conference, after being the subject of innumerable diplomatic communications, seemed as far from even a provisional solution as ever. Mr. MacDonald took this advice and, broadly speaking, confined his diplomatic action to the improvement of relations between France and England.

It had been agreed during the latter part of 1923 to refer the " eternal question " to an international group of experts, and on January 14 the Commission met. This date is undoubtedly one of the most important of the year. The Commission worked uninterruptedly until April 9 at the headquarters of the Reparations Commission in Paris. Its main Report is signed by two representatives of each of the following countries: America: General Charles G. Dawes and Mr. Owen D. Young; England: Sir Eobert M. Kindersley and Sir Josiah C. Stamp; France: M. J. Parmentier and M. Edgard Allix; Italy: Signor Alberto Pirelli and Signor Frederico Flora; and Belgium: M. E. Francqui and M. Maurice Houtart.

The main committee was known as the Dawes Committee

and the report as the Dawes Report, although in point of fact, if any one man should have given his name to it it was the English representative Sir Josiah Stamp.

A second Committee of Experts met at the same time to consider the means of estimating the amount of Germany's exported capital and of bringing it back to Germany. This Committee was composed of Mr. Eeginald MacKenna (English), Mr. Henry N. Robinson (American), M. Andre Laurent-Attalin (French), Signor Mario Alberti (Italian), and M. Albert E. Janssen (Belgian).

The Dawes Plan, as it was called, may be summarised as follows: Its purpose was to provide for reparation payments and, at the same time, to balance the German Budget and stabilise German currency. The method was to be co-operation between the Allies and Germany based on mutual interest. The Plan provided for an International Loan of 800,000,000 gold marks, to establish a new Bank of Issue in Germany, to stabilise the German currency, and to enable Germany to meet the first year's reparation payments. The Bank of Issue was to be established with a capital of 400,000,000 gold marks in shares of 100 marks each, one million shares to represent assets of the Reichsbank and three million shares to be subscribed in Germany and abroad. The Bank was to be the fiscal agent and depository of the German Government but to be free of Government control. Its administration was to be undertaken by a German President and Managing Board, but it was to be supervised in matters affecting the creditor nations by a General Board of seven Germans and seven foreigners, one of the foreigners being the Bank Commissioner. The Bank was to have the exclusive right to issue and circulate Bank notes in Germany during the period of its charter, namely, fifty years. Neither the German Government nor any German State Bank was to have the power to issue paper money with the exception, to a limited extent, of the Banks of Baden, Bavaria, Saxony, and Wurtemberg. The gold reserve of 33J per cent, was to be maintained.

As for reparation payments, they were under the Dawes Plan to be made through the Bank of Issue. The sources of revenue for these payments were to be: (1) In part the International Loan; (2) a mortgage on German railways; (3) a mortgage on German industries; (4) a transport tax and revenues from the General Budget guaranteed by certain "controlled revenues." The experts estimated that the Plan should produce for reparation payments one milliard marks the first year, and 220,000,000 marks more the second year. In the third year 1,200,000,000 marks should be forthcoming, and in the fourth 1,750,000,000 marks. In the fifth year a maximum annual payment of 2,500,000,000 marks should be obtained. Thereafter payments were to be on a sliding scale and subject to addition or reduction in certain contingencies.

In order to prevent these payments from affecting Germany's financial stability adversely, an index of prosperity was fixed. The Plan differentiated between the amount that could be raised in Germany and the amount that could be transferred abroad. It provided that Germany's payments abroad should not exceed its earnings abroad. Payments for the account of reparations were to be deposited to the credit of the Agent General for Reparation Payments. The Agent-General (at first Mr. Owen Young and afterwards Mr. Parker Gilbert, both Americans, acted in this capacity) and five experts in foreign exchange and finance, were to control the use and withdrawal of these deposits in Germany. Deliveries in kind were to be regulated by the experts. The principal purpose was to control the transference in such manner as to keep the currencies steady. If it should subsequently be discovered that reparation payments by Germany exceeded the sums that could be transferred without creating difficulties, the excess payments were to be allowed to accumulate in the Bank of Issue, but these accumulations were not to exceed two milliard gold marks. When they passed that figure, they were to be used in bonds and loans in Germany. The total accumulation in Germany was not, said the experts, to exceed five milliard gold marks. If this figure was reached, further reparation payments by Germany ceased until the transfer of the accumulated fund became possible.

It is obviously this problem of transference which, remaining unsolved, constitutes the weakest point of the Dawes Plan. The "controlled revenues" to which reference has been made are the revenues from the Customs, alcohol, tobacco, beer, and sugar, which are put under the control of Germany's creditors and are to guarantee the reparation payments from the Budget after 1925-26.

For its execution the Plan provided for a Commissioner of the Bank of Issue, a Commissioner of Railways, a Commissioner of Industrial Debentures, an Agent-General for Reparation Payments, a Controller of Revenues, and a Trustee to receive and administer the railway and industrial bonds.

The second Committee of Experts had a much lighter task, though it could hardly arrive at precise figures. Its general estimate was that German capital abroad at the end of 1923 amounted to nearly seven milliard marks. Both these Reports were drawn up in Paris after many meetings. Eminent technical advisers were called into consultation. A fortnight was spent in Germany.

In the meantime, however, M. Poincaré was encountering serious difficulties on account of the tendency of the franc to fall. The fiduciary circulation was increased. Something like a panic sprang up in France, and M. Poincaré was obliged instantly to propose the most drastic measures in the Chamber and Senate. Budgetary laws had been consistently broken.

Since the war there had been no budgetary unity, and M. Poincaré had even allowed his Finance Minister to break the law which demands an annual Budget. The previous year's Budget was to do duty once more. But in view of the threatened crash, measures of defence were hastily taken. New finance bills were proposed which would have the effect of increasing taxation all round by two-tenths—that is to say, to employ the French expression, the "double-decime" was to be imposed. There was, for a moment, some relaxation of the pressure on the franc when it was seen, in February, that Mr. MacDonald intended to take a conciliatory attitude towards France. But towards the end of the month the money market, and indeed the commercial market, was paralysed by the rapid fluctuations of the franc. Not until the pound sterling was almost worth 130 francs and the dollar worth nearly 80 francs, were suitable means discovered to prevent an entire collapse. Happily the Morgan Bank of New York came to the rescue and put at the disposal of the French a "masse de manoeuvre"—credits to the extent of a hundred million dollars. British support was also obtained.

From the middle of March the effect of this intervention began to be felt, and eventually the franc was raised to such a point that the pound could be bought for less than 64 francs. These enormous differences in the space of a single month, although satisfactory to some extent, brought their own perturbations, and the French once more realised the necessity of endeavouring to stabilise their currency. It is of little importance—except, of course, to rentiers—at what price the franc is fixed, but that it should be fixed is now agreed on all hands. Nothing, however, has yet been done in this direction, and at the end of the year the franc stands at well over 87 to the pound.

M. Poincaré encountered the utmost opposition, especially in the Senate, when, at the eleventh hour before the French elections, he raised taxation, and undoubtedly this unpopular measure, which he courageously pushed through, was largely responsible for the defeat of the Bloc National. It was represented also that he had made various promises to the Morgan Bank in order to obtain the necessary credits, and that in wringing these promises from him the American Bank had seriously intervened in French internal affairs.

The Eadicals also accused the Poincare Government of bringing up the franc to an unjustifiable level for electoral purposes, and unofficially talked of instituting an inquiry into the whole circumstances.

Another demand of M. Poincaré which encountered the most strenuous opposition and lost him many friends, was his demand to be given power to issue what were called "decree laws." He proposed to use these decree laws in order to cut down the civil service. The number of officials of one kind and

another in France has been estimated at 600,000 to 700,000, and with this menace hanging over them it was certain that the functionaries would throw their weight on the side of the Eadicals in the elections.

Before these elections took place, M. Poincare had made it clear that he accepted the conclusions of the experts. He made some reservations, and probably would have sold his final consent as dearly as possible; but in principle at any rate he was in accord with Mr. MacDonald, and this was definitely affirmed on May 7 and on May 16. The path of his successor was thus made easier.

It was on May 11 that the French elections were held. For the purpose of the elections there had been formed between the Eadicals and the Socialists a Cartel des Gauches. It was understood that this alliance was not permanent but was intended to meet the conditions created by the peculiar French Electoral Laws. Instead of proceeding to nominate deputies in single member constituencies, wider areas known as "departements" were taken, and candidates presented themselves on a list. A system which purports to be Proportional Eepresentation but which, in reality, has nothing to do with Proportional Eepresentation operates. There may be any number of lists in presence. Every candidate who receives an incontestable majority, that is to say, more than half of the suffrages, is declared elected without more ado. Thus, if six candidates of one group obtain the narrowest absolute majority, they are proclaimed elected. Generally, as there are several lists, the votes will be so divided that the absolute majority will not be obtained. Then commences the complicated arithmetical business of awarding the seats. First, what is called the electoral quotient has to be determined. The quotient is arrived at by dividing the number of voters by the number of deputies to be elected: thus, if there are 100,000 voters and 5 seats, the quotient is 20,000. Then each list is taken and the average number of votes for the candidate of that list is ascertained. The quotient is then compared with the average of each list. If the average of a particular list is double the quotient, two seats go to that list. If the average falls short of the quotient by a single voice, then the list receives no seats. Naturally the seats are allotted to the leaders of the list. It may well be that after these operations, the whole of the seats are not filled; the quotient may just fail to go into the various averages a sufficient number of times. If there should be a seat left over it is attributed to the list which has the strongest average. Thus everything is in favour of the leading list.

Now, in 1919 the Bloc National, which was to all intents and purposes a homogeneous party, had greatly benefited by the division of its adversaries. The Eadicals and the Socialists in 1924 believed that by joining forces and, in some cases, appearing together on the same list instead of fighting each other, and

by making all kinds of local arrangements, they would have an excellent chance of turning the tables on the Bloc National. Their conclusions were justified. According to the Minister of the Interior, the results of the elections were as follows: 20 seats went to the Conservateurs, 117 to the Entente Republicaine, 130 to the Republicains de Gauche et Gauche Democratique. These groups may be regarded as constituting the Right and the Centre Right. The Radicals and Radical-Socialists, on the other hand, obtained 139 seats, the Republican Socialists 33 seats, the Socialists properly so-called 102 seats. The Communists obtained 29 seats, and 11 other seats went to Independent deputies.

Once elected, the deputies sort themselves out and inscribe themselves freely in various Chamber groups. The result is that, although the majority of the Left—excluding the Communists whose hand is turned against every party—does not appear to be very high, in actual practice about 40 members formed themselves into a group which they called the Gauche Radicale, and threw in their lot with the Radicals and Socialists. The Radicals and Socialists, for their part, decided that the Cartel des Gauches should be transformed into a Bloc des Gauches. Certain Socialist leaders—notably M. Paul Boncour—were in favour of participation in the responsibilities of the Radical Government, but this was obviously going too far. The principles of the Socialists forbade their collaboration with a bourgeois party, and under the leadership of M. Leon Blum it was decided that, while full support should be given to the Radicals, there should be no participation in the actual responsibilities of Government.

There are many observers who believe that ultimately the Bloc des Gauches must break up, and that the true disposition of the present Chamber is a coalition of the Radicals with the parties of the Centre and even of the Right. According to this view, a Grand Cabinet of Concentration of the bourgeois parties is sooner or later inevitable.

M. Edouard Herriot, as the leader of the Radicals, and M. Paul Painlevé, as the leader of the Republican Socialists, were indicated for high office, but before they could form a Government a most important matter had to be settled. M. Alexandre Millerand had been, since the autumn of 1920, the President of the Republic. He was the founder of the Bloc National, and on taking office had insisted that whatever were the limitations in law and in custom of the President of the French Republic, he should be regarded as the Chief of State who was to preserve the continuity of policy, and particularly of foreign policy. He had, in fact, identified himself unmistakably with the Bloc National and with the policy which had been pursued by M. Poincaré of the occupation of the Ruhr. Further, he had, in speeches and in a declaration which appeared in the *Matin* just before the elections—not, indeed, signed by him, but well understood to

have emanated from him—virtually threatened to resign if the country pronounced against the policy of the Bloc National. Bightly or wrongly, the Eadicals therefore came to the conclusion that before they could accept any mandate to form a Government, M. Millerand, who was openly antagonistic to them, must leave the Elys6e. They organised a sort of Ministerial strike. It was impossible for any member of Parliament who did not belong to the Eadical Party to form a Government which could face the Chamber, and party discipline in the Eadical Party forbade any member to receive any mission from the hands of M. Millerand. There were consultations, and some of the friends of the President advised him to resist the anti-constitutional tactics, as they were considered, of the new majority. But it is difficult to see what M. Millerand could have effectively done.

The uncertainty lasted for a month, but in the end M. Millerand felt himself obliged to ask M. Franfois Marsal, a former Finance Minister and one of his political friends, to form a Cabinet for the express purpose of carrying a message to Parliament. Then he resigned, and on June 13 the National Assembly was held at Versailles to elect a new President.

It was the intention of the Eadicals to place M. Painleve in the Presidency, but already there were signs of some defection. The Senate and the Chamber sit together to form the National Assembly, and the Senators, apparently considering M. Painlev^ quite as much a party man as M. Millerand had been, decided to vote for M. Gaston Doumergue who, at that time, was the President of the Senate. M. Doumergue had always been a partisan of the Poincare policy, and although with some leanings to the Left, could indeed be described as fairly impartial on most subjects which the Eadicals had at heart. Nevertheless, his election as President as against the Eadical nominee M. Painleve—who had been made President of the Chamber as a stepping-stone to the still highest post—was a rebuff. The party was to suffer other rebuffs of a similar character in the formation of the Grand Commissions of the Chamber. Whenever the deputies had an opportunity of voting secretly, they expressed themselves as somewhat hostile to the Herriot Government and to the sway of the Eadicals, so much so that the Eadicals resolved, towards the end of the year, that there should be no more secret balloting for the annual election to various posts, such as the Presidency of the Chamber.

M. Millerand, his presidential career prematurely brought to a close, took a short vacation and then returned to the fray. He helped to found the new party, the National Eepublican League, and with his return a period of intense opposition to the Herriot Government began.

In their declarations of the orientation of French policy, both M. Herriot and M. Painlev6 had laid particular stress on the need of financial reforms, The Budget was to be a single

Budget, instead of the dual Budget of previous years. France had believed that Germany would pay, and had put various charges in a Special Budget which was balanced only by these expectations upon Germany. The result was that each year saw a large deficit which was made up by borrowing in one form or another. With the restoration of the system of a single Budget which should be properly balanced, borrowing was to come to an end.

Unfortunately the financial ideals of the new Government could hardly be realised in a few months. The 1925 Budget was prepared in good time. It contained nothing of a startling character. It adopted the "double-decime;" it followed generally the lines of the 1924 Budget. Certainly, however, it was an improvement, and nominally at least it was "buckled." It showed that the annual expenditure of France has now risen to 33| milliard francs—an appalling contrast to the pre-war Budget. Moreover, although every effort was made to pass the Budget before the end of the year, December 31 arrived with the budgetary discussions still continuing, and the Government was obliged—as all French Governments are now obliged—to ask for provisional credits for two months. Furthermore, the resolution of M. Herriot and M. Clementel, the Finance Minister, to refrain from borrowing could not be carried out. In the first place, it was considered necessary to convert into a loan the Morgan credits which M. Poincare had obtained, and when the French Loan was launched in New York in November it was entirely covered in 45 minutes, thus proving that the American public had not lost its confidence in France.

There was also need for an Internal Loan because a deficit of four milliard francs was discovered in the 1924 Budget, and the French Treasury had urgent need of replenishment. The Internal Loan was not to count as a breach of the Eadical promises; it was to be attributed to the bad finances of the Bloc National. Everything was to be done to avoid, in future, any other loans—except one for the completion of the repair of the ruined North, and another for the consolidation of Short Term Loans.

Such is the Radical programme, but it will be seen that the declaration that there will be no more loans is merely "une fa<jon de parler;" there are indeed other loans in prospect.

In accordance with the early declarations of M. Herriot, a fight with Clericalism began. In the first place, it was decided to suppress the Embassy at the Vatican. The Embassy had been restored, after a long severance of relations with the Holy See, by M. Briand (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1921, p. 163). The Radicals, with memories of the old religious struggle which most people had supposed to be forgotten, asserted that the Embassy at the Vatican was justified neither in law nor in fact. It was proposed to abolish it by the simple suppression of credits for the Embassy in the Budget. It was hoped that the matter

might come to a vote at an early date, but at the end of the year the Budget of Foreign Affairs still remained for discussion. The announcement, however, was sufficient to arouse angry passions on both sides, and there was something like a revival of the former bitterness which existed in France between the Clericals and the anti-Clericals.

The argument of many Frenchmen who have no particular Catholic bias is, that in the conditions which prevail after the war, it is imperative for France to be represented everywhere. The Vatican has become an important world power again, and its diplomatic influence should be sought by France. In Central Europe, in America, in the Near East and in the Far East, the Eoman Catholic Church offers to the French many *points d'appui*. But the Herriot Government declined to recognise France's need for support. The "policy of presence" was scorned.

But an even more important debate arose concerning the proposal of the French Government to "assimilate" the recovered provinces of Alsace-Lorraine. Alsace-Lorraine is still under the regime of the Concordat with the Vatican, and of German laws. In the schools—to which the Badicals especially turn their attention—religion is taught. Now it is obvious that some day or other it will be necessary to bring the schools of Alsace-Lorraine into conformity with the schools of the rest of France where the teaching is purely secular. The Eadicals are essentially upholders of Secularism in the schools, and stand for the exclusion of religious teaching.

There are three kinds of schools in Alsace-Lorraine—all of them confessional: Roman Catholic Schools, Protestant Schools, and Jewish Schools. A compromise which has been put forward is to begin by creating inter-confessional schools in which religious instruction will be given outside the ordinary school curriculum by representatives of the three cults, the children being free to attend or to absent themselves during the hours devoted to religion.

Again, the Badical Government came into collision with the Church by the stricter application of the laws which forbid unauthorised religious Orders or Congregations. In view of the general attitude of the Government, it was not surprising that the Cardinal Archbishops of France should address a strongly worded protest to the Prime Minister. Something like a religious war definitely opened, and for some months there was no issue of domestic politics of greater importance. The old controversies of a generation ago were recalled.

An Amnesty Bill, far-reaching in its effects, was introduced without delay by the Government, but hung fire until the end of the year. There was a certain amount of friction between the Senate and the Chamber. The Chamber wished to be more generous than the Senate, particularly in regard to the railway-men, who were discharged not only from the State lines but

by the private railway companies after the abortive strike of 1920. The Government and the Chamber desired their complete pardon and re-engagement. The Senate considered that their re-engagement should be optional. In the end it was the view of the Senate which prevailed. Other classes of war offenders were struck out of the Bill presented by the Chamber. But the most important clauses of the Amnesty Bill, as may be shown in the sequel, were those which blotted out the condemnation of M. Caillaux by the Senate sitting as a High Court of Justice. M. Caillaux had been put upon trial on account of his relations with various emissaries of the enemy, and although he was acquitted on the major charges, he was sentenced to a nominal term of imprisonment and deprived of political rights and prohibited for a period of years from entering towns such as Paris. The passing of the Amnesty Bill meant that he was no longer debarred from re-entering Parliament.

In his retirement M. Caillaux had been collecting his forces. There had grown up around him the legend that he is the man who is destined to put French finances in order—that he is the only French Minister capable of doing so. There is therefore a large Caillaux Party already formed, and only waiting the word to carry, if circumstances be propitious, M. Caillaux to the Premiership of France.

The case of M. Malvy was also covered by the Amnesty Bill, but since M. Malvy's exile had come to an end and M. Malvy had been elected to Parliament in 1924, the pardon had for him no practical importance.

In foreign affairs undoubtedly M. Herriot wrought great changes. Mr. Bamsay MacDonald had, as advised, waited until he found himself face to face with a Radical Prime Minister. There was a warm exchange of letters, and on June 22 M. Herriot encountered Mr. Ramsay MacDonald at Chequers. The two men found themselves in general agreement as to the course to be followed for the pacification of Europe. It was confirmed that the Dawes Report would be accepted.

On July 16 a great Conference was held at London, and the outcome was the signature of accords which disposed, for the time being at least, of the eternal problem of reparations. Germany accepted the arrangements, and in October promulgated the laws voted by the Reichstag for the application of the Plan. It was announced that the Ruhr occupation would be rendered "invisible" almost immediately, and that the evacuation would be completed by September, 1925. In fact, there was before November 7 a large partial evacuation, and by November 15 there was a total economic "evacuation" of the whole system of pledges, and all exploitation by a Franco-Belgian Régie of the Westphalo-Rhenan Railways was brought to an end. The Reich strictly fulfilled, from the date on which it began to put the Dawes Plan into operation and for the remainder of the year, the financial obligations which it had accepted.

A tremendous stride had been taken in the direction of peace, thanks to the happy conjunction of the MacDonald and Herriot Cabinets. America had shown a fresh interest in European affairs and a desire to be helpful, while the *entente cordiale* between France and England had been completely re-established.

Mr. MacDonald had scarcely finished this good work when he was overthrown, and the British elections—which brought back Mr. Baldwin as Prime Minister and brought in Mr. Austen Chamberlain as Foreign Secretary—were held in October. If there was any doubt as to whether France and England could continue to work together, it was quickly dispelled. Clearly M. Herriot would have preferred to co-operate with the Labour Prime Minister, and permitted his preferences to be at any rate divined when, on the eve of the poll, he recognised the Russian Government with which the British Conservatives were in grave disaccord. The recognition of Russia had been prepared by a commission headed by Senator de Monzie. The actual date of the recognition was October 28. Unhappily the Soviets did not respond to the French gesture as had been expected. The coming of M. Krassin as Ambassador synchronised with the return of Captain Sadoul, a French officer who had been condemned to death in his absence for desertion, and who had played a prominent part in Russia under the Bolshevik regime. It was apparent that his return to France for re-trial was meant to be the signal for a recrudescence of Communist propaganda. The Herriot Government was sorely tried. Agitation was resumed somewhat alarmingly and the wildest rumours of an imminent rising were with difficulty dissipated.

The League of Nations had been greatly encouraged by the Herriot Government. M. Herriot himself went to Geneva for the opening of the Annual Assembly in September, and at the beginning of October a protocol designed to bring about the automatic coalition of peace-loving nations against a bellicose nation which should become aggressive, was adopted. [See Public Documents.]

The year, on the whole, would have been exceedingly promising and entirely satisfactory, had there not arisen in the last days of December a controversy which did much to destroy the promise and the satisfaction of the earlier months. The Allies decided that they could not evacuate the zone of Cologne—then held by the British troops—on January 10 as laid down in the Treaty. The reparation problem had been temporarily settled, but the problem of security still distresses France. There is a clause in the Treaty which permits the Allies, according to French interpretation of it, to remain in the respective zones in Rhineland which they are to occupy for periods of five, ten, and fifteen years, if Germany is not faithfully fulfilling the conditions of the Treaty. Now the Inter-Allied Commission of Military Control has had many obstacles put in its way, but it arrived at the conclusion that the disarmament of Germany as envisaged

by the Treaty has by no means been carried out. Therefore the Conference of Ambassadors, in the last days of the year, decided in its Paris meeting that the occupation must be prolonged.

There was the wildest outburst of indignation in Germany, and it may well be that the peacemaking of M. Herriot has been brought to naught. The Germans who had been in negotiations with the French for the establishment of an economic and commercial Treaty, threatened to abandon the negotiations and make the position of Alsace-Lorraine—which has need of trade outlets into Germany—extremely difficult.

Another unhappy controversy arose in the last days of December when M. Clementel, the Minister of Finance, published the Balance Sheet of France. It is a formidable document of nearly 300 pages. It is an exhaustive study of France's financial position. In some respects it can be criticised, and it is not altogether convincing since it omits certain liabilities.

Put as briefly as possible, it is sought to show that France is far from bankrupt. The total assets of the French State including public property, national credits resulting from the capitalisation of taxes, and credits on Germany in accordance with the annuities fixed by the Dawes Plan, are 790,830,000,000 paper francs, or 210,905,000,000 gold francs. On the other hand, the liabilities of France, including the Internal Debt, war and civil pensions, special accounts for the reconstruction of the liberated regions, and other charges not including the External Debt, are 660,320,000,000 paper francs, or 174,769,000,000 gold francs. A balance is thus shown of 136 milliard paper francs, or 36 milliard gold francs. At the same time there is a satisfactory trade balance.

The publication of this document, however, aroused great wrath in America because of its treatment of the External Debt. There had evidently been a misunderstanding of some of the terms employed, but in any case a sharp reminder was given to France that not only America but England looks to her to make some effort to repay the war loans.

ITALY.

During 1924 discontent with the Fascist regime became strongly pronounced, and Signor Mussolini lost much of his popularity, which had reached its zenith at the commencement of the year. The Fascist Party outraged public opinion by its lawlessness, and the popular demand for a return to "constitutionalism" became insistent. While, however, discredited in home affairs, Signor Mussolini won general approval for his foreign policy, and his position as dictator, though not so strong as twelve months before, was not yet seriously endangered at the close of the year.

The year opened auspiciously for Italy with a final settlement of the much-vexed question of Fiume on the lines of the S. Margherita protocol drawn up in the previous year, by which Fiume proper was to be annexed to Italy, while some adjoining districts reverted to Yugoslavia. A preliminary agreement was signed at Belgrade on January 11, adjudging the Fiume Delta and Porto Baros area to Yugoslavia together with certain outlying villages on the eastern boundary. The plenipotentiaries of Yugoslavia, M.M. Pasitch and Nintcitch, arrived in Eome on January 23 and received a most friendly welcome. A Treaty was subscribed by them and Signor Mussolini on January 25, and received the royal assent three days later. Ratification ensued in Belgrade after a brief debate by the Scupshina within a few weeks, in the course of which the boundary commission, which had commenced work on January 28, marked off the Fiume-Porto Baros line without incident. The event was signalled by enthusiastic patriotic manifestations at Milan, Venice, and Trieste, and on March 16 King Victor Emmanuel paid a state visit to Fiume. He was welcomed by General Giardino, who at the same time resigned his position of Special Commissioner as from March 10, the date of the appointment of the Prefect for Fiume.

The Treaty thus concluded increases the mutual trade facilities between Italy and Yugoslavia, and stipulates the reciprocal use of bonded warehouses in the Fiume and Porto Baros areas, the restoration of through railway transit to Fiume (trains having hitherto been stopped at Sussak, the frontier station of Yugoslavia outside Fiume), the granting of the most-favoured-nation treatment to the trade of both countries, the extension of fishing rights in home waters (Balkan Peninsular seaboard) to both nationals, and the delimitation of an enlarged free zone for trade round Zara, the Italian enclave in Dalmatia. Divergencies in the interpretation of these and minor provisions by local commissioners were to be settled by direct agreement at a conference to be held at Venice in the summer. This conference was to include also the representatives of frontier and adjacent Powers, and to aim at restoring in part at least pre-war international trade conditions. The conference met, but separated without reaching any definite conclusions.

Other pacts made with foreign countries during the year included an agreement of "friendship" entered into between Italy and Czechoslovakia (May 16), and the Treaty of Commerce between Italy and Albania, signed on January 20.

The royal assent was given on January 24 to a decree dissolving the Legislature and fixing April 6 for a General Election under the new electoral law passed in 1923. This law subdivided the single electoral area of Italy with a single list of candidates into provinces each drawing its representation from that list, the party which received 25 per cent, of the general

suffrage of the country becoming entitled to 75 per cent, of the seats in the Chamber. The electoral campaign was opened on January 29 by Signor Mussolini at a party meeting of the Fascist Directorate and provincial delegates at Palazzo Venezia, with a fighting speech in which he counselled his hearers not to take "election sports" too seriously, for, he said, "Fascists regard these things as a mere survival of the old outworn order." That the party, however, did take the matter seriously was shown by its action in forming a "Pentarchy" comprising Fascist leaders and prominent departmental officials, to frame the panel of official Government candidates. Signor Giacomo Acerbo, Under-Secretary of State in the Premier's Secretariat, Signor Aldo Finzi, Under-Secretary for the Interior, Signor Giunta, Secretary-General of the Party-Directorate, Signor Michele Bianchi, Departmental Secretary at the Interior, along with a colleague, Comm. Morone, and the Chief of the Ministerial Press Bureau, Comm. Cesare Eossi, devoted all their energies to the task of bringing as many representative men from Liberal, Democrat, Popolari, and other political camps into the fold, or at least securing their neutrality, so as to deprive their opponents of leadership. A flawless list—from the Fascist point of view—was compiled, and submitted to Signor Mussolini within a fortnight; and on February 18, the anniversary of the formation of the Fascist force "Milizia Nazionale per la Pubblica Sicurezza," a body of 4000 of its officers paraded in Eome along with Signor Mussolini, their official chief, and afterwards took the oath to the "Capo del Governo" at a mass meeting held in the Augusto Hall. Signor Mussolini addressed them in terms which convinced the public of his determination to make the "single front" of Fascism a reality.

The negotiations between Eome and Moscow for the *de jure* recognition by Italy of Soviet Eussia were successfully terminated early in the year with the conclusion of a Treaty. Owing to objections raised at the eleventh hour in Moscow, Italian recognition was forestalled by London by a few days. This caused some soreness among the public, which had come to regard it as a point of honour that Italy should be the first among the Great Powers to recognise the Soviet Government *de jure*. The Treaty was signed on February 7, and the newly-appointed Italian Ambassador, Count Manzoni, presented his credentials at Moscow on February 25, whilst M. Jureneff, Soviet Ambassador to Italy, arrived a few weeks later. The Treaty ratifications were exchanged in Eome and Moscow on March 7.

The Treaty of Amity and Commerce between Italy and Eussia reserves for future negotiation all claims of Italian nationals for compensation for loss from war and revolution, as well as for confiscated holdings in Imperial Eussian and Municipal securities. The Italian Government agrees that its nationals shall be bound by Soviet trade and property legislation, subject, however, to interpretation in the most liberal sense on

behalf of Italian interests, whilst Kussian trade interests in Italy shall enjoy the most-favoured-nation treatment. Land concessions are secured to Italian capital in the Donetz area (Southern Kussia), preferential treatment being accorded to it also in the Black Sea and Caucasus oil-lands; whilst the concession of the Black Sea coasting trade exclusively to the Italian flag was regarded as a special earnest of goodwill by Moscow. Although nearly ten months have passed since the conclusion of the Treaty, its effect on trade seems to have been very slight. The Trieste-Cosulich line has created a subsidiary service of freight and passenger vessels for direct sailings to the Black Sea; nevertheless the trade reports for January-August put the value of Italy's exports, consisting of agricultural machinery, automobiles, marble, textiles, hardware, and foodstuffs, only at 75 million lire, equivalent to 717,000Z., against a corresponding importation of naphtha and grain, the latter disappointing importers alike in volume and value. The land concessions, including the settlement of Italian immigrants, have so far remained a dead letter, although one company is expected to commence operations in 1925.

The electoral campaign was characterised by great truculence on the part of Fascist and "philofascist" press organs, which not only stigmatised their political adversaries as traitors to Italy/ but heaped contumely upon those in their own ranks who ventured to hold dissentient opinions. They indulged in menaces which led in many instances to acts of violence, countenanced and even directed by the Fascist leaders in the provinces. The campaign closed with important speeches by group-leaders, defining their respective attitudes. Signor Giolitti, speaking in his own constituency at Dronero on March 16, announced his support of the existing regime while emphasising the need of Parliamentary liberty. Another ex-Premier, Signor Salandra, at Milan on March 19, promised the Government the unqualified support of the Eight-Liberal group. He was followed by Signor Mussolini in Rome on March 23, the fifth anniversary of the foundation of the Fascist Party, when he addressed 5000 mayors of the boroughs and cities of Italy at the Costanzi theatre. His address was followed by a mass procession to the Capitol, where the mayors were welcomed by Senatore Cremonesi in his capacity of Eoyal Civic Commissioner for Rome. The official election addresses closed with a speech from the Minister of Finance, Signor De Stefani, at Milan on March 30, in the presence of the Premier, the Cabinet, and a representative assemblage, setting forth the financial record of the past twelve months, and announcing confidently the virtual balancing of the Budget at the close of the financial year, June 30, 1925. On the other hand, a serious blow was dealt at Fascism by the action of the former President of the Chamber, Signor De Nicola, in withdrawing his name from the official list of candidates, and in retiring from public life at the last moment, April 3, a step

which was interpreted as a protest against the electioneering methods practised in several provinces of Southern Italy. Opposition had everywhere been driven underground, the absence of any electioneering pictures other than Fascist being noticeable, while the silence of the opposition in public was not less marked. The election, which took place throughout the country on April 6 without any disturbance, followed its foreordained course. About 63 per cent, of the electorate voted, 7,628,859 votes being cast. The official list was declared to have obtained 60 per cent, of the votes, and its 355 Deputies were accordingly proclaimed elected, the remaining 172 seats being apportioned on the principle of proportional representation between dissentient Liberals, Democrats, Popolari, Socialists, Republicans, and Communists. Regrettable outbursts of violence occurred after the count in districts disclosing a substantial but not sweeping Fascist majority, the "Popolari" or Clerical Party suffering most at the hands of Fascist organisations. The ebullitions of partisan feeling were, however, only sporadic, and were disregarded by Signor Mussolini, as the majority obtained by his party largely exceeded the statutory percentage; and the cavilling of the defeated parties, natural enough under the circumstances, soon grew silent in anticipation of the State opening of the Legislature by the King on May 24, which was accompanied by a message that tended momentarily to allay their discontent.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's statement on March 10 in the House of Commons that the British Government was prepared to reconsider the "Jubaland Question*" was well received in Italy, where public opinion was perplexed by the delay in carrying out the extension of Italy's African possessions contemplated by the London Agreement of 1915. Two lines of demarcation between British East African possessions and Italian Somaliland had been proposed. One treated the question as part of a general settlement including the retrocession of the Dodecanese Islands to Greece, and this had indeed at one time been agreed upon by the two Powers interested, but Italy had withdrawn her adhesion to it when the events of 1922 eliminated Greece as a possible rival in Asia Minor. The Dodecanese had been awarded to Italy formally by the Treaty of Lausanne, and the proposal known as the Milner-Scialoja line once more became the basis for negotiations. Signor Mussolini took occasion in his statement on foreign affairs to the Cabinet on May 1 to report progress in the negotiations, stating that no question of principle divided the parties, but only questions of local import which could best be settled on the spot by Commissioners. The Italian experts were nominated on May 28, just at the time of the Italian Royal visit to London, a coincidence which doubtless enhanced the effect of that event in cementing Anglo-Italian friendship. The Treaty of cession was signed on July 15 in London, and speedily ratified.

The second celebration of Labour Day on April 21 (May-

day having been appropriated by Signor Mussolini for the "Natale di Eoma") was marked in all the principal centres by demonstrations of the Fascist Syndicates or Labour Unions, including at Milan an imposing cortege of operatives, and in Eome the ceremonial award of the city's freedom to Signor Mussolini. The Premier left Eome on May 4 for a ten days' tour in the South and Sicily to celebrate his victory in the election. He was welcomed everywhere with acclamation. He returned on May 14, ostensibly to open the session of the Emigration International Congress, which was attended by delegates from 54 States, on May 15, but actually to quell by his presence incipient dissensions which had broken out in his party over electoral results. His visit to Milan to meet the Belgian Ministers MM. Theunis and Hymans gave him an opportunity of restating his position with regard to the Euhr and Italian reparation claims in connection with the forthcoming London Conference. He returned to Eome in time for the State inauguration of the Legislature on May 24, which was to be marked this time by a ceremonial which had long fallen into disuse, and was now revived with the express purpose of refuting his opponents' accusations of his scant respect for Parliamentary institutions, to which indeed colour had been lent by his pronouncements in the previous year. The date coincided with the ninth anniversary of Italy's entry into the war, and was thus doubly significant.

On May 27 the Chamber, after protracted discussions, elected as its President Signor Alfredo Eocco, the Government candidate. The Debate on the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne developed an electric atmosphere, which had not cleared by June 7 when the voting on the motion of confidence in Signor Mussolini's policy was taken, disclosing a falling off in the Opposition ranks, the numbers being 861 to 107.

Opposition, however, while stifled in the Chamber itself, was active in the Parliamentary lobbies, where certain proposals of the Government, *viz.*, a decree legalising the opening of public gambling casinos and an agreement entered into with the Sinclair Oil Company of America, granting prospectors privileges in Italian oil-bearing areas, had aroused heated controversy, it being suggested that the Minister of Finance, whose personal integrity was above suspicion, had been misled by unscrupulous persons. A Socialist Deputy, Signor Giacomo Matteotti, who was believed to be in possession of incriminating documents, disappeared from his home on June 10. Suspicion of foul play immediately arose, and became a certainty within forty-eight hours. Two persons, Signor Filippo Filipelli and one Amerigo Dumini, were apprehended, and both made statements incriminating persons in high office. This led to the resignation of General De Bono, Chief Commissioner of Police, and Signor Aldo Finzi, Under-Secretary of the Interior, and to the arrest of Comm. C. Eossi, Chief of the Press Bureau, and Comm,

Marinelli, a member of the Fascist Party Directorate, on suspicion of connivance in the murder. Signor Mussolini likewise relinquished the Portfolio of Home Affairs to Signor Federzoni, Minister of the Colonies. Italian public opinion was deeply stirred by the resolutions of sympathy abroad with Signor Matteotti's family and his political party, notably that of the British Labour Party in Parliament, and on June 24 Signor Mussolini made a powerful speech to the Senate denouncing the deed and its perpetrators, announcing condign penalties, and promising stringent measures to restore constitutional order in the country. He secured a vote of confidence in the Upper House by 225 to 21 votes with 6 abstentions, and repeated his assurances in the Chamber with a formal promise to bring all the guilty, whoever they might be, to justice.

The Minister of Finance, Signor De Stefani, in making his financial statement for the year ending on June 30, reviewed the position of the country, emphasising the retrenchments which had been effected, and which in his own department had meant the dismissal of no fewer than 500 officials; the diminution of unemployment from an average of 399,000 in 1922 to 177,000 in April, 1924; and the increase of railway revenue, and of bank and savings bank deposits. Extraordinary war taxes amounting to 51,000,000 lire had been abolished, the progressive real estate taxes had been fixed at an average of 16 per cent., and further facilities had been introduced for the redemption of outstanding annuities, of a kind which foreshadowed their early extinction. Indirect taxation also showed reductions in the alcohol excise. The abolition of the highly unpopular 10 per cent, excise on wine grown and consumed by the peasantry had led to a loss of revenue, which was met by a steep increase—2 lire per kilo—on coffee, and the same on sugar, imposed by Order in Council in the autumn. This tax has had much to do with the growth of discontent against the present regime. Signor de Stefani concluded his speech with the statement that the deficit had fallen to 800,000,000 lire, and that he estimated a complete balance of revenue and expenditure in 1925-26.

The Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne was transmitted to the King by a deputation of both Houses, and the King accepted it with a speech urging national concord in the trying time through which they were passing. The ministerial changes initiated with the appointment of Signor Federzoni to the Interior were completed with the substitution of Signori Di Scalea Casati (Public Instruction), Sarrocchi (Public Works), and Nava (National Economy) for Signori Carnazza, Gentile, and Corbino respectively.

Meanwhile, as search for Signor Matteotti's body had so far proved fruitless, conjecture and suspicion had a free rein; the Opposition deputies announced their refusal, pending reforms, to attend Parliament, and press polemics assumed a tone of unprecedented violence, which determined the Government to

enact a stringent Press Law. Such a law had already been drafted by Signor Mussolini in the exercise of the dictatorial powers granted to him by the previous Parliament and relinquished by him at the close of 1923, but it had remained in abeyance, not having been submitted for ratification to the present Chamber. It was now rendered operative by Order in Council on July 8. It placed all press misdemeanours under the jurisdiction of the Prefect, removing them from the cognisance of the ordinary courts. The measure, if justifiable on grounds of emergency, was open to objection as permitting the interference of the Executive with the judiciary; moreover, the manner of its application, which was frequently on party lines, cannot but be held largely accountable for the ensuing unrest in the country, which was further intensified by the delays in the investigation of the Matteotti murder, and also by the peculiarly horrible details which now came to light and which worked up public feeling to a paroxysm of indignation.

Signor Mussolini showed considerable skill and great moderation in handling the somewhat delicate position which had arisen in the Italian-Swiss Canton Ticino in consequence of a nationalist agitation which was alleged to have its source in Fascist circles, and which magnified trifling incidents into national slights. Friendly explanations were given, and the incident closed with an interchange of Notes on April 18 between the Swiss Minister in Rome, M. Magni^{re}, and Signor Mussolini. The new Tangier statute in which Italy had expressed the desire to share proved disappointing to Signor Mussolini. The French Government interpreting literally the original tri-partite agreement between Great Britain, France, and Spain, did not see their way to meet Signor Mussolini's view that, the war having altered the balance of power in the Mediterranean, any new terms should include Italy's participation. On being furnished with the text of the new Tangier statute, Italy, on June 10, notified her refusal to subscribe to its conditions, at the same time despatching a force of carabinieri to the Italian Legation at Tangier for the protection of the interests of her nationals.

The visit of Kas Tafari on June 18 drew attention to the development of Italy's East African dominion and her relations with Abyssinia, and also to her progress in restoring her Lybian conquests. The re-occupation of Tripolitania, commenced early in the year, was carried steadily forward, while the summer campaign with the re-occupation of Bengasi and the Cyrenaic coast towns and the repulse of rebel tribes towards the Egyptian frontier showed the Italian determination to allow no border raiding. The occupation of inland oases aroused a certain anxiety in Cairo, and rumours of a *coup de main* on Solum became rife. The anxiety was allayed by the Italian offer of a boundary commission, negotiations for which have been opened by the Italian Legation at Cairo.

Signor de Stefani, Minister of Finance, Signor Nava, Minister

of National Economy, and Marchese della Torretta, Italian Ambassador in London, attended the opening session of the Reparations Conference on July 16 in London. Whilst the Italian reparations claims necessarily occupied a secondary place in the Dawes Report, Signor Mussolini's known position in the Ruhr question enabled the Italian delegates to play an important part in bringing about the final agreement. The mission returned to Italy on August 20, and Signor Mussolini signified the Government's approval two days later. The Italian Delegation at the General Assembly of the League of Nations, September 1 to October 2, took a prominent part in the debates, showing by their attitude that Italian public opinion had come round to a greater appreciation of the League as a practical factor in political relations. The security and disarmament debate was signalised by a powerful speech from Signor Schanzer (September 8) in defence of sovereign state rights, and the Italian-Swiss Treaty signed on September 20 was submitted by Signor Salandra for registration. The general disarmament and security protocol agreed upon by the Third Commission, September 22, and carried by unanimous vote of the General Assembly, had been accepted *ad referendum* by the Italian Delegate, Signor Salandra, and Signor Mussolini upon receipt of the text declared that the question of Italy's adhesion was a subject for further deliberation. The Italian offer to make the seat of the proposed International Institute of Law in Rome was accepted unanimously on September 26, and the Assembly before adjourning accepted the invitation to hold the winter meeting of the League Council in Rome, on December 8.

The lapse of several months had not by the end of the year allayed the feeling aroused by the Matteotti murder; outbreaks of violence and inflammatory speeches continued to work with cumulative effect upon public opinion. Notwithstanding Signor Mussolini's formal assurances of "normalisation," on the strength of which the Senate had given him a vote of confidence with practical unanimity in June, Government action in the matter appeared to the public to be tardy and reluctant. Signor Mussolini's fighting speeches to the Party Directorate, to bodies of operatives, and to volunteers, were answered by resolutions of Service Men's Associations demanding constitutional government. Proceedings at Fascist Councils and Liberal Opposition Congresses added fuel to the flames. The refusal of the War Veterans to take official part in the Fascist celebration of the March on Rome, October 28, was followed by reprisals on the part of the Fascists at the Armistice day celebrations in Rome and other cities on November 4. A certain measure of satisfaction was afforded by the swearing-in after long delay of the Militia, though this act was deprived of some of its significance by the expressed reservations of certain Fascist leaders. Public opinion therefore still remained discontented; and at the opening of the autumn Parliamentary session it was obvious that Signor

Mussolini's position was shaken. But his assurances to the Chamber secured him renewed votes of confidence. He realised, however, that a change of policy was necessary, and he has already given an earnest of his intentions by his proposed reform of the Militia, and by the new Press Law laid before the Chamber early in December, and intended to supersede the obnoxious emergency decree of last summer.

On December 5 negotiations were opened for a new trade agreement with Germany on the basis of most-favoured-nation treatment and reciprocity. A favourable issue is expected in the near future.

Just before the end of the year (December 20) Signor Mussolini electrified Parliament and the public by announcing that he intended to introduce a new electoral law, but he did not mention any details. Opinion in Italy regards the proposal as a leap in the dark, and it remains to be seen whether Signor Mussolini will weather the storm which appears to be brewing.

CHAPTER IV.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

GERMANY.

THE French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 had been disastrous to Germany without bringing substantial benefits to the occupying Powers, and its lessons were not lost on the statesmen of both sides. The Entente countries had learnt that the economic restoration of Germany was to be regarded not merely as a favour reluctantly and guardedly granted to an enemy and a debtor, but as a step dictated by sound economic principles and as the true basis of future friendly relations between themselves and a Germany, which had emerged from the Ruhr conflict with her unity unbroken. Germany on her side had to reconcile herself to the sacrifices of independence which would be required to secure an international settlement of her difficulties. She had learnt from recent events the dependence of her political status on international finance: her currency had been ruined, and the disintegration of the Reich was threatened as a consequence. She was faced with the fact that the financial support required to preserve her national unity could be obtained only through international co-operation.

Thus the ground was prepared on both sides for a better understanding and for a combined effort to restore Germany's financial and economic stability. This effort was successfully launched during the year, and will always be associated with the names of Stresemann, Marx, Luther, and Schacht in Germany, with the British and French Premiers, MacDonald and Herriot, and with the American, General Dawes.

When the year opened there were still some remnants of the movements of revolt which in various parts of the country had followed the defeat of the Reich in the Ruhr contest. The object of these movements was in some cases to obtain merely local autonomy, in others complete severance from the Reich. A number of Rhineland capitalists cherished the project of a separate note-issuing bank for this district; but the plan was foiled by the action of the German Government in making its consent depend on certain conditions which France refused to sanction, and the growing confidence which the German currency inspired soon took the wind out of all such efforts. In the Palatinate the Separatist movement was still carried on by a small band of adventurers who, under the protection of the French garrison, terrorised the inhabitants. The Bavarian officials in the country were powerless, as the police was disarmed. There was no other way for the oppressed and pillaged population to protect itself against the bandits than by taking up arms in its own defence. On January 5 the Separatist flag was hauled down in Zweibriicken. The French district governor had given his consent to this step, but the Separatist leaders induced him to withdraw it. The population thereupon proceeded to extremes; on January 9 Heinz Orbis, head of the so-called independent Palatinate Government, was, along with many of his comrades, attacked and shot. As the French Government could not bring itself to drop the rebel leaders, the English Government bestirred itself to put an end to a situation so discreditable for the Allies. The British Consul in Munich, Mr. Clive, was commissioned to investigate conditions and political feeling in the Palatinate. On the ground of his report, England declared that the Rhineland Commission had no right to recognise the autonomous Government of the Palatinate. France retorted on England's intervention by instituting an inquiry in the Cologne zone; but in spite of this, and in spite of the defence of his conduct set up by M. de Metz, its military representative in the Palatinate, it could no longer effectively protect the Separatists. The police were armed again, and the papers again came out. M. Poincare stigmatised as a slander the statement that he had supported the Separatists. France, however, was dilatory in restoring normal conditions; the Separatist outrages lasted some weeks longer, and the administration of the country was not restored to the Bavarian authorities till February 17, and then only after bloody street fights in Pirmasens, in the course of which the rebels entrenched themselves in the Government House, had shown that no other course was possible.

The Bavarian Government, in spite of the proof which these events had given of its powerlessness, felt itself impelled at this time to press further on the attention of the Reich the federal principles to which it had obtained assent in the previous autumn. On January 4 it transmitted to the Central Government a memorandum in which it called for a thorough reform of

the Constitution. "What it principally wanted was the restoration of the rights which had been reserved for the separate States and for their representative assembly, the Bundesrat, in the Bismarckian Constitution. The Central Government appeased its discontent by granting its wishes in regard to the Bavarian contingents of the Reichswehr, the position of which it altered in certain points, viz., the taking of the oath, the recall of the provincial commander, and the employment of the troops outside of Bavaria. With these concessions Bavaria felt her prestige safeguarded, and the more fundamental but less pressing questions of administration and finance were shelved for the time being. At the same time (in February) the Bavarian General-Commissariat, whose exceptional powers had been so disquieting for the Central Government in Berlin, came to an end. Herr Kahr, who was about to appear as a highly implicated witness in the Hitler case, handed in his resignation. For the same reason General Lossow, who in the previous autumn had openly defied the high command of the German Reichswehr, also retired.

Thus the danger of territorial disintegration, which had shown itself once more momentarily in a number of forms, was finally removed, and the road was left clear for those efforts of rational economic policy in which, as has been pointed out, the interests of Germany and of the outer world concurred. At first the prosecution of these interests was almost entirely left to financiers and financial experts. On the side of the Allies the work was in the hands of the two International Committees of Experts, which had to examine the financial conditions for restoring Germany's capacity to pay reparations. The resolution of the Reparations Commission of November 30, 1923, which had called them into being, had narrowly circumscribed their powers, and it seemed as if they would not have to concern themselves with the actual sum total of the reparations. But as a rational fixing of the amount to be paid was itself a condition of Germany's continued capacity to pay, their task had to be extended in such a way as to make the experts to a large extent the arbitrators between Germany and the Reparation Powers. This was especially the case with the first Committee, presided over by General Dawes, which first met on January 14. It immediately got into touch with the persons responsible for the financial and currency policy of Germany. Herr Schacht, the President of the Reichsbank, was repeatedly called to its deliberations, and, in order to procure exact information, the experts stayed for a time in Berlin. The work of amassing facts was not disturbed by any political differences. The Dawes Committee from the beginning adopted the standpoint that it had to make an arrangement not between conquerors and conquered, but between creditors and debtors. The German officials had the less cause to hinder such an investigation, as the Cuno Ministry, in its Note of June 7, 1923,

had already recommended a report to be drawn up by some neutral party.

But these officials had the further duty of finding temporary means for stabilising the currency and balancing the Budget till the experts should have devised methods for achieving these ends permanently. The "Eentenmark," the concrete result of the currency catastrophe of 1923, gained, it is true, almost daily in public confidence; but a new inflation was only avoided by supplementing the issue of this popular money token with measures which inevitably caused great hardship. The Rentenmark was covered not by gold but by mortgages; the secret of its stability lay in the fact that it was issued only in very limited quantity. To Dr. Helfferich belonged the credit of having first shown the way to create a new currency by his project of a "rye currency;" it was his political opposite, Dr. Hilferding, who drafted the ordinance for the Rentenmark; but the practical restriction of the note circulation was the particular achievement of the Reich's Finance Minister, Dr. Luther, who tackled successfully the problem of enabling the Reich to function on this narrow basis. A similar problem which faced him was that of allowing for public and private claims which had been rendered valueless by the inflation. In seeking to give these a fair value, care had to be taken not to undertake obligations which the State had at present no prospect of being able to meet. The solution was found by giving an extreme preference to the claims of the State over those of its paid officials, and to the claims of debtors over those of creditors. Salaries and wages were cut down to a bare subsistence minimum; many employees were dismissed, and numerous officials were put on pension pay. Those sections of the "third emergency taxation ordinance" which contained the principles of the restoration of the value of private and public debts, were practically equal to a declaration of general bankruptcy. Meanwhile the President of the Reichsbank, Herr Schacht, had to satisfy the demands of the business community for credit, and to see that no inflation was surreptitiously introduced in the process. With the consent of the experts he established on March 13, an institution for providing Bill credits for German commerce in the shape of the "Golddiskontbank." Skilfully as this institution was devised, it did not make the credits of the Reichsbank superfluous, and as these threatened to reach too high a figure, Dr. Schacht, on April 8, issued an order forbidding the increase of credits as from that day. This step at last brought the activities of the note press to a stop; but it increased the number of those who found the new system hard to bear.

It was just at this time that the experts completed their work. They handed their report to the Reparations Commission, which called upon the German Government to declare forthwith if it* would accept the conditions laid down in the report. An affirmative reply was given to this question on April 15. The

report, it is true, contained many points which made such a decision hard for the Government. It threatened Germany for decades not merely with what appeared to be intolerable burdens, but also with the danger of foreign interference with the control of its currency and its railways, and in spite of all the total figure of its liabilities still remained undetermined. But on the other side the report in two vital points expressly recognised the interests of the Reich as conceived by the Germans themselves. The conditions laid down for the gold loan and the gold note bank, and the technical regulations which hedged round the transfer, were a guarantee that Germany would not have to pay reparations at the price of ruining her currency and commerce. And further, it was laid down as a fundamental condition for the plan that the Reich should retain its economic sovereignty over the whole of Germany. This meant that Germany's neighbours were not to be allowed to seize for themselves individual provinces as "special pledges" in place of the "general pledge" which covered the whole country. How oppressive such a "special pledge" could be was shown by the conditions in the West, where the customs barrier between occupied and unoccupied territory was still in force, and where the Ruhr industry was compelled to renew repeatedly the "Locarno" agreements with France and Belgium.

These guarantees for the existence of the Reich decided the attitude of the Government. But the question had to be submitted to the whole nation. The Reichstag was no longer in session; as in any case its period was due to expire shortly according to the Constitution, the Government had dissolved it, and fixed May 4 as the day for the General Election. The Government was strongly criticised in Parliament for having in spite of this given a binding answer to the question of the Reparations Commission. As a matter of fact, there was every indication of the opposition being strong in the country.

The parties of the Opposition were in the main the same as before: the German National People's Party, the Communists, and the German "Racialists" or National Socialists. The last-named were represented by only three members in the Reichstag which had just been dissolved, but their following in the country, particularly among the youth, was continually growing. The Hitler trial held in Munich in March, the last trial brought before the so-called "people's courts" in Bavaria, political rather than juridical in character, had been turned into one long glorification of the heroes of the party, who were there brought to trial. They had found opportunity to exchange roles with their prosecutors, and to denounce in moving terms both the German Government and Kahr and Lossow. Hitler and a few others had received mild sentences; Ludendorff had been acquitted, and was now leader of the party. The symbol adopted by the party was the Swastika, which as a supposed "Aryan" symbol enjoyed in Germany a curious popularity of doubtful

historical justification. It advocated an active and energetic war against all "international powers"—the Entente, Marxism, Jews, the Catholic Church, Capital, and Parliamentary institutions. In these last two antipathies it approached the standpoint of the extreme Marxists, the Communists themselves, with whom it also shared a liking for noisy obstruction. The attitude of the "German Nationalist" voters was in many respects not far removed from that of the German "Racialists." With the former, however, the "national" programme was modified by a belief in the healing virtues of the old monarchical-conservative spirit; they thought that the mere fact of their party being in office would improve Germany's position abroad. The views of this party were shared by numerous representatives of industry and commerce, who regarded the requirements of the experts' report as impossible of fulfilment, and demanded a return to the methods of passive resistance. They were reinforced by recruits from the ranks of "big business," who hitherto had supported the German People's Party, and some of whom formed a separate group under the name of "National Liberal Union." The leaders of the German Nationalist Party had no uniform programme. But they had in their midst until just before the election the most passionate opponent and the most penetrating critic of the Dawes scheme, a man too who had won great esteem by his notable contribution to the currency reform—the ex-Minister, Dr. Helfferich. It was he who stiffened the programme of passive resistance by adding a demand that the Versailles Treaty should be denounced, as the Entente had itself broken it, and as the proposition on which it rested, that Germany had brought about the world war, had been shown to be untenable. But a tragic accident just before the election removed from the scene a politician whose ability and energy were often rendered fruitless by his displays of nervous irritability.

Broadly speaking the opposition to the Government was inspired not so much by political calculation as by feelings of despair. These were largely due to the very real hardships of the economic situation. The cancellation, whole or partial, of deposits bearing fixed interest affected most severely the savings of the poorer classes. Business was at a standstill, as no one was in a hurry to give orders. Private concerns imitated the methods of the Government, by dismissing some of their employees and underpaying the rest. On the other hand, prices were raised while purchasing power diminished, and this again hampered exports and production. The unavoidable consequences of the catastrophe of the previous year were rendered worse by the shortsighted policy of numerous business people, particularly those who speculated on the collapse of the French exchange, and in this false hope withdrew large sums of money from the German stock.

The distress was especially great at the time of the election,

and the sufferers joined the Opposition in masses. Yet even this did not enable it to obtain a majority. In the election which was held on May 4, the parties which were for rejecting the experts' report obtained only 203 seats out of a total of 471. Continuity in foreign policy was thus assured. But the election had another result also. During the last Reichstag, the conflicts of parties had made it impossible for any Government to be formed commanding a majority in the House. This state of things now became chronic. Elections which had shortly before taken place to various Diets and local councils had shown that the traditional tendency to split up parties was now being carried to extreme lengths. In the new Reichstag there were 62 Communists and 36 "Racialists," who not only belaboured one another, but were determined to obstruct all Parliamentary Government. The German National People's Party, which counted 96 members, formed in conjunction with 9 National Liberals and Agrarians the strongest party group in the House; but in foreign policy it was isolated. The Government parties—German People's Party (44), Centre (65), and Democrats (28), all suffered great losses. As the Social Democrats had fallen to 100 members, even the "Grand Coalition" of all the last-named parties, which in Prussia held the reins of Government and on which the first Stresemann Cabinet had rested for support, would have commanded only a majority of four. But such a coalition was now opposed by the German People's Party, which had been taught by experience the danger of carrying too far its friendship for the out-and-out Republicans. It was anxious to bridge over its differences with the German Nationalists in the matter of foreign policy; and as these now showed a keen desire to participate in the Government, it induced the Marx Cabinet to resign even before the Reichstag met. But the negotiations came to grief over the Dawes Report; the old Ministry returned, and obtained in the Reichstag a majority for its declaration on foreign policy. But it had to dispense with a formal vote of confidence; and even its majority on the Dawes Report was only obtained through the support of two small groups, the Bavarian People's Party, and the Middle Classes Economic Party.

The German elections were followed by the French, which put an end to the Poincaré policy, and paved the way for the new international understanding which made the summer of 1924 memorable. Practical effect was given to the Dawes Report by the London Conference in July, in which for the first time since the war German delegates were treated as equals. As an alleviation of the reparations burden was out of the question for Germany, her statesmen had to concentrate their efforts upon supplementing the report in those points which directly or indirectly affected the economic sovereignty of Germany. They asked for and obtained a stricter limitation of

foreign control over the railways. They demanded above all things that the districts illegally occupied by France and Belgium should be evacuated at an early date by the foreign garrisons. In this they were only partially successful. The evacuation of isolated towns was promised for 1924; but the Ruhr district was to remain occupied till August, 1925.

But though the Ministers had agreed, the ultimate decision still lay with the Reichstag. For the carrying out of the London resolutions, it was necessary that the Reich should pass special legislation embodying various points. Till this was done, the Government could not finally ratify the Agreement, and the last date for ratification was August 31. The result of the election made it a foregone conclusion that the Reichstag would assent to most of the Bills to be proposed. The only one about which there was a doubt was the Railways Bill, since this involved an alteration in the conditions laid down in the Constitution for the management of the railways, and such an alteration could, according to Article 76 of the Constitution, only become law if two-thirds of the members of the Reichstag were present when the vote was taken, and two-thirds of those present voted for it. Thus the Opposition, if they held together, were in a position either by absenting themselves or by an adverse vote to defeat the Railways Bill and so upset the whole Agreement.

The casting vote lay with the German Nationalist Party.' This group found itself in a most peculiar position. Its members had been elected as irreconcilable opponents of the Dawes scheme, and they would be contradicting their loudest assertions if they expressly assented to those of its provisions which demanded the most painful sacrifice of national autonomy. On the other hand, by rejecting the Bill they would not only be incurring a grave responsibility, but they would find themselves in the uncongenial society of the Communists, and they would risk losing the favour of the manufacturing classes which looked forward to a great inflow of foreign capital as a result of the Agreement. It was almost certain that if they threw out the Bill and the Reichstag was then dissolved, they would lose in the new election. But again the Government, in order not to lose the fruits of the London Conference, had to press for a speedy acceptance of the Bills, and to avoid at all costs a dissolution of the Reichstag. So the German Nationalists, instead of suffering for their imprudent opposition, were in the happy position of having their favour courted on all sides.

For a long time the party could not make up its mind. There was within its ranks a conflict between a minority which, partly from conviction, was for accepting the Bills, and a majority which listened only to the dictates of national pride, while the leader of the party, Herr Hergt, though he criticised the Government sharply, gave no definite lead. The decision was finally reached through negotiations between representatives of the German Nationalists on the one hand and of the German

People's Party and the Centre on the other. The group undertook to be present at the vote and so ensure the requisite quorum in the House, but left its members free to vote as they pleased. The Eailway Bill in the end secured the requisite two-thirds majority.

Thus by August 29 the Government was in a position to ratify the Agreement. But the support of the German Nationalists had only been obtained at the price of two important concessions. One was that the Government should be urged to present a statement to the signatories of the Versailles Treaty declaring Article 231 of the Treaty, which dealt with Germany's responsibility for the war, to be without substance. The other was that the party should be given a place in the Ministry. When charged with subordinating the welfare of the nation to party interest, the German Nationalists replied that, if they supported the Agreement, they must see that it was applied in a way beneficial to Germany.

Their first demand proved to be hardly feasible. The clearing-up of the question of "war-guilt" in a more impartial spirit than is exhibited in the Treaty of Versailles, is for Germans without distinction of party a vital necessity. But the political value of insisting on such a step is questionable, and it was above all questionable at that moment whether the international relations which had just been formed should be jeopardised by making the guilt question the subject of diplomatic investigations. Herr Stresemann for a time seemed willing to take this risk. Along with the Bills relating to the Dawes scheme, the lieichstag passed a declaration of protest against the charge of having instigated the war. There was then some talk of despatching a Note; but finally a formal step of this kind was deferred to a more suitable time. This was in itself a sign that the Minister would not allow the new understanding with the German Nationalists to have too great an influence on his foreign policy. Another sign was that just this moment was chosen for testing the possibility of Germany's entering the League of Nations, a step for which Stresemann had already declared in the spring. As Germany received encouragement from Geneva also to take this step, the Government in a Note addressed to the Powers of the League on September 29, requested to be enlightened on the conditions for entering. The answers were not altogether clear on the matter of Germany's participation in military action undertaken by the League. The Note was therefore supplemented on December 22 by an inquiry addressed to the League itself.

For the fulfilment of the second promise, on the other hand, Herr Stresemann exerted himself most energetically. His conduct astonished many who remembered the accusations and insults which he had formerly had to endure at the hands of the German Nationalists. But the readiness which he now showed to work with them was on political grounds quite intelligible.

At the moment when his foreign policy was promising successful results, it could not but be a cause of anxiety to him that it should be exposed to the attacks of a party which knew how to use the language of national pride in a way that appealed to large masses of the population. It would certainly make for the stability of foreign policy if this party could be induced to co-operate with him. Already in March he had parried attacks of the German Nationalists on his "fulfilment" policy with the remark that the party would judge differently if one of its members were Foreign Minister. But while granting the force of this reasoning, one must also admit that the other parties of the Coalition had equally strong grounds for avoiding co-operation with the German Nationalists. Such a combination would have meant a *bloc* of Non-Socialist parties. It would have driven the Social-Democrats, who hitherto had supported the Government in important matters, into opposition against the united "bourgeoisie." The result would have been to accentuate the "class-war" which most of the parties wished to mitigate; and in addition a sharp division would have been made in the ranks of those who had taken upon themselves the defence of the Eepublican constitution.

In the existing composition of the Reichstag, the consent not only of the Centre but also of the small democratic parties was indispensable for fulfilling the desires of the parties of the Eight. Many weeks were spent in negotiating. At the beginning of October, Herr Marx sought to form a coalition of a national character, which should include not only the German Nationalists but also the Social Democrats. When this attempt failed, the necessity of a new election for determining the complexion of the Government became every day clearer. The Democrats took upon themselves the odium of bringing matters to a head. When the Centre finally made their consent to the admission of the German Nationalists into the Cabinet conditional on that of the Democrats, the latter answered with a decided "no." On October 20 the dissolution was decided on. The General Election was fixed for December 7, and the election for the Prussian Diet was to take place on the same day.

The election campaign this time fell in a period when prospects were not wanting of an improvement in Germany's economic and political position. The first effects of the London Conference were already visible. The international loan for buttressing the German currency and easing the burden of reparations had been floated with remarkable success. In the new "Reichsmark" a gold currency—if only in paper tokens—once more came into circulation. The E6gie railways and mines in the West were once more transferred to German hands, as were also the Customs. The Customs barrier between the occupied and unoccupied territory vanished. The Micum agreements became null. The places in Baden occupied by the French, as well as Dortmund, Eemscheid, and Wesel, were

freed from foreign garrisons. The performance of the "America Zeppelin" gratified national pride, and its reception in America excited hopes of sympathy. Such a state of affairs was not favourable to the parties of obstruction. Although a noisy anti-semitic propaganda was again started, the Swastika fell into the background, leaving the field to the two rival symbols of the old and the new Reich, the former black-white-red, and the latter black-red-gold.

In the election held on December 7, all parties gained at the expense of the extremists. The number of Communist members fell to 45 and of the "Racialists" to 14, while the total number of seats rose to 493. The chief gainers both absolutely and relatively were the Socialists, who returned with 131 members. The middle parties and the German Nationalists both won about the same number of seats. But the gains were not sufficient in any quarter to make the formation of a Government coalition any easier. As far as numbers went, the "Grand Coalition" would now have been possible; but the estrangement between the German People's Party and the Democrats and Socialists put it out of the question. The Centre and the Democrats would have consented to restore the old "Wirth Coalition" with the Social Democrats; but with only 69 and 32 seats respectively they were too weak to accomplish this. On the other hand, the German Nationalists with 103 seats, the German People's Party with 51, and the agrarian "Land Union" with 8, would have required the assistance of at least one of the Eepublican parties to form a Government. In any case, owing to their ability to turn the scale, the small groups of the Bavarian People's Party (19) and the Economic Party (17) acquired an importance in grotesque contrast with the political interests which they represented. The smallest party (4) was that of the German Hanoverians, whose proposal to sever Hanover from Prussia had been decisively rejected by a popular vote of the Province in May. The Marx Ministry again resigned, and this time it was clear that it would not return. The year, however, ended without bringing a solution of the crisis.

Just at this time an unexpected complication arose in foreign affairs. On January 10 of the coming year Germany, according to the Treaty of Versailles, was to receive two important alleviations of the harsh terms imposed by that document. As from that day Germany was empowered to institute commercial relations on the basis of reciprocity with the Allies, if suitable agreements could be made. This day was further the date for which the evacuation of the "Cologne Zone," i.e., the northern corner of the occupied district, had been promised, provided that Germany carried out the terms of the Peace Treaty. The first of these benefits seemed to be secured to Germany by the conclusion on December 2 of a Commercial Agreement with England [for the text of this, see under Public Documents in

Part II], while negotiations for a similar Treaty with France were also on foot. In regard to the evacuation of the Cologne zone, Germany was prepared for a request from the Allies that the date should be postponed somewhat, so as not to leave an unoccupied district between the region of the Ruhr and the Belgian and French frontiers. An amicable arrangement would certainly have been possible. Suddenly, however, the German public heard with dismay that the postponement of the date of evacuation would be exacted by the Allies as a kind of punishment. On June 29 the Government had consented to the Allies carrying out a final investigation to see if the disarmament conditions of the Versailles Treaty had been complied with. The investigation had taken place, and the public was now told that the Control Commission was not fully satisfied with the result. It seemed to the Germans that the omissions could concern only insignificant points, as there could be no doubt about the defenceless condition of Germany. The statements which made their way into the Press regarding alleged shortcomings on Germany's part were officially contradicted. All the more painful, therefore, was the impression, when it was learnt that the postponement of the evacuation was now justified on the ground of these shortcomings, and when the Ambassadors' Conference on December 27 expressly based the refusal to evacuate on this ground. Up to the end of the year Germany had not yet had any opportunity to learn authentically with what omissions it was charged. It could not, however, help fearing that its old enemies were seeking by this galling stroke to upset that understanding between the nations which the recent economic agreements seemed to portend.

AUSTRIA.

The year 1921 has been for Austria one of paradox—a year in which the State finances have prospered while the population has lost heavily. The process of reconstruction inaugurated by the Geneva protocol of October, 1922, has made good progress, and the results have so far exceeded expectation; but at the same time the year was notable for a severe banking crisis which brought widespread disaster and which has left the economic life of the country in a very precarious state.

The scheme drawn up by the League of Nations in 1922 had anticipated for the first stage of Austrian reconstruction (first half of 1923) a deficit of 23*5 millions of gold crowns and for the second stage (second half of 1923) a deficit of 132 millions. The deficit had in fact in the first stage amounted to only 14*3 millions, and in the second to only 4*86 millions. In the last two months of 1923, there had instead of the anticipated deficit been a surplus. In the third stage (first half of 1924) the monthly deficit was only 1*2 million gold crowns instead of the anticipated 3*5 millions. For several months the

Commissioner-General of the League of Nations found it unnecessary to use any part of the League of Nations' loan to cover the State deficit. At the end of November, 1924, 424 million dollars from this loan were still untouched, as was also the Swiss Government's credit of 20 million francs.

In view of these facts the Government considered it appropriate to inquire officially of the League of Nations under what conditions that body would be prepared to declare the control of Austrian finances at an end. It certainly already aimed at balancing the Budget at a higher figure than had been agreed on with the League of Nations experts in the autumn of 1922. At that time a so-called "normal Budget" had been drafted on the attainment of which the reconstruction could be regarded as complete. In this Budget expenditure had been fixed at 350 million gold crowns. It had now become apparent that if the State was to make full provision for its legitimate needs and meet its indispensable outlays, an expenditure of 350 million gold crowns would be insufficient, all the more so as prices of commodities as reckoned in gold had risen very considerably since the autumn of 1922. On the other hand, however, the estimate of 490 million gold crowns for the State's revenue was far too low. In the first half of 1924 the actual revenue receipts were at the rate of 630'2 millions of gold crowns for the year, although taxation per head of population was only 80 per cent, of the pre-war figure.

The Government in consequence requested the League of Nations to take steps for revising the financial programme which had been laid down in the international agreement of 1922. The League of Nations Council in a resolution passed on March 12, 1924, took its stand on a stipulation in the Geneva protocol that alterations in the scheme could be made only with the consent of the parties to the agreement, that the ending of the control was to depend on the restoration of permanent financial equilibrium, and that credits could be disposed of only under the control of the Commissioner-General. At the same time the Commissioner-General and the Finance Committee of the League of Nations were charged to examine the questions put by the Austrian Government, so that a definite answer might be given to them at the next session of the League of Nations.

At this time an event occurred which seemed to justify the opinion of those who doubted whether the Austrian State revenue could permanently maintain itself at the figure which it had reached. Wild speculation in francs brought about a crisis on the Exchange which led to a collapse in the value of securities, and to the failure of a number of banking houses in the course of the next few months.

The magnitude of this crisis was greatly exaggerated abroad, but its effects on Austria's economic position were certainly disastrous. Nevertheless it had its uses also. It put a sudden

end to the speculation which had become rife since the inflation period, and brought home to the population the inestimable value of steady work and thrift. It also cleared away the mushroom creations of the speculation period—as a matter of fact none of the old, solid banks and business houses went under—and it showed how cautious the Government had been in its financial estimates. For in spite of the crisis the State receipts were still in all the succeeding months considerably above the estimates (on the average about 9 million gold crowns).

On June 1 the Chancellor, Dr. Seipel, was shot at and dangerously wounded by a man who proved to be mentally deficient, and he was consequently unable to attend the League of Nations meeting which was held in Geneva shortly afterwards. His place was taken by the Finance Minister, Dr. Kienbock. Before his departure the Grand Committee of the National Assembly passed a resolution, which was entirely in accord with the views of the Government, for making the following proposal to the League of Nations: that the Council of the League should declare that the financial equilibrium of Austria should be regarded as secured if the country could reckon on keeping its Budget normally at 533 million gold crowns income and 520 million expenditure.

In its sitting of June 16, the Council of the League declared that the expenditure figure of 350 million gold crowns must without question be raised, but in view of the economic crisis in Austria it found itself unable as yet to substitute any other precise figure. The Finance Committee of the League was charged, in conjunction with the Commissioner-General in Vienna, to make investigations which could serve as a basis for fixing anew the expenditure figure at the autumn meeting of the League.

The experts of the League came to Vienna at the end of August, and on September 16 they laid their report before the League. The Austrian Government was represented at the meeting by Dr. Seipel, who had barely recovered from the effects of his wound, the Finance Minister, Dr. Kienbock, and the Foreign Minister, Dr. Griinberger. The Council of the League gave its assent to an arrangement which had been drawn up by the Austrian Government and the Finance Committee, according to which the expenditure for 1925 should not exceed 545 millions of gold crowns, of which 50 millions were to be for investments. The Government undertook in this arrangement to lower the tax on banking and exchange turnover, as also the corporation tax, to speed up the reduction of the Civil Service staff, to make certain changes in the policy of the National Bank, to establish a fixed proportion between the Austrian crown and a gold standard, to encourage the practice of publishing balance sheets in gold values, and to execute certain of its obligations under the reform and reconstruction pro-

gramme which it had not yet performed. If these conditions are fulfilled, and if the Budget for 1926 keeps within the same figures and the economic situation is regarded with confidence, then the Finance Committee will recommend the Council of the League of Nations to declare the time ripe for removing the control of Austrian finances. In view of the progress already made in the path of reconstruction, certain minor alleviations of the control were promised for the near future.

The Government laid before Parliament a number of Bills which it had drafted to give effect to the agreement with the Finance Committee of the League of Nations and to various suggestions made by that body. Among these Bills was the Budget for 1925, in which expenditure was fixed without investments at 494*8 millions of gold crowns, and revenue at 508*3 millions, so that—apart from the 50 millions for investments—the Budget showed a surplus of 13*5 millions. In addition, a number of taxes which weighed heavily on manufacturers and banks were materially reduced.

At the beginning of November the railway workers made demands for increases in pay, and, failing to come to an agreement with the directors, went out on strike. The President of the Railway Board, Dr. Gunther, sent in his resignation. The whole Cabinet resigned at the same time (Nov. 7), and announced that it would not return to office unless it were sure of being allowed to complete without hindrance the work of reconstruction. The railway strike came to an end in three days, and on November 12, the Grand Committee of the Diet again nominated Dr. Seipel Chancellor. For some days following Dr. Seipel carried on negotiations with the parliamentary groups of the majority parties. Although all parties declared their unflinching adherence to the reconstruction policy, Dr. Seipel found himself at variance with members of his own party on the question of Federalism, and as in addition the state of his health necessitated a rest, he declined the task of forming a new Government, and proposed another member of his own party, Dr. Eudolf Bamek, as his successor, while he himself took over the active leadership of the Christian-Socialist Party. On November 20, the National Assembly accepted the new Government with Dr. Kamek as Chancellor. Unlike its predecessor, it was a Christian-Socialist minority Government, but the Pan-Germans promised their support. In his declaration of policy Dr. Eamek announced that his programme would be based on the Geneva Protocol of October 4, 1922, the Eeconstruction Law, and the subsequent arrangements made by the Seipel Government with the League of Nations.

The Stock Exchange crisis mentioned above greatly accentuated the economic crisis which followed the stabilisation of the crown. The shortage of capital which forces the manufacturer to pay high rates of interest is a great drag on production, and many concerns had to close down or restrict operations

because they could not procure the requisite capital. The number of assisted unemployed was in February 125,783; it sank gradually to the half of this figure in June, then rose again, reaching 115,601 in November. These figures would have been far higher but for the relief works undertaken by the municipality of Vienna, which constructed a water-power station in Opponitz, electrified the city railway, and erected workmen's dwellings.

In 1924 there was again a very heavy adverse trade balance—nearly 1,000,000,000 crowns. To avoid the necessity of importing coal the Government proceeded energetically with the development of water-power. From 1921 to 1924 150,000 H.P. of water-power was made available, and at the end of 1924 works for providing additional 70,000 H.P. were under construction. In this way 800,000 tons of coal were saved. The municipality of Vienna was further able to lower the price of the electric current, and so reduce costs of production for Viennese industry.

A decisive improvement in the trade balance can be brought about only by a very appreciable increase in exports. The Government seeks to attain this end, as far as lies in its power, by concluding commercial agreements which will, as far as possible, remove the barriers in the way of Austrian exports. In 1924 a series of such agreements was again concluded: with Germany, England, France, Latvia, Sweden, Norway, Czechoslovakia, and Turkey. In order to smooth the course of the negotiations a new Customs tariff, adapted to Austria's requirements, was drawn up to come into force at the beginning of 1925. It was already made the basis of the negotiations with Germany and Czechoslovakia, and will also serve as a basis for those with Denmark, Holland, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Spain.

Among the Bills which the Government has submitted to the National Council in accordance with its agreement with the Finance Committee of the League of Nations, is one for keeping accounts in shillings and one for making out balance sheets in gold values. The first of these will do away with the host of ciphers which hitherto have concealed the value of Austrian money, while balance sheets in gold values will reveal the true value of Austrian undertakings.

In its programme of reform and reconstruction the Austrian Government had pledged itself to dismiss 100,000 State officials. By the end of November, 1924, 71,352 had been dismissed, besides 9,948 employees of the Southern Railway, the employees of which were not servants of the Government at the time when the programme was drawn up. At the League of Nations meeting in September, 1924, the wish was expressed that the retrenchment in the Civil Service should be carried out more rapidly, and the Government has drafted a new Bill with this object in view.

CHAPTER V.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS—ESTONIA—FINLAND—LATVIA—LITHUANIA—POLAND—CZECHOSLOVAKIA—HUNGARY—RUMANIA—YUGOSLAVIA — TURKEY—GREECE—ALBANIA—BULGARIA.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

ON January 21 at 6.15 P.M., after a protracted illness, Lenin, the creator and chief director of the Soviet State, died in Gorki, near Moscow. The impression produced by this event was profound and widespread, and its political effects have been far-reaching in the internal affairs of Russia during the year. The anniversary of Lenin's death was declared a day of mourning. M. Eykov, the lieutenant of Lenin in the Council of People's Commissaries of the Soviet Union and also in the Council of Labour and Defence, was elected President of the Council of People's Commissaries. The Vice-Presidents of the Council were M. Kamenev, who also held the post of President of the Council of Labour and Defence, M. Tziurupa, who was at the same time Head of the Economic Committee, M. Orkhelashvili, and M. Tschubar. Other prominent members of the Council were M. Tchitcherin, M. Trotski, and M. Krassin, who was later replaced by M. Scheinmann. M. Dserjinski was appointed President of the Supreme Economic Council.

The real rulers of the Soviet Union since Lenin's death have been M. Kamenev, M. Zinoviev, Head of the Leningrad (formerly Petrograd) Commune, and M. Stalin, Secretary of the Eussian Communist Party—the so-called "triumvirate."

The Second Session of the Congress of the Soviet Union (the Parliament) met in February, and elected the Central Executive Committee of the Union of the Soviet Republics. This Committee consists of two Chambers, viz. (1) the Council of the Union with 414 members, and (2) the Council of Nationalities with 100 representatives of 82 Eepublics and autonomous districts. The Chairmen are M. Kalinin (for Soviet Eussia), M. Petrovski (for the Ukraine), M. Narimanov (for the Transcaucasian Federation), and M. Tcherviakov (for White Eussia).

During the year two new autonomous Eepublics have been formed, the Eepublic of the Germans on the Volga, and the Moldavian Eepublic.

The Thirteenth Congress of the Eussian Communist Party, held in June, was the outstanding feature in the internal affairs of the Union, for there occurred the decisive clash between the two groups which ever since the illness of Lenin had been struggling for mastery, the one comprising the majority of the party, headed by the aforementioned triumvirate, and the other including Trotski, Preobrajenski, Saprionov, and others. During the first half of the year drastic measures were taken to suppress the middle class, the chief victims being the children of the

bourgeoisie who were denied the right of attending the "middle" schools and the universities. The bourgeois were even deprived of the right of voting in the House Committees in questions concerning the disposal of their own flats. The Communist Congress voted unanimously for Leninism against petty bourgeois tendencies. The N.E.P. (New Economic Policy) was strongly condemned, although not abolished. The Congress, did not demand the entire suppression of private commerce, but urged that it should be curtailed in favour of State trade and co-operation. Trotski was opposed to this policy, but voted nevertheless for the resolutions of the majority, on the principle of "my Party, right or wrong." He was elected a member of the Central Committee of the Party, but his conflict with Zinoviev and the other leaders of the majority still went on. In autumn he published a book "1917" in which he showed that in that decisive year he had been with Lenin against Zinoviev, who had been opposed to the idea of seizing power. Zinoviev, argued Trotski, had failed then, and he could fail again to-day. The whole book is meant to support the view of Trotski, that the democratisation of the party is the only way to save the party. The issue was exhausted in a few days. The book was not prohibited by the authorities, but countless resolutions were passed against the author in all Soviet districts and party clubs. By the end of the year the Trotski crisis was not yet over. Eumours were spread of his being ill and having undertaken a new trip to the Caucasus for reasons of health.

The Conference of the Third International held in Moscow in July was significant in many ways. A resolution was adopted that only with the consent of Moscow should the national Communist Parties be allowed to convoke ordinary and extraordinary congresses. This resolution strengthened the position of Moscow in the Third International. M. Radek, one of the most prominent members of this body, was not re-elected on the Executive on account of his moderate views with regard to revolutionary action in Germany.

M. Savinkov, a prominent leader of the counter-revolutionary movement and former Minister of War in the Cabinet of M. Kerenski, who has for years been fighting against the Bolsheviks, crossed the Polish-Eussian frontier on August 20. He was arrested on Eussian territory and brought to trial. Before the Court he declared his readiness to recognise the Soviet power. He was condemned to death, but the Central Executive Committee commuted the sentence to one of imprisonment for ten years.

In foreign affairs the outstanding events have been the recognition of the Soviet Government *de jure* by Great Britain, Italy, France, and several lesser European States, and the further expansion of its diplomatic influence in Asia. Recognition came first from Great Britain, in a Note despatched on February 1 by Mr. Eamsay MacDonald to Moscow. This was

followed by the visit of a Russian delegation to England, by the Anglo-Soviet Conference in London, and by the Anglo-Russian Treaty which was signed by Mr. MacDonald on August 8 and repudiated by Mr. Chamberlain on November 21. (For a full account of these events *vide* English History, *passim*, and for the text of the Treaty *vide* under Public Documents.)

Even before the British recognition, negotiations had been carried on in Rome between the Russian Trade Delegation and the Italian Government with the object of concluding a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation. At the final meeting of the Conference, held on January 31, M. Mussolini declared that with the conclusion of the Treaty the question of the *de jure* recognition of the Soviet Government by Italy was settled in the affirmative. On February 7 normal diplomatic relations between the two Governments were resumed, and an Italian Ambassador sent to Moscow. The Eusso-Italian Treaty did not touch on the questions of Kussian debts and compensation for the damage caused to Italian citizens during the upheaval in Eussia. This damage has been estimated at 3 milliards of liras. The Soviet Government has, however, pledged itself to secure to Italian interests the most favourable treatment possible. The Treaty contains besides a clause that no Soviet propaganda should be carried on in Italy.

In Eussia the sensation of the year was the recognition of the Soviet Union by France. Shortly after M. Herriot had assumed office the question was discussed in the French Cabinet, and a Commission under Senator de Monzie was appointed to inquire fully into the matter. On October 29 a telegram was sent by M. Herriot to Moscow which stated that, faithful to the friendship which united the French and Eussian nations, the French Cabinet had decided to recognise the Soviet Government as the *de jure* Government of the former Eussian Empire, and diplomatic relations should, therefore, be resumed. In the Eussian Note, signed by Kalinin, Eykov, and Tchicherin, great satisfaction was expressed at this demarche of the French Premier. The French formula of non-interference in the internal affairs of each country was readily accepted by the Soviet Government. In an interview granted on November 4 by M. Herriot to M. Eakovsky, who had come from London to take over the *palais* of the former Eussian Embassy in the Eue Grenelle, it was agreed that M. Krassin should be the Soviet Ambassador in Paris and M. Jean Herbetie should go as French Ambassador to Moscow. On December 12 M. Krassin presented his credentials to M. Doumergue, President of the Eepublic. Negotiations between Krassin and Senator de Monzie were opened at once, but no results had been achieved when the year closed. According to the French newspapers, the *pourparlers* have not been satisfactory.

Eelations with Germany were strained for some little time, owing to the raid made in the spring by the Berlin police on

the offices of the Eussian Trade Delegation in the Lindenstrasse. On May 3 an official of the Delegation, Bozengard, who had been arrested in Wirtemberg for carrying on Bolshevik propaganda, was brought by two police officers to Berlin on the way to a prison in Pomerania. Bozengard persuaded them to go with him to a coffee-house in the building where the Delegation was located, and when they arrived there he escaped. The police officers were detained, and only released after strong protests. The Berlin police then arrived and made a domiciliary visit. Five officials of the Delegation were arrested. The Russian Ambassador in Berlin, M. Krestinski, protested against the violation of the extra-territoriality of the Eussian Trade Delegation, and left Berlin for Moscow, while the Trade Delegation closed its doors. The news of this incident was received in Moscow with great anger. On May 11, on the occasion of the unveiling of a monument to Vorovski, the Eussian diplomatist who was murdered a year previously at Lausanne, M. Tschicherin made a speech in which he spoke of "the bandit raid of the German police;" and this was followed by anti-German demonstrations. Diplomatic intercourse with Germany was broken off, and the rupture lasted for nearly three months. Several Notes were exchanged between Moscow and Berlin, and a settlement was at last reached on July 29, and embodied in a protocol signed by Dr. Stresemann and M. Bratmann-Brodowski, the Eussian Charge d'Affaires. In its first Note the Eussian Government had demanded that Germany should make a solemn apology to Moscow, punish the guilty officials, and declare that the offices of the Trade Delegation enjoyed the right of extra-territoriality. The protocol of July 29 only partly met the wishes of the Soviet Government. No solemn apology was made, the extra-territoriality was conceded to certain departments of the Trade Delegation only, and the punishment of the guilty police officials was promised in vague terms. The Soviet on its side had to forbid its officials of the Trade Delegation to take any part in the political life of Germany. In paragraph V. both Governments expressed their willingness to conclude a Trade Agreement within a year after the signing of the protocol. Negotiations to that end were opened in November in Moscow, but had not been concluded at the close of the year.

The Soviet Union was recognised *de jure* by Norway in February, by Sweden in March, by Denmark on June 18, and also by Greece; with Sweden and Norway Trade Agreements were also concluded. Negotiations with Holland have not led to any result as yet. An Agreement has been signed in Berlin between M. Krestinski and Hungarian representatives for the establishment of diplomatic and economic relations with Hungary. This Agreement has still to be ratified by both Governments. Negotiations took place between the Soviet Embassy and the Mexican Legation in Berlin which led to normal diplomatic relations being resumed between the two countries. The

Mexican diplomatic representative, M. Vadillo, went in November to Moscow.

As the year drew to its end, the diplomatic position of the Soviet Union became weaker in many quarters, particularly in the South-East of Europe. A certain estrangement made itself noticeable in the relations between the Soviet Union and Turkey. The Angora Government remonstrated in Moscow against the Bolshevik propaganda in Constantinople which was directed not only against the Balkan Governments but also against the Angora Government. The recognition by Czechoslovakia which had been expected in Moscow has not come. No progress has been made with regard to a settlement of the Bessarabian question. On the contrary, the Bolshevik propaganda in the Balkan States has led, according to Press information, to the formation of an anti-Bolshevik league by Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Eumania. The Yugoslavian Cabinet of M. Pashitch decided not to recognise the Soviet Union and to abstain from any trade relations with it.

The most successful efforts of the Soviet Union for the strengthening of its position have been made in the East. On June 18, China recognised the Union, and both Governments agreed to raise their legations to the rank of embassies. M. Karakhan, formerly the lieutenant of M. Tchicherin, one of the ablest of Eussian diplomatists, who had been mainly responsible for the negotiations with China, was made Ambassador in Peking. In this position he displayed great activity, and concluded a Treaty with China concerning the control and administration of the Eastern Chinese railway by both States. Subsequently a similar agreement was reached with Marshal Tsang-Tso-lin, the dictator of Manchuria, with regard to the Manchurian part of the railway. M. Karakhan played a conspicuous role in the civil war in China. He also conducted negotiations with Japan which, after being broken off at one point, were resumed later on in October.

Commercial Treaties have been concluded with Afghanistan and Persia. A revolt in Turkestan was suppressed, and a territorial reform of the Central Asiatic Republics was carried through. In consonance with the principle of national self-determination, two new republics have been created—Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan—on the territory of the former republics of Turkestan, Bokhara, and Choresma.

In September, an anti-Bolshevik rising occurred in Georgia which was suppressed in a few days. Bloody reprisals against the insurgents followed. In the session of the League of Nations which was then being held in Geneva, the French delegate, M. Boncour, moved a resolution that the League of Nations should intervene in the Busso-Georgian conflict. The resolution was supported by Mr. Bamsay MacDonald and M. Herriot. It has had no practical result whatever, but has only greatly irritated the Soviet Foreign Office, which would not hear of any intervention by the League of Nations.

On August 20, a vessel of the Soviet State fleet hoisted the Russian flag on the Wrangel Island in the Arctic.

The Budget of Soviet Russia for 1924 showed an estimated expenditure of 1,709 millions of gold roubles and an estimated revenue of 1,276 millions; the deficit of 433 millions was to be covered by loans and issues of shares. A new monetary standard has been introduced, new treasury bonds for 5, 3, and 1 roubles having been issued, also new silver coins of 10, 15, 20, and 50 kopek% and of 1 rouble. A financial reform has been carried through by means of four decrees according to which all contracts, tariffs, etc., are to be transposed to the gold standard; wages to be calculated in *tchervonetz* and paid in a stable standard; the retail prices, which owing to the inflation have risen gradually, to be reduced; and, finally, retail prices regularly announced in gold standard.

ESTONIA.

Early in the year the Cabinet of M. Konstantin Paets met with difficulties owing to the resignation of the Ministers belonging to the Labour Party (the Ministers of Education and of War). This party then joined the Opposition in the *Riigikogu* (the Estonian Diet), which attacked the Cabinet on account of the somewhat liberal credit policy of the State Bank. The situation of the Cabinet was thus rendered untenable, and a crisis ensued which ended only in March, when Dr. F. Akel, Foreign Minister in the Cabinet of Paets, formed a Coalition Cabinet of the Democratic Union and the Labour Party, the Social Democrats observing a benevolent neutrality. The new Cabinet concentrated its efforts on the improvement of the finances of the State by restricting the credit operations of the State Bank and by a policy of economy. This policy was prosecuted with particular vigour when M. Strandman (of the Labour Party) became, in May, Minister of Finance. The export trade was fostered, foreign credit was secured and, finally, the currency was stabilised in October on the basis of making 370-373 Estonian marks equal to 1 dollar. A gold standard has been established, the unit being the gold kron, which is equivalent to 100 Estonian marks.

The internal history has been marked by Communist troubles. At the end of 1923 a vehement propaganda had been launched by the Communists, and in consequence the Government early in 1924 suppressed the Communist Party. Later on, when this propaganda continued and with the support of the Communist International grew in force, the Government adopted drastic measures to combat it. Illegal Communist groups in *Eeval* and *Dorpat* were raided, and most of the agitators were imprisoned. In November the trial of 149 Communists took place in *Eeval*. One of the leaders, *Tomp*, was court-martialed for contempt of Court and for inciting to overthrow the Government. Most of the accused Communists were sentenced to

penal servitude. On December 1, a Bolshevik pronunciamento with the active help of emissaries of the Communist International took place in Eeval. Armed groups marched on the railway station, military buildings, the tank division, etc. The Minister of Transport was shot at the station, and also several officers, cadets, soldiers, policemen, and civilians. The authorities, however, quickly suppressed the rising. General Laidoner, Chief Commander of the Estonian Army, declared the country in a state of siege. The workers not only took no part in the rising, but helped the military authorities to arrest the dispersed Communists.

In consequence of these events the Cabinet of Dr. Akel resigned. The Communist menace induced all political parties from the right Agriculturist Party to the Social Democrats to join forces and to form a "big coalition" upon which the new Cabinet of M. Jaakson could firmly rely. On December 16, the Diet unanimously—for the first time in the history of Estonia—expressed confidence in the new Ministry, which included M. Pusta as Foreign Minister and M. Einbund as Minister for Home Affairs.

Kelations with Russia remained correct in spite of the rising in Eeval. The Soviet representative was, however, recalled by his Government. In autumn a Eusso-Estonian Commercial Chamber was opened in Eeval. A Treaty has been concluded with the United States for the mutual extradition of criminals. Negotiations with Germany concerning the mutual annulment of claims for compensation have led to an Agreement between the two States which was ratified in June. Estonia participated in the Baltic Conferences at Warsaw and Kovno.

FINLAND.

Through the suppression of the Communist Party in August, 1923, and the arrest of 25 Communist members of the Diet, this body had become incomplete. The President of the Eepublic therefore dissolved the Diet on January 19, and ordered new elections to take place in April. The Cabinet of M. Kyosti Kallio resigned, and Professor A. K. Cajander formed a Cabinet of officials. The elections of April 1 gave the following results: 38 deputies of the Party of Concentration, 17 of the Progressive Party, 44 of the Agrarian Union, 23 Swedes, 60 Social Democrats, 18 Communists. The Cabinet of Professor Cajander resigned on May 31, and a new Cabinet was formed which consisted of members of all the bourgeois parties, under the Presidency of Professor Lauri Ingman, of the Party of Concentration. On June 20, 189 Communists were convicted by the Court at Turku (Abo) of high treason. On November 22 a Cabinet crisis occurred. Four Ministers who belonged to the Agrarian Union resigned, and their portfolios were entrusted to representatives of other bourgeois parties.

On April 29 a Frontier Agreement was signed between Finland and Norway, and on October 23, a Trade Agreement was concluded with Italy. On December 12 a Conference met in Helsingfors of experts from Finland, Estonia, and Poland to discuss questions of arbitration between these countries. On the initiative of Finland a Conference met in Helsingfors on November 28, at which an agreement against the alcohol contraband was discussed and signed. There were present representatives of Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Germany, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Russia.

LATVIA.

The Cabinet of M. Meierovics resigned on January 16, and a new Government was formed under the Presidency of M. Zamuels with the support of the Democratic Centre and the Social Democrats. The new Cabinet has paid particular attention to the improvement of agriculture, the Budget of 1924 having already included credits to the amount of 1,400,000 lats for agriculturists in the area devastated by the war and for new farmers. The Agrarian Reform has also been continued during the year.

On December 10 a new Cabinet was formed under the Presidency of M. Celmins, who also held the portfolio of Minister of Agriculture. M. Meierovics was again appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs.

During the year commercial Treaties were concluded with the Netherlands, Austria, Hungary, Norway, Sweden, Finland, France, Denmark, and Iceland, and negotiations to the same end were conducted with Belgium, Italy, and the Soviet Union.

LITHUANIA.

The Cabinet of M. Galvanauskas resigned in June, and a new Cabinet was formed by M. A. Tumenas, former Minister of Justice. The new Cabinet is drawn from the Christian Democratic Party which forms the majority of the Diet. The home policy of this new republic which includes various nationalities has become during the year more reactionary. The rights of minorities, particularly of the Jews, who form 14 per cent, of the population, have been violated and the Ministry for Jewish Affairs has been abolished. The establishment of the obligatory Sunday Rest for the whole country has evoked complaints from a part of the population.

In foreign affairs the Memel and Vilna questions have been much to the fore. The Memel question has been settled by a Convention between the Allied and Associated Powers on the one side and Lithuania on the other side, the draft of this Convention having been prepared by the Commission presided over by Mr. Norman Davis (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1923, p. 147). The Council of the League of Nations approved it on March 24.

On May 8 the Convention was signed by representatives of the Allied and Associated Powers, and on May 17 by a delegate of Lithuania. In autumn it was ratified by the League of Nations. By this instrument the Lithuanian Republic has acquired sovereign rights over the district of Memel, which at the same time has been granted an autonomous status. The port of Memel is subject to the provisions of the Conference of Barcelona, and is being administered by two Lithuanian officials—one appointed by Lithuania and one by the Memel Directorate—and a representative of the Commission of Traffic of the League of Nations. Lithuania has conceded free transit through the district. On October 25 negotiations were opened with Germany with the object of regulating the frontier and discussing the question of fishing in the Baltic, the right of option of nationality, the transfer of the railways, etc.

Lithuania's efforts to recover Vilna have had no better success in 1924 than in previous years. The Vilna question was brought up before the Assembly of the League of Nations in accordance with a decision taken in 1923 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1923, p. 202). Lithuania proposed that the following questions should be put before the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague: Whether the Council of the League of Nations is authorised to decide in a matter which has not been submitted to it by any of the interested parties, and whether the decision of the Council of the League in such a matter is obligatory for the party which has protested against this decision. These questions have been discussed in the Political and Juridical Commission of the League of Nations, but with the consent of Lithuania they have been adjourned till the next Assembly of the League.

Commercial Treaties have been concluded with Germany and Czechoslovakia, and a Treaty on the extradition of criminals has been concluded with the United States. Negotiations have been opened with the Holy See for the conclusion of a Concordat.

POLAND.

The history of the past year in Poland is remarkable mainly for the gigantic effort made by the people to place the national finances on a sound and stable basis. After the regrettable outburst in December, 1923, there was a general recognition among all parties of the paramount importance of the work of financial reconstruction, and a truce was declared to party warfare, which was observed throughout the whole year. The non-party Government of M. Grabski was able to maintain itself for the whole of that period, and at the close of the year still enjoyed general support.

At the end of 1923 M. Grabski had drawn up a scheme of financial and currency reform aiming at the production of a balanced Budget and the stabilisation of the mark. On January 5

Parliament sanctioned the scheme, and to facilitate its execution gave the Government extensive plenary powers, which were confirmed by the Senate on January 11. In virtue of these powers, the Government was authorised to take such measures as it thought fit to promote financial reform, such as increases of direct taxation, departmental retrenchment, control over the finance of self-governing bodies, the issue of State loans, the sale of State undertakings, the establishment of a new monetary system and the creation of a Bank of Issue.

The balancing of the Budget was the first consideration. In 19*23 the deficit amounted to 547*8 million gold francs, covered by a loan from the temporary Bank of Issue. In order more speedily to attain equilibrium, the date for the first payment of the property tax enacted by Parliament in 1923 for a total of one milliard gold francs to be spread over the three years 1924-26, was advanced from April to February. From January onwards all taxes were ordered to be paid in zlotys. With the object of considerably reducing taxation, the railways were reorganised into a self-supporting undertaking. This was an important step, as 314*2 million gold marks, or 57 per cent, of the total deficit for 1923 comprised expenditure incurred on State railways. Finally, in order to obtain a certain amount of reserve in cash to cover the deficits in the period which must intervene before revenue could equal expenditure, the Government pledged its credit with the Bank of Issue, the Polish State Loan Bank, for a sum in marks equal to 102*6 million gold francs. After these preparations, an order of the President of the Republic, issued under the authority conferred by the plenary powers, closed the credit of the State Treasury with the Bank of Issue on February 1.

This date marked the turning-point in Polish financial history and the end of the period of inflation. The indebtedness of the State Treasury with the Polish State Loan Bank amounted at that time to 91,700 milliards of marks, the equivalent of 162 million zlotys, and remained unchanged up to the time the bank was liquidated. In spite of the practice of great economies, the State expenditure for February, 1924, including the payment of all obligations for 1923, exceeded the revenue by 132 million zlotys. The proportion of expenditure to revenue even then, however, was beginning to show a certain improvement when compared with the previous months.

The stoppage of inflation was preceded at the end of January by the stabilisation of the mark, which was accomplished in the first place by means of determined intervention on the world's money markets, a credit of 400,000,000 francs being obtained in France, and a loan of 100,000,000 gold lire in Italy. On January 23, the President issued a decree introducing the new national currency, the zloty, equal to the gold franc. Two days later, Commander Hilton Young, who had returned from Warsaw to England in November for the General Election there,

arrived in Warsaw for the second time, to conclude his work of advising the Government on the financial reform about to be launched. He left again on February 10. On March 1 the subscription lists for the share capital of the Bank of Poland were opened, and by March 31 the whole of the capital, consisting of 100,000 shares of 100 zlotys each was subscribed by about 67,000 private subscribers. The Bank of Poland was opened on April 28, and immediately issued its new notes, which maintained throughout the whole year their rigid parity with gold.

The Polish Budget for 1924, which was introduced in the second quarter, was estimated in zlotys. Expenditure amounted to 1.592.3 million zlotys, and revenue to 1.422.7 zlotys. By the time the Finance Bill was passed by Parliament, the difference between expenditure and revenue had been entirely covered by the above-mentioned issue of marks in January and by the actual receipts from State loans and sales of State properties, which were not included in the Budget Estimates. All these receipts were treated as reserves for covering supplementary expenditure which might become necessary during the course of the year. In the autumn, when Parliament was asked for an additional sum of 124 million zlotys, the amount was fully covered from these reserves.

This great fiscal achievement was naturally carried out at the price of an acute industrial and commercial crisis, which caused a certain amount of unemployment, and turned the favourable balance of foreign trade, which had existed since the end of 1922, into a small deficit.

The year 1924 saw a number of new commercial treaties added to those concluded in previous years. On March 22 the Commercial Treaty with Denmark and Iceland was signed, followed on October 20 by the Commercial Treaty with Sweden. On December 10, negotiations for a Commercial Treaty with Czechoslovakia were opened in Warsaw.

Politically, the year was uneventful, as all the energies of the nation were concentrated upon the great work of financial reconstruction.

On February 16 one of the periodic Conferences with the Baltic States, Finland, Latvia, and Estonia was held in Warsaw. Later, on May 16, the protracted dispute with Czechoslovakia over the frontier in the Javorina valley was finally settled by the signing of a Protocol by Poland and Czechoslovakia in Cracow.

The attitude of the Government to the national minorities was conciliatory, especially after the appointment of Count Skrzynski as Foreign Minister at the end of July. New linguistic and educational facilities were given to the minorities, and it was decided to establish a Ukrainian University at Lemberg. In spite of this, however, the minorities, especially in East Galicia, were still restive.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The Svehla Government which came into office in October, 1922, remained in power throughout 1924. At the beginning of the year it had to stand a fierce fire of criticism from the Opposition, especially the Communists, on account of the financial irregularities, particularly the alcohol and benzine scandals, which had been brought to light, but it showed vigour in dealing with the abuses, and obtained parliamentary approval for the measures which it drew up in the spring to suppress them. The coalition of five parties on which it rested threatened more than once to split, and in consequence it had to abandon several of its schemes, notably the idea of recognising the Soviet Government and of separating Church and State, and to make large concessions in other matters. But it succeeded in carrying through some important financial laws at the close of the spring session, and in again reducing the budget totals. As compared with the previous year the Budget for 192*5 showed a reduction of more than one milliard crowns, its total being not quite sixteen milliard crowns, while the deficit was reduced by 330,000,000 crowns, its amount being left at 272,000,000 crowns. The savings were due largely to new arrangements made by the Ministry of National Defence, which fixed the period for military service at only eighteen months.

The above-mentioned financial laws fall into two main groups. The first group aims at strengthening the credit system of the country, which was badly shaken by the deflation crisis and the collapse of a number of banks, by protecting depositors, by removing, or at least reducing, the danger of financial loss, and by restoring the confidence of investors. The second group is intended directly to mitigate the damage which was caused through the war by the decline of prices or for any other reason. It includes the measure which was passed for the final adjustment of the Austrian and Hungarian War Loans, as far as they affect small holders, as well as the law by which the Government is authorised to take over claims which arose from goods supplied during the war; also the law dealing with special reductions in the payment of direct taxes. Closely connected with these financial laws are the laws relating to civil servants which were passed in November, defining their status and limiting their numbers. One other measure of importance passed by the Government in the sphere of home affairs, in which it had the united support of the whole coalition, was a law providing for the insurance of workmen against sickness, disablement, and old age. This law was passed on October 9, and forms an inseparable part of the scheme for social insurance in general; accordingly it was not until the second part, providing for the insurance of non-salaried persons (persons working on their own account), became law, that social insurance became practically operative in Czechoslovakia.

An important step forward was taken during the year in the political development of the autonomous territory of Carpathian Euthenia, which, in spite of all improvements carried out by the Government, still remains the most backward area of the State. After the municipal elections in March, 1924, the first parliamentary elections took place in that province. In dealing with the German racial minority the Government had less success. The President of the Kerepublic, during his tour in Moravia in June, in reply to a welcome by the official German representative in the racially mixed area, expressed the hope that the elected representatives of the German people in Czechoslovakia would honestly and openly take their stand on the soil of the Eepublic. This expectation has not been fulfilled; on the contrary, towards the end of the year, during the parliamentary debates on the Budget, the opposition of the Germans and the Magyars, together with the followers of Hlinka (the Clerical Party), became more intense, and manifested itself in a complete abstention from legislative activities.

In foreign policy Czechoslovakia continued to support the Little Entente, joining in its negotiations at Belgrade in January, and at Prague in July, for agreeing upon common action in international affairs. The election of a Czechoslovak representative to the Council of the League of Nations (from January 1, 1924), was interpreted as a sign of approval of the foreign policy of Czechoslovakia, and a recognition of the internal consolidation of the State during the first five years of its existence. At the autumn General Assembly of the League of Nations Czechoslovakia was represented by Dr. Benes as a member of the Council, in which capacity he took part in the negotiations concerning the Geneva Protocol.

The most important event in the foreign policy of Czechoslovakia during the year has been the conclusion of a political Treaty with France on January 25, 1924. This Treaty, which is based on the pact of the League of Nations, ensures for both States a common policy in Central Europe, particularly in the question of the restoration of the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns, the loyal fulfilment of the Peace Treaties, and joint action in questions involving their common interests; also it provides for an appeal to a Court of Arbitration in any disputes which may arise between them. The Treaty was at first viewed with suspicion by certain States which are not directly affected by the political difficulties prevailing in Central Europe, a suspicion which was deepened by the disclosure of certain alleged secret military supplements which were palpable forgeries. The fears expressed in Italy, that the Franco-Czechoslovak alliance was a step towards the formation of a new European *bloc* under French leadership and directed against Italy, were dispelled by the Treaty of cordial co-operation which was signed at Rome on May 28, 1924. This Treaty also—like the Treaty concluded not long previously between Italy

and Yugoslavia—binds the two contracting parties to mutual support and cordial co-operation in the maintenance of the order established by the Treaties of St. Germain and Trianon, to neutrality in the case of an unprovoked attack, to political and diplomatic support in the case of menace to their safety and interests from without, and, finally, to the protection of any menaced mutual interests.

In the year 1924 a great improvement occurred in the relations between the Czechoslovak Republic and Poland, which had always been in a state of tension owing to disputes concerning the frontier on the former plebiscite area, first in the Teschen district, and then at Spis. For three years the particular point at issue had been the village of Javorina. After several vain attempts by the statesmen on both sides to settle the question, it was finally referred to the League of Nations at the end of 1928. The Council of the League on December 17, 1928, and March 12, 1924, following the verdict of the International Court at the Hague, adopted the Czechoslovak point of view, and allowed the whole of the Javorina area to be retained within the Czechoslovak State. On the basis of this decision it was then possible to carry out a definitive demarcation of the frontiers in that sector, and to settle all the questions connected with this matter which were outstanding between the two Governments. This settlement of the Javorina dispute removed the main obstacle to an understanding between the two States and was followed by demonstrations of mutual sympathy, culminating in the conclusion of a commercial Treaty and a general adjustment of relations as between two neighbouring States. In the same way, too, a definite improvement can be recorded in the relations between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, which were hitherto disturbed by the memory of the recent attempts at a Hapsburg restoration. A friendly Treaty was also negotiated with Turkey (October 11).

In commercial policy Czechoslovakia showed an increasing tendency to modify its customs tariff, and it concluded agreements on the basis of the most-favoured-nation clause, with Denmark and with Iceland, while some of the Dominions of the British Empire joined in the agreement which was concluded with England in 1928.

HUNGARY.

Early in 1924 the long-drawn negotiations between Hungary and the League of Nations regarding a scheme of financial reconstruction for Hungary {*vide* ANNUAL EEGINTEK, 1928, p. 212} were brought to a successful conclusion. The two Protocols approved by the Council of the League in December, were considered and accepted by the Hungarian Committee in London (Jan. 16-22), and were endorsed by the Reparations Commission on February 21, chiefly owing to Great Britain's friendly inter-

vention. The Protocols of the League were signed by the beginning of March, first by England and subsequently by the other States, not, however, before an alarming collapse of the Hungarian exchange had taken place.

In the Protocols Hungary undertakes to fulfil all her international obligations, the other signatory Powers pledging themselves to respect the political independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Hungary. A delegation of the League sent to Budapest under Sir Henry Strakosch at the beginning of March, examined the conditions of the country and recommended the following measures: (1) The stoppage of inflation, with the view of stabilising the Hungarian Crown, this being assisted by (2) an independent Bank of Issue enjoying the monopoly of note issue; (3) the balancing of the Budget by June 30, 1925, so that thereafter current expenses should be met by taxation, without recourse to either inflation or loans; (4) flotation of a reconstruction loan of 250 million gold crowns, secured by specific Hungarian revenues for covering the deficit till June, 1926, so that the inflation might be stopped without waiting till the Budget was balanced; and, finally, (5) control through a Commissioner-General appointed by and responsible to the League of Nations, for the purpose of ensuring the execution of the programme.

The Protocols having been signed, the Hungarian Government immediately set to work to carry out their part of the obligations. The issue of unbacked notes was stopped. An internal compulsory loan of 1,250,000Z. was raised in order to meet State expenses until the flotation of the international loan should have been carried out. The Hungarian National Bank was established, the required capital of 1,400,000Z. being provided entirely by subscriptions within the country. The banking concerns of Budapest advanced to the Treasury 30,000,000 Swiss francs on the international loan, and they subsequently furnished subscriptions to the same loan to the amount of 10,000,000 gold crowns. Taxation was increased to the extreme limit of the capacity of the population, the salaries of Government officials were reduced, and 3,000 State employees were dismissed in order to reduce expenditure. The Hungarian National Bank opened its doors on June 25, the issue of bank notes by the Government ceasing on the same day; the State Institute for the control of traffic in foreign currencies was also abolished. The new National Bank of Hungary is essentially a bankers' bank. It is independent of the Government, and is forbidden to make advances to the State and public bodies, except against gold or stable foreign currencies.

The necessary preliminary measures having been duly completed, the international loan was successfully floated. The English portion (7,900,000Z.) was issued in London on July 2, and was more than doubly over-subscribed within two hours. The other portions met with similar success. Mr. Jeremiah H.

Smith of Boston was appointed by the League as Commissioner-General for Hungary, and took up his residence in Budapest.

The international loan is secured on certain assigned revenues of the Hungarian State (customs receipts, tobacco monopoly, sugar-tax and salt monopoly). Additional revenues can be assigned if necessary. The actual returns of the pledged revenues yield normally more than double the amount required for the loan service. Their proceeds pass into an account controlled by the Commissioner-General. He retains such sums as are necessary for the loan service, the balance being placed at the disposal of the Hungarian Government. The Commissioner-General controls the expenditure by means of monthly estimates which have to keep within the limits of a programme laid down by the League of Nations for the whole reconstruction period. The functions of the Commissioner-General will be terminated by the Council of the League of Nations, when it shall have decided that the financial stability of Hungary is assured.

Previous to the flotation of the loan, Hungary funded all her foreign debts. Obligations arising out of these agreements have been duly met, and reparations and other liabilities fixed by the Reparations Commission have also been paid in full. It was found possible to cover Budget requirement for December, 1924, from November revenues, and it was not necessary in November to make any releases from the proceeds of the loan for this purpose.

Internal politics in Hungary were dominated throughout the year by the problem of economic reconstruction. The necessity of raising a foreign loan was contested only by the extremists of the Right wing, numbering about eight persons, who were opposed to foreign control on grounds of national susceptibility. The Social Democrats (25 members) were equally averse to the idea of a loan, which they thought would give a new lease of life to the Bethlen Government. All the other parties, the Democratic opposition included, supported the Government in its endeavour of raising a loan.

A good impression was produced by the energy with which the Government proceeded against the perpetrators of the bomb outrage at a Jewish dance in Csongr&d in the previous year. These were arrested after confessing their crime, but were acquitted by the Assize Court. Protests were thereupon raised in Parliament, and the Minister of Justice tendered his resignation ; and the Government accordingly reopened the case, stating that it was prepared to maintain order in the country under all circumstances.

A partial Cabinet crisis was caused by the first steps taken to comply with the demands of the League of Nations. The Finance Minister, Dr. K&llay, in his endeavour to balance the State Budget without resorting to the note press, proposed in February to levy under the title of compulsory loan ten times the amount of income tax and fifteen times the amount of tax

on capital paid in 1923. These proposals being staunchly opposed by the majority of the peasant deputies, Dr. K&llay tendered his resignation. The Prime Minister eventually succeeded in obtaining a majority for a compulsory loan equivalent to four times the amount of the income tax and six times the amount of the tax on capital paid in 1923. The Minister of Justice, Mr. Emil Nagy, feeling himself still in opposition to the financial policy of the Government, resigned. Count Bethlen thereupon made his financial programme a question of confidence, and secured from the House an overwhelming majority. By the middle of March he was able to lay before the National Assembly all the Bills dealing with the work of reconstruction. These gave to the Government extraordinary powers during the two years and a half of the reconstruction period. The Bills were adopted after long and lively discussion at midnight, April 17, a parliamentary commission of 33 members being appointed to exercise a close control over the Government's financial measures.

The proceedings of Parliament in the course of the year were at times marked by great disorder. This was particularly pronounced during the attacks made by the Socialists and the Radical wing of the Opposition on the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Stephen Szabo, whose former secretary had been tried and sentenced on various charges of fraud and corruption. In the course of the parliamentary inquiries and of the legal proceedings, Mr. Szabo easily succeeded in vindicating his personal integrity, but the bitterness with which he was attacked by certain personal opponents caused him to resign. As the political atmosphere became more and more heated, owing to the strife of parties, the Government introduced a Bill regulating parliamentary proceedings, the discussion of which provoked further animated scenes, leading to the exclusion of the ringleaders from a certain number of meetings.

At the beginning of December, 1924, the Finance Minister laid before the National Assembly the gold Budget for 1924-25, the first Budget in the last ten years founded on a stable currency. The Budget shows a deficit of approximately 100,000,000 gold crowns, an amount within the limit prescribed by the League of Nations.

Hungary's foreign policy aimed at reaching commercial understandings with her neighbours. Economic agreements were concluded with Austria, Bumania, Yugoslavia, and other States.

RUMANIA.

During 1924 the internal condition of Bumania continued to be marked by great political unrest. The Opposition parties, representing chiefly the nationalists of the new provinces and the peasants of the Old Kingdom, persisted in their refusal to recognise the legality of the Parliament elected in 1922, or to take any part in its legislative activities. In June a mass

meeting of 30,000 peasants under General Averesco demonstrated in Bucharest, and it was feared that a revolution was imminent. Owing to the political agitation and to anti-Semitic disturbances, the Government found it advisable to keep the country under martial law during a great part of the year—a step which naturally aggravated the prevailing dissatisfaction. Efforts were made by the Opposition groups to form a united democratic party, and in June these were in a fair way to achieve success, but they failed at the last moment through the secession of M. Argetoianu and his followers. At the end of the year there was again a strong likelihood of a coalition between the Opposition groups.

The Liberal administration of M. J. Bratiano was marked during 1924 by a series of scandals in which Ministers and high personages in the Liberal Party were involved. Most of them were hushed up without being brought into the Courts. Three won a special notoriety—the "Calineasca Affair," in which officials of the Agrarian reform were accused of receiving bribes from a certain adventuress; the "Inculetz Case," alleging similar corruption on the part of the President of the Court of Kishineff, in applying the Agrarian reform in Bessarabia; and the "Passport Scandal," the details of which are as follows: As a great number of peasants and working men in Eumania are desirous to emigrate to the United States, and as the authorities refuse to issue them passports, General Alexander Vaitoiano, Minister of Communications, formed an "oil company," the "Petrolul National," with an initial capital of 30,000 lei,—thirty-two pounds sterling—the ostensible aim of which was oil exploitation, for which purpose it sought permission to send a considerable number of peasants across the sea as its "agents." For obtaining a passport to America such an "agent" usually paid to the "oil company" the amount of 20,000 to 30,000 lei, in consideration of which General Alexander Vaitoiano intervened with his son-in-law, the Under-Secretary of State Franasovici, who, on the instructions of his wife's uncle, Arthur Vaitoiano, a Minister of State, issued the passports desired. The "agents" started for the New World, but never landed there. Many of these unfortunate people were taken to Venezuela or Cuba, but none to the United States. A great part were left stranded in Cherbourg and had to return after having lost their whole fortune. The case roused deep indignation all over the country. General Alexander Vaitoiano was arrested, but on the intervention of high personalities of the party in power, released. Several of his accomplices, however, were thrown into prison and M. Franasovici had to resign. The case was still pending at the end of the year.

Although basing its power openly on intimidation and corruption, the Bratiano Government won praise even from its opponents for its management of the country's finances. M. Vintila Bratiano, the Finance Minister, succeeded in producing during

1924 a Budget surplus of 7,000,000,000 lei. It is true that this Budget satisfied only the most urgent needs of the country and that no important investments could be made for works of public utility. This economy, however, was absolutely necessary for the settlement of Rumania's foreign debts. Indeed M. Vintila Bratiano has succeeded in consolidating the floating debt (Treasury Bonds) in France, Great Britain, Switzerland, and lately also in Italy, and in concluding special agreements with all foreign creditors of Eumania regarding the country's war and pre-war debt. The service of the Rumanian public debt was taken up again in January, 1924. Efforts are also being made for refunding the internal debts.

Still unsolved is the question of the reparations due by the Central Powers. The quota of 1 per cent, of the German reparations, allotted to Rumania by the Spa Conference, although it was raised later to 1*1 per cent, is regarded as profoundly disproportionate with Rumania's sacrifices in the war, and Rumania has refused to accept this decision of the Allies. At the same time the amount of the Austrian, Hungarian, and Bulgarian reparations, of which 10 per cent, were allotted to Rumania, is still uncertain, and various postponements have been allowed. The Rumanian Government has also declined to accept the Agreement of Innsbruck regarding the distribution of the Austro-Hungarian pre-war debt among the Succession States.

In spite of the financial improvement, the country is still labouring under great economic difficulties, due partly to the general condition of Europe, partly to the economic policy of the Bratiano brothers. The new Constitution of 1923 has declared as State property all underground riches and all water power (see ANNUAL REGISTEK, 1923, p. 213). The economic measures of M. J. Bratiano—the "Mining Law," and the "Law for the Commercialisation of the State Enterprises"—aim at a more intensive exploitation of the country's wealth. Financial circles, however, in Rumania as well as abroad, accuse him of being influenced on the one hand by an exaggerated nationalism, very harmful under present conditions, on the other hand by an excessive partiality for his Party's economical enterprises. There would seem to be some truth in these charges. By laying down that in all Rumanian enterprises at least 60 per cent, of the capital invested and the majority of the Board of Trustees ought to be Rumanian he has sought to put all foreign investments under the control of Rumanian nationals. On the other hand, by taking out of the hands of the Parliament the control over the State enterprises and State property and by putting the national wealth at the almost absolute disposal of "Supreme Councils" (Mining Law Art. 148-155; Commercialisation Law Art. 5-9) whose members, recruited from among the party's specialists, are appointed by the present Government for a term of five years, he has assured to the banking and industrial enterprises led by members of his party a considerable number of

advantages, to the detriment of other enterprises and sometimes of the State itself. For the exploitation of its wealth Eumania needs undoubtedly an enormous capital (about 10,000,000,000 gold francs). The existing Eumanian capital is utterly insufficient. The question is, therefore, whether under M. Bratiano's conditions foreign capitalists will be willing to make investments in Eumania. The general opinion is that there is little hope for such a result. All the opposition parties in Parliament have branded these laws as dangerous, and on March 27, 1924, the National, the Peasant, the Nationalist-Democratic Parties, and the Peopled Party (Argetoiano group) distinctly stated that in case of their coming into power they would abolish these laws as harmful to the country's interests.

The foreign policy of Eumania during 1924 was directed on the one hand to strengthening friendly relations with the Allies, and on the other to settling through direct agreements with her former enemies the entanglements and difficulties arising out of the War and of the Treaties of St. Germain, Trianon, and Neuilly. Special agreements have been reached with Bulgaria, Hungary, and Austria. In return for Chancellor Seipel's visit to Bucharest, M. J. Bratiano paid a visit to Vienna, where he was warmly welcomed. The visit of Admiral Beatty last summer contributed to establish closer relations with Great Britain, while the visit of M. Tzankoff removed certain misapprehensions between Bulgaria and Eumania and laid the foundation for a common policy against Bolshevik intrigues in South-Eastern Europe. The only country with which Eumania has not returned to pre-war relations is Eussia. All efforts to this end were baffled by the refusal of the Bolshevik Government to recognise the reunion of Bessarabia to Eumania. The last attempt to reach an agreement, the Conference of Vienna (March 27-April 2), ended without result. The only understanding existing to-day between Eussia and Eumania is a special arrangement concluded in Cetatea Alba (Akkerman) for keeping a close watch on the Dniester border, in order to prevent the incursions of Bolshevik bands from the Ukraine into Bessarabia. Owing to this situation, Eumania declares that she is forced to keep up a considerable army.

THE KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS, AND SLOVENES.

During 1924 the struggle of parties in the Skuptshina led to a number of strained situations, involving more than one change of Government. In February the Davidovitch, Koroshets, and Spaho groups began to work together as a united Opposition for the purpose of overthrowing the Eadical Government of Mr. Pashitch. The first trial of strength between the two parties came during March on the discussion of the Treaty with Italy. The Government carried the day, but the Opposition *bloc* showed great solidarity in the debate, and the *rapprochement* between its component parts appeared more definite. An

agreement was reached by them that the *bloc* should not only aim at the overthrow of the Kadical Government, but also keep in view the possibility of taking over the Government itself.

Mr. Eaditch had in the meantime returned from his prolonged stay abroad, and his party, which hitherto had abstained from attending the Skuptshina, now realised the necessity of joining hands with the Opposition *bloc* and co-operating with it in Parliament. As the first practical step in this direction it sent twenty mandates to Parliament for verification, and after this had been obtained, the members concerned entered the Assembly in March. The accession of these deputies, while it strengthened the Opposition, was not sufficient to give it a majority. It therefore demanded that all mandates of the Eaditch Party should be verified before the passing of the Budget, which was due by April 1. The Government, however, tendered its resignation on March 24, before the end of the discussion on the Budget.

The formation of a new Government was again entrusted by the King to Mr. Pashitch, because in the meantime a wing of the Democrat Party, under the leadership of Mr. Pribichevitch, and numbering thirteen members, had joined the Radical Party. So a new Government was formed composed of Radicals and Independent (Pribichevitch) Democrats, after a Cabinet crisis lasting three days. This Coalition Government was of very short duration, tendering its resignation on April 12. The Cabinet crisis which then arose continued for several weeks, during which attempts were made to form a "Concentration Government." These proving unsuccessful, the Coalition Government was reinstated on May 21. A few days afterwards, forty more mandates of the Eaditch Party were verified, and the Government found itself in a minority in Parliament. In order to avoid a fresh Cabinet crisis, Parliament was prorogued by Eoyal Decree until October 20.

Foreseeing that he would inevitably be defeated when Parliament met, Mr. Pashitch requested the King to authorise him to dissolve it at once and hold a new election. The King, however, was against an election, and a movement was set on foot for forming a Concentration Government under the leadership of Mr. Ljuba Yovanovitch, President of the Parliament and a prominent member of the Radical Party. Mr. Pashitch refused to co-operate, and again asked the King for an election mandate, which was refused. Mr. Yovanovitch then advised the King to entrust the formation of a Cabinet to Mr. Davidovitch, the leader of the Opposition *bloc*, who accepted the task. He was able to complete the list of Ministers without delay and obtain the sanction of the Crown for his choice. The new Cabinet, drawn from the Opposition *bloc*, was formed at the end of July,

The programme of this Government was to bring about closer co-operation between the Serbs on the one side and the Croats and Slovenes on the other, to revive the activities of Parliament, and, more especially, to prepare the ground for the

participation of the Eaditch (Croat) Party in the Government. The attitude of Mr. Eaditch, however, made this impossible. Not only did he persist in his policy of non-co-operation, but he made speeches in which he insulted the King and the members of the Government. Owing to his anti-dynastic propaganda the Minister for War handed in his resignation, and a new Cabinet crisis arose. The King, realising that the general situation was unsatisfactory and that it was advisable to place the Government on a broader basis, called upon Mr. Davidovitch to resign so that a more representative Government might be formed. Mr. Davidovitch tendered his resignation in October. Efforts were then made to form a Concentration or Coalition Government, but they proved unsuccessful, and at last the King decided to entrust a Pashitch-Pribichevitch Government with the electoral mandate. A Government under those leaders was formed on November 6, and immediately afterwards Parliament was dissolved and the General Election fixed for February 8, 1925.

The external situation of the kingdom during the year was on the whole much easier than in the preceding years, although there was some friction with Bulgaria. An event of great importance for Yugoslavia was the conclusion on January 27 of the Treaty with Italy known as the Pact of Rome, by which the question of Fiume was settled anew and the relations between the two countries put on a most friendly basis (see also under Italy). The Treaty consists of two parts. The first part, which is to hold good for five years, pledges the two countries to co-operation in upholding the Treaties of Trianon, St. Germain and Neuilly, and to defend one another against attack. The second part deals with the Fiume Protocol, and consists of ten articles, by which Italy recognises the sovereignty of Yugoslavia over the port of Baros and the Delta, and Yugoslavia, on the other hand, the sovereignty of Italy over the town and port of Fiume. The Treaty was fiercely opposed by the Bosnian and Slovene representatives in Parliament, who, along with the Croats, resented the cession of Fiume to Italy. It was defended by Dr. Nintchitch, the Foreign Minister, on the ground that Fiume was not worth a war, and that its existence as a neutral State, as provided by the Treaty of Eapallo, would tend to produce one.

Yugoslavia made considerable economic and financial progress during 1924. The dinar, which at the beginning of the year was at 385 to the pound, rose to 305 by the end of the year. The exports for the first six months of 1924 represented a value of 4,176,000,000 dinars, and imports for the same period 3,819,000,000 dinars. This was the first post-war year with a favourable trade balance.

TURKEY.

In the early part of 1924 further drastic steps were taken by the Government to complete the process of placing the new

Turkish State on a national instead of a religious basis. After a Press campaign of some weeks, a motion was brought forward in the Assembly on February 27 for abolishing the historic office of the Caliphate, which had been retained as a titular dignity after the abolition of the Sultanate in the preceding year. The motion was carried after a long and violent debate, and the Caliph immediately left with his family for Switzerland. The Minister of Religion was also removed from the Cabinet, and on March 15 all religious schools in Constantinople were closed, the greater proportion of the pupils being transferred to secular schools, while a select number were reserved for a theological seminary on modern lines to be established and maintained by the State. At the same time, in spite of diplomatic representations, the non-Moslem mission schools were put under notice to close, except a few which were to be completely secularised. Bills were also prepared for abolishing the semi-political offices of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates and the Jewish Grand Babbinate. These were not pressed during the year, but the Armenians voluntarily arranged to transfer their Patriarch to Palestine.

On April 21, after long and stormy debates, the Assembly finally approved of a form of Constitution for the Republic. The original draft had contained provisions conferring on the President almost dictatorial powers, but these had been fiercely opposed, and were in the end considerably modified. The life of the Assembly was fixed at four years, and the President's term of office at the same period, with eligibility for re-election. The Assembly reserved to itself the right of dissolution. Budgetary Bills and Bills affecting the Constitution were not to be subject to the President's veto; and other Bills returned by him could be made into law by being re-enacted over his veto.

The opposition to Kemal Pasha and to the domination of the People's Party (of which he was President) found expression in the course of the year in the rise of new parties, which strongly criticised the Government of Ismet Pasha. In order to mollify public opinion, Kemal Pasha induced Ismet to resign on November 21, ostensibly on the ground of ill-health. A new Government from the same party (People's Party) was formed under Fethi Bey, and to this the National Assembly gave a unanimous vote of confidence on November 27.

In foreign affairs Turkey's chief preoccupation during the year was to recover from the British Government possession of Mosul. This question had in the Treaty of Lausanne been reserved for "friendly agreement" between Great Britain and Turkey; and negotiations on the subject were opened at Constantinople on May 19, the British delegation being headed by Sir Percy Cox, and the Turkish by Fethi Bey. The Turks laid claim to the whole of the Mosul vilayet on ethnical grounds, claiming as Turks its 450,000 Kurdish inhabitants. The British would not hear of handing over the town of Mosul to Turkey,

and the limit of their concessions was a rectification of the frontier between Iraq and Turkey by which Turkey would obtain about one-third of the vilayet in return for the transfer to Iraq of three districts inhabited chiefly by Assyrian Christians. The Turks would not accept this, and a deadlock ensued at the fourth sitting of the Conference on May 24. On June 5, Sir Percy Cox declared that as the Conference could not arrive at an agreement, the matter in dispute must be referred to the League of Nations, as provided in the Treaty of Lausanne. Fethi Bey was desirous of continuing negotiations, but Sir Percy Cox refused, and on June 9 left Constantinople.

On July 10, Ismet Pasha, the Turkish Prime Minister, again expressed the view that the matter should be discussed by the two Governments without reference to the League. The British Government, however, on July 21, informed the Angora Government that they were preparing their case for submission to the League at its next meeting; nevertheless they would consider any Turkish proposals if made immediately. No reply being forthcoming from Angora, the British Government on August 9 requested the League of Nations to put the question of Mosul on the agenda of the meeting of the Council to be held on August 29. On being informed of this by the Secretary-General of the League, Ismet Pasha stated that the League could not discuss the question till the Treaty of Lausanne had been formally ratified; and Turkish delegates would not take part in the discussion till twenty days after Turkey had received official notice of such ratification having taken place. The Treaty was actually ratified by Great Britain on August 2, and the fact was certified by the French Foreign Office on August 6. The Mosul dispute finally came before the League of Nations Council on September 20, Great Britain being represented by Lord Parmoor and Turkey by Fethi Bey.

Meanwhile a new complication had arisen. At the end of August a Turkish Vali had been made prisoner by some Assyrian Christians while passing through their territory in the North of Iraq, and in revenge a raid was made on September 12 by Turkish irregulars into some districts of Northern Mosul. The invaders were fired on and repulsed by British aeroplanes. When the question of Mosul came before the League, Fethi Bey, after stating the Turkish claim to the whole vilayet of Mosul, charged the British Government with having conducted aeroplane operations on the Turkish side of the provisional boundary between Turkey and Iraq as fixed by the Treaty of Lausanne. On September 26 Lord Parmoor read to the Council a British Note making strong counter-charges against the Turks. It asserted that between September 12 and 22 Turkish troops had invaded Iraq, and penetrated some way into the vilayet of Mosul, forcing Assyrians and Iraqis to take flight to the number of many thousands. By these acts, it was alleged, the Turks had violated their undertaking in the Treaty of Lausanne

to observe the *status quo*, pending a definitive settlement of the frontier. A dispute thereupon arose between the Turkish and British delegates as to what was the *status quo* contemplated by the Treaty. The Turks maintained that it was the *status quo* as existing at the time of the Armistice of Mudros, on October 30, 1918, the British, as it was some weeks later, when British troops had advanced considerably farther North. The operations which were now the subject of complaint had taken place in the debatable ground.

Although the question of the exact meaning of the *status quo* was of more immediate importance than that of Mosul, the League Council first dealt with the latter, as the one which it had been originally asked to consider. On September 30 it obtained the consent of Great Britain and Turkey to regard the dispute as one concerning a frontier only, and to allow the Council to draw the frontier between Iraq and Turkey where it thought fit; and a Commission of three was appointed to investigate the dispute and make recommendations.

Meanwhile, owing to the divergence of opinion as to what constituted the *status quo*, Britain and Turkey were fast drifting towards a state of war. As the Turks took no notice of the Note read by Lord Parmoor on September 26, and remained in occupation of the territory they had overrun, a second Note demanding withdrawal was sent on October 6. No immediate reply being forthcoming, a strongly worded Note, amounting almost to an ultimatum, was sent on October 9. To this the Turkish Government replied in a conciliatory tone, offering to observe a line somewhat behind that to which they had advanced, but still much in advance of what the British considered to be in accordance with the *status quo* fixed by the Treaty of Lausanne. By consent of both parties the question of the *status quo* was referred to the Council of the League on October 15, and the tension between the two countries was thereupon relieved. The Council on October 29 fixed for the *status quo* a line which left the Turks in possession of most of the territory which they had seized; and about the same time the League Commission, consisting of Colonel de Paulis of the Belgian Army, Count Teleki, ex-Prime Minister of Hungary, and M. de Wirsén, a Swedish Ambassador, commenced their investigation into the larger question of the Iraq-Turkish frontier.

An incident occurred soon after which showed that Turkey had no desire to seek a quarrel with Great Britain. At the meeting of the Assembly on December 2, telegrams were read from the Egyptian Senate and Chamber protesting against the action of the British in Egypt following the murder of Sir Lee Stack. An anti-British deputy demanded that the Assembly should signify its sympathy with Egypt and its reprobation of English atrocities. The Assembly showed signs of dissent, and the new Premier, Fethi Bey, dissociated the Government

emphatically from the language of the speaker, stating that Turkey desired to consolidate her friendship with Great Britain and that he hoped relations between the two countries would continue to improve.

"While wrangling with Great Britain over Mosul, Turkey was also engaged in an altercation with Greece over the exchange of populations stipulated in the Treaty of Lausanne. The Treaty provided that those Greeks who had "established" their domicile in Constantinople prior to the date of the Armistice of Mudros, October 30, 1918, should be exempt from compulsory exchange. When the Mixed Commission set up to supervise the exchange began to deal with the Constantinople Greeks on September 4, a dispute immediately arose between the Greek and the Turkish members as to what precisely was meant by the word "established." The former held that it referred to all Greeks who were domiciled in Constantinople on the date mentioned, the latter that it included only those Greeks who had a registered domicile. The difference between the two views involved the fate of from 30,000 to 50,000 persons. The Commission failed to agree on the point; its meeting on September 8 broke up in disorder, and the chief Turkish member, Tewfik Eushdi Pasha, resigned. The Angora Government, however, ordered him to continue, and the sittings of the Commission were resumed on September 15.

A week before this several categories of exchangeable Greeks had already been warned by the Commission to hold themselves in readiness to leave. On September 18, however, the Turkish police, ignoring the Commission, began to arrest and intern Greeks without discrimination, with a view to deporting them. By October 21 some 4,500 had been arrested. The Greek Government then appealed to the League of Nations, which considered the matter on October 31. In the interval, however, the Turks had come to an agreement with the Greeks about the arrests, releasing most of the prisoners, and as they declared themselves willing to respect the Mixed Commission as a commission of the League itself, the Council of the League referred the matter back to the Commission, which eventually agreed to submit the word "established" to the Court of International Justice for interpretation.

Incidentally to the exchange of populations, an issue arose of somewhat wider political importance, involving the question of the Greek Patriarchate at Phanar. On November 16 the (Ecumenical Patriarch, Mgr. Gregorius, died at Constantinople. The Vali of Constantinople warned a number of the candidates for the vacant office that they were technically exchangeable Greeks under the Convention. Nevertheless the electors nominated one of these, Mgr. Constantine, Metropolitan of Dorkos, as Patriarch, maintaining that archbishops were protected by the Treaty of Lausanne. The police took Mgr. Constantine before the Exchange sub-committee and asked for a passport

for his deportation. The sub-committee, however, decided to bring the matter before the Commission itself; and the question was still pending at the end of the year.

GREECE.

The year 1924 opened with the return to Greece of M. Venizelos, after three years of voluntary exile, in order to take up the reins of Government in accordance with the verdict of the elections held two weeks previously (see *ANNUAL EEGINSTEB*, 1923, p. 226). The veteran statesman found his country distracted by the feud between the supporters and opponents of the reigning dynasty, and his immediate task was to devise some settlement of the constitutional question. The warmth of the popular welcome accorded to him seemed to augur well for his success; and another favourable augury was provided by the action of Great Britain, on January 16, in resuming diplomatic relations with Greece which had been broken off after the execution of the Greek Ministers in November, 1922—an example which was immediately followed by Italy.

It was not long, however, before M. Venizelos found that the enthusiasm which had greeted his recall was no guarantee for the acceptance of his policy. It was his fixed desire that a plebiscite should be taken on the question whether Greece should become a Eepublic or remain a Monarchy, and if the latter, whether under the present dynasty or another. He had made this known in a public statement which he had issued when first asked to return to Greece; and his success at the elections seemed to show that the people approved of this plan. In Parliament, however, he met with unexpected opposition to it from his own nominal supporters, a large section demanding that the constitutional question should be decided by the Assembly, which had been elected as a Constituent Assembly. M. Venizelos in vain tried to divert them from their purpose by offering to make himself personally responsible for the impartiality of the plebiscite, and by declaring that he himself would vote for a Eepublic. On the other hand, he refused to accede to a request from the Royalist Opposition, that the present Assembly should be dissolved, and a new one elected to which should be left the decision on the question of Monarchy or Eepublic.

The clash between M. Venizelos and the thoroughgoing Eepublicans came in the Chamber on January 23. The Premier announced that while the Government no longer believed in the necessity of a Monarchy for Greece, it held that the question of changing to a Eepublic should be decided by the people alone. The Eepublican leader, M. Papanastasiou, introduced two Bills—one for removing King George and his heirs from the succession, excluding the whole family from Greece, and confiscating the Eoyal estates; th\$ other for establishing a

Republic, subject to subsequent approval by the nation. The debate on these motions was prolonged and stormy, and M. Venizelos was subjected to bitter attacks in Parliament and the Press. His health broke down under the strain; on January 29 he collapsed in the Chamber, and on February 4, under the advice of his physicians, he resigned the Premiership, the Cabinet resigning with him.

The day following Admiral Kondouriotis, who acted as Regent in the King's absence, invited M. Kaphandaris, who had been Minister of Justice to M. Venizelos, to form a Cabinet. The new Ministry was sworn in on February 6, M. Kaphandaris taking the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Justice. The new Government followed the policy of M. Venizelos, and met with considerably more success, being supported by a section of the Republicans under M. Roussos. On February 11 M. Kaphandaris introduced a motion for holding a plebiscite, and the flood-gates of oratory were again opened. On February 20 an interesting passage of arms took place between M. Venizelos and M. Papanastasiou. The former in an interview declared that many Republicans owed their seats to the cover and influence of his name; that they all knew the conditions on which he had consented to return, and that therefore they had no right to oppose his programme, which had been adopted by the new Government. M. Papanastasiou retorted that the vote at the elections was no endorsement of M. Venizelos's policy, but merely a gesture of the people to make amends for their rejection of him in 1920. He added that M. Venizelos's return to politics was the greatest obstacle to national reconciliation. Thereupon M. Venizelos offered to leave Greece if the Assembly desired it.

A few days later, M. Venizelos, under pressure from the Officers* League, which had been disbanded but was now revived, himself advised the Government to agree to the Dynasty being deposed by the Assembly, subject to confirmation of the act by a plebiscite. M. Kaphandaris, however, adhered to his original programme, and to the general surprise obtained on February 20 a vote of confidence by a majority of 127 in a House of 339. The Republicans thereupon withdrew from the House; and the next day the Republican motion for expelling the Dynasty and confiscating the Royal property was defeated by 192 votes to 18; while a Government motion condemning the Dynasty, but proclaiming a plebiscite was carried by acclamation.

Baffled in Parliament, the Republican Party resorted to more direct methods for attaining its ends. On March 6 a deputation of colonels from the Officers' League, after vainly seeking an interview with the Prime Minister, went to the Regent and demanded that the Dynasty should be deposed at once and a Republic set up without a plebiscite, threatening action by the Army if their demands were not complied with,

M. Kaphandaris thereupon resigned (March 8), and M. Venizelos, feeling that his presence in the country would serve no useful purpose, left Greece (March 10). A new Cabinet, thoroughly Eepublican in character, was formed by M. Papanastasiou. It immediately treated the Monarchy as non-existent, the new Ministers taking the oath of allegiance not to the King and Queen, but to the Fatherland, while orders were given that State prayers for the Sovereign should be omitted and that pictures of the King and Queen should be removed from public buildings.

Determined as it was to turn Greece into a Eepublic, the Government sought to effect the change in a way which would be as far as possible acceptable to all parties. Acting on a plan which had already been adumbrated by the Government of M. Kaphandaris with the consent of M. Venizelos, it proposed that the King should abdicate voluntarily for himself and the Dynasty on condition of retaining for life the title of " King of the Hellenes " and receiving 80 per cent, of his Civil List; that the Assembly should establish a Republic and submit it to the approval of the nation by plebiscite; that the new Constitution should be drawn up by a Senate of which one-third of the members should be Eoyalists; that a general amnesty and the reinstatement of all officers should be proclaimed, and that a General Election should* then be held. The Government further offered, if the Eoyalists desired, to debar M. Venizelos from the Presidency of the Eepublic. These terms did not satisfy the Eoyalists, and the King, acting on their advice, refused to abdicate. The Government thereupon took steps to depose him. On March 24 it secured a Vote of Confidence from the Chamber by 259 votes to 31, and the next day, after organising great public rejoicings, it laid before the Chamber, through the mouth of the President, a resolution announcing definitely the dethronement of the Glucksburg Dynasty, and further proclaiming Greece a Eepublic on condition that the people should confirm the decision by plebiscite. The voting was by roll-call, and the resolution was carried by 284 votes with no dissentients. Among those who abstained from voting were M. Kaphandaris and his personal following.

Having thus somewhat forcibly carried its main point, the Government in other respects used its power with moderation. It announced an amnesty for all political offenders, and a pardon for the officers who had taken part in the Metaxist rising of the previous October. It also fixed the date of the plebiscite on April 13. The Eoyalists, on the day after the King's deposition, had issued a protest against the action as a flagrant violation of the people's rights. They professed themselves, however, satisfied with the arrangements made by the Government for holding the plebiscite, and undertook to abide by the popular decision, which they had some hopes of proving favourable to themselves. The only interference of the Government with the

freedom of the voters was an endeavour to suppress a manifesto issued by the deposed King on April 13.

The result of the plebiscite, which was duly held on April 13, was that 758,742 votes were cast for a Eepublic and 325,322 for a Monarchy. The Eoyalists faithfully accepted the verdict of the people, and declared that they would loyally support the Eepublic. The nation, after a long period of discord, seemed to be once more united, and M. Papanastasiou had undoubtedly to a certain extent succeeded where M. Venizelos had failed. Nevertheless the Government thought it advisable to issue on April 23 a decree prohibiting, under severe penalties, propaganda against the Eepublic or in favour of the deposed Monarchy for a period of ten years—a measure which aroused considerable ill-feeling. The election of a President was postponed till October, and meanwhile the post was filled by Admiral Kondouriotis. On April 23 the Eepublic was formally recognised by Great Britain, a step which had already been taken by Italy and Turkey.

On May 19 the Chamber re-assembled after an interval of nearly two months. Its chief business was to bring a Senate into existence, but before its constructive labours could bear fruit they were interrupted by a series of internal troubles due largely to the activities of members of the military and naval forces both in and out of the Government. On May 26 a strike of ships' crews commenced which paralysed shipping at all Greek ports, and this was followed by a number of sympathetic strikes which caused grave inconvenience to the general public. On June 9 Colonel Kondylis, the Minister of War, resigned on the ground that the Government did not take sufficiently strong measures against the strike movement; which in his opinion was the outcome of a Communist plot. He attacked the Government in the Chamber, but could not prevent it obtaining a Vote of Confidence by a majority of 78. Thereupon he publicly announced his intention of forming a Fascist Party to combat Communism.

The seamen's strike was settled on June 13, and was immediately followed by a kind of strike in the Navy. On June 25, 81 out of 170 higher officers in the Navy demanded that the Minister of Marine, Captain Hadjikyriakos, should be removed on the ground of his having shown favouritism in making promotions, and that these promotions should be declared invalid. The Government obtained a Vote of Confidence in the Chamber on June 27, and proceeded to take disciplinary measures against the recalcitrant officers. These, however, were joined by others, till the number of malcontents rose to over 130; and on July 5 M. Papanastasiou deemed it best to accept the resignation of Captain Hadjikyriakos and take over the Ministry of Marine himself. Soon afterwards he reinstated the officers who had resigned. This, however, led to further trouble. On August 21, Captain Kolialexis, commanding the battle cruiser *Giorgios*

Averoff, who had not struck with the other officers, telegraphed to the Minister of Marine demanding the cancellation of the decree by which the strikers had been reinstated. The Minister responded by dismissing Captain Kolialexis and ordering him to report himself at the Ministry. The Captain, however, remained on board off the Piraeus, and in view of his threatening attitude the Government deemed it prudent to place guns and troops in the town to prevent him from landing with an armed force. At this point Captain Hadjikyriakos intervened, and persuaded Captain Kolialexis to return to his allegiance, only, however, after the Government had undertaken to cancel the reinstatement of the officers who had resigned.

In the meanwhile the Government of M. Papanastasiou had been overthrown owing to its association with General Pangalos, who had succeeded Colonel Kondylis as Minister of War. This General was suspected of aiming at a military dictatorship, and consequently had numerous opponents who were not long in finding an opportunity to compass his downfall. On July 16 parties of soldiers entered two newspaper offices in Salonika and killed four pressmen, in revenge for the publication of insults against their Colonel. General Pangalos was charged with conniving at the outrage, and his denials of the charge failed to satisfy not only the Opposition but also certain of the Government groups in the Chamber. After an all-night sitting on July 18, accompanied by violent uproar, the Government was defeated by 131 votes to 178, and resigned. M. Sophonilis, an old colleague of M. Venizelos, became Prime Minister and Minister of Marine, and on July 30 obtained a "Vote of Confidence by 181 votes to 131; after which Parliament was prorogued till October 1. The advent of the new Ministry caused a faint revival of Eoyalist hopes, but the Kerepublic remained undisturbed for the rest of the year.

Early in the year a report was issued by the Settlement Commission appointed by the Council of the League of Nations, under the chairmanship of Mr. H. Morgenthau, to devise measures for relieving the Greek refugees, to the number of over a million, who had been driven from Thrace and Asia Minor as a result of the agreement with Turkey. The Greek Government had assigned 1,250,000 acres of State lands for their settlement, and the Commission proposed to raise a loan of 6,000,000£., secured partly on Greek public revenues, for the purpose of equipping them. Mr. Morgenthau stated that so far "the Greek Government and people had grappled with this problem in a manner worthy of the highest praise." Pending the floating of the main loan, a second loan of 1,000,000£. was negotiated by Mr. Morgenthau in London on May 7 to enable the works of settlement to be carried on for several months.

In foreign affairs the year was uneventful. Some excitement was caused in Greece by the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors in May to assign to Albania, under the new frontier

settlement, fourteen villages occupied by Greeks and hitherto under Greek administration; and the Government promised the Chamber to protest, and, if necessary, to appeal to the League of Nations. On July 26 a somewhat serious "frontier incident" took place in Macedonia, seventeen Bulgarians being bound and killed in cold blood by a party of Asia Minor Greeks. A League of Nations Commission which investigated the affair found that the local Greek authorities were responsible and entirely exonerated the Greek Government; but the affair did not improve Bulgarian relations with Greece.

In April the Byron centenary was celebrated at Athens, the British Government being officially represented by Sir Eennell Eodd, the British Ambassador at Eome.

ALBANIA.

In the Parliamentary elections which were held at the beginning of the year, the head of the Government, Ahmed Zogu, failed to secure a majority, and his position became precarious. On February 23 he was shot at and slightly wounded by a young Albanian student in the corridor of the Parliament House. On March 3 a new Ministry was formed by Shevket Verlaci. On May 22 the young Liberal deputy, Avni Eustem, was assassinated at Tirana, and Ahmed Zogu was accused of instigating the murder. Great demonstrations took place at the funeral, and discontent with the Government became more and more marked. Towards the end of May, Shevket Verlaci resigned and was replaced by Ilias Vrioni.

This change failed to appease the democratic and Liberal elements. The army of the South and the garrison of Scodra declared against the Government, and troops marched on Tirana. After a slight resistance Ahmed Zogu and a few of his partisans fled to Belgrade. A number of deputies who supported him took refuge in Italy and in Corfu.

On June 16, Monsignor Fan Noli, the leader of the Democratic and Liberal Party, formed a Government. He issued a proclamation, stating that the revolution was a protest against the illegalities and corruption of the previous regime, and its attempt to perpetuate the feudal privileges of the nobility and large landowners. The Chamber of Deputies was dissolved, but no steps were taken to hold new elections. Also three members of the "Council of Eegency" (which holds the place of the Monarchy in the Albanian constitution) had been deposed, while the fourth considered himself under notice; consequently the new Government was never properly legalised, and was therefore insecure from the beginning.

In December, before the election which had at length been proclaimed could take place, an insurrectionary movement broke out in the North-East of Albania. It had been organised and set on foot from Belgrade by Ahmed Zogu, who entered Tirana

on December 24. Fan Noli, with his Government, immediately fled to Italy.

In addition to her internal political troubles, Albania has had to endure cruel blows from without owing to the exchange of the Greek and Turkish populations stipulated by the Treaty of Lausanne. It had been understood that Albanians on either side should not be affected, but Greece in spite of this insisted on expelling from her territory Albanian Moslems from Epirus and Macedonia, and confiscating their goods. Albania appealed to the League of Nations, which considered the matter on three occasions, and charged the Mixed Commission which supervised the exchange to see that the Albanians should not be included. In spite of this, more than 20,000 Albanian Moslems have been forced to leave their homes and abandon their property in Greece.

BULGARIA.

The year 1924 passed in Bulgaria in comparative calm, in spite of the continued presence and activity of turbulent elements.

The extremists—Communists and Agrarians—were not in a position to organise a serious movement for the overthrow of the Tzankoff Cabinet, and in different parts of the country they formed* bands of brigands for terrorising the population, and more particularly the officials of the Government. In April the Government was informed of the intention of the Third International to provoke trouble in the Balkans. The Bolshevik propaganda finds favourable soil among the Communists and the Agrarians in Bulgaria, not on account of the social conditions in the country, or because Bolshevik doctrines appeal to the masses, but simply in consequence of the events of last year, when many members of these parties perished in the struggle against the Government of M. Tzankoff. The Cabinet was somewhat alarmed, and prepared itself for all eventualities. The Allies also, to assist its efforts, gave their consent for raising about 3,000 volunteers above the number fixed by the Treaties. While it is a fact that Moscow was doing all in its power to incite a rising in Bulgaria, the peril was highly exaggerated in Bulgaria as well as abroad for reasons of internal and external policy. In any event, Bulgaria passed the autumn without any internal commotion.

The only regrettable incident caused by the Bolshevik activity was the murder, on August 31, of the famous leader of the Macedonian Internal Revolutionary Organisation, Todor Alexandroff, organised and executed by the Federalist Fraction of the same revolutionary organisation, but inspired by the agents of the Soviets. In reprisal, the murder of Alexandroff was followed by the murder of several Federalist and Communist leaders, ending with that of Tchaouleff at Milan.

In external affairs the Government adhered to its policy of

seeking peace and *rapprochement* with all Powers, and particularly with its neighbours, and undertaking the sincere execution of the obligations imposed by the Treaties. Nevertheless, the Cabinets of Belgrade and Athens accused Bulgaria of allowing various organisations to make great preparations on her territory for revolutionary action in Macedonia in the spring. To allay this suspicion, the Government, at the beginning of March, arrested several hundreds of Macedonians from the frontier towns, and interned them in the interior of the country, liberating them, however, after a certain time.

As a proof of the desire of Bulgaria to live in peace and on friendly terms with her neighbours, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Kaloff, signed at Geneva with M. Politis, the representative of Athens, a protocol for the protection of the minorities in their respective countries. It was expected in Bulgaria that by the conclusion of such an agreement the relations between Bulgaria and Greece would be sensibly improved, and that the exodus of the Bulgarian population from Western Thrace and the portion of Macedonia under the rule of Greece would be stopped. For Bulgaria this emigration is not merely a matter of political importance, but also an economic question, as the hundreds of wretched families which are still arriving daily constitute a heavy burden on the meagre Budget of the State. Unfortunately the execution by Greece of the protocol seems doubtful, on account of the strong national opposition against it. The Government of Athens will probably be obliged to denounce the protocol, or at least to ask for its revision.

The efforts of the Cabinet of M. Tzankoff have been appreciated by the Allies, and Bulgaria has obtained some concessions from them. The expenses of the Inter-Allied Commission of Reparations, which constituted a heavy charge for Bulgaria, have been reduced to 12,000/., and the Military Commission of Liquidation will be soon abolished, and in its place the military control will be assumed by the League of Nations.

Towards the end of the year M. Tzankoff paid visits to Belgrade and Bucharest in order to form a personal acquaintance with the leading statesmen of Yugoslavia and Rumania, to come to a better understanding with the neighbouring countries, and to organise a joint effort against the common danger of Bolshevism.

The economic situation has not changed greatly during the year. Though commerce and industry are steadily improving and many legislative measures have been taken for the amelioration of the conditions of life, the cost of living has gone up considerably. One of the reasons for this is the bad harvest of the year. Bulgaria, though an agricultural country which used always to export cereals, is now obliged to import wheat and flour from abroad for the feeding of the population of the towns.

CHAPTEE VI.

LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE : BELGIUM
— NETHERLANDS — SWITZERLAND — SPAIN — PORTUGAL — DEN-
MARK — SWEDEN — NORWAY.

BELGIUM.

THROUGHOUT 1924 M. Theunis remained the dominant personality in Belgian politics. He played a prominent part in bringing about the agreement on reparations reached at the London Conference in August, and in internal affairs succeeded in balancing the Budget. But he struggled unavailingly to reduce the ever-growing cost of living, and in consequence of this failure his position as Premier at the end of the year had become highly precarious.

In the course of the year it was found necessary, owing to the depreciation of the franc and the rise in prices, to introduce supplementary estimates. At the same time, owing to unusual traffic, the transport service had become accidentally disorganised, and, although left in the hands of the Government officials, it was placed under a special control. The critical economic situation gave rise to an attack on the eight hours day from the side of the big employers. This was translated into political action by a Bill introduced by M. Dev&ze, leader of the Liberal Party, to allow time lost through stoppage to be made up by extra hours. The Minister of Labour, M. Moyersoen, brought in an alternative plan which increased working hours by 5 per cent. The members of his own party, the Christian-Democrats, declined to follow him in this step and instead united with the Socialists to defeat both projects by large majorities. This was the first sign of the existence in the Chamber of a democratic majority, and the first symptom of the break up of the Coalition of Liberals and Catholics on which the Government rested.

The overthrow of the Government was not long delayed. It came on the Franco-Belgian Convention for supplementing the new customs tariff, which was brought up for ratification in February. This was attacked on various grounds. The metallurgic and textile interests demanded for their products advantages analogous to those accorded to French luxury products. Some politicians desired a closer union between the two countries along with a system of preference. Others, including the Flemish Nationalists, feared what the Socialist leader M. Vandervelde called "the Portugalisation of Belgium by France," and recalled the indifference shown by M. Poincar^e to the Belgian technical inquiries in the Euhr. Some Flemish Nationalist deputies went so far as to speak of the French "grip" on the maritime works of Bruges. The Catholic Minister, M. Eenkin, and his followers criticised as merely apparent the French concessions, and vehemently denounced Article 7 which imposed prohibitive tariffs on Germany. The

Socialists objected also to the proposed surtaxes on German imports, and found themselves at one with the Flemish Nationalists in an opposition to the occupation of the Euhr. Outside of Parliament the campaign was carried on by the Nationalist group whose chief spokesmen, MM. Neuray and Nothomb in their influential organ *La Nation Beige*, skilfully utilised certain admissions of M. Jaspar, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to create prejudice against the agreement. The Press, too, echoed the protests of M. Benkin against the highly protectionist French tariff, and as a result, public opinion became distinctly unfavourable to the proposed Convention.

After having tried to secure a majority by promising certain concessions to the Flemish Nationalists, the Government solicited the Chamber's confidence, and M. Theunis carried the discussion on to the field of the general situation. All the Liberals except one voted in favour of the Convention; nevertheless it was rejected. A Cabinet crisis followed which lasted a fortnight. M. Theunis sought to characterise the rejection of the Convention as a blow to France and a triumph for Germany.

The King fearing for the Buhr enterprise, avoided an appeal to the people, and ignoring the democratic majority, which certainly was highly composite, and which the Socialists would not have joined in any case to form a Ministry, entrusted M. Theunis with the task of forming a new administration (March 10). He produced a motley combination containing more Flemish Nationalist elements than the previous Cabinet, and destitute of any programme save a hopeless struggle against the high cost of living. The Catholic, M. Jaspar, was replaced at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by the Liberal M. Paul Hymans, who had resigned from the same office three years earlier, and in compensation the Liberal M. Louis Franck was replaced by the Catholic M. Henri Carton as Minister of the Colonies. The Ministerial declaration of policy dealt only with the cost of living and with the value of the franc, and its weakness was strongly criticised by the Opposition. M. Theunis proposed the imposition of new taxes to the amount of 400 million francs, but afterwards reduced the figure to 200 million. He also begged for a truce between parties on controversial questions, and the Liberals accordingly dropped two contentious measures which they had intended to bring forward—one on cremation, and the other on the laicising of the oath in the law-courts. The Eight, however, persisted with its project for extending female suffrage to the provinces. The provincial councillors elect some forty members of the Senate; consequently, owing to the influence of the clergy over the women, such a law would ensure a Catholic majority in the Senate, which would lead to numerous conflicts between the two Assemblies.

Among the laws actually passed, the most important was the new customs tariff. Belgium has now two tariffs—a minimum and a maximum—the latter being double the former and re-

served for imports from countries with which she is, so to speak, at war economically. A Bill for workmen's pensions with compulsory insurance was brought in. The Senate introduced some modifications, which were accepted by the Chamber, the Socialists allowing the Bill to pass as a *pis aller*. A Bill was also passed modifying the existing Eent Act, and resulting in an increase on rents of 125 per cent. Finally a law of "equalisation" was passed increasing the salaries of civil servants.

Towards the end of the first session the acquittal of Baron Coppee on the charge of having delivered goods to the Germans during the war led to some lively discussions in the Chamber on the question of an amnesty for persons imprisoned for dealings with the enemy.

Immediately after his accession to office, in January, Mr. MacDonald, the new British Premier, had sent Mr Massingham from London to Brussels to make unofficial investigations and assure the Belgian Ministers of the interest taken by the new Cabinet in the Belgian technical inquiries which had been shelved by the Reparations Commission. In consequence, M. Jaspar, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, left for Paris to bring these inquiries to the notice of M. Poincare. On learning of the reports presented by the experts at Paris on April 9, the Belgian Government announced that it was prepared to accept the conclusions contained in them in order to arrive at an equitable settlement. The Belgian delegation had exercised a preponderating influence in the framing of the reports, and Mr. Dawes had paid a particular tribute to M. Francqui and Houtart for their services. On the Belgian proposal the system of general conversations with a view to finding a basis of agreement was adopted. On April 28 M. Theunis and Hymans had a preliminary exchange of views with M. Poincare at the Quai d'Orsay. On May 2 the Belgian Ministers arrived at Chequers to discuss with Mr. MacDonald the possibility of making the Dawes Plan a basis for reparations. They laid before him the views of M. Poincare on the question of seeking from Great Britain an undertaking to collaborate in laying down beforehand explicit sanctions to operate in case of German default. They laid stress on the reasons which the French and Belgian Governments had for mistrusting Germany, but failed to move Mr. MacDonald who, in his speech at York, had declared himself opposed to any sanction fixed in advance. Baron Moncheur, the Belgian Ambassador at London, brought the Ambassador of the United States and the Belgian Ministers together at the same table, where the latter learnt definitively that the American bankers were prepared to make the loan to Germany non-political in character by imposing on her an international commercial responsibility. Accordingly, in view of the aversion of the British Government to military sanctions, they pressed for the adoption of a system of financial and economic checks which they had elaborated. A few days later the French Government

received, through its Ambassador in Brussels, M. Herbette, a detailed account of these conversations supplementing the brief note which had been transmitted by the British Government. A fortnight later the Belgian Ministers left for Milan. They met there Signor Mussolini, who reaffirmed his aversion for all coercive measures, and insisted again on the close relation between reparations and war debts. On his way back from Chequers to Paris, M. Herriot, on June 22 and 23, had two interviews with MM. Theunis and Hymans, in which he reported to them his conversations with Mr. MacDonald. After a practical discussion the French and Belgian Ministers agreed on the points they would discuss at the approaching Conference, at the same time touching on the problem of security and affirming jointly their purpose to secure the complete execution of the clauses relating to German disarmament. This interview had been preceded by a Council of Ministers in which M. Theunis had had to appease a number of critics from various groups—Catholics who mistrusted M. Herriot on account of his anti-clerical programme, Flemish Nationalists who were suspicious of French influence, and Nationalists who reproached the French Premier with being too friendly to Germany.

The London Conference, which opened on July 10, was the logical sequel of this policy. Through its means Belgium saved herself from the possibility of a war in the Ruhr, from a further depreciation of her exchange, and from being abandoned by all her Allies except France. To secure these benefits she resigned the pledge of the Ruhr in consideration of annuities which in four years will rise to two and a half milliards of francs. In order to seal the agreement, MM. Theunis and Herriot announced their decision to abandon immediately one of the occupied zones.

During the year Belgium signed several commercial treaties, the principal being those with Austria, Japan, and Canada. Certain private individuals are favourable to the resumption of economic relations with Russia, which perhaps would choose Antwerp as the port of sale for its exports. The Soviet delegates, however, who arrived in Brussels in October, did not obtain favourable consideration from the Belgian Government for their proposals. Of particular importance is the provisional agreement concluded on October 24 with France. So urgent was the necessity for such an agreement that on the morning after the rejection of the Convention in February, the Government charged Baron de Gaiffier d'Hestroy, Belgian Ambassador at Paris, to resume the conversations. These were interrupted by the French elections, but were taken up again under the Herriot Ministry. The *modus vivendi* ultimately arrived at strikes particularly at luxury articles, and has put an end to a petty customs war.

At the end of the year all parties were actively preparing for the General Election officially fixed for May, but which a new

Cabinet crisis may hasten on. The Socialists, who are the chief Opposition Party, have little to fear from the Communists, and have rallied to their standard all the malcontents. They have attacked the Government on the ground of the cost of living and the fiscal regime, and have pointed out that in the end the Government has been obliged to adopt their programme of disarmament against Germany. The Catholic Party, which is most unwilling to enter the election under a Theunis Ministry, is a prey to serious divisions. Some of its members desire to strengthen the alliance with the Liberals, and to purge the party by the expulsion of the Christian-Democrats and the Flemish Nationalists. Others aim at uniting all the diverse fractions in the name of their common principles. A third group desires a *rapprochement* with the Socialists after the elections. M. Alois van de Vyvere, Catholic Minister of Economic Affairs in the third Theunis Cabinet, has resigned his post in order to cement the fractions of the Eight. All the Catholics place on their programme the "fight for the schools," along with a demand for subsidies from the Treasury for private schools, and opposition to the new taxes, except for purposes of election tactics. They are mainly insistent on the women's vote in the provincial election, a Bill for which they managed to place on the order of the day just before the close of the last session of the Chamber.

Serious dissensions exist also in the Liberal Party. The followers of M. Deveze want to choose their allies according to circumstances. Some are dissatisfied with the coalition with the Catholics and the abandonment of the programme of laicisation. The mistakes of the reactionary anti-democratic majority have brought into being the Radical-Socialist Party. The Middle Class Party owes its birth to the cabals of the Electoral Committees. Finally, the Nationalist Party has maintained its strength at the cost of all the others.

Whatever the results of the elections in Spring, 1925, may be, so much is certain, that public opinion in Belgium during the year has veered to the Left.

THE NETHERLANDS.

The year 1923 had closed without bringing appreciably nearer a solution of the political crisis caused by the action of the Second Chamber on October 26 in rejecting the Navy Bill, some of the Eoman Catholic members having voted with the Left [*vide* ANNUAL EEGISTEE, 1923, p. 235]. In the first days of 1924 the leaders of the three parties of the Eight, who had been requested by the Queen, after several other attempts had failed, to form a new Cabinet, expressed to her their inability to accomplish the task. Thereupon the Queen informed M. Eys de Beerenbrouck that she was unable to accept his resignation. Thus it seemed for the moment that the crisis would be ended by sacrificing, not, as was generally expected, the Coalition, but

the authority which Parliament had exercised over the Government since the introduction of constitutional government. Apprehensions were widely felt that the new Cabinet would be a "Royal" one, acknowledging responsibility rather to the Crown than to Parliament. The statement, however, made by the President of the Ministerial Council to the Second Chamber on January 15, proved that the Cabinet never entertained such an idea. Jonkheer Ruys de Beerenbrouck took on himself the whole responsibility for the decision of the Crown, and in addition accepted the rejection by the Chamber on October 26 of the Naval Bill. The Government now concurred in the view then expressed by the Opposition, that it would only be possible to provide for the maritime defences after measures had been taken to restore financial stability to the country. So the Cabinet, though still intending to prepare fresh plans for naval defence, presented itself to the Chamber as above all a Cabinet of reconstruction and retrenchment.

In the course of the debates on the Premier's statement, the leaders of the Left groups blamed the Right for having prolonged the crisis by rendering impossible every Ministerial combination other than one of the Right parties, although the religious parties were divided amongst themselves. The dissolution of the Chamber, however, which was advocated by the Socialist leader, was not supported by the Liberals and the Radicals, now that the Cabinet had unconditionally surrendered to the Opposition. The leader of the Roman Catholic Party, Mgr. Nolens, stated moreover that his group was not prepared to work together with the Socialists in order to form a new Government. In his reply the Premier stated that, though the Cabinet might be considered as a Cabinet of the Right, yet no new arrangements had been made with the groups of the majority. A motion of the Socialists for a dissolution of the Chamber obtained support only from the Communists, while a motion brought forward by the latter censuring the attitude both of the Crown and of the Cabinet was not supported by any other group of the Chamber.

The main task of the Government being henceforth the financial reconstruction of the country, the position of M. Colyn, the Minister of Finance, who was still the strong man of the Cabinet, became even more prominent. His Budget for 1924, the discussion of which had been delayed by the crisis, showed the following figures: Ordinary expenditure 620*7 million guilders, revenue 558*6 millions, deficit 62 millions; extraordinary expenditure 113*7 millions, revenue 40*7 millions, deficit 73 millions; crisis expenditure 5*6 millions—total deficit 170 millions. The Minister pointed out that if the State finances were to balance, new taxes yielding a revenue of 40 million guilders would be necessary. The yield of taxation would be raised in this way from 144£ millions in 1914 to over 478 millions in 1924. He announced retrenchments all along

the line; in the first place by the discharge of civil servants and the reduction of salaries, then by a revision of the Pensions Act, by dropping subsidies for building and leaving all new building to private initiative, by reducing temporarily the principal State subsidies to social insurance, and by curtailing the expenditure on education, more especially on primary instruction, the cost of which had risen from 45 millions in 1913 to 103 millions (estimated) for 1924, owing to the placing of the denominational schools on a par with the State schools. For lessening the cost of elementary education the Government proposed among other things to reduce the curriculum to six years by raising the obligatory age for commencing school from 6 to 7 years, while no new educational institutions were to be opened for the time being.

In the course of the debates on the Budget these proposals were violently combated by the Socialists and the Badicals, who disapproved of retrenchments at the cost of education and labour, and demanded a reduction of the military expenditure. The defence estimates were, however, approved by the Eight and the Liberals. From the side of the Roman Catholics an increase of tariffs and even downright protection was urged, but this was opposed by the whole of the Left. The Government declared emphatically that in principle they were in favour neither of protection nor of free trade, and announced that they would carry out a general technical revision of the tariff. M. Colyn gave it as his opinion that, if new taxes should prove necessary, an increase or extension of indirect taxation would be preferable, as direct taxation which in 1913 had formed 45 per cent, of the total had risen to 72 per cent. He proposed altogether a retrenchment on education of 12*5 million guilders, on defence of 12'5 millions, on the other Departments of 5 millions, on salaries and wages of 35 millions, and on State and semi-State industries of 25 millions. For the greater part, however, these retrenchments were of a prospective character, the immediate economies being estimated at no more than 10 millions.

In pursuance of this scheme the States-General in the course of the session passed Bills providing for increased duties and excise on beer and higher import duties on tea, for a tax on bicycles, and for education economies amounting to 25 per cent, in the cost of primary instruction. A provisional reduction of 5 per cent, in the salaries of State servants was introduced on May 1, followed by a further reduction of 5 per cent, on October 1; moreover the officials were now required to pay themselves the contribution to the pension fund, which meant a further reduction of 8½ per cent. The Queen at the same time placed at the disposal of the Minister of Finance a proportionate part of her State income as laid down in the Constitution. This example was followed by the Ministers and most of the members of the Second Chamber, whose salaries also are fixed by the Constitution.

These measures made it possible to reduce the deficit on the ordinary Budget of 1924 to 24 millions. The deficit of the ordinary Budget for 1925 was estimated at 27 million guilders (expenditure 617 millions, revenue 590 millions), and to meet this the States-General passed various Bills providing for an increase of the excise on tobacco and cigarettes, and for a revision of the Tariff Law bringing the general tariff from 5 per cent, up to 8 per cent. From these two increases at least 20 millions were expected. The Tariff Bill was strongly opposed by the parties of the Left who refused to accept the plea of the Government that nothing more was aimed at than a technical revision of the tariff and an increase of revenue in order to balance the Budget, and in the name of Free Trade voted as a body against the Bill.

In order finally to balance the Budget, a Royal decree fixed anew and definitely the salaries for most categories of State servants at considerably lower figures than before. This retrenchment, which was calculated to save a further 7 millions, met with sharp criticism from the side of all the democratic groups, including a part of the Roman Catholic Party. There was some talk of throwing out the measure, but the Government allowed it to transpire that an adverse vote on this point would lead to a dissolution of the Chamber, and as the Opposition was not prepared for a new election, the Government easily carried its point. The discontented democratic group of the Roman Catholic Party, however, organised a movement for giving the policy of the party a more democratic direction. Even Mgr. Nolens, the Parliamentary leader of the party, in the debates on the Budget for 1925, no longer rejected as impracticable a combination with democratic groups from the Left, though still giving preference to a continuance of the coalition of the Right.

In the composition of the next Coalition, after the elections of 1925, much will probably depend on the attitude of parties towards the defence problem. The Roman Catholics desire at least some relief from military charges, while the Radicals have opened a campaign in Parliament and in the country for national disarmament, a platform already adopted some years ago by the Socialists. The announcement in the Speech from the Throne of "fresh proposals for the regulation of the strength and composition of the naval forces" was severely criticised. Dealing with the Naval Estimates for 1925 in the Second Chamber, the Government declared that it could fix the date for introducing the Bill only after receiving the opinion of the East Indian Government and after taking into account the effect that might be produced by the Protocol of Geneva and a possible conference on disarmament. The Minister of War in his turn, on the request of some deputies, promised in the Second Chamber that the Government, as soon as the quorum of signatures to the Protocol of Geneva had been reached,

would appoint a Commission composed of military and non-military members for the purpose of examining the draft programme of the League of Nations for the disarmament conference, and making conformably to the issue of that conference proposals to the Government concerning the armaments of the country.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jonkheer van Karnebeek, was himself present at the first session of the Assembly of the League of Nations in September, and pointed out once more the objections of the Netherlands Government, already explained in a letter of July 30 to the Secretary-General of the League, against the draft Treaty for mutual assistance, as being incompatible with the spirit of the League and unsuited to secure a reduction of armaments. The Dutch delegates took a prominent part in formulating the Protocol, but the Government has not yet proceeded to ratification, reserving its right with regard to some points of further study and consideration, especially since co-operation in this matter between Great Britain and France, on which the Protocol, according to the opinion of the Government, depends for its importance, was not as certain as at first seemed likely. In the course of the debates on the Estimates for Foreign Affairs for 1925 the attitude of the Minister, who had previously given a detailed exposition of his objections to the Protocol, was severely blamed by the parties of the Left, who reproached him with his lack of faith in the League of Nations.

Bills were laid before Parliament for ratifying a provisional arrangement with Great Britain regarding aerial traffic and for ratifying a Treaty for the prolongation of the Arbitration Treaty with the United States for five years. On the Government protesting against the resolution of the Interstate Commerce Commission of the United States providing for preferential railway tariffs for goods transported in American vessels, as being contrary to the existing Dutch-American Treaty, the Interstate Commission decided not to enforce the resolution. With Belgium an arrangement was made on the piloting in the mouths of the Scheldt. With Turkey a Treaty of friendship and with Canada, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, and Poland, commercial Treaties on the basis of most-favoured-nation treatment were signed. A provisional commercial agreement with Portugal was also made.

Negotiations which took place at Berlin between Dutch and Bussian delegates proved abortive, the latter desiring a complete recognition *de jure* before discussing other questions, and making so many reservations with regard to the Bussian debts and further claims upon Bussia as to render ineffective the most-favoured-nation clause proposed by the Dutch Government.

SWITZERLAND.

During 1924 Switzerland's relations with France and Italy, after being somewhat strained in 1923, improved considerably.

The Italian efforts to make of the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland a "terra irredenta," which had from the first been energetically combated by Mussolini {vide ANNUAL EEGISTEE, 1923, p. 237}, were finally set at rest by the conclusion on September 20 of a Treaty for compulsory arbitration between the two countries, which was approved by the National Council on December 17. Thus Switzerland now has arbitration Treaties with all her neighbours except France, and with France also Notes have been exchanged on the subject.

The action of France in pushing forward her customs posts in the Savoy zone to the Swiss frontier on November 10 of the previous year {vide ANNUAL BEGISTER, 1923, pp. 237-38} had roused in Switzerland considerable indignation, which was kept alive for some time by M. Poincare's subsequent proceedings. The French reply to the Swiss Note of November 12 was not delivered till January 23, and its contents were then found to be disappointing. It offered indeed arbitration, but arbitration by a special court of three, and not by the Court of International Justice as Switzerland had proposed, and only on the question of the compensation to be given to Switzerland, not on France's right to abolish the Free Zones. Switzerland replied on February 13 reiterating her previous demands. The French reply to this was conciliatory in tone, and proposed that two jurists, one French and one Swiss, should be nominated to draft new formula regarding the points to* be submitted to arbitration. This proposal was accepted by Switzerland on March 28. On October 30 M. Herriot and M. Fromageot for France, and M. Dunant, Swiss Minister in Paris, and M. Logoz for Switzerland, signed an agreement and exchanged notes by which the matter was referred to The Hague International Court of Justice for arbitration. The main point for the Court to decide is whether paragraph 2 of Article 435 of the Treaty of Versailles abrogates the various stipulations of the Paris Conferences of 1815 and subsequent decisions respecting the Free Zones. Meanwhile France not only continues to exact duty at the Swiss frontier, but is erecting expensive custom offices there, while Switzerland admits goods from the Zones duty free. This still causes a certain soreness in Switzerland, but the decision to refer the matter to arbitration has relaxed the tension between the two countries.

In spite of the improved international situation, Switzerland is still somewhat nervous of the pressure which may possibly be exercised on her by one or other of her two powerful neighbours, France and Italy, and in order to insure her independence and neutrality she took measures during the year to strengthen her military position. An ordinance was submitted to the Federal Councils and passed by them in spite of the opposition of the Social Democrats, for making military service once more universal in fact and not merely in name, as it had been for some years, and equipping the army with modern weapons,

On June 19 M. Motta, the head of the Political Department, stated that Switzerland was ready to resume diplomatic and economic relations with Eussia as soon as Eussia removed the boycott which she had imposed on Swiss goods after the Conradi trial in 1923. At the same time he announced that the Swiss Government was prepared to allow a Eussian "observer" to settle at Geneva to watch the proceedings of the League of Nations. The Soviet authorities, however, made no response to this "gesture," and as they persisted in refusing admission to Swiss goods, the Federal Government in the middle of August issued an order forbidding all Eussian subjects to enter Switzerland.

The choice of M. Motta as its President by the League of Nations Assembly in the autumn was meant as a compliment to Switzerland, but had the disadvantage for that country of depriving her delegation of the services of its chief, who was also her own Foreign Minister. M. Motta's conduct of foreign affairs was criticised in Parliament and the Press as lacking breadth of view, and there was some talk during the year of transferring him to another office. A proposal was also made to appoint a permanent Parliamentary Committee for foreign affairs. The Bundesrat showed itself unfavourable to the project, but it has not yet been finally rejected.

In internal affairs the year has been on the whole uneventful. The most important feature was a proposal brought forward by the Federal Council that powers should be given them to prolong the working week from 48 hours (at which it was fixed in 1919) to 54 hours in times of serious economic crisis during the next three years. On a referendum being taken (February 17), this was rejected by 436,180 votes to 320,668. The preparation of the penal code is going slowly forward, and the discussion of a new military penal code on thoroughly modern lines has been begun in Parliament.

Economically the year showed an improvement on its predecessor. Manufacturers were busier, and the tourist industry, which had suffered severely since 1914, experienced a revival. The number of unemployed which on December 31, 1923, had been 26,873, fell to 11,419 when the year ended, and expenditure on unemployed relief work was suspended. The number of emigrants, which had been 8,006 in 1923, was 4,140 in 1924. The Federal Government, the cantons, and the municipalities are all gradually bringing their budgets back to equilibrium. The railway surplus in 1924 was 138 million francs instead of an estimated 96 millions, and of the posts and telegraphs over 2 million instead of 450,000. The deficit on the 1924 accounts was only 20 millions instead of 38 millions as estimated. In March a Swiss loan of 30 million dollars was placed in the United States, and had the effect of improving the Swiss exchange.

SPAIN.

It is significant of the political situation of Spain that the year 1924 should have opened, as it has closed, under the shadow of events in Morocco.

The Tangier Convention, provisionally signed in Paris on December 18, 1923, remained to be ratified, and great, even exaggerated hopes were placed by the Spanish people in the power of their new military Government to obtain more favourable terms and, possibly, a settlement of the whole Moroccan problem. These expectations were disappointed. In a public statement issued on January 22, the Military Directory prepared the nation for failure—the Treaty was definitely signed on February 6—and at the same time confessed that in the first four months of office its methods of government had not been uniformly successful. An example of its rigour had been shown on January 6 in the banishment to an island in the Canaries of the eminent Liberal leader, Marquis Cortina, an occasion marked by the first faint cry of popular discontent. It was followed on February 20 by the exile of Senor Soriano and, on February 26, by that of Don Miguel de Unamuno, both Republicans, and the latter an outstanding intellectual figure of Spain.

On February 25, the trial of General Marquis Cavalcanti for the disaster of Tizna in September, 1921, ended in the acquittal of this popular officer, a favourite in Army circles and at Court. This, the first of the more important responsibility trials, passed off, as did a short outburst of sharp fighting in Morocco early in March, without doing more than stir the surface of political calm. The Government was busy on its task of reconstruction. The Superior Council of Railways, which had been appointed by Royal Order of January 31, was preparing the reorganisation of the Spanish railway system; and the Directory, by a comprehensive scheme of municipal reform, sought to lay the foundations of a new order of public life in Spain. Published by Decree early in March, the Municipal Statute came into force on April 1 and, granting as it does a wide measure of local autonomy, it might indeed justify the optimistic hopes of the Government, were it to meet with that public response without which legislation *per se* is ineffective. Decrees issued on March 6, 7, and 19, restricting exchange operations, are illustrative of this danger; they have served to hamper legitimate business rather than support the peseta, which has remained low in view of the political uncertainty. This was reflected in Catalan discontent. Though the *coup d'etat* had been struck from Barcelona, the military Government once established in Madrid made the hand of the central authority felt there even more heavily than usual. Determined to hispanicise Catalonia, the Marquis de Estella had by the end of the first quarter of 1924 but succeeded in reviving the movement for Catalan Separatism. No outbreak occurred, however, and on the surface the political

situation was quiet. Public attention was diverted from politics by the serious floods in the centre of Spain during the last week of March, and during the latter half of April was entirely absorbed in the remarkable story of the robbery under arms of the mail between Madrid and Andalusia on the night of April 12.

On May 12, Don Alfonso and his family visited Barcelona to take possession of the Palace of Pedralbes, presented to him by his loyal Catalan subjects. The King accompanied by his Court spent ten days in Catalonia, and on May 18 celebrated his 38th birthday at a brilliant gathering, attended by the Diplomatic Corps and notables of the Government from Madrid. His visit, however, aroused little Catalan enthusiasm. Further Royal ceremonies took place on the occasion of the return visit paid by the King and Queen of Italy to Madrid on June 8. This visit, the first ever paid to Spain by an Italian sovereign, was marked by brilliant receptions, but was shown by the absence of Signor Mussolini to have no political significance.

A week later, however, occurred a political event of the first importance, the trial on June 16, of General Berenguer for responsibility for the Annual disaster in 1921, and of General Navarro for the surrender of Monte Arruit. The trial was held in the Senate Hall and lasted over eight days, during which the public listened horror-struck and in silence to the complete and awful story of the Annual rout. The case against General Navarro was withdrawn, but General Berenguer was struck off the active list. As if to efface the memories of failure in Morocco thus reawakened, the Chief of the Directory in a speech delivered at Malaga on June 26, outlined a new policy in Morocco of retrenchment and pacific government under Moorish chieftains. But events were quickly to dash any hopes of such a settlement.

On June 30 sharp fighting broke out on the Wady Lau line and spread to the whole of the Western zone; it led to a general rising of the tribes, a new war in the Rif, and the postponement of national reorganisation at home. The political story of the second half of the year in Spain is the story of the war in Morocco.

The gravity of the situation did not become immediately apparent; and the King left Madrid for the North, after signing an amnesty that restored General Berenguer to his rank and set Professor Unamuno free. The President of the Directory, on a first flying visit to Tetuan, on July 13, promised a rapid return to peace and order; ten days later, on a tour in the North of Spain, he restated his confidence that the new plans of reform in Morocco, coupled with the establishment earlier in the year of the Somaten Guards throughout Spain and the organisation of the Governmental Party of Patriotic Union, would be the means of the salvation of the country.

The heavy losses in territory and men sustained in the severe fighting throughout July and August were borne with equanimity by the nation and met with resolution by the Govern-

ment. On September 5 part of the Directory, under the President, transferred its seat to Tetuan, from which a week later the enemy was only two miles distant. From Tetuan the Marquis de Bstella, on September 6 and 8, addressed Manifestoes to the Army and the Nation, in which he confessed to misplaced optimism and appealed for support in the hour of trial. Leaving the reins of government at home to the Vice-President, Admiral Magaz, he devoted his attention henceforth almost entirely to the liquidation of the position in Morocco. After the relief of Sheshuan on September 30, began a general withdrawal of the Spanish forces to the coastal region. To carry out this policy, the Marquis de Estella, on October 16, assumed the posts of High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief in Morocco, while retaining control of the Government.

The retreat in Morocco and the suspense in Spain led to the first open demonstration against the Military Directory at a political meeting, disguised in the form of a dinner and organised on October 31 by elements of the Left. General Berenguer and another General, who had attended, were sentenced to six months' confinement in a fortress. More serious, though no more effectual, was the plotting carried on by Spanish politicians who had taken refuge in Paris. This led, on November 6, to a raid by a party of armed men across the frontier at St. Jean de Luz. The attempt at subversion was promptly put down by the Civil Guard at Vera, but a similar affray on the same day at Barcelona—though equally unsuccessful—coupled with numerous arrests of armed men on the French side of the frontier, proved the existence of a widespread revolutionary plot, which sought to profit by Communist and Catalan discontent. In Catalonia a dangerous spirit of separatism had grown up throughout the year under the repressive rule of the Directory, and had only lately subsided with the appointment on October 2 of the popular Catalan General Milans del Bosch as Governor of Barcelona. The campaign was continued by Eepublicans and revolutionaries at Paris, whence early in December the well-known Spanish novelist, Blasco Ibanez, opened a violent press attack against the Military Government and King Alfonso.

In the economic sphere, the year was marked by the ratification on April 22 of the Anglo-Spanish Trade Treaty, followed on July 1 by an important agreement on the standing of British Companies in Spain. On August 1, a *modus vivendi* with Germany came into force, and on August 12 the new Eailway Law was passed, becoming operative three months later. Estimates of 1,530 million pesetas were submitted for the construction of some 9,000 miles of line; and work was started on some 600 miles. On September 10 a British group obtained the contract for the building of the 250 miles of railway from Santander to Calatayud. The new National Telephone Company, established on August 28, has given proof of its efficiency in the rapid installation of direct communication between

Madrid and Tetuan. The final suppression of gambling, enforced by Decree of October 4, may in conclusion be quoted as significant of the new spirit alive in Spain.

PORTUGAL.

Senhor Alvaro de Castro's Cabinet, partially reconstructed at the end of February, came to grief in the Chamber, after a somewhat precarious existence of seven months, on June 26. Dr. Afonso Costa had been summoned to Portugal, but refused to form a Ministry, and on July 6 a Democrat Government presided over by Dr. Eodrigues Gaspar came into power. Division in the Democrat Party and in the Chamber rendered the life of the new Government difficult. The bogey of a Eadical and Communist revolutionary movement reappeared on August 11 at Lisbon, when Government troops and the Kepublican Guard occupied the Eocio and other points of the city, but no revolutionaries were to be seen. On the night of August 28 a group of civilians attempted to storm the Castle of St. George, but was easily repulsed by the garrison without casualties. A manifesto had been distributed among the soldiers calling them to unite with the Communists against the politicians and the financial oligarchy. Equally futile was an attempt on September 12 to seize the Customs House, the demonstrators being dispersed without bloodshed. These attempts helped to prolong the life of the Government, but after the Democrat Party had, on October 10, dissociated itself from its policy, its fall was but a matter of days. On November 22 Dr. Jos6 Domingues dos Santos formed a Government from the Democrat Left. It depended for its existence on the votes of its opponents in the Chamber, but hoped to maintain itself till Parliament was dissolved in the following March.

Apart from the mysterious and abortive Communist risings, picturesque incidents occurred when at the beginning of June seventeen officers of the Air Force, after a quarrel with the Minister of War (appointed on March 8), were surrounded in their camp at Amadora by 2000 troops and only surrendered after nearly a week's siege; and on July 17, when a conflict between the Lisbon police and soldiers of the Eepublican Guard resulted in seven persons killed (including one woman) and twenty injured. The most serious strikes, accompanied by the explosion of bombs, were the two postal strikes, in February and May, that of civil servants in March, that of hotel and caf6 employees in September, and a general strike at Oporto in the beginning of May. Fifteen persons were killed in two serious railway accidents at Lamarosa (August 14), and on the Lisbon Cascaes line five days later.

Financially the year was a disastrous one for Portugal. A period of surreptitious bankruptcy and audacious bluff commenced when, by decrees dated February 11, the Government,

despairing of obtaining money by other means, decided to pay in paper money the interest on the Internal Loan which only seven months previously it had solemnly pledged itself to pay in gold; and to seize the reserve of silver (representing about 1,400,000Z.) existing in the Bank of Portugal. A first consignment, 49 tons of old silver coins (200,000/.), was shipped to England at the end of June. A subsequent decree (June 3) to make the interest on the Portuguese External Debt payable in paper was partially frustrated through diplomatic representations, which secured that foreign holders not residing in Portugal should receive their interest in gold in London. The new financial policy was defended on the ground of the Government's firm resolve not to print further notes; but the paper circulation, which stood at 1,325,000 contos when the new Government came into power in November 1923, increased at an average rate of over a thousand contos a day during the whole of the following year. The exchange on London, which stood at 125 escudos to the pound sterling in the middle of December 1923, veered to 154 a month later and again in July, after which the value of the pound fell rapidly until it was just under 100 escudos at the end of the year. This improvement in the exchange was artificial, for it coincided with and in part batted on a severe crisis in the economic life of the country. On the occasion of the introduction of new Stamp Duties protest meetings were held at Lisbon in September by the Agricultural, Commercial, and Industrial Associations, which attempted to revolt against the straitwaistcoat in which the Government had placed them. The Government retaliated by arresting the Vice-President of the Commercial Association on a charge of sedition. All the Lisbon shops closed in protest on October 14. Attempts to abolish the deficit on the 1924-25 Budget, introduced on January 15, when the deficit was estimated at 330,000 contos, were of a similarly artificial character, and the Budget was in fact not discussed by Parliament.

The centenary year of the death of Vasco da Gama and of the birth of Camões was marked by the death of the critic Theophilo Braga, a former President of the Republic, at the age of 80; and of General Fernando Tamagnini de Abreu, who commanded the Portuguese Expeditionary Force in the Great War. Commander Sacadura Cabral, a man of persistent courage and high scientific attainments, who intended to attempt a world flight with Admiral Gago Coutinho next Spring, was lost when flying from France to Portugal. His death in the year which had begun so well with the flight of Majors Antonio Jacinto da Silva Brito Paes and José Manuel Sarmiento de Beires, from Lisbon to Macau (April-June) cast a gloom over the country. On June 1 it was officially announced that the Portuguese and British Legations at London and Lisbon had been raised to the status of embassies in accordance with an agreement made with President Sidonio Paes in 1918. The Hon. Sir Lancelot

Carnegie, British Minister at Lisbon since 1913, was appointed first British Ambassador to Portugal, and General Norton de Mattos, who had resigned the post of High Commissioner for Angola, became Portuguese Ambassador at the Court of St. James. The difficult financial and economical situation of the colony delayed the departure from Lisbon of his successor, Colonel Eego Chaves, who subsequently resigned. A debate in the Chamber revealed that Angola had become indebted to the extent of over four and a half millions sterling. A loan of 31,500 gold contos was voted for the administration of Mozambique, and the new High Commissioner, Admiral Azevedo Coutinho, was able to proceed to his post.

DENMARK.

At the opening of 1924, active preparations were on foot for the General Elections to Parliament (Bigsdagen) which was due to take place in the course of the year.

The question which was most to the fore in the election to the Lower House (Folketinget), which took place on April 11, was that of the best method to adopt for stabilising the currency. The Neergaard Government, which had held office since 1920, lost its majority, and was, on April 23, succeeded by the Stauning Cabinet. The new Cabinet was drawn from the Social Democratic Party, which is recruited principally from the organised workers in town and country, and it was also supported by the Badical Liberal Party, which includes chiefly the smaller landed property owners and "brain workers" in the towns. The present Government majority thus consists of the same parties as during the war, only that at that time the Cabinet itself was drawn from the smaller party, the Badical Liberals.

An election which took place in September to fill half the places in the Upper House (Landstinget), gave results analogous to those of the election to the Lower House, the Social Democratic Party again recording a considerable advance. The position of the parties in the Bigsdag was as follows:—

FOLKETINGET		LANDSTINGET	
Social Democrats.	55	Social Democrats	- 25
Radical Liberals.	20	Radical Liberals	- 8
Liberals	45	Liberals	- - 31
Conservatives.	28	Conservatives	- - 12
Slesvig Party (Germans in North Sleswig)	1		

Thus whilst in the Lower House the Stauning Government generally had a majority of two or three votes, in the Upper House it had a majority against it, so that it could only pass laws if it had the support of at least one of the two parties which form the Opposition.

This support was forthcoming for its efforts to solve the first problem which it took up as the most urgently necessary: the stabilisation of the Danish krone and the gradual raising of the

rate of exchange. Just before the end of the year the Government, with the aid of the Social Democratic, Radical Liberal, and Liberal Parties, succeeded in passing a number of measures, the general purport of which was that the National Bank (a private bank which, by a Government Charter, has the sole right of issuing bank notes) was granted continued exemption from the obligation to redeem its notes with gold until the end of 1926, in return for undertaking to maintain the maximum rate for dollars during that period; during the first half of 1924 this rate was not to exceed kr. 5'74, and thereafter it was to be brought down in successive stages until by the end of the period it stands at kr. 5'32. The State was to assist it by (1) repaying its indebtedness to the National Bank (40 million kroner, which were to be secured by means of direct and indirect taxation), (2) giving a guarantee for a credit of 40 million dollars. The mere launching of this scheme exercised a reassuring effect upon the krone rate, and, although the Conservative Party was sceptical, the public on the whole was confident that the desired result would be attained.

In its solution of this problem, the Stauning Government to a certain extent built on the basis laid down by the former Government, and in another important matter also, the Agreement with Norway regarding East Greenland, it merely continued a work already begun by its predecessor. Negotiations between Norway and Denmark for adjusting the difference which had been going on since 1921 had been commenced in the autumn of 1923 (v. A.B., 1923, p. 246), and were successfully concluded in January, 1924. A Draft Agreement was drawn up by the two delegations unanimously, which was approved by the Norwegian Storting and the Danish Eidsdag, and was signed by the representatives of the two Governments in Copenhagen on July 9, 1924.

The Agreement left undecided the question of principle in dispute, the Danish delegation continuing to maintain Denmark's full and unrestricted sovereignty over the whole of Greenland, whereas the Norwegian delegation denied that this sovereignty had ever been recognised by Norway. But it settled certain practical questions which often led to disputes, particularly in connection with hunting, whaling, and fishing interests in East Greenland. The Agreement laid down that in East Greenland (*i.e.*, the Greenland coast from lat. 60° 27' to 81° N., excluding the Angmagsalik District), there shall be unhindered access for Norwegian vessels and for their crews and persons on board to go ashore, winter, and hunt, trap and fish; persons or companies may occupy land, but this right is forfeited if the occupiers have not been on the spot during the course of five successive years. Access is likewise allowed for the erecting of stations for weather signalling, telegraphs and telephones, and establishments for scientific and humanitarian purposes. The Agreement is valid for twenty years, and differ-

ences of opinion as to its interpretation are to be settled by the Permanent International Arbitration Court at The Hague. Finally, it was agreed that if Eskimo colonisation is undertaken in the great fjord area Scoresbysund, the Danish Government may draw up such special regulations as the requirements of the Eskimos may necessitate. About the same time as the Norwegian-Danish Agreement was concluded, Denmark gave *de jure* recognition to the Union of Soviet Republics, a step formally effected in London on June 18, 1924. In thus following the example which had been set in the first months of the year by Great Britain, Italy, Norway, Greece and, a little later, Sweden, the Stauning Government again put the finishing touch to a work commenced by its predecessor, which had, on April 23, 1923, concluded a provisional agreement expressing a *de facto* recognition of the Soviet Government. Simultaneously with Denmark's recognition of the Soviet Republics, it was agreed, by means of an exchange of Notes, that the provisional Agreement of April 23, 1923, should, with certain modifications, form the legal basis for economic intercourse between Denmark and the Soviet Republics until a final Commercial and Shipping Treaty could be concluded. A Treaty of this kind was concluded between Denmark and Poland, including the Free State of Danzig, on March 22, 1924, based upon the "most-favoured-nation" principle. A Treaty on similar lines was concluded on November 3 between Denmark and Latvia, while by an exchange of Notes (January 31) the same result was achieved with Czechoslovakia until April 30, 1925. Finally, the Danish-Greek Commercial and Shipping Treaty of 1846, which had been cancelled by Greece, was prolonged until March 1, 1925.

The Stauning Government made a new departure by issuing an invitation to its southern neighbour, Germany, to discuss informally certain grievances relating principally to the national minorities which the new boundary, established by the Treaty of Versailles, had left in both countries, in particular in regard to the arrangements for education. Whilst Denmark has granted extensive rights to the German minority in North Sleswig and created a secure position for it with which, in practice, it is satisfied, the arrangement which the German Government had made for the Danish minority south of the boundary left much to be desired from a Danish point of view. For the purpose of obtaining a mutual insight into these matters, a number of educational authorities from both sides met in Copenhagen in October, at the invitation of the Danish Government, and it was intended that this gathering should be continued in Berlin. Although no binding agreements were aimed at or made, the friendly and sympathetic tone of the discussions gave good ground for expecting a decrease of the tension between the two boundary populations.

While these Danish-German discussions were proceeding, the Stauning Government opened its first ordinary session of

Parliament on the usual day, the first Tuesday in October. It brought forward a number of Bills, among which the Bill on Disarmament attracted particular attention. Holding that Denmark, owing to the great strategical difficulties presented by its physical conformation and the small size of the population, is not capable of Conducting a military defence, the Government considered it right to say so openly and act accordingly. It proposed therefore that the Army be demobilised and replaced by a corps of 7,000 men, which would merely act as a constabulary, and that the Navy be likewise abolished and replaced by a few small vessels for the purpose of inspection and maintaining order in the Danish waters. The Government declared its willingness to incorporate in the Bill a provision that it is not to come into force before it has been approved by means of a plebiscite.

The Radical Liberal Party, although in principle prepared to accept the Bill, suggested important amendments. The other parties were expected to oppose the Bill. At the close of the year its fate was uncertain, the more so as there were indications that a readjustment of the political parties was likely. Leading newspapers at the turn of the year pointed out that in view of recent events the regular political collaboration between the two present Opposition Parties, the Conservatives and the Liberals, must be regarded as having terminated, whereas various signs on the other hand pointed towards an amalgamation of the Liberals and the Radical Liberals.

SWEDEN.

The principal question in Swedish politics during 1924 was that of national defence. The events of 1914 had constrained the Swedish State authorities to organise a scheme of defence of a character extremely burdensome, economically and otherwise. Eventually it was found necessary to abstain from completing this scheme, and the defence measures which are now in force are, therefore, not the measures decided upon in 1914 but are of a quite provisional nature, and correspondingly unsatisfactory.

When in April, 1923, Mr. Trygger's Conservative Government came into power, it agreed entirely with the Parties of the Left that the measures instituted in 1914 involved burdens which might well prove excessive, but it took the view at the same time that the people of the country could without too great hardship bear the cost of the provisional measures actually in force. Accordingly it laid before the Riksdag for 1924 a plan of national defence which, briefly stated, provided that the land-defences in the future should, as hitherto, consist of six Army Divisions, each containing four infantry regiments, one cavalry regiment and one army-service corps, and in addition certain other special units. The period of training was to be

195 days for the bulk of men liable for service. The sea-defences, generally speaking, were to be maintained upon their existing footing, but by means of a reduction in the number of men and various administrative changes, costs were to be reduced in order to provide money for repairs and new material. In addition, an independent air force was to be established.

This plan did not meet with approval from the Parties of the Left, and the Social Democrats, the strongest party in the *Eiksdag*, brought forward a plan which provided for the reduction of the number of Army Divisions to three, and the period of training for the bulk of *men* liable for military service to 140 days. In addition, the Social Democratic plan embodied a number of departures from that of the Government in regard to the fleet and to the air force, but these were of a less drastic kind. Other proposals were forthcoming from the other parties, intermediate between the plans of the Government and those of the Social Democrats. When the *Riksdag* went into Committee, the two Houses proved to be in hopeless disagreement, the various parties abiding on the whole by their respective plans. The Second Chamber ended by supporting by a large majority the Social Democratic plan practically unamended, while the first Chamber approved that of the Party of the Eight, which, *on the whole*, was in accordance with the Government's. It proved impossible to effect any reconciliation between these conflicting decisions (the Social Democratic plan involved an annual outlay of about 88,000,000 kroner, while that of the Party of the Right involved an outlay of 129,000,000), and an attempt to bring about a compromise by providing for four Army Divisions also failed to bear fruit. The question therefore was dropped for the time being at the end of May. As the Second Chamber election was due in September, the Trygger Government decided to remain in office and refer the question to the electorate for decision. The elections were not favourable to the Government. There was, indeed, no very great change in the distribution of votes, but the majority of the parties of the Left, who had rejected the Government's plan in the *Riksdag* for the year, was not weakened in the election.

In the meantime the Fifth Assembly of Delegates of the League of Nations had formulated a Protocol for the peaceful solution of international disputes. The Government was immediately urged from many sources, especially within the Conservative camp, to postpone its decision regarding the question of National Defence until after the holding of the disarmament Conference proposed by the Protocol, and the Government acceded to this demand. The Parties of the Left were, however, of the opinion that a settlement of the question of Sweden's national defence could not in any way prejudice the eventual results of the disarmament Conference, and they declared themselves unwilling to agree to the postponement. The Trygger Government, therefore, about the middle of

October, found itself forced to resign, and it was succeeded by the third Branting Government, whose principal task in 1925 will accordingly be to try to bring about a solution of the question of National Defence in accordance with the view expressed by the majority of the electors.

The ordinary Second Chamber election took place in September, and the final results became known at the beginning of October. It was then found that the Social Democrats had won 5 seats, the Eight 3, and the Peasant Party (Bondeforbundet) 2, while the Liberal groups had lost 8 and the Communists 2. One cause which contributed to the Communist set-back was the circumstance that the party had been split into two sections by internal dissension two months before the election, one section being pro-Moscow and the other anti-Moscow. It was the former section which lost both seats.

The standing of the parties in the Eiksdag after the election was as follows:—

	First Chamber.	Second Chamber.
Social Democrats.	104	52
Right	65	44
The Bondeforbund (Peasant Party)	2 3	1B
Folkf nsinnade (Liberal Prohibitionists)	27	20
Liberals.	4	J3
Liberal Independents.	2	2
Pro-Moscow Communists	4	1
Anti-Moscow Communists	1	—
	230	150

The new Branting Government, in which the post of Minister for Foreign Affairs is filled by Professor (3sten Und6n, is purely Social Democratic. As, however, it represents only a minority in the Eiksdag, it will have to rely upon the support of the bourgeois Left. In his Ministerial declaration of policy Mr. Branting announced his intention of seeking the co-operation of the bourgeois parties of the Left, not merely in his efforts to solve the National Defence problem—in regard to which the electorate had given a clear mandate—but also in the field of social reform. He declared that here the Government proposed to start from where the second Branting Government left off, and he pointed out that the actual situation bore considerable resemblance to that which existed when he last assumed office.

In the general economic situation the improvement which commenced in 1923 was on the whole continued throughout 1924. Unemployment figures, which had reached their greatest height at the beginning of 1922, with 150,000 men out of work, sank during the year to 9,000. The financial difficulties of the State have not yet been completely overcome, but, thanks to the policy of economy consistently followed for some time past, a Budget in which expenditure was more than covered by revenue was presented for the year ending June, 1925. The Budget laid before the Eiksdag at the beginning of June balanced at 674,437,500 kroner.

An important step towards the restoration of normal conditions in the economic and financial field was the Riksdag's decision at the end of March to restore the gold standard. For years the view had been current in Government circles that it ought to be the aim of Swedish monetary policy to return to the basis of a gold standard, and the Riksbank's continually repeated requests for an extension of the period of freedom from the obligation to pay in gold, though hitherto always granted, had come in for more and more hostile criticism in the Riksdag. When at last, therefore, the Riksbank in March, 1924, asked for a new extension as from April 1 to December 31, the Riksdag this time decided to refuse the request, in order to emphasise the importance of reintroducing and maintaining the gold standard. In order to allay the Riksbank's apprehensions regarding an immediate return to a gold standard, and more particularly its fears of a too great influx of gold, the Riksdag at the same time rescinded the prohibition to export gold and declared the Riksbank's sole right to import such metal. Upon this basis the gold coinage was re-established with the unanimous approval of all the parties most closely concerned, namely, the Riksdag, the Government, and the governing body of the Riksbank.

In foreign policy, Sweden during the past year has continued to work for the development of the League of Nations and the increasing of its prestige. In order to put into practice the principles embodied in the resolution passed in the third Assembly of Delegates of the League of Nations for the amicable settlement of international disputes, Sweden has entered into treaties with Denmark, Finland, Norway, Switzerland, and Germany, providing for measures of investigation and conciliation in all disputes which have not been settled by diplomatic means within a reasonable period, and which have not been submitted to the international tribunal or to arbitration.

The negotiations with Russia initiated in November, 1923, for a commercial Treaty bore fruit in the middle of March, when such a Treaty was signed by representatives of both States. Simultaneously the Swedish Government decided to recognise the Russian Government *de jure*, and accordingly a declaration was signed providing that the legal claims of either party or of its citizens against the other should be treated on the basis of the most-favoured-nation. By this means Sweden's relations with Russia were placed on a friendly footing, and the diplomatic and consular intercourse between the two countries which had been broken off in 1918 was renewed. The commercial Treaty has since been ratified by the Riksdag.

NOBWAY.

The Storting was formally opened by King Haakon on January 12, and the most important announcement in the Speech from the Throne was the intimation that the Government

would invite the Storting to abolish the prohibition law, owing to "the unfortunate results which prohibition has had." A Bill replacing prohibition by local option and a State monopoly in imported spirits, estimated to yield 30,000,000 kroner a year, was submitted to the Storting on March 25. The Conservative Premier, Abraham Berge, emphasised the necessity of abolishing prohibition on social and moral grounds. Reports from local authorities, he said, showed that prohibition was in all parts of the country having evil results in the shape of smuggling, increased drunkenness, and contempt for the law. He announced his intention of resigning if his proposal was rejected by the Storting.

The fate of the Government Bill was not decided till July 16, when it was defeated by the Odelsting by 63 votes to 49. Some days later it was also rejected by the Lagting by 22 to 16 votes. The principal speaker against repeal was the Eadical leader, Johan Ludwig Mowinckel, whose main argument was that it would be contrary to democratic principles to abolish prohibition unless repeal was demanded by the people by a new plebiscite, seeing that the referendum in 1919 had shown a large majority in favour of prohibition. The Berge Cabinet at once resigned, and a new Government was formed with Johan Ludwig Mowinckel as Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs. With the possible exception of Gunnar Knudsen, Mr. Mowinckel is without doubt better known abroad than any other Norwegian politician. Although still a comparatively young man, having been born in 1870, he has for about twenty years played a prominent role in Norwegian politics. He has been mayor of his native town, Bergen, member of the Storting since 1906, and for some years President of the Legislature. As Chairman of the Foreign Office Commission, appointed in 1920, he was largely instrumental in bringing about a reform in the Norwegian Foreign Service. He was Foreign Minister in the Blehr Cabinet, represented Norway at the Genoa Conference and has done excellent work as president of the Norwegian Greenland delegation. He is the head of a big shipping firm at Bergen. Nearly all the other members of Mr. Mowinckel's Cabinet have previously held office, either in Otto Blehr's Ministry or in the last Ministry of Gunnar Knudsen, the most prominent among them being Lars Oftedal, Minister of Social Affairs, Ivar Tveiten, Minister of Church Affairs and Education, Haakon Five, Minister of Agriculture, and Paal Berg, Minister of Justice. All the Ministers are members of the Eadical Left.

The new Premier, on July 28, made the following statement regarding the policy of the Government in the Storting:—The Government considers it to be its first and most important task to strengthen the financial position of the country. The Government will endeavour to promote the prosperity of industry, to improve labour conditions, and to prevent class strife, realising that this is a necessary condition for the economic restoration

and progress of the country. In the debate on the Government declaration of policy (August 5), the Premier said that the Government had every reason to be satisfied with the reception it had obtained in the Press and from the public, as well as in Parliament. The leader of the Conservative Party, Ivar Lykke, assured the Government of loyal support in the work of strengthening the economic position of the country.

The Storting was prorogued by the King on August 12, and the General Election took place on October 20. The result was that the two Conservative Parties, the Eight and the Liberal Left, obtained between them 54 seats (a net loss of 3 seats), the Eadical Left 34 (a net loss of 3 seats), the Farmers' Party 22 (a net gain of 5 seats), the Eadical People's Party (closely connected with the Left) 2, the Labour Party (Communist but anti-Moscow) 24, the Social Democratic Party 8, and the Moscow Communist Party 6 (a net loss of 8 seats).

The most striking feature of the election was the crushing defeat of the Moscow Communists who were reduced to an insignificant group in Parliament without any leader of note, the most prominent candidates of the Party having failed to secure re-election.

There is in the new Storting also a majority in favour of maintaining prohibition till the question has been definitely settled' by a new referendum, which will probably be held in 1926. The new Government has taken vigorous measures with a view to enforcing the prohibition law. Smuggling is now decidedly on the decline, and the new law on doctors' prescriptions of spirits which was passed by the Storting in the spring has reduced these prescriptions to one-tenth of their previous number.

Two interesting decisions, testifying to the growth of national and historical feeling, were made by the Storting during 1924. A Bill was passed renaming the Norwegian capital Oslo. This is the original name which the town bore for seven centuries before it was named Christiania by King Christian IV. The change was to take effect from January 1, 1925. In July the Storting decided to re-establish the old bishopric of Stavanger, so that the Lutheran State Church of Norway now has seven bishops.

Economically the year was not wholly satisfactory, but signs of improvement have not been lacking. The fisheries had an excellent year, yielding about 100,000,000 kroner more than in 1923.

A labour conflict in the beginning of the year caused serious inconvenience to the Norwegian export industries. The conflict, which mainly concerned wages, originated in a strike of the iron workers, followed by a dock strike. The employers retaliated by proclaiming a lockout, and in March the conflict affected about 60,000 workers. After protracted negotiations a compromise was at last brought about and work was resumed on

May 27. In spite of the strikes and the lockout the Norwegian trade balance has made a very encouraging improvement. During the first eleven months of the year the exports amounted to 969,000,000 kroner, an increase of more than 200,000,000 on the corresponding months in 1923. The month of September showed the highest export figure on record for Norway.

The Norwegian Institute of Comparative Cultural Eesearch, to which the State and the Oslo Municipality have granted 1,000,000 kroner each, was opened in September. Among the distinguished foreign lecturers in the first term were Professor Vinogradoff of Oxford, and Professor Meillet of Paris.

The new railway through Eomsdalen was opened by King Haakon on November 29. It is expected not only to give a great impetus to tourist traffic, but also to be of importance commercially by putting the fishing districts on the Western coast in direct connection with the capital. The country through which it passes has for many years been one of the favourite holiday resorts in Norway. The length of the new railway from Dombaas to Aandsnes is 70 miles. The line has been under construction since 1912 and has cost about 45,000,000 kroner.

Crown Prince Olav came of age on July 2, and took the oath to the Norwegian constitution. In September the Prince completed his three years* course at the Military Academy, and obtained his commission as lieutenant in the Norwegian army.

In foreign politics 1924 was a somewhat notable year for Norway. On March 28 the Storting with an overwhelming majority ratified the Greenland Treaty with Denmark, there being only eight votes in the minority. During the debate the then Foreign Minister, Michelet, said that practically the whole Norwegian people supported the view that Eastern Greenland, in relation to Norway, must be considered a no man's country. The Storting by ratifying the Treaty showed that it did not think this point of view incompatible with the Greenland agreement. After the vote the President of the Storting expressed the hope that the decision would be to Norway's interest and contribute to a better understanding with Denmark.

An agreement regarding Norway's *de jure* recognition of the Soviet Government was signed on February 15.

On July 21 the Storting ratified the Treaty by which Spitsbergen is placed under Norway's sovereignty. The Spitsbergen Treaty has now been ratified by all the signatory powers, and the Norwegian administration of the islands will be established in the course of 1925. Norway's sovereignty over Spitsbergen has also been recognised by Eussia,

CHAPTER VII.

THE MIDDLE EAST AND INDIA : PERSIA—AFGHANISTAN—IRAQ—
PALESTINE—SYRIA—ARABIA—INDIA.

PERSIA.

THE Shah at the beginning of the year was still in Europe, where he had been since 1922, and during his absence"* came within an ace of losing his crown owing to the spread of the Kepublican movement in Persia. No sooner did the new Mejliss (elected some months previously) meet in March than rumours became rife that a Kepublic would be proclaimed on the Persian New Year, March 21. Disorderly scenes took place in the Mejliss, which on the whole favoured the change. The Eeligious Party, however, were strongly monarchical, and their agitation was so far successful that New Year passed without the Kepublic being proclaimed. A few days later the Sardar Sepah, the Prime Minister, who had so far not declared himself, after consultation with the chief Mujtahids, or doctors of the law, issued a proclamation making it an offence to suggest the desirability of a Kepublic in Persia, and the Kepublican movement came to an end for the time being. The Sardar Sepah lost his majority in the Mejliss, and sent in his resignation, but the Mejliss decided by a large majority to ask him to resume his office, and he complied, forming a new Cabinet nearly identical with the previous one.

In March the commanders of various provincial armies had invited certain of the principal chiefs of Luristan, in the south-east of Persia, who were in revolt, to meet them, and after giving them an oath of safe-conduct, had shot them and pillaged their properties. This infuriated the Luristan tribes, who came out of their winter quarters, and attacked the Government troops on May 16, inflicting on them 350 casualties. They then threatened Khoremabad, and Government troops were sent in haste to relieve it. These failed to drive off the insurgents, and the town was evacuated on May 20.

On July 18, the United States Consul, Major Imbrie, while passing near a sacred well in Teheran, incautiously brought out a camera, and was set on and murdered by a fanatical mob, who mistook him for a "Bahai" or heretic. Martial law was immediately proclaimed, and some 70 persons arrested. The United States Government sent a strongly worded Note to Persia, stating that it expected Persia to meet the expenses of sending an American warship to bring home the body of Major Imbrie, and to furnish military guard at the United States Legation as long as might be desired. The Note added that the continuance of diplomatic and consular relations would be dependent on the action which Persia might take to vindicate the principles of international law. The Persian Government made a full apology and complied with the American demands,

and on July 30, three men were tried by court-martial and condemned for the murder. One was executed on October 2; the Government tried to save the other two, one of whom was a Seyyid, or descendant of the Prophet, but on the American Government insisting, they were executed on November 2, and the incident was finally closed. The Persian Government gave £60,000 as compensation to Major Imbrie's widow.

On August 19 the Sardar Sepah, by a political coup, got rid of most of his colleagues in the Cabinet who had become unpopular with the Mejliss. A short time afterwards Dr. Mills-paugh, the Administrator-General of Finances, who had been brought over from America in 1922, issued a report in which he stated that while the financial results for the previous year were satisfactory, he could not continue with his work unless he obtained better co-operation from the Government.

The Sheikh of Mohammerah, a semi-independent chieftain, revolted in October, in the belief that the Sardar Sepah intended to deprive him of his privileges. After some military operations he gave in his submission in December, and the Sardar Sepah went to Ahwaz to confer with him on terms.

In January, Persia purchased 12 aeroplanes from France for the Army. On August 11, the Soviet-Persian Commercial Treaty was signed. In April the Beirut-Bagdad motor service was organised as a fortnightly service to Teheran via Kesr-i-Shirin, Kermanshah, Hamadan, and Kazvin, enabling travellers to get from London to Teheran in eleven days. At the beginning of October the Junkers Aircraft Company of Dessau made an agreement with the Sardar Sepah to extend its Stockholm-Baku service, via Leningrad and Moscow, to Teheran, the whole distance from Stockholm to Teheran being flown in three days.

AFGHANISTAN.

In January, after long delay, the Afghan Government at length took energetic measures to arrest the lawless gangs which, after committing several murders of British officials and their wives across the border, had found refuge on Afghan territory. The so-called "Kohat gang" was captured on January 13 and brought to Kabul, and of the "Landi-Kotal" murderers one was killed a few days afterwards and the other wounded, but not captured. The prisoners were subsequently deported to Turkestan. At the same time the Afghan Government desisted from employing in its army Wazir tribesmen from British territory, thus showing a less unfriendly spirit to Great Britain than had characterised it for some time previously.

Towards the end of April the Ameer had, as in the previous year, to meet a serious rebellion due to discontent with the reforms which he sought to introduce. The centre of the revolt was the Khost district, and the chief tribe engaged the Mangals. The rebels threatened Matun, and a considerable force was sent

by the Ameer to relieve it. A sharp engagement took place near the city in May, with indecisive result. The revolt gained strength, and in July the rebels proclaimed as Ameer one Abdul Karim, who professed to be a grandson of the Ameer Sher Ali, but who was stated by the Indian Government to be the illegitimate Indian-born son of the Ameer Yakoub Khan, who had disowned him as a disgrace to the Afghan community. In August the Ameer purchased two aeroplanes from the British for use against the rebels, and his consort stimulated the enthusiasm of his soldiers by distributing large rewards to all who served under his flag. Nevertheless the struggle with the rebels, who had been joined by other tribes, continued for some time. At length in October the rebels began to show signs of demoralisation; a severe defeat was inflicted on them at Logar, and by November the insurrection in the Khost had generally subsided. The Government, however, found it advisable still to maintain a strong force in the Khost.

In the early part of the year Eussian envoys at Kabul sought to excite anti-British feeling, and in particular accused Britain of fomenting the rebellion. In spite of this, however, relations between Afghanistan and Britain improved considerably.

IRAQ.

The year 1924 saw the settlement of several matters of importance that had remained outstanding from the previous year. Among these were the negotiations between Britain and Turkey on the subject of the Northern Frontier, although the frontier itself was not settled. Under the Treaty of Lausanne this question had to be decided within nine months of the conclusion of that Treaty or otherwise referred to the League of Nations. Turkey, however, showed a strong disinclination or a marked dilatoriness in meeting Britain, and it was not until May when more than seven of the nine months had expired that the representatives of the two Powers met at Constantinople. The differences between the two sides seemed from the first irreconcilable, and there was no surprise therefore when they failed. The Turks claimed the whole of the Vilayet of Mosul: the British argued that the vilayet formed unquestionably a portion of Iraq and only border rectifications were for consideration. Britain was, however, willing to agree to rectifications on a generous scale which would have involved the transfer to Turkey of almost a third of the vilayet, that is to say, almost all of the Kurdish districts. On the other hand, Britain desired the transfer from Turkey of the districts inhabited by Assyrian Christians. In those circumstances the Conference came to an end on June 5. The question came before the Council of the League of Nations on September 20.

A week earlier the Turks had taken serious steps to force an issue by an armed invasion not only of territory that had been

mutually agreed upon pending a settlement as neutral, but, other territory actually in the occupation of the British. British air forces immediately went into action and ejected the furthestmost intruders. At the same time the Assyrian Christians fled into Iraq from north of the frontier. These events were first reported at the meeting of the Council of the League convened to consider the boundary dispute, and at the same time Britain appealed to the League to intervene on the ground that the situation was likely to affect good relations between the two powers. The Council of the League came to no final decision on the subject of the boundary, but appointed a Commission of three neutrals to visit the district and make recommendations. In the meanwhile the *status quo* was to be preserved. This, however, did not end the matter even provisionally. The question at once arose what was the *status quo*, and both Governments applied again to the League of Nations for a decision on that point. The Council met again to consider this new question and decided mainly in favour of the British contention.

In July there was another slight frontier incident of a different character and in a different region. In 1922 after the withdrawal of the British troops from Suleimanie, Sheikh Mahmud, the Governor, set up an independent Kurdish Government, and entered into relations with the Turks. The area of this Government had been gradually reduced, and the last remnant was occupied by Iraqui troops in July.

The Iraqui Parliament, for the election of which preparations had been made in the previous year, came into existence in March. It proved to be of an overwhelmingly conservative character, representative more of the country districts than of the towns. The Parliament met in the same month, and its first function was to consider the Anglo-Iraqui Treaty which had been concluded eighteen months earlier. This Treaty together with four subsidiary agreements was ultimately adopted, but not without a severe struggle in the course of which at one time the Treaty was almost given up as lost. The opposition, moreover, did not limit itself to argument, but to secure its aim did not hesitate at murderous attacks in the streets of Baghdad, two pro-Treaty deputies being the victims. So keen was the struggle and so great the hesitation, or perhaps fear due to intimidation of some of its supporters, that something of the nature of a British ultimatum was necessary before the Deputies could be brought to a vote. The Treaty was adopted by 37 votes to 24, eight members abstaining and thirty-one being absent, but only then with a rider stating the impracticability of the financial provisions, and expressing the confident hope that they would be modified. The validity of the Treaty was at the same time made conditional on the protection by Great Britain of the rights of Iraq in the Mosul Vilayet.

The Treaty being out of the way, Parliament turned its

attention to the preparation of a constitution. This work was concluded in July. In less than a month the Cabinet had gone out of office, mourned by few, partly on the ground of incapacity, partly in the expectation that a new Government would be able to secure modifications of the Treaty which it was considered had been obtained as a consequence of undue pressure. The new Prime Minister was Yassin Pasha al-Hasimi, who had been a prominent Ottoman General and the leader of the opposition to the Treaty.

The great improvement in the situation external and internal of Iraq rendered possible the return in the spring from Persia of the Ulema who had some months earlier withdrawn as a protest against the deportation of the Sheikh Mahdi el Khalisi, the prominent religious chief who had threatened with excommunication all who had participated in the Parliamentary elections of the previous year. The Sheikh himself was not permitted to return, but those who had supported him were pardoned. Another evidence of the gradual relaxation in Iraq was the laying of the foundation-stone in March of a great new University which it is hoped will in due course assist in restoring the ancient glories of Baghdad.

PALESTINE.

Palestine was in the fortunate position throughout the year of being practically without a history. The disintegration of the Anti-British Arab movement which was hinted at last year (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1923, p. 259), proceeded apace, and although the Moslem-Christian Association continued in being, nominally at any rate, several other Arab organisations, more reasonable and economic rather than political in their policies, came into existence and occupied much of the field of which the older body had hitherto been the sole occupant. The only political excitement may be said to have arisen on the occasion of the visit of the King of the Hedjaz at the beginning of the year to Transjordan. Innumerable deputations from Palestine—Jewish as well as Arab—visited him there, and the rival Arab parties came to blows almost in the presence of the King.

In Jewish politics the event of the year was the murder by an unknown assassin of Dr. de Haan, one of the leaders and principal inspirer of the bitterly fanatic Jewish anti-Zionist Party. De Haan was known to have intrigued with some of the intensest enemies of Jewry in order to hamper, and if possible wreck, the Zionist cause, and his murder was at first generally attributed to a Zionist hand. Subsequent information gave basis to a theory that the tragedy might have been merely a manifestation of private vengeance. However the mystery is never now likely to be solved.

A further step in the organisation of the Government of the Holy Land was made in the promulgation of an Order in Council

in July whereby provision was made for the determination by special judicial procedure of disputes relating to Holy Places, religious buildings and sites, and the rights and claims of religious communities in Palestine. A matter of academic perhaps rather than practical interest in the history of Palestine during the year was the conferment on the King of Eumania by the Patriarch of Jerusalem of the title "Protector of the Holy Sepulchre," hitherto held by the Czar of Russia.

Early in the year Transjordan was the principal scene of the excitement that centred round the visit of the King of the Hedjaz, and his proclamation as Caliph at Shuneh. The Moslems of Palestine and Transjordan for the most part accepted King Hussein as Caliph, and deputations from all parts of Palestine, including Christian dignitaries, attended the proclamation. The excitement attending the King's visit filled the greater part of the first three months of the year.

At the end of the summer there was excitement of a different description. One morning the inhabitants of Amman, the capital, awakened to learn that an army of the terror-spreading Wahabis of Central Arabia was within twelve miles of them. Fortunately British air forces and armoured cars were speedily on the scene, and after a short engagement dispersed the invaders. Almost simultaneously there was a recrudescence of brigandage on the Syrian frontier to repress which British gendarmes were sent from Palestine. The Emir was at the time on the point of returning from Mecca where he was visiting his father, but the trouble had passed before he gained Amman. As soon as he returned he dismissed certain of his high officials for presumed connexion, deliberate or unintentional, with the brigandage, but the attempts in some quarters to involve Ali Eiza Pasha el Eikabi, who had some little time before again become Chief Adviser to the Emir, failed. Earlier in the year Mr. St. John Philby, the Chief British Representative, resigned, and as a consequence of his resignation the control of Transjordan was brought more closely under Jerusalem.

In March the district to the south which had hitherto formed part of the Kingdom of the Hedjaz as far as Akaba on the coast was transferred to the Government of Abdullah.

SYRIA.

When the High Commissioner, General Weygand, returned from France at the end of June he announced some far-reaching changes in the organisation of the State. These changes to some extent met the objections that the people, whenever able to express themselves, never ceased to make to the previous regime. Damascus and Aleppo were to be combined into one State of Syria with Damascus as its capital. A Parliament was to be instituted to which the Ministers would be responsible. The Head of the Lebanon State was at the first opportunity to

be elected by the Council of Representatives in agreement with the High Commissioner, and a constitution similar to that of the Lebanon was to be granted to the Alawiya.

As usual there were troubles in the course of the year on both frontiers. On the north the French in March suffered something of the nature of a reverse at the hands of irregulars or brigands, and there was some talk at one time of a Turkish military concentration. In the south the trouble took the form of irresponsible raids from Transjordan and of outbursts of brigandage that are generally rife in that neighbourhood. But in the economies announced by the French Minister of Finance in October was the reduction of the Garrison in Syria from 20,000 men to 14,000, which nevertheless left it about ten times the size of the British Garrison in Palestine.

At the end of the year General Weygand, the High Commissioner, retired, and was succeeded by another soldier, General Sarraill.

ARABIA.

In the annals of Arabia, or at any rate of the Hedjaz, the year 1924 will stand out as one of dramatic reversion of fortune. The year opened with the negotiations with the British Government over the terms of a projected Treaty and the dispute with Egypt over the pilgrimage, still undecided and filling the field. But other events soon dwarfed them into insignificance and consigned them almost to oblivion. The suppression of the Caliphate by the Turkish Government early in the year appeared to King Hussein of the Hedjaz as his great opportunity. Himself in direct descent from the Prophet and the independent ruler of two of the Holy Cities of Islam, he had in these circumstances special qualifications for the office. There were other candidates or suggested candidates, but they all fell short of him in this. Hussein was visiting his son, the Emir of Transjordan, when the Caliph Abdul Mejid was deposed. Little time was lost before propaganda in favour of Hussein commenced, and after a short interval he was proclaimed at Shuneh in Transjordan Caliph of All Believers. At the formal ceremony representatives of the Moslems of Irak and Palestine as well as Transjordan attended, but the Moslems of other lands for the most part abstained and suspended judgment. The Moslems of Syria were not represented, apparently through the action of the French Government; for when the prayer for the Caliph Hussein was recited in the Mosques of Damascus there was no evidence of disapproval on the part of the worshippers. A valuable adherent to Hussein's cause was Wahid-ed-Din, the last Ottoman sultan and the last Caliph but one, who from his exile in Italy sent a telegram acknowledging Hussein as his successor. Outside, however, of the limited circle of which Amman is the centre, Hussein obtained very little support. The attitude of the

Moslems of India, Turkey, Egypt, and North Africa was best reflected in the action of the high Moslem ecclesiastics of Egypt who, taking note of the incapacity of the deposed Caliph Abdul Mejid and entirely ignoring Hussein and his election, resolved to call an universal Islamic Congress in Cairo in March, 1925, to consider the question of the election of a Caliph.

This was the zenith of the career of Hussein. The Nadir followed not many months later. In August the troops of Ibn Saud of Nejd, the hereditary enemy of Hussein and his family, made an attack on Transjordan which was repulsed by British forces. Less than a month later they appeared at the frontiers of Hussein's Kingdom. Forgetting at once the difficulties he had raised in the course of the negotiation of the Treaty with Great Britain, Hussein at once appealed to the British Government for assistance; but the Hedjaz, unlike Transjordan, is not a British Mandatory, and Britain moreover did not desire to support one Arab protege or ex-protege against another. It was suggested that under the Treaty that was still under negotiation Britain would have been bound to assist the Hedjaz; but this was not so. British aeroplanes and armoured cars were therefore not forthcoming. The troops of Ibn Saud entered the Hedjaz. Taif, the royal summer residence, fell almost without resistance, despite the presence of the Emir Ali, the eldest son of Hussein. After a brief pause the invaders marched towards Mecca itself. Before they arrived there Hussein abdicated in favour of his son Ali, who was proclaimed King of the Hedjaz, not of Arabia or Caliph, the titles claimed by his father. Ali was king in Mecca for a very short time. As the enemy advanced he retreated, and a few days after his accession, his capital was in the hands of the enemy and the seat of Government transferred to Jeddah on the coast. In the meanwhile the ex-king had left Arabia altogether and settled, temporarily, at any rate, at Akabah at the head of the Red Sea.

Ali made a more or less half-hearted attempt to recover his Kingdom before the year was out, but the end of the year saw Ibn Saud apparently firmly established at Mecca, beyond which city his armies did not proceed, determined in his enmity towards the entire family of Hussein, but apparently not proposing any further action against them for the present. Before the year closed it was announced that Ibn Saud intended to call an All-Moslem conference at Mecca in the spring to consider the question of the Khalifate.

Before the collapse of the Hashimite Kingdom the dispute that had raged between the Hedjaz and Egypt round the annual pilgrimage to Mecca since the previous year had been patched up, and the Mahmah and Kisva accompanied by the usual gifts had proceeded as in former years from Cairo to Mecca. The pilgrims, however, on this occasion also, did not have a comfortable time, and many were their complaints on their return to Cairo.

Outside of the Hedjaz the history of Arabia during the year has centred round Hodeida, a port near the exit from the Red Sea. In April this place was seized by Seyyid Mustapha, a rebel against the Idrisi Emir. In October the latter recovered possession of the port, only to be threatened, however, by the Imam Yehya of Sanaa who had always coveted Hodeida as the natural outlet for his dominions. The exact fate of the city was still in doubt at the close of the year.

INDIA.

The increasing activity of revolutionary bodies, the obstructive, though constitutional, attitude of the Swarajists in the Legislature, and the means whereby Government combated the attempts to bring the administrative machinery of Government to a standstill, were the outstanding features of the history of India in 1924.

On January 6, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Premier, despatched a message to India, declaring that no party in Great Britain would be cowed by threats of force or by policy tending to bring Government to a standstill. On February 17, Lord Olivier, the Secretary of State for India, declared that His Majesty's Government stood by the provisions of the Government of India Act.

Mr. Gandhi was set at liberty by the Bombay Government in February on the grounds of ill-health, and during the year there was a widening of the breach between his supporters and the Extremists. Savarkar, who was implicated in the Nasik conspiracy, which led to the murder of Mr. Jackson in 1909, was conditionally released in January.

The success of the Swarajists in the elections for the Legislative Assembly in 1923, was followed by a distinct hardening of the general temper of politically-minded India in the direction of a demand for the immediate revision of the Constitution of India, for complete provincial autonomy, and for the control of expenditure by the Assembly. The Delhi Legislative Session commenced on January 30. The Swarajists, numbering over forty-five, well-disciplined, formed a coalition with certain Liberals and Independents. For the first time the party system was noticeable in a much more developed form, though there were still only two prominent parties, namely, the Government and the non-officials. This party constituted the chief opposition. On practically all issues it maintained a united front against the Government; discussions were largely dominated by political considerations, and a spirit of compromise was absent. On February 8, Government opposed a demand for the appointment of a Royal Commission for the revision of the Government of India Act, but announced that a Committee would be appointed to investigate justifiable complaints against the working of the present system. The Committee, under the

chairmanship of Sir Alexander Muddiman, concluded its labours towards the end of the year, and it is anticipated that its Report will shortly be issued. The questions of the burden of taxation and the general economic condition of India were referred for consideration to a Committee and to the local Governments respectively, but these inquiries were not concluded by the end of 1924. The Opposition sought to provide that contracts for railway and other stores should not be binding unless approved by the Assembly. Demands for the release of certain political prisoners and for the repeal of Bengal Regulation III. of 1818, under which Government have special powers of arrest, were made on February 26 and March 20.

On February 5 Government accepted a motion for an inquiry into the possibility of the expansion and improvement of the Indian Territorial Force and for the removal of racial distinctions in the non-regular forces. The question of Indians in the Dominions and Crown Colonies, particularly in Kenya and South Africa, was raised in the Council of State on March 10, 19, and 20. Government announced its intention of separating the railway finances from general finance.

Other subjects discussed in the first Session of the Legislature related to : Sikh grievances (Feb. 26), the duty on South African coal (Feb. 7), cotton excise (March 20), the Khilafat Delegation (March 25), the new Capital Committee (Feb. 12), the constitution of the Indian Delegation to the League of Nations (March 10), the return of Mr. Horniman (Feb. 19), the representation of Mohammedans in the Legislatures and in Government service (Feb. 19), unemployment (Feb. 18), the Service Provident Funds (Feb. 18), facilities for 3rd class railway passengers (Feb. 12), child welfare (Feb. 20), and obscene publications (March 8.)

The legislation which came up during the Delhi Session was not of great relative significance. The most important Acts passed were the following, viz.: Amendment of the Indian Penal Code, raising the age to 18 for the purpose of the offences described in sections 372 and 373 (selling, etc., minors for the purpose of prostitution, etc.); Amendment of the Indian Tariff Act, to impose duties on articles imported into and exported from India by land; and Amendment of the Indian Passport Act. A Government Bill for the purpose of affording greater protection to persons under 18 years of age and non-official Bills for the Amendment of the Code of Criminal Procedure (to regulate the use of fire-arms in dispersing unlawful assemblies), for the Amendment of the Penal Code to raise the age of consent from 12 to 14, and for the definition of the liability of a Hindu coparcener, etc., were introduced.

The second, or Simla, Session opened on May 17. Although it had been called for the special purpose of dealing with the question of the steel industry, Government permitted discussion on the Report of the Eoyal (" Lee ") Commission on the Superior

Civil Services (June 9), and on the duty on sulphur (June 6). The Steel Protection Bill was agreed to with celerity; obstruction for the moment was suspended. The Act, as passed, provides for the fostering and development of the steel industry in British India, by increasing the import duties leviable on certain iron and steel articles, to 15 and in some instances to 25 per cent., as compared with the prevailing duty of 10 per cent. In addition bounties are to be granted on certain articles connected with the industry.

In the September Session the Government proposal to adopt the recommendations of the Eoyal Commission on the Superior Civil Services was rejected by the Assembly. The Commission had endeavoured to strike a balance between the claims of the Indian Services, and more particularly, of the European members, for more generous treatment and greater security of tenure. It dealt also with the general and insistent demand of the literate classes for the speedier Indianisation of the Administration. Other matters discussed related to the separation of railway from general finance (Sept. 17), the inquiry into the general conditions of economic life and labour (Sept. 18), and cotton excise (Sept. 22). Various relatively unimportant Bills were introduced and advanced further stages.

On March 18, Sir Basil Blackett introduced the Budget, which he said would balance for the first time for some years. Government were in favour of reducing the salt tax, which had been raised in 1923, and hoped to begin with the remission of provincial contributions to the Central Government; likewise some small tariff changes were contemplated. The final figures for 1922-23 showed revenue at Es. 1,21,41,29,156 and expenditure at Es. 1,30,43,45,548, leaving a deficit of Es. 15,01,76,392. Pull effect had been given to the reductions in British troops recommended by the Eetrenchment Committee except in the case of one cavalry regiment. The total debt of India, including Treasury Bills, on March 31, 1924, was 9,67*18 crores of rupees as compared with 929*55 crores in the previous year.

When the demands for grants under the different heads of expenditure were laid before the Legislative Assembly, that House rejected the demands for the Customs, Income Tax, Salt, and Opium Departments. These demands were restored by Government, acting in accordance with section 67A(7) of the Government of India Act. Other demands had in the meantime been passed by the Assembly with small reductions. When during the next stage of the Budget procedure, the Finance Bill was presented to the Assembly, consideration was refused without examination of details, in spite of the fact that the majority of the demands for expenditure had actually been accepted by the House. The Finance Bill prescribed the rates at which taxation shall be levied under several of the most important heads, including the salt duty, postage and income tax, and the legislative sanction of the Finance Act of the preceding year for the

collection of taxation under these heads would have expired on March 31, 1924. The Governor-General therefore took action under the special powers conferred on him by section 67B of the Government of India Act, in order to enable the administration of the country to be carried on and to provide sufficient funds to enable the Government of India's Budget for 1924-25 to be balanced. He recommended to the Assembly the Finance Bill in a modified form, providing for the levy of the salt tax at the former rate of Rs. 1-4a. per maund, for the existing postal rates and rates of income tax, for the continuance for a further year of the provision for the credit to the general revenues of the interest on the securities held in the Paper Currency Reserve, and for the imposition of a specific duty on certain materials for match manufacture. This Bill, with the Governor-General's recommendation was presented to the Assembly, but leave to introduce it was refused. It was thereupon laid before the Council of State, with the certificate by the Governor-General that its provisions were essential for the interests of British India and was passed by the Council without amendment. On the basis of this Act it is estimated that the revenue for 1924-25 will be 1,30,09 lakhs of rupees and the expenditure, 1,29,90 lakhs, leaving a surplus of 18,47 lakhs.

In Bengal, where the Swarajists obtained a sweeping success in the 1923 elections, the Governor's invitation to Mr. Das, the Swarajist leader, to form a Ministry, was refused. The Mohammedan leaders tried to organise a *bloc* in support of Government, and friction between Hindu and Moslem ensued. On March 6, Mr. Mullick, Minister for Local Self-Government, resigned, and the Governor divided his functions between the two Moslem Ministers. A motion for the rejection of the vote for the Ministers' salaries was passed, and, on the application of the Swarajists, Mr. Justice Ghose granted an injunction restraining the President of the Legislative Council from allowing the vote for ministerial salaries to be reintroduced. After the vote, the Governor prorogued the Council, assumed charge of the transferred Departments, and stated that until such time as the Constitution is restored, the Legislative Council would be summoned only when required for the transaction of Government business. The Government of India afterwards amended the Legislative Rules allowing re-submission of rejected votes.

During the year a terrorist movement was found to exist in Bengal, and it was established that there was a widespread conspiracy for violent crime, one incident of which was the murder of Mr. Day, a prominent merchant, on January 13, by a member of the *Bhadralog* class, inspired by revolutionary political motives. The ordinary law, even when reinforced by Bengal Regulation III. of 1818, being found ineffective to stop or check the movement, the Government of India, at the request of the Bengal Government, and with the approval of the Home Government, issued an Ordinance, giving special powers to deal with the emergency.

In the Central Provinces the Swarajist adopted a policy of obstinate obstruction to the Government. The dyarchical system broke down, and the field of administration entrusted to the Indian Ministers was taken over by the Governor.

Since July, 1923, when the Maharaja of Nabha resigned, the Akali Sikhs under the guidance of the Shrines Committee have tried to create trouble in the Nabha State. Bands of Akali Sikhs have gathered in the Punjab to march over the border, ostensibly to hold religious meetings at the Sikh Shrine at Jaitu, but in reality for political demonstrations. On February 21, a prohibited Jatha (band) of 500 armed Akalis came into collision with the forces of the Nabha State.

Labour troubles broke out in Bombay in January, when 30,000 (later on increased to over 150,000) mill hands came out on a strike, the owners having refused to grant them a month's bonus.

Serious floods occurred in the Madras Presidency and in other parts of India.

It was announced during the year that Government contemplated a considerable extension of the railway system in Madras.

On the North-West frontier affairs were comparatively quiet, and much satisfaction was expressed at the co-operation of the Amir of Afghanistan against the Kohat and Landi Kotal murders (referred to in ANNUAL EGGISTEB, 1923, p. 206).

The Nizam of Hyderabad formulated a claim for the return of Berar, which has been under the administration of the Government of India for seventy years.

During the year the Government of India appointed a Committee, with the Agha Khan as Chairman, to confer with the Colonial Office on all matters affecting the status and welfare of Indians in the Crown Colonies, including Kenya.

CHAPTEE VIII.

THE FAE EAST: CHINA—JAPAN—THE DUTCH EAST INDIES.

CHINA.

THE year under review coincided with the beginning of a Chinese cycle which, as believed by the Celestials, marks the approach of better times. In the first few months things looked decidedly better for China than they had done for some time. The President, Marshal Tsao Kun, though illiterate and a tool of his treasurer, commanded sufficient respect to serve as a symbol of unity in the greater part of the country. His ablest lieutenant, Marshal Wu Pei-fu, succeeded in making his authority acknowledged even by the distant province of Szechuan and the rebellious districts of Hunan. Apart from Manchuria and three other provinces, Chekiang, Kwangtung, and Yunnan, he was accepted by the whole country as its nominal head.

In virtue of the general recognition which it enjoyed owing to the support of Wu Pei-fu, the Central Government was able, in the earlier half of the year, to conclude advantageous agreements with two foreign Powers—Eussia and Germany. The recognition of Eussia by Great Britain and Italy and the opening of informal conversations between Russia and Japan gave China a new impulse to seek a settlement with Russia, and at the same time the Russian Government saw fit to meet it half-way by agreeing to negotiate a draft settlement in general terms prior to formal recognition. On May 31, an agreement was signed between China and Eussia to provide for re-establishment of normal diplomatic and consular relations between the two parties and for the transfer by China of the Legation and Consular buildings formerly belonging to the Tsarist Government, in return for which Eussia agreed to renounce her share of the Boxer Indemnity and relinquish her rights of extra-territoriality and consular jurisdiction together with settlements and concessions. The agreement provided that a conference should be held to draw up a treaty "based on principles of equality, reciprocity and justice," and contained also mutual pledges to abstain from hostile propaganda. In a separate document signed on the same date, provisional regulations for the control of the Chinese Eastern Eailway (a Eussian concern on Chinese territory) were agreed upon. This was the first occasion in her diplomatic history on which China had succeeded in securing an agreement free from unilateral obligations. The proposed conference never met, as Chang Tso-lin, the Manchurian dictator, refused to fulfil the terms relating to the Chinese Eastern Eailway. When civil war broke out in October, Karakhan, the Soviet representative, in spite of the agreement, supported Chang Tso-lin against the Central Government.

On June 6 and 7 China exchanged notes with Germany to settle her claim for war reparation to the amount of 200,000,000 dollars (25,000,000/.). China knew that if the list was submitted to an impartial tribunal for scrutiny, she would not be awarded one-hundredth part of the amount. It was agreed with Germany, however, that the list should not be examined at all, and that Germany should pay her reparation to the full amount of Chinese Government Bonds issued in Germany in pre-war days but collected by the German Government from bondholders since the war, a part of these bonds to be detained by the said Government to satisfy claims of German nationals against the Chinese Government contracted before the war or arising from China's war measures. As finally agreed upon, Germany, in addition to 4,000,000 dollars paid in 1921, handed to China 1,400,000/. nominal of the 1908 issue and 950,000/. nominal of the 1910 issue of the Tientsin-Pukow Eailway bonds, 381,640/. nominal of the 1911 issue of the Hukuang Eailway bonds, and 1,881,000/. in matured coupons and drawn bonds of these

loans, apart from undertaking to satisfy private German claims against China. In return for these payments, China was to resume service on her German-issued public loans suspended since the war, and to reinstate the Deutsch-Asiatische Bank in its pre-war status, including the return of its books and buildings.

The surrender of these bonds and coupons, though it released China from a corresponding amount of legitimate obligation, brought her no cash, but the additional surrender of 1,087,768/. in matured coupons of the 1913 Keorganisation Loan, the sinking fund for which, unlike that for railway loans, had not been interrupted, brought relief to a sorely pressed Government. Freed from financial worries for three months, it might have concentrated its attention on solving the difference with France over the controversy as to whether the Boxer Indemnity should be paid in gold or depreciated paper francs, but it preferred to utilise the money thus acquired in financing General Chi Hsi-yuan, the Governor of Kiangsu, to fight against Lu Yung-hsiang, the Governor of Chekiang, thereby precipitating the civil war which had long been impending between Wu Pei-fu and Chang Tso-lin, the Governor of Manchuria.

On September 2, Chi Hsi-yuan declared war on Lu Yung-hsiang, on the ground that he was giving refuge to troops defeated by Wu Pei-fu's men in Fukien, and incorporating them in his army. Chi's chief object was to recover from Lu Shanghai, which properly belonged to the province of Kiangsu. Heavy fighting, in which some 200,000 men were involved, took place near that city, Lu being finally defeated through the desertion of his colleagues. Meanwhile, however, the theatre of war had widened. Chang Tso-lin, on hearing of the attack on Lu, who was his chief ally, immediately declared war on Peking, and began to march South. The President appealed for aid to Wu Pei-fu, who marched North with an army of 200,000, and came in touch with Chang Tso-lin near Shanhaikwan, north of Peking. At the same time he ordered his lieutenant Feng Yu-hsiang, the "Christian" general, who commanded 80,000 troops, reputed to be the best in China, to march from Peking to Jehol, about 120 miles north-west of Peking, to bar the enemy's advance on that side. Feng left Peking with his troops, but after a short absence turned back, and, re-entering the city, forced the President to resign and formed a new Government friendly to Chang. Wu, in spite of Feng's defection, kept Chang at bay for a week, and then, leaving his army, made good his retreat with a small force to Tientsin, which he reached just before Feng's troops who had marched up to seize it. A few days later the bulk of Wu's army, being demoralised by the absence of their general, after a little fighting laid down their arms. Wu escaped to his headquarters at Loyang, where he began to organise the forces south of the Yangtze.

Meanwhile Marshal Chang and Marshal Feng had met at

Tientsin to arrange for the future government of the country. They persuaded Marshal Tuan Chi-jui, who had been overthrown by Chang and Wu acting conjointly a few years before, to leave his retirement and become head of a provisional Government with the title of "Chief Executive" (November 24). Shortly before the young Manchu Emperor, who had been virtually a prisoner in his palace since he was six years old, was forced to accept an agreement abolishing his title and such privileges as he still nominally retained. The new Government contained many members of "Anfu" or pro-Japanese Party, to which Chang himself belonged, and real power of course rested in the hands of the victorious Marshal. To the general surprise, Feng Yu-hsiang, before the end of November, retired into private life, owing, it was thought, to representations made by generals south of the Yangtze, whom Chang desired to placate.

The new "Chief Executive" promulgated a new constitution of five articles, which virtually abolished Parliamentary government. He also removed the restrictions on the movements of the young ex-Emperor, and announced the holding of a Reorganisation Conference and National Convention for 1925 to discuss questions of unification and disarmament. Meanwhile the country remained in a very disturbed state. At the end of the year fighting was going on near Nanking between Chi Hsi-yuan and Lu Yung-hsiang, and in several other places; No attacks, however, had been made on foreigners.

JAPAN.

The national energy in the year 1924 was largely devoted to tasks of retrenchment and reconstruction, as the earthquake disaster of the previous September had left a serious mark upon the economic well-being of the country, and in spite of two changes in Government a fair measure of success was achieved.

The first political crisis was the fall of the Yamoto administration, which was the result of an unsuccessful attempt on December 27, 1923, by a student named Daisuke Namba to assassinate the Prince Egent, who was on his way to deliver his speech in the Upper House at the opening of the Diet. Namba was arrested and was eventually tried and executed on November 15. Accepting full responsibility for the incident, Count Yamamoto, the Premier, tendered to the Prince Egent the Cabinet's resignation, which was at first refused but subsequently accepted. Viscount Kiyoura, who had held various Cabinet posts from 1898 to 1906 and was President of the Privy Council in 1922, then undertook the task of forming a cabinet, which was finally completed as follows on January 7 :—

Prime Minister.	.	.	.	Viscount Keigo Kiyoura.
Minister for Home Affairs	-	-	-	Mr. Rentaro Mizuno.
Minister for Foreign Affairs	-	-	-	Baron Keishiro Matsui.
Minister of Finance.	.	.	.	Mr. Kazue Shoda.
Minister of War.	.	.	.	Lt.-General Kazushige Ugaki.

Minister of Navy.	Admiral Kakuichi Murakami.
Minister of Justice.	Mr. Kisaburo Suzuki.
Minister of Education	- Mr. Senshi Egi.
Minister of Agriculture and Commerce	- Viscount Toshisada Maeda.
Minister of Communications	- Baron Yoshiro Fujimura.
Minister of Railways	Mr. Kenjiro Komatsu.

The Diet was opened on January 22, when the new Foreign Minister, Baron Matsui, delivered an important speech on foreign relations. Referring to the general situation as still in a state of unrest, Baron Matsui emphasised Japan's intention to contribute in any way in her power to the promotion of peace and the development of civilisation, whether in the Occident or Orient. After alluding with satisfaction to the conclusion of a Treaty of Peace with Turkey and the ratification of the Washington Treaty for the limitation of Naval Armaments, the Minister continued: "The Four Power Treaty concerning the region of the Pacific, concluded at the same time as the Naval Treaty, has also come into effect. It is an additional safeguard to the general peace as well as an instrument for promoting concord and co-operation between the interested Powers in the region of the Pacific. With the coming into force of this Treaty, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance came to an end. I am confident, however, that the cordial relations between the two countries, continued for many years and constituting a glorious history, will remain unaltered and will always be a source of inspiration for the two peoples for ages to come." After expressing gratification at the continuation of the traditional friendly relations between Japan and the United States, Baron Matsui alluded to the "complicated and delicate" problem connected with the course which the treatment of the Japanese residents on the Pacific coast had taken, remarking that the Japanese Government would direct their efforts towards the treatment of this problem with full understanding and in a spirit of mutual respect by both sides, with a view to arriving at a proper solution.

As regards Russo-Japanese affairs, the Japanese Government desired to establish relations as good neighbours, and were negotiating accordingly, although no settlement had been reached. It was the intention of the Government to ensure the rights and position of Japan, hitherto rightfully held and developed in the economic relations of both countries. With regard to China, Baron Matsui expressed the distress occasioned to Japan, in common with other interested Powers, by the conditions existing, which were such as to menace the lives and property of foreigners. The Minister continued: "The (Japanese) Government therefore hope that the Government and people of China will co-operate in full harmony, for the development of her destiny lies in improving domestic administration and establishing a strong unified Government with the least delay. The pacification and unification of China and the improvement of her national conditions depend in the main on the awakening and the exertions of the Chinese people themselves,

and interference from outside should be studiously avoided. While prompted by these considerations in regard to China, the Government intend always, in a spirit of friendship and with the attitude of justice, to promote understanding between the peoples of the two countries and facilitate the development of their culture and economic affairs. In accordance with this principle and with full respect for the spirit of the various treaties and resolutions adopted at the Washington Conference, the Government will take whatever measures are necessary in dealing with China. In taking such steps it need hardly be said that we should make it a guiding principle to abide by the spirit of international concord, but, be it remembered at the same time, that there exist special relations between Japan and China. Bearing, therefore, this fact constantly in mind, the Government will put forth the endeavour to cultivate the best relations with China in the future." On January 22 the Lower House adjourned for a week.

On January 26, amidst scenes of national rejoicing, the wedding of the Prince Eiegi to Princess Nagako Kuni, which had been postponed on account of the earthquake, was celebrated in the Imperial Palace of Tokio, the Imperial couple subsequently returning to the Akasaka Palace. The day was observed as a national holiday throughout Japan, but the State ceremonials in connexion with the event were characterised by great simplicity, in accordance with the example of national economy set by the Imperial family.

In February the Government invited subscriptions to a foreign loan to the amount of about 59,000,000/., of which \$150,000,000 was issued in New York and 25,000,000/. in London, some 36,000,000/. being destined for the conversion and redemption of the outstanding balance of the 4¹/₂ per cent. Bonds issued during the Russo-Japanese war and due for repayment in February and July, 1925. The issues, together with existing foreign balances (about 90,000,000/.) were estimated to be sufficient to provide for the whole of the Japanese debt maturing before 1931, as well as all financial requirements in the foreign markets for purposes of reconstruction. The loan was successful, being considerably over-subscribed both in London and New York.

Towards the end of February Russo-Japanese relations became somewhat strained. The negotiations aiming at a solution of all outstanding differences had been again abandoned by Japan as unlikely to lead to a satisfactory result, and the Government maintained an attitude of some reserve towards the desire of the Soviet for recognition. Becoming impatient, the Russian Government notified the Japanese Consul at Vladivostok that it was no longer regarded as necessary that official Japanese representatives should remain on Soviet territory, in view of the failure of the repeated attempts made by the Soviet Government to induce the Japanese Government to agree to

the mutual friendly solution of various obstacles to the revival of normal relations between the two countries. Japanese Press correspondents were also requested to withdraw from Kussia, and the Japanese Post Office was notified that the transportation of mails via Siberia and telegraphic facilities with Japan would cease. The Japanese Government instructed their Minister at Peking, Mr. Yoshizawa, to enter into communication with M. Karakhan, the Soviet Envoy, on the matter. Eventually conversations were resumed at Peking, at first semi-officially, and in May official negotiations between the two Governments were formally re-opened and continued practically without intermission for the remainder of the year.

Although at first high hopes had been entertained that the Kiyoura administration would cope successfully with the many difficulties of the general situation, it became increasingly evident that the Government would not be able to rely upon a majority of supporters in the Diet. The financial and economic situation arising out of the earthquake and the movement in favour of an extension of the suffrage, as well as Japan's relations with the United States on the immigration question and the still unsolved problem of the Russo-Japanese negotiations, all tended to make the Premier's task in the realms of home and foreign, policy a difficult one. The dissolution was not long delayed, and as announced by Imperial edict, issued early in February, the General Elections took place on May 10. The polling was remarkably heavy throughout the country, and the result was a severe defeat for the Seiyuhonto or Government Party, who secured only 120 seats, against 156 Kenseikai, 101 Seiyukai, 50 Kakushin Club, and some 60 Independents. Immediately after the festivities, on June 5, in connexion with the national celebration of the Prince Regent's marriage, the Premier tendered his Government's resignation to the Prince Regent, who then invited Viscount Takaaki Kato to form a Cabinet.

The constitution of the new Cabinet, which was completed on June 10, was as follows :—

Prime Minister.	.	.	.	Viscount Takaaki Kato, G.C.M.G.
Minister for Home Affairs	-	-	-	Mr. Reiji Wakatsuki.
Minister for Foreign Affairs	-	-	-	Baron Kijuro Shidehara, K.B.E.
Minister of Finance	-			Mr. Yuko Hamaguchi.
Minister of War	-	-	-	Lt.-General Kazushige Ugaki.
Minister of Navy	.	.	.	Admiral Hyo Takarabe.
Minister of Justice	.	.	.	Mr. Sennosuke Yokota.
Minister of Education	-	-	-	Dr. Kyohei Okada.
Minister of Agriculture and Commerce				Mr. Korekiyo Takabashi, G.C.V.O. (Leader of the Seiyukai.)
Minister of Communications	-	-	-	Mr. K. Inukai. (Leader of the Kakushin Club.)
Minister of Railways	-	-	-	Mr. Mitsugu Sengoku.

An extraordinary session of the Diet was opened on July 1, and the Premier foreshadowed in his speech the policy he intended to pursue in regard to Home Affairs. This policy

included the introduction in the next ordinary session of the Diet of an Electoral Reform Bill instituting a system of universal manhood suffrage.

The Government further intended to devote consideration to the reform of the House of Peers, with due regard to the spirit of the Constitution. Attention was also to be given to the creation of certain parliamentary officials with the object of smoothing the operation of parliamentary procedure. The development of national thrift, by means of financial and administrative readjustments, was also envisaged, and only the most urgent and imperative State enterprises were to be undertaken, no flotation of further national loans being permitted.

The Foreign Minister, Baron Shidehara, devoted a large portion of his speech on the same occasion to an exposition of the Government view of the situation arising out of the new Immigration Act of the United States, his familiarity with conditions in America, owing to his position of Ambassador at Washington from 1919 until 1922, lending additional weight to his remarks. Frankly admitting at the outset that Japan had no intention of calling in question the American contention that liberty to control immigration was an essential attribute of the sovereign rights of a nation, Baron Shidehara pointed out that the importance which America attached to this doctrine was due to the special conditions involved in the general trend of immigration to that country, especially from South-Eastern Europe. As a result, the feeling had arisen that there was a practical difficulty in assimilating the foreign elements in the community of original Americans, so that the new Act was primarily designed to restrict general immigration. The inclusion therein of a provision designed specifically to exclude Japanese therefore appeared unjustifiable, especially as the operation of the Gentleman's Agreement had strictly limited the number of Japanese immigrants to the United States for years past. The exclusionists declared that their objection to the Japanese was that they were unassimilable and a potential source of danger to the country, but they did not raise the plea of racial inferiority. Both the President and the Secretary of State had been opposed to the exclusion clause, and public opinion, as reflected in a large section of the American Press, was sympathetically disposed towards Japan in this matter. The Japanese protest against the exclusion clause was based on the conviction that it was contrary to the dictates of justice and fairness, and was imposed in disregard of the ordinary rules of international comity. Baron Shidehara then summed up the attitude of the Government as follows:—

The legislation is now an accomplished fact in the United States, but we can by no means concede that the question is closed. Until our just contentions Khali have been given satisfaction, we shall maintain our protest and shall use our best endeavours to seek an amicable adjustment of the question and to ensure for ever the traditional friendship between the two nations.

Alluding to the recent re-opening of official negotiations with Russia, the Foreign Minister declared that until various outstanding matters between the two countries had been fully and definitely settled, unpleasant disputes were likely to follow the re-establishment of diplomatic relations. Consequently no statement was possible at the moment on the Government's intentions, although they were determined to make every possible effort to arrive at a satisfactory settlement.

With regard to China, the Government were watching with sympathetic interest the efforts of the authorities to carry out the tremendous undertaking of reforming all branches of the administration to suit modern requirements. Whilst willing to assist in any way desired by China, the Japanese Government would not interfere in matters of internal politics nor take any action in disregard of China's position. At the same time, similar forbearance would be expected from China as regarded Japanese rights. The Chinese people would realise Japan's intention of fair and square dealing and that she intended to act in the spirit of the Washington agreements.

In accordance with the schemes of retrenchment and reform originated in 1922, drastic reductions in the personnel of the army were effected in the month of February, completing the quota originally foreseen. The total number of officers retired was 83 generals, 1115 colonels and majors, and 949 captains and lieutenants. In addition, 56,000 non-commissioned officers and men were discharged, and 10,000 horses disposed of. A special commission of officers of the General Staff was also set up by the Minister of War to draft recommendations for the thorough modernisation of the army on a more economical basis, a reduction in the number of divisions and a curtailment of expenditure being envisaged. With the object of studying foreign military organisations, a Military Mission left Yokohama at the end of February and visited Spain, France, Italy, Turkey, Hungary, and other European countries. The Mission was received by King George at Buckingham Palace on July 22, and eventually returned to Japan via the United States of America.

The Navy Department, also as the result of the policy adopted in 1922, completed the reduction of the active ranks of the navy by issuing discharge papers to 8 admirals, 52 vice-admirals, 99 rear-admirals, 552 captains and commanders, and over 900 officers of lower ranks. Upwards of 10,000 dockyard employees also received their dismissal.

With the object of enforcing the measures of national economy demanded by the situation, the Government introduced a Tariff Bill on July 6 raising the import duty on luxuries to 100 per cent, *ad valorem*. The Finance Minister, Mr. Hamaguchi, in introducing the Bill, announced that only articles which were not made, and could not be made, in Japan, were to be subject to the new duty, as the Bill was aimed at the prevention of luxury, and was not a measure of protection nor an attempt to

increase revenue. The Bill passed both Houses of the Diet at the end of the month and was immediately promulgated and put into force.

THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES.

In his annual speech at the opening of the renewed sessions of the "Volksraad" (People's Council), on May 20, the Governor-General, Mr. Fock, stated that the Government by curtailing State enterprise, and by pursuing a strict policy of retrenchment, being assisted also by the gradual economic revival, had managed so to improve the financial position of the country that the Budget for 1925 would balance. The ordinary receipts for 1923 had indeed yielded a surplus of 3.2 million guilders instead of leaving a deficit of 82.2 millions as had been estimated, the whole deficit being thus reduced to 63 instead of 181*6 millions. This favourable issue was due to a reduction of expenditure by 49 millions and an increase in revenue of 40 millions. For 1924 the Budget showed the following figures: Ordinary expenditure 646.7, revenue 625.1, deficit 21.5 millions, deficit on the whole Budget 83.9 millions. In his Explanatory Memorandum to the Budget for 1925, however, the Minister for the Colonies was able to state that, owing to further retrenchments, the total deficit for 1924 would probably be reduced to about 63 millions and that on the ordinary Budget to 10 millions. For 1925 there is estimated a deficit of only 38 millions on the whole Budget (expenditure: 690*3, revenue 652*4 millions), the ordinary Budget showing a surplus of 2*5 millions (expenditure: 635*2 and revenue 637*7 millions). In comparison with 1921 the ordinary expenditure thus shows a decrease of 26 per cent, and the extraordinary of 23 per cent. To consolidate the floating debt a loan of 75 million guilders was issued in the course of the year, bearing interest at 6 per cent., the rate of issue being 97¼ for the Netherlands and at par for the Dutch East Indies. The fact that this loan was subscribed about three times over shows the confidence felt in the credit of India. The financial position indeed may now be considered as quite satisfactory.

The fear expressed in the States-General that the increased taxation would render impossible a revival of industry, chiefly by hindering the investment of foreign capital necessary for the development of Insulinde, was not shared by the Government, which judged a balanced Budget and sound money indispensable above all things for economic recovery. For 1924 the produce tax was once more extended, and a petroleum tax was introduced, both for one year.

The People's Council dealt in its November session with a fresh draft Navy Bill providing for 2 cruisers, 16 submarines, 2 submarine-minelayers, 12 destroyers, 4 flotilla vessels, a number of minelayers, 1 mothership for submarines, auxiliary vessels and 108 aeroplanes, to be built within eight years. The

Government no longer asked for the construction of a naval base with auxiliary bases at Soerabaja, at Makassar, and in the Eiouw Archipelago, but was willing to content itself with the enlargement and the reinforcement of the existing Soerabaja base. The People's Council, however, adopted with 22 against 22 votes an amendment, which the Government had declined to accept, to make Tandjong Priok the naval base. It decided also without a division in favour of an equal distribution of the cost between the Netherlands and the East Indies. In this form the Bill was passed with a slight majority—23 to 21. The People's Council having only an advisory competence, the Naval Bill will have to be dealt with by the States-General [*vide* The Netherlands].

Energetic measures were deemed to be necessary to combat Communistic propaganda which was regarded as particularly dangerous in a society presenting great social contrasts like that of the East Indies. Civil servants were warned against participating in propaganda of a revolutionary nature. Some of them were dismissed, and the foremost leaders of the moment were banished.

The Technical University at Bandoeng, established a few years ago by private initiative and subsidised by the Government, was placed under State control. A High School for Law was opened at Batavia.

The arrival at Batavia, on November 28, of the first aeroplane to make a flight from the Mother Country to the Dutch East Indies was greeted with great enthusiasm as a presage of a regular air service between the two parts of the realm.

CHAPTEE IX.

AFRICA : THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA—RHODESIA—SOUTH-WEST PROTECTORATE—SWAZILAND—BECHUANALAND—MOZAMBIQUE—BELGIAN CONGO—MOROCCO—EGYPT.

SOUTH AFRICA.

ALTHOUGH the formal ratification of the Hertzog-Creswell pact (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1923, p. 280) aroused the distrust of many Nationalists, and was looked upon with suspicion by the anti-republican elements of Labour, the rank and file on either side loyally obeyed the dictates of their leaders by accepting the alliance as a wisely conceived political expedient. Fundamentally, Nationalism and Labour had little in common. The chief point of contact was hatred of the Government. It was an antagonism so pronounced that it automatically minimised the difficulty of reconciling divergent party principles, at all events for the time being. Only under the influence of a great emotional appeal could such an alliance have been brought about.

The year opened with every prospect of developing an unusually keen struggle for political supremacy.

General Smuts met Parliament on January 25 with a majority of seven. It quickly became apparent that he could not long hope to survive the determined and constant attacks of the augmented Opposition. As soon as the House of Assembly met in Cape Town, General Hertzog gave notice of motion censuring the Government for its neglect of unemployment; and Colonel Creswell tabled a resolution of censure on the Premier for his speech in Johannesburg, on December 14, dictating the ratification of the preference proposals of the British Government. Colonel Creswell's motion was debated on January 29, when he moved: That the promises made to a Government at an Imperial Conference do not impose any obligation on any country or dominion concerned until ratified by its Parliament. General Smuts complained that his speech was being used for the manufacture of party capital. He urged that it had been addressed primarily to the people of Great Britain, who had to realise the disastrous consequence which would ensue if the work of the Imperial Conference were lost. He expressed pleasure at Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's decision to refer the resolutions of the Imperial Conference to the British Parliament, and declared that he still felt strongly that the preference resolutions should be carried. General Smuts appealed to Colonel Creswell to withdraw his resolution mainly on the ground that a division upon the question would give the people of Great Britain the impression that South African opinion was not solid on the question of the preferences, thereby rendering a great disservice to the Union. Colonel Creswell declined to withdraw, and the House divided. This initial test of party strength resulted in a win for the Government by 61 votes to 54.

But the crisis was not long delayed. It was reached during the debate upon the second reading of the Class Areas Bill, and shortly after the announcement of the defeat of the Government nominee in the Wakkerstroom by-election, which was fought on behalf of the South African Party by Mr. A. G. Robertson, a staunch supporter of General Smuts. Mr. Robertson had resigned the Administratorship of the Transvaal in order to contest the vacancy.

Indian opinion solidified in opposition to the Class Areas Bill, but in the House its terms received the approbation of representatives of all parties. It was significant that when, on February 6, General Hertzog spiritedly denounced the Government's neglect of white unemployment he expressed approval of the attitude General Smuts had adopted at the Imperial Conference upon the Asiatic question (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1923, p. 282). Indian Nationalism was particularly vehement in its repudiation of the measure. In Bombay, on February 14, Mr. Gandhi launched a campaign of protest against the Bill, alleging that not only was it the outcome of trade jealousy but that it was a breach of the compromise arrived at between the South African Government and the Indian community in 1914. To this

criticism General Smuts replied in the House on April 2, that the rights mentioned by Mr. Gandhi referred specifically to certain Indians affected by the Gold Law or the Township Acts, and were purely a side issue. Mrs. Naidu, the Indian authoress and poet, who took a prominent part in the agitation to get the Bill withdrawn, was assured by the Premier in the course of an interview, that far from having been framed to impose disabilities upon the Indian community, it was designed as an experimental measure to permit each community to develop along its own lines and in accordance with its own traditions. The House fiercely debated the Bill. Sir Abe Bailey declared that its provisions were inadequate. He strongly urged Indian repatriation, holding that to give Indians civil, economic, and political rights would prove a false policy.

In the midst of the controversy the session came dramatically to an end, and with it the duration of the Smuts regime. Mr. Robertson's defeat confronted the Government with a problem which all parties recognised as being almost overwhelming. Nevertheless, the announcement of the Premier's sudden determination to appeal to the country filled the House with amazement. Although nominally only a by-election, Wakkerstroom was regarded by the Government as of crucial importance, and the result convinced the Prime Minister that he lacked the confidence necessary for him to continue in office. "We therefore propose not to proceed further with the work of the session," stated General Smuts to an astonished Opposition, "but to advise His Excellency the Governor-General to absolve this House and fix new elections at an early date." The session thus abruptly ended on April 10. As a consequence, many important measures were held up, including the Agricultural Credits Bill, the Class Areas Bill, the Drought Belief Bill, the Apprenticeship Amendment Bill, the Transvaal and Orange Free State Franchise Law Amendment Bill, and the Women's Suffrage Bill. The latter measure had passed its second reading by 54 votes to 48, but was shelved by reference to a Select Committee.

One of the most important enactments of the session was the Industrial Conciliation Bill, which passed its third reading on March 4. This measure embodies the chief recommendations of the 1922 Commission appointed, after the disastrous upheaval of the previous year, to inquire into conditions in the mining industry (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1922, p. 271). The governing principle of the new Act is the prevention or settlement of disputes by means of industrial councils or conciliation boards. Strikes and lock-outs are made illegal until the council or board has functioned.

At the time of the dissolution of Parliament, the House was constituted as follows: South African Party 71, Nationalists 47, Labour 13, Independents 3. General Hertzog and Dr. Malan, the Cape Town leader of the Nationalist Party, opened the

election campaign at Vryheid and Cape Town on April 22. The former declared that the republican bogey had been killed, and that it had never been on the Nationalist programme. He declared that he would be a fool to press the matter unless English as well as Dutch wanted it. Dr. Malan, on the other hand, declared that the Nationalists stood for "sovereign independence which did not necessarily imply secession from the Crown." At Johannesburg, a day later, General Smuts warned the electorate against secession, which he described as the fundamental plank of the Nationalist programme. He characterised the pact as a conspiracy hatched in darkness. In his own constituency (Smithfield), a few days later, General Hertzog stated that if called upon to form a Ministry the Nationalists would frame a policy based upon the following six points: Agricultural development, Protection for South African industries, a thorough and comprehensive attempt to solve unemployment, the establishment of a portfolio of Labour, the solution of the Native problem and a revision of taxation. The Government Party was handicapped from the outset of the campaign by the resignation of Mr. J. W. Jagger, Minister of Railways and Harbours, who as a free trader was unwilling to retain office in view of the Prime Minister's intention (announced at Pretoria on April 23) of formulating an advanced industrial policy.

The election was fought amidst scenes of violence created by party animosity. The Premier was howled down at Bloemfontein, and elsewhere Ministers were refused a hearing. The result of the election, which took place on June 17, was that the Smuts Government suffered a sensational defeat. General Smuts lost his seat at Pretoria West, where a strong Civil Service vote went against him in support of his Labour opponent. He was later returned unopposed for Standerton, where Mr. G. M. Claassen resigned in his favour. Ministerial losses were heavy. The new House consisted of 185 members, of whom four were returned unopposed. For the 131 contested seats there were 267 candidates, and only in five constituencies were there triangular contests. To the avoidance of these and to the solidarity of the pact, General Hertzog largely owed his victory. Another factor was undoubtedly the unpopularity of the Government among non-party voters who were of the opinion that the country needed a change.

The new Cabinet was constituted as follows: General Hertzog, Prime Minister and Native Affairs; Mr. Tielman Boos, Minister of Justice; Dr. Malan, Interior, Public Health and Education; Colonel Creswell, Defence and Labour; Mr. Havenga, Finance; Mr. Beyers, Mines and Industries; Mr. C. W. Malan, Railways and Harbours; Mr. Piet Grobler, Lands; General Kemp, Agriculture; Mr. Boydell, Posts and Telegraphs. Parliament was opened by the Governor-General on July 25. The first session was of short duration, the House

adjourning on September 6 after transacting financial and other urgent business.

Loud as was the outcry raised by the Indian population of the Union against the motive of the Class Areas Bill (a contemplated measure necessarily abandoned as a result of the defeat of the Smuts Government), the protests uttered in objection to the Ordinance adopted by the Natal Provincial Council amending the Natal Township Act of 1881 by the total elimination of Asiatics from township franchise, were even more vociferous. In essentials the Ordinance was identical with one previously vetoed by the Governor-General. Lord Harding, Viceroy of India, in opening the Legislative Assembly at Delhi, protested against its principle, and on February 11 it was announced that the Governor-General had reserved his assent. Throughout the year the Ordinance was the centre of conflicting opinions. Mr. J. H. Thomas, the then Colonial Secretary, who was touring South Africa with the Empire Parliamentary Delegation, made it the subject of one of his speeches. He appealed for tolerance in dealing with the Asiatic question, and hoped all parties would settle the problem outside party interests and considerations. On December 9 the Cabinet received a large and representative Indian deputation in Pretoria, urging the Government to refuse its assent to the Ordinance. Nevertheless, a week later it was announced that the Governor-General had at last assented to it. Protest meetings were immediately convened throughout the Union, and opposition to the measure was strengthened by the support accorded to the movement by the Indian Press.

Interest in the affairs of the native territories was revived during the year by definite proposals for the inclusion of Bechuanaland and Swaziland in the Union (see ANNUAL BEGISTEK, 1923, p. 285). In August a deputation of Bechuanaland settlers placed before Mr. Thomas their desire for a measure of self-government, or failing the possibility of that proposal incorporation with either the Union or Rhodesia. The then Colonial Secretary held out no hope of a grant of self-government, but undertook to discuss with General Hertzog the alternative suggestion of incorporation with the Union. At a later date the Premier pronounced in favour of the proposal, and the Advisory Council of Bechuanaland appointed a small committee to act as a deputation to the Union Government for interchange of views. The question is still under consideration. On the whole, public opinion is inclined to favour the broad principle of incorporation, although a concrete scheme has yet to be formulated. It is generally conceded that the territories cannot indefinitely remain outside the Union of which they form part, geographically and economically, but in view of the particular interests of the large native population concerned it is probable that the Imperial Government will suggest certain protective measures which the Union Government are already

endeavouring to anticipate in readiness for the consultations with the Colonial Office.

Several important recommendations of a practical character were contained in the report of the special committee appointed by the Minister of Mines and Industries in the late Government to ascertain what steps should be taken for the development of the industries and natural resources of the Union. The report of the committee acknowledged the success attending the appointment of trade commissioners overseas, and recommended an extension and unification of this service under one Government Department capable of inaugurating, developing, and maintaining a constant policy and service. It urged the appointment of a trade commissioner for the North American continent, and an inquiry into the possibility of exploiting the East and South American markets. It further recommended the creation of a permanent advisory board to inquire into systems of marine transport and the reduction of shipping costs. Recognising that mining and agriculture are the basic industries upon which South Africa's national prosperity largely depend, the committee urged that the potentialities of these be scientifically investigated without delay.

The Earl of Athlone, who was appointed Governor-General of the Union in succession to Prince Arthur of Connaught, sailed from Southampton for Cape Town on January 4. He was accompanied by Princess Alice, the Countess of Athlone, and their son and daughter, Lord Trematon and Lady Mary Cambridge. Upon their arrival at the Cape, on January 21, they were met at the docks by Sir James Eose Innes, Acting Governor-General, General Smuts, the then Premier, and members of the Cabinet and the Provincial Administrators. There was a public welcoming ceremony at the City Hall at which the Premier heartily assured their Excellencies of the hospitality and goodwill of South Africans in carrying out their great task. The Earl of Athlone, in replying, expressed pleasure at once more finding himself among the people of the Union, whose hospitality aroused many pleasant recollections of kindnesses in the past, and announced that he should acquaint the King of the loyal sentiments which had been expressed. Four days later the Earl opened Parliament.

Senator E. E. Grobler was appointed Administrator of the Orange Free State in succession to the late Sir Julius Wessels, and Professor J. H. Hofmeyr, Principal of the Witwatersrand University, succeeded Mr. Eobertson as Administrator of the Transvaal. Much of the criticism levelled at the system of provincial administration had its origin in party disapproval. In July the Executive of the Transvaal Nationalist organisation resolved that all political appointments, such as those of the provincial administrators and the High Commissioner in London "should be brought into harmony with the Government's policy." Mr. Eoos was particularly vehement in his criticism

of provincial administration under the late Government. Soon after the Nationalist-Labour coalition assumed office he contended in a speech at Johannesburg that all the provincial administrators should have resigned when General Hertzog was returned to power. In the middle of the year Sir Edgar Walton, High Commissioner since the early days of 1921, announced his desire to relinquish office in order to return to South Africa, and the Government selected Mr. J. S. Smit, a former representative of Klerksdorp in the House of Assembly, to succeed him. Mr. K. Spilhaus, Continental Commissioner for Commerce with headquarters in Rotterdam, adhered to his previously-announced intention of retiring at the end of 1924, and shortly before the end of the year he was succeeded by Mr. C. Pienaar, a Government Attorney. Mr. J. H. Dimond was appointed to the Trade Commissionership in London consequent upon the retirement of Mr. A. Canham from the Public Service.

Practically no material progress was made during 1924 with the scheme propounded by General Smuts and the technical experts for the creation of an East Coast port north of Durban and south of the Portuguese border (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1923, p. 285). In February the then Government was declared to be definitely in favour of the project, especially as the necessity of a railway to tap the promising cotton area of northern Zululand was an additional reason for giving the Transvaal a port free from alien control.

Rhodesia's first election under the new constitution (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1923, p. 278) took place on April 29. The Responsible Government (or Rhodesian) Party had a sweeping victory, gaining 26 out of the 30 seats allotted to the House of Assembly. The Parliament met in Salisbury, the capital, on May 30, the session being opened by the Governor, Sir John Chancellor. Sir Francis Newton, the first High Commissioner for the Colony, arrived in London at the end of August. An Order in Council, dated February 20, announced that Northern Rhodesia would be taken over from the British South Africa Co. and administered as a British Protectorate from April 1. Mr. H. J. Stanley, C.M.G., left Cape Town on March 26 to assume the Governorship of the territory, and upon the date fixed for the transfer of administrative control he took the oath at Livingstone, the capital. Three months later Mr. Stanley was created K.C.M.G.

Owing to the defeat of the Smuts Government there was delay in arriving at a settlement of the problem of citizenship in the South-West Protectorate. Early in the year General Smuts gave satisfactory assurances to a German deputation, and promised to introduce a Bill under which German settlers would automatically become British subjects, with the proviso that dissentients might claim exemption within a time limit. He had, he stated, negotiated an agreement with the German authorities in London whereby the German Government undertook

to use its influence to induce its nationals in South-West Africa to accept South African citizenship in return for certain concessions relating to the teaching of German in the schools and the granting of pensions to ex-German civil servants still residing in the territory. On August 15 General Hertzog, in the House of Assembly, moved the second reading of the South-West Africa Naturalisation of Aliens Bill, a measure described as being in the same form, with certain formal amendments, as introduced by General Smuts during the previous session. The Bill received the assent of the Governor-General just before Parliament was prorogued. Towards the end of the year General Hertzog undertook a lengthy tour of the Protectorate, as a result of which he said he was more than ever convinced that the ultimate destiny of the South-West Protectorate was that of union.

Mr. R. G. Hofmeyr, Administrator of the territory under the Mandate, left for Geneva to attend the meetings of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations in June, having in the previous month formally opened the first section of the important railway extension which is to link Windhoek, the capital, with Gobabis. Mr. Hofmeyr's report upon developments in the Protectorate was closely considered by the Commission, and at the conclusion of the sitting the chairman, the Marquis Theodoli, thanked the Administrator for the precise and copious information he had furnished.

Shortly after his return to the Union Mr. Hofmeyr again sailed for Europe as a South African delegate to the annual conference of the League, conveying with him the assurance of the Premier that the policy hitherto pursued by the Union Government in the Protectorate would be maintained.

A satisfactory arrangement has still to be reached with the Portuguese Government concerning Mozambique. Shortly before the Union Parliament rose, Mr. Havenga informed the House that negotiations with Portugal on the question of the revised Convention (see ANNUAL REGISTEB, 1923, p. 286) were being continued. Senhor Azevedo Coutinho, High Commissioner of the Colony, sailed from England for Lourenço Marques in the autumn, and *en route* visited the Governor-General and Prime Minister of the Union in Pretoria.

BELGIAN CONGO.

The year 1924 has been one of marked progress in the field of Belgian colonising activity, both in Belgium and in Africa. There has been a great extension both of official and private propaganda, the output of books and periodicals devoted to the Congo has increased, and a larger place has been assigned to colonial instruction in all the Universities, without counting the Colonial Institute at Antwerp.

In the Congo itself the problems of the birth and death rate,

of elementary and higher education, have been the subject of painstaking studies which promise the most important results. Instruction, in particular, will henceforth be more the concern of the State than heretofore. In the field of tropical hygiene one may note a new kind of inoculation which has been practised on a large scale in the Kwango and the Kasai, and which gives immunity from the tsetse fly for many months. More than 300,000 natives were vaccinated, and a decline in sleeping sickness has resulted.

At the beginning of the year there was great administrative activity in the region of Kisaka, East of Euanda, which had been returned by the British authorities to the Belgian Government at the end of the preceding year. This province had been detached from the kingdom of Musinga to facilitate the construction of the Cape to Cairo railway. The severance caused for a long time great hardship to the natives.

The fall of the second Theunis Ministry involved the departure from the Colonial Office of M. Franck, who had held this post since 1921. He was replaced by M. Carton, who immediately on assuming office sent a message of confidence to the Governor-General, M. Butten. He also immediately took energetic measures to check the silting-up of the port of Matadi, and to remove the obstructions on the Matadi-Leopoldville line, due to negligence in the management. The prohibition of forwarding goods towards Matadi which had been drawn up by his predecessor was ratified by him. The chief director of the railway company embarked for Matadi with a company of mechanics, and was followed by a consignment of spare pieces for locomotives. On July 23 M. Carton was able to announce to the Senate an improvement in the transport situation. He went on to speak of the approaching fusion of the two most important river navigation companies, the Citras and the Sonatra. He also announced that he had authorised the Governor-General to raise the salaries of colonial officials, and that he had decided to increase by a million the subsidies to missionaries.

On August 12 the Minister left for Matadi, in order to survey the situation there personally.

In the Euanda and Urundi, territories mandated to Belgium by the Supreme Council, the triumph of veterinary measures over the cattle plague heightened Belgian prestige among the natives. The export figures of these countries show such increases in agricultural products that they seem destined to become the granaries of Katanga.

MOROCCO.

Spanish Morocco.—The fighting between the Moroccan natives and the Spaniards was continued throughout 1924, and once more went decisively in favour of the former.

So far from recovering the ground lost after the battle of Anual, Spain abandoned more territory to the Moors, and by the end of the year retained control on the North Coast only over two narrow strips, round Melilla in the East and Tetuan in the West. The Rif tribes under Abd-el-Krim took the offensive early in March in the district of Tizzi Assa, 40 miles south-west of Melilla, while another contingent made a demonstration towards Sheshuan in the west of the zone. A brigade was sent from Spain to Melilla, and after some severe fighting the Spaniards succeeded in holding their ground. A few weeks later, in the first week of May, the Spaniards took the offensive, and a brisk engagement took place near Sidi Messaud, 6 miles west of l)ar Quebdana, in the Melilla district, with indecisive result. At this time the Spanish Government seriously contemplated nominating Raisuli as Khalifa of the Spanish zone, in succession to the Shercef Mulay-el-Mehdi who had died in the previous October, but desisted owing to the opposition of France and of the Sultan of Morocco.

The Rifis commenced their annual summer campaign in June. This time they directed their attack to the western part of the Spanish zone, making an incursion in force into the Wady Lau, a valley between Sheshuan and Tetuan which was held by a line of Spanish outposts. They were joined by a number of tribes in the neighbourhood, notably the Jabala, or "hill-men," among whom Abd-el-Krim's brother had for some time been carrying on propaganda. Raisuli also, who was in very poor health, while remaining personally faithful to Spain, had difficulty in holding his men in check. The Spanish position in consequence soon became critical. To keep the tribes round Tetuan in awe, Spanish aeroplanes on June 29 dropped more than 600 bombs on their villages, setting many of them on fire. The Spanish troops from Tetuan relieved some outposts which had been attacked in the Wady Lau, but could not succeed in effecting a junction with another force marching down the valley.

In the second week in July, Marquis de Estella, the head of the Spanish Directorate, arrived in Tetuan, in order to survey the Moroccan situation on the spot. His own plan was to withdraw the Spanish troops from the numerous small outposts, to the number of over four hundred, in which they were dispersed, and concentrate them behind fortified lines. The Militarist Party, however, would not hear of a withdrawal, and extorted from the Marquis consent to a new offensive. There was a brief lull in the fighting during the Moorish feast of Kurban Bairam, but on July 26, the Rifis attacked the Spanish posts in strength and captured an advanced base camp, inflicting serious losses on the Spaniards. During the next few weeks a number of Spanish outposts in the valley were attacked and in some cases overwhelmed, while fighting was renewed by the Moors in the Melilla sector. In consequence of the Moorish

successes, tribesmen in the service of the Spaniards began to desert in large numbers to the enemy. The Spanish Government accordingly poured reinforcements into the Tetuan sector from the Melilla Peninsula to the number of 35,000 men, bringing the total number in that district up to 90,000, including native troops. With these the Spaniards took the offensive, and for a time checked the Moorish advance. The neighbouring tribes, however, in spite of severe punitive measures, remained restive, and as the Moors from the East flocked to the aid of their brethren in the West, the Spaniards soon found themselves again in difficulties, and at the end of the month brought up further large reinforcements. The tribesmen, however, had definitely regained the aggressive, and not only did they compel the Spaniards to close the Tetuan-Tangier road, but they began to threaten Sheshuan, 30 miles south of Tetuan. A force commanded by General Eiquelme suffered severe loss in its retirement to Tetuan. In the first week of September the Moors were already fighting under the walls of Tetuan, and it was clear that the Spanish offensive had completely failed, and that the Wady Lau barrier had been broken. Marquis de Estella went again to Tetuan, and gave orders for all the dispersed forces of the Spanish Army to unite at its bases on the coast, thus leaving Sheshuan isolated.

At this point some feelers were put forward by the Spaniards for an agreement with Abd-el-Krim, but they came to nothing. Accordingly on September 19, a force of 40,000 Spaniards advanced from Tetuan to clear the road to Sheshuan, with a view to relieving that city. The force advanced slowly and methodically, relieving certain outposts as they went along. On September 29 the Spanish advanced guard succeeded in entering Sheshuan, which, with its garrison of 3,000, had been cut off from Tetuan and the main Spanish forces for over a month. This success was counterbalanced by a somewhat severe reverse suffered by the Spaniards in the Beni Aros mountains, west of Sheshuan, which led to the isolation of the garrison at Sok-el-Khamis. The Spanish casualties in killed and wounded between September 18 and October 1, were reported to number from 4,000 to 5,000.

During the next few weeks the Spaniards rescued a number of small posts, sometimes buying a safe-conduct for the outgoing garrisons from friendly natives, and on October 16, they relieved Sok-el-Khamis itself. On October 15 the Spanish High Commissioner in Morocco, General Aizpavua, somewhat unexpectedly resigned, and Marquis de Estella, or General Primo de Rivera, as he was more usually called, formally took over the chief Spanish command in Morocco, which he had exercised virtually ever since his return to the country.

Marquis de Estella was now able to put into operation the plan which he had vainly advocated three months earlier. During the next two months the Spaniards were engaged in

the difficult and dangerous task of withdrawing the garrisons—consisting usually of from 10 to 100 men—from the scattered outposts to the fortified lines round Tetuan, known as the "Primo de Rivera line." The Militarist Party objected strongly to the evacuation of Sheshuan, which, as a "holy city" would be a valuable prize to the Moors, but they were overruled. The evacuation of this city commenced on November 17, and on December 14, the garrison with other troops which had joined them, to the number of 10,000, safely entered Tetuan, and were congratulated by the Marquis de Estella on their "triumphant" accomplishment of a most arduous task. General Serrano, a veteran of the Moroccan war, was killed in the retreat. The Spaniards suffered severely in the evacuation of the outposts, but were thankful to escape another Annual.

The withdrawal of the Spanish outposts left the Moors in undisturbed command of the whole of the interior of the so-called Spanish zone, and meant the end for practical purposes of the Spanish Protectorate. Even the Anjera tribe, on the Tetuan-Ceuta road, north-west of Tetuan, which had remained faithful to Spain in her most trying hour, revolted in the middle of December. Thus the political situation created by the Act of Algeciras in 1912 was profoundly modified, and France and England, as signatories of the Act, began to consider seriously the advisability of summoning a new Conference to discuss the Moroccan question.

French Morocco.—On April 7 a North African Conference was opened at Eabat and attended by Marshal Lyautey, the French Resident-General of Morocco, who presided, M. Saint, the Resident-General of Tunisia, and M. Steeg, the Governor of Algeria. Marshal Lyautey said that in fulfilling his duties under the Treaty of the Protectorate he had always received the co-operation of the Sultan, who had a clear understanding of the common and indissoluble bonds which united Morocco and France. The Conference dealt with the development of the Casablanca-Algiers-Tunis railway line, the Moroccan portions of which were stated to be in active construction. The question of the Customs dues on goods entering Morocco from Algiers was discussed, but no settlement was reached. Soon after Marshal Lyautey left for France, in order to take a cure. He returned in a couple of months in excellent health, and nothing more was heard of his reported intention to resign. During his absence French Moorish troops early in June successfully carried out a small campaign in the fertile Wengha Valley, north-east of Fez, which they occupied with little loss.

On July 23 a large force of Rifis crossed the frontier of the French zone and made an attack on the Hawara, a tribe friendly to the French. The French authorities immediately sent up a mobile column which came into contact with the insurgents and dispersed them with heavy loss, the French casualties being 15 killed and 28 wounded, Marshal Lyautey

pointed to this fact as sufficient refutation of rumours which were in circulation that France was supporting the Eif rebellion. Owing to the agitation carried on by the Rifis among the Moors in the French Zone, the northern front was reinforced by two mobile columns early in September. Marshal Lyautey about this time declared himself greatly disappointed with the Spanish decision to reduce the occupied areas, as this made it more difficult for the French to keep order on the Franco-Spanish frontier. The French zone remained quiet till the end of the year, but the continued withdrawal of Spanish troops from the interior caused considerable anxiety in French circles, and led to some talk of intervention.

Tangier.—For Tangier 1924 has largely been a year of hope deferred. The Convention drawn up on December 18, 1923, by representatives of France, Britain, and Spain (v. ANNUAL EEGINTEK, 1923, p. 288) seemed to promise an early end to her troubles, but between the drawing up and the application of the Convention a succession of obstacles and delays has intervened. The Spanish representative had signed the Convention only subject to confirmation by his Government, and the Spanish Government immediately raised a number of difficulties, maintaining that Spanish interests had not been sufficiently considered. After some weeks of negotiation the Spanish Government at length accepted certain concessions offered by M. Poincaré, the chief of which were that a Spanish Customs official should be attached to the Sherrefian Customs service, that the French Government should ask the Sultan to place under Spanish sovereignty the springs supplying Ceuta and Melilla with water, and that the Spanish Consul should have the right to expel from Tangier natives born in the Spanish zone (e.g., refugees from the Eif). Immediately after, on February 7, representatives of Spain signed the Convention. By May the Convention had been ratified by England and Spain, and it was confidently expected that it would come into force on the date originally fixed, July 1. Soon after, however, it became clear that this would not be possible. Apart from England, France, and Spain, none of the signatories to the Act of Algeciras showed itself willing to accept the Convention, while Belgium raised special difficulties in the matter of the *gendarmérie*. On June 18 it was announced that the inauguration of the new status would be postponed till August 1, as the Legal Code was not yet drafted. In July new difficulties were raised by Italy, and the inauguration was put off first to November 1, and then to December 1. On that date the *Mendub* appointed by the Sultan did indeed make his entry in state, and Britain, France, and Spain nominated members for the Legislative Assembly, but the other articles of the Convention still remained in suspense. Thus politically Tangier found itself at the end of the year much where it was at the beginning. There are, however, some hopeful signs. In December, Belgium accepted

the *gendarmarie* arrangement and announced its intention of ratifying the Convention, as did also Holland and Portugal; and in November the contract for the Tangier harbour works was definitely allocated to a French company, the Société Nationale de Travaux publics. At the close of the year, the only country that was making difficulties was Italy.

EGYPT.

The relations between the British and the Egyptian Governments, or rather the efforts of the latter to escape from the last threads of the bonds that had tied Egypt to the British Empire, overshadowed all else in the history of Egypt during the year. The elections were completed in the first month, and as a consequence Zaghloul Pasha found himself practically dictator with a Parliament overwhelmingly devoted to him. Of the 214 members of the Lower House, 176 were avowed supporters of the National leader. In the Senate the Zaghloulists were equally successful. The Prime Minister, Yehia Pasha Ibrahim, immediately resigned, and Zaghloul formed a Ministry. Almost simultaneously a Labour Government came into power in England, and as the two Prime Ministers had had friendly relations in the past, Zaghloul's expectations of an entirely sympathetic attitude on the part of the British Government were not unjustified. However, the first task in Egypt was to reverse many of the administrative and legislative acts of the previous Governments. The principal topic of discussion between the two Governments was expected to be the status of the Sudan. The Egyptians claimed the unquestioned incorporation of this region in an Egyptian empire, and Zaghloul more than once declared that only on this basis would he enter into a discussion. The declaration of the British Prime Minister in the House of Commons, therefore, that no arrangement would be accepted whereby the administration and development of the Sudan would be jeopardised aroused surprise and some consternation in Egypt.

One consequence of this unequivocal British statement was the resignation of Zaghloul. Both King and Parliament, however, refused to accept the resignation, which was accordingly withdrawn, and Zaghloul continued with practically the full confidence of the nation in furtherance of his avowed policy of the "complete independence of Egypt and the Sudan." In the meanwhile slight anti-British disturbances, undoubtedly influenced by propaganda from Egypt, had broken out in Khartum. At first they were of small consequence. Almost before there was time for anything else to happen Zaghloul was shot at and wounded by a student as he was about to leave Cairo for Alexandria whither the Court had removed. The wound was not serious. The assailant who was afterwards certified insane, was apparently without any support of consequence, although

it was suggested that he had connexions with the National Party, and in supposed connexion with it certain prominent Turkish refugees were arrested. Advantage was, however, taken of the opportunity to arrest and deport from Egypt men who were believed to be partisans of the ex-Khedive. Zaghloul was soon about again and able to have a meeting with Adly Pasha, the leader of the Liberal Constitutionalists, who had hitherto been almost outlawed by the dominant party.

Early in August troubles, considerably more serious on this occasion, broke out anew in the Sudan. On the 9th the Cadets at the Military School at Khartum made an armed demonstration outside the prison in which a leader in the earlier demonstrations was confined. They were arrested. Simultaneously soldiers of the Egyptian railway battalion at Atbara and Port Sudan mutinied and did a considerable amount of damage before they were got under control, with slight casualties, by British and Egyptian troops. These events led to a protest by the Egyptian Government in London and a demand for the appointment of an Egyptian-Sudanese Commission to investigate them. Simultaneously the British Government protested against the incomplete information that was being distributed by the Egyptian Government, and declared that the Governor-General alone was responsible for the maintenance of order in the Sudan. The rioting was considered a direct result of incitements in the Egyptian Parliament and Press, and it was intended to remove from the Sudan the Egyptian troops that had mutinied and other disaffected troops, and to replace them by such British troops as might be considered necessary. The tone of this note had a salutary effect in Government circles in Egypt.

Throughout the period of the disturbances Zaghloul was in Europe, ostensibly for the benefit of his health. There was, however, continuous reference to the probability of a meeting between him and the British Prime Minister, and such a meeting was taken as a matter of course when it was suddenly announced at the beginning of September that it would not take place. In Egypt the blame for the failure was placed on British shoulders, but with equal suddenness Zaghloul changed his plans and decided after all to meet Mr. Eamsay MacDonald. The meeting took place in London at the end of September, but led to no result. Zaghloul asked for the withdrawal of all British forces from Egyptian territory and the recall of the financial and judicial advisers; the disappearance of all British control over the Egyptian Government, notably in foreign relations; and the abandonment of the British claims to protect foreigners and minorities in Egypt and to share in protecting the Suez Canal. He appeared to stand by his public declarations that the presence of British officers in the Egyptian Army was inconsistent with Egyptian dignity, and that the British were usurpers in the Sudan, which property belonged to Egypt in complete ownership.

Mr. MacDonald replied that no British Government could divest itself wholly, even in favour of an ally, of its interest in guarding the Suez Canal. Adequate security for this must be a feature of any agreement come to between Great Britain and Egypt. The effective co-operation of Great Britain and Egypt might, in his view, have been ensured by the conclusion of a Treaty of close alliance. The British force in Egypt would not in any way interfere with the functions of the Egyptian Government or encroach upon Egyptian sovereignty, and of this Zaghoul was emphatically assured.

As to the Sudan, Mr. MacDonald adhered to the statement he had made in the House of Commons. About that neither in Egypt nor the Sudan should there be any doubt. If there was, it would only lead to trouble. The British Government still had the duty of preserving order in the Sudan, and would take every step necessary for that purpose, as there could be no question of abandoning the Sudan until the work of Great Britain there was completed. Great Britain, however, recognised that Egypt had interests in water from the Sudan and certain financial claims upon the Sudanese Government, and was prepared to secure those interests in a way satisfactory to Egypt.

Zaghoul's summary was, " They invited us to London so that we might commit suicide." On his return to Egypt he showed himself equally intransigent.

In the meanwhile the Egyptian Government became even more irreconcilable. The more moderate and reasonable members of the Ministry and in the higher Civil Service were removed and replaced by men who had given every evidence of extreme opinions. But the more responsible Egyptian opinion was not at rest. The failure of the negotiations in London and the continuance of an atmosphere of disturbance caused them much concern, which was not without its influence in the highest political circles. Zaghoul, realising that all was not well, and probably urged on his course by the sudden resignation of his Minister of Finance, Tewfik Pasha Nessim, met the crisis by a repetition of his action earlier in the year. On the very day of the Assembly of Parliament in November, Zaghoul himself resigned. The expected happened. Parliament and the mob were practically unanimous in demanding that the resignation should not be accepted, and although it was currently understood that the King was not averse from a change in the Premiership he refused to accept the resignation, and Zaghoul remained in office. A greater crisis was, however, on the point of breaking out. Before a week had elapsed Sir Lee Stack, the Sirdar and Governor-General of the Sudan, on November 19, fell in the streets of Cairo, the victim of an assassin's bullet. Britain's patience was exhausted. On the day of the Sirdar's funeral Lord Allenby presented to the Egyptian Government what was in effect an ultimatum. In the name of the British Government he demanded—

- (1) An ample apology for the crime.
- (2) An inquiry into the authorship of the crime with the utmost energy and without respect of persons and the condign punishment of the criminals, whoever and whatever their age might be.
- (3) The prohibition and vigorous suppression of all popular political demonstrations.
- (4) The payment forthwith to the British Government of a fine of £500,000.
- (5) The withdrawal from the Sudan within twenty-four hours of all Egyptian officers and the purely Egyptian units of the Egyptian army with such resulting changes to be specified later.
- (6) The notification to the competent Department that the Sudan Government would increase the area to be irrigated at Gezira from 300,000 feddans to an unlimited figure as need might arise.
- (7) The withdrawal of all opposition in the respects to be specified later to the wishes of the British Government concerning the protection of foreign interests in Egypt.

Failing immediate compliance with these demands, the British Government would at once take appropriate action to safeguard their interests in Egypt and the Sudan.

The Egyptian Government accepted the first four demands and gave an equivocal answer to the seventh. It was, however, unable to accept the fifth and sixth. Lord Allenby's reply came within an hour and a half. It was to the effect that instructions were being sent to the Sudan Government to effect forthwith the removal from the Sudan of all Egyptian officers and the purely Egyptian units of the Egyptian Army. The Sudan Government had at the same time been informed that it was at liberty to increase the irrigated area at Gezira to an unlimited extent. Simultaneously the Customs at Alexandria were occupied by British forces. The Zaghoul Government thereupon resigned, and a Cabinet of moderate men was formed under Ahmed Pasha Ziwar, the President of the Senate. This accepted all of the British demands.

The Egyptian Parliament was adjourned, not before, however, it had appealed to the League of Nations and to the Parliaments of the world for intervention. For a moment public opinion in France seemed inclined to respond, but the feeling was but momentary and no movement was made by either the League of Nations or any of the Parliaments.

In order that there might be no laxity in bringing the guilty to justice the British themselves effected the arrest of certain highly placed Egyptians who were suspected of being parties to an Anti-British conspiracy, but immediately handed them over to the Egyptian authorities. In the meanwhile, however, there had been trouble in the Sudan. A number of Sudanese troops broke loose and attacked a military hospital, killing one British

officer and two others. In the subsequent fighting there were a few other British casualties, but the mutiny was soon and without difficulty suppressed and order restored.

The Zaghloulists did not take their ejection from office with a good grace and seemed determined to create difficulties for their successors. In particular the legality of the arrest of deputies was contested. The convoking of Parliament in which the Zaghloulists had a large majority was also demanded. This Parliament, however, never met again for it was dissolved in the last days of the year.

Although the relations between Britain and Egypt occupied the centre and the greater part of the stage of Egyptian history during the past year it did not monopolise that stage. Not distant from the major question was that of the contribution of the Egyptian Government towards the cost of the Army of Occupation and also the payment of the Turkish Tribute. The former item has appeared in the Egyptian Budget since the British occupation over forty years ago. The amount has varied, but it has for long stood at £E. 146,000 which is less than the present cost of the Army to the British Exchequer. In June the Egyptian Government ceased payment of this amount. The Turkish Tribute paid by Egypt for a long period in virtue of her dependence on the Ottoman Sultans, was made the security for two of the Turkish loans. The view held by the Egyptians is that the liability for this tribute ended when Egypt ceased to be a tributary of Turkey. The Egyptian Government suggested a Conference of the Powers interested to consider the situation or alternatively reference of the matter to the International Court of Justice at The Hague.

Some trouble also arose with the Italian Government over the Egypto-Italian frontier. The dispute was the result of a promise made to Italy by England as an inducement to enter the recent war to the effect that she should have an extension of territory on the east of Tripoli. Italy claimed that it was for Egypt to carry out this undertaking, but Egypt did not appear to share this view. Early in the year the Egyptian Government declined to hand over to Italy ten Tripolitan Nationalist leaders, whom the Italian Government claimed as Italian subjects, partly because it did not admit their nationality and partly because it held them to be political refugees.

Throughout the greater part of the year there was sporadic Communist trouble. Early in the year industrial troubles in Alexandria led in several instances to the seizure of factories by the workmen. In the meanwhile a Communist Party came formally into being, and the Government retorted with searches, arrests, and deportations.

CHAPTER X.

AMERICA: THE UNITED STATES—CANADA—ARGENTINA—BRAZIL
—CHILE—MEXICO—OTHER COUNTRIES.

THE UNITED STATES.

NOTHING could be simpler than the pattern of 1924 in the United States.

In foreign affairs the country moved with a kind of careless boldness to the Left. By identifying itself during the year with the so-called "Dawes plan" for the solution of the reparation question, it involved itself cheerfully in that very "entangling alliance" with the Old World against which it had fought since the Armistice. Even on the vexed question of the *de facto* recognition of Soviet Russia, it moved toward the Left, the close of the year finding that useful person, "the administration spokesman," freely admitting that President Coolidge, despite the long opposition of Secretary Hughes, was inclined to yield to the Senate demand for a commission to investigate the issues in dispute between the United States and the new regime in Eussia.

But on every sort of domestic issue, the country moved impressively toward the Right. This was largely due to the threat of a business slump which hung over the country for the first quarter of the year; as soon as business conditions improved, the relief was so general that at the November presidential and congressional elections, the Eepublicans were overwhelmingly elected on a colourless platform by promising to do nothing whatever to disturb the new and revived prosperity. The ten days following this Eepublican victory found Wall Street engaged in an enormous "bull" campaign during which period the phenomenal total of 18,717,732 shares were dealt with on the Stock Exchange—a reflection of the belief that "the country (meaning the interests of the business and professional classes) was safe with President Coolidge." This number of shares broke all records on the New York Stock Exchange save for the panic weeks ending May 4 and May 11, 1901.

Throughout the year the two tendencies here described—the one in foreign affairs and the conservative movement in domestic affairs—remained in completely water-tight compartments; it would be extremely difficult to show that either had had the slightest effect upon the other.

According to the official estimates of the United States Department of Commerce, American loans abroad had reached by the close of 1923 the somewhat impressive total of eight billion dollars (8,000,000,000 dollars), of which two and a half billions were in Government securities and five and a half billions in

industrial securities. This tendency of American capital to flow abroad for investment continued through the year 1924 when, according to the Department of Commerce, an additional billion dollars was loaned out of the country, making a total of nine billions.¹ Though nominally coming from New York, these loans as a matter of fact were widely distributed throughout the country; there was scarcely a community of any size from coast to coast whose local banks had not invested part of the community's savings in one or more of these loans. Although the local politicians continued to repeat the old maxims about keeping away from Europe, the business class in general found itself committed, willy-nilly, to some scheme or other for the settlement of Europe's post-war problems.

That is why there were no murmurs when Mr. Charles G. Dawes of Chicago and Mr. Owen D. Young of Boston, acting as private citizens, accepted the invitation of the Reparations Commission to serve on a committee appointed to review Germany's capacity to pay reparations and to draft some plan by which she could do it. On January 14 in Paris, General Dawes and Mr. Eeginald McKenna opened the sessions of the committees of experts summoned to study the problem of reparations; on January 29 the Dawes Commission reached Berlin and took evidence, and on April 9 the two committees submitted to the Reparations Commission in Paris their elaborate and highly technical reports.

Deep interest was excited in both North and South America by the recommendations of the two committees. Many newspapers on both continents received the complete text by cable and printed it in full: so deeply interested was South America in the two reports that *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires, receiving the text partly in English and partly in French, translated it into Spanish and printed them in full on the morning of the day they were issued in Paris. Of course the feeling behind all this was the conviction that somehow or other the corner had been turned in the long, harassing post-war struggle; as soon as the Reparations Commission accepted the reports on April 17—thus removing the last doubts as to the possibility of a settlement—stock markets everywhere reflected in their buoyant tendency the conviction that at last things were on the mend.

In the United States the overwhelming feeling was one of pride in the fact that it was a commission headed by an American which had solved the problems after the Premiers and Finance Ministers of Europe had repeatedly failed. So wide-

¹ Among the more important loans of the year should be noted the following:—110,000,000 dollars to Germany; credits of 100,000,000 dollars to France to protect the franc; 150,000,000 dollars to Japan, unquestionably a steadying factor in the relations between the United States and Japan; 65,300,000 dollars to Canadian Railways; 29,000,000 dollars in Canadian Provincial and Municipal Loans; 37,000,000 dollars in Japanese industrials; 50,000,000 dollars to Mexico; 45,000,000 dollars to French railways; 40,000,000 dollars to Holland; 30,000,000 dollars to Switzerland; and 20,000,000 dollars to Argentine.

spread was this feeling that the Republicans, in their national convention in Cleveland on June 12, conscripted Mr. Dawes as their candidate for vice-president with Mr. Coolidge for president; the overwhelming victory of Coolidge and Dawes at the presidential election on November 4 was widely attributed to the popular strength which Mr. Dawes as "the man who solved the reparations question" brought to the Republican ticket. Incidentally, it should be noted that the American portion of the loan to Germany, provided in the Dawes plan and amounting to 110,000,000 dollars, was over-subscribed on October 14 in New York in fifteen minutes.

But neither President Coolidge nor Secretary of State Hughes was very much "in the picture" so far as the Dawes report was concerned. There is not much doubt that through Ambassador Kellogg they were both in close touch with the London Conference which initialled the Dawes report on August 16, but they kept up with remarkable success the American rôle of official detachment from the affairs of Europe.

However, this detachment did not prevent them from laying down in Paris on November 26 a new and very different policy. On that date and at that place there was a conference of allied financial experts to draw up, for the Finance Ministers of the Allied countries, a scheme for the distribution of the reparation payments to be secured from Germany under the Dawes plan. At that conference, Colonel A. J. Logan presented claims on behalf of the United States for the payment out of reparations of the cost of the American army of occupation in Germany and of the material losses suffered by American nationals throughout the war.

There was instantly the most strenuous opposition to the American claims. Great Britain, in particular, protested against the claims on the broad grounds that the United States, having signed a separate treaty with Germany, had no title to reparations flowing from the treaty signed by the other Allies with Germany. American public opinion was curiously indifferent to the dispute, but the Administration stood its ground at Paris and finally secured a settlement in substantial accord with the American claims, though the payments, it was agreed, should be spread over a very considerable period of years.

In short, it may be said that with her foreign policy more or less the football of domestic politics, the United States again contrived in 1924, as in each year since the Armistice, to carry water on both shoulders, to be in Europe and not in Europe at one and the same time. Driven by her investments as well as by her characteristic idealism to take a hand in the European difficulty, she yet contrived to strike an attitude of aloofness from time to time to satisfy those domestic critics who saw in Europe nothing but a snare.

Mr. Coolidge himself followed somewhat tepidly the policy

cautiously laid down by his predecessor and former chief, President Harding.

That is to say, in occasional speeches throughout the year 1924, he announced his intention of calling a second Washington Conference to discuss those secondary aspects of naval disarmament judiciously omitted from the first Washington Conference; he also declared his belief that the United States should subscribe, with certain reservations, to The Hague International Tribunal, and on December 9 announced through the State Department that the United States would participate in a conference to be called by the League of Nations in April or May, 1925, to consider the restriction of international trade in arms and munitions of war. In all these matters, he was certainly well in touch with American public opinion.

Throughout the year the Administration was more or less at loggerheads with Congress. In fact, it sustained several severe defeats on important domestic legislation—any one of which would have brought down a European Premier—and even on one important foreign issue the President had to bite the dust. That issue was the question whether or not Congress, in drafting a Bill for the restriction of immigration, should insert a clause specifically excluding the Japanese and, by the same token, abrogating the famous "gentlemen's agreement" signed by President Roosevelt and the Japanese Ambassador, an agreement which the Administration insisted had been scrupulously kept by Japan.

It is just barely possible that the Administration might have prevented the insertion of this anti-Japanese clause except for an unfortunate diplomatic *contretemps*. Learning that the House Immigration Committee was planning to insert in the pending Immigration Restriction Bill a clause specifically barring the Japanese, Ambassador Hanihara wrote to Secretary Hughes intimating that "grave consequences" to the relations between Japan and the United States would follow such a summary abandonment of the "gentlemen's agreement." Secretary Hughes made public the letter—approvingly—but was more or less dumbfounded when the anti-Japanese politicians seized upon the reference to "grave consequences" as a sinister threat. In vain did the Japanese Ambassador explain that no threat was intended. The House of Representatives, in an outburst of chauvinism, passed the Immigration Bill on April 12, by 322 to 71, and the Senate, without a dissenting vote or even the formality of a roll call, adopted Senator Reed's amendment to the Immigration Bill barring from the United States any Japanese "except ministers, members of the learned professions and the arts, students, and their wives and children." The two Houses finally agreed on a common Bill, with a provision excluding the Japanese, which was passed by both Houses on May 15 and reluctantly signed by President Coolidge on May 26, but not before Ambassador Cyrus E. Woods at Tokyo

had indignantly protested against the Bill, and announced on May 19, amid much popular excitement in Japan, his resignation as Ambassador.

Congress had, in fact, gone out of its way to inflame Japanese opinion by thus abrogating the "gentlemen's agreement." Japan formally protested against the action of Congress on May 28. Several incidents of an unhappy nature followed. On May 31 a Japanese committed *hari-kari* in front of the American Embassy in Tokyo, urging the country to protest against the action of America. Protest meetings took place throughout Japan on June 5 and on July 1 the flag on the American Embassy was cut down. Fortunately, several factors emerged to promote a more friendly tone. The President himself went out of his way to deplore the action of Congress; the influential Council of the Churches of Christ in America—the great body of Nonconformist opinion—protested against the abrogation of the Japanese agreement, and the American press in general criticised Congress as gratuitous in its performance. It might be said that on the whole the year ended—so far as the relations between the two countries went—somewhat better than it began.

The Immigration Bill as finally passed permits the annual entrance into the United States until 1927 of quotas from each country equal to 2 per cent, of the number of nationals from that country recorded in the census of 1890. This was designed to encourage immigration from the so-called "Nordic" countries and to discourage immigration from Italy and the Slav countries. It evoked a protest from Italy during the year.

Among the other points in American foreign policy which should be noted was the signing of a number of treaties permitting America to extend to a distance equal "to one hour's steaming" from her shores the right of searching foreign vessels for contraband liquor. A treaty with Great Britain to this effect was signed January 23 and ratified by the Senate March 13; with Germany, signed May 19; with Norway, May 24; with Denmark, May 29; with Canada, June 6; with France, June 30; and with Holland, August 21. Late in December, 1923, the Senate ratified a series of arbitration treaties with Great Britain, France, Japan, Norway, and Portugal. On January 29 diplomatic relations with Greece, which had been broken off in 1920, were resumed. Though the House of Representatives appropriated on March 24 the sum of 10,000,000 dollars for the purchase of food for German women and children, the Senate on June 4 defeated the proposal.

Secretary Hughes on several occasions declared that the United States would not recognise the present regime in Russia. But after the death of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, who had been Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations for many years, the chairmanship passed to Senator W. E. Borah, a strong advocate of the recognition of Russia. Those

business interests which coveted concessions in Russia and Siberia became considerably alarmed at the treaty which Japan and Russia made toward the close of the year; it looked as though Japan, by waiving her capitalist and bourgeois prejudices, had done very well for herself. Business opinion in America began to veer round in support of Senator Borah's position, with the result that the Administration began to veer too. Much to the surprise of the country and to its no little mystification, Secretary of State Hughes suddenly announced his resignation, to take effect March 4, 1925, a step widely ascribed to his unwillingness to be identified with the Administration's new and tentatively pro-recognition policy. The year closed, however, without any actual steps being taken.

There was no change in the status of the war debts. England continued to pay the interest and amortisation fund on what she owed the United States, but the other creditors—those who had not already funded their obligations—continued to procrastinate. Ambassador Jusserand opened conversations with the Government on behalf of France, but no progress was made. M. Jusserand resigned and returned to France, and it was believed that his successor, M. Daeschner, would make an offer more agreeable to the United States. The *New York Times* attracted a good deal of attention with the argument that the war debts should be divided into two categories, one covering sums that went into the actual conduct of the war, and the other the sums which had been used by the debtors to advance national interests. *The Times* suggested that the United States should cancel the former, leaving the debtors to repay the latter exactly like any other business obligation.

The suggestion was widely and favourably commented upon but it gathered no political support.

Sir Auckland Geddes resigned as the British Ambassador to Washington on December 29, 1923, and was succeeded by the Rt. Hon. Sir Esme Howard. Sir Esme had the somewhat unusual experience of being the first British Ambassador to the United States to stand aside while Canada and the United States adjusted a difficulty and signed a treaty. This treaty, covering the protection of the halibut fisheries in the North Pacific waters was signed on October 21 by the two parties concerned, without the intervention of Great Britain, even to the extent of initialling it. Canada later registered the treaty with the League of Nations, again without the intervention of Great Britain. It marked a definite change in the relations between the Dominions and the Mother Country.

To enable the Mexican Government to cope with the Huerta rebellion, the Government took the unusual step on January 4 of selling to Mexico eight aeroplanes, five million rounds of ammunition, and five thousand Enfield rifles; a few days later it prohibited the sale of arms to Huerta and others. When similar disorders broke out in Cuba the United States on May 2 placed

an embargo on arms to the Cuban rebels. Conditions in Honduras were disorderly during the spring months but the American Government succeeded in patching up an agreement between the three mutually warring factions which was signed on May 3 on board an American cruiser in the presence of a special commissioner from the State Department.

Relations with South America were without incident during the year except that the United States on August 13 formally refused to sign the Inter-American Electrical Communications Convention which had previously been signed by most of the South and Central American States. Without the United States signature, the treaty goes into effect on July 1, 1926.

Congress, by a joint resolution adopted May 21, relinquished 0,137,553 dollars of the Boxer Indemnity due from China. In all other respects the United States took no independent line in her relations with China during the year, contenting herself with joining the other Powers in their recurrent protests against the civil wars and disorders there.

Agitation in the Philippines for independence led the War Department to ask from General Leonard Wood an official report on the fitness of the Filipinos for self-government. General Wood replied on April 15 that in his judgment they were quite unprepared for independence. But President Coolidge anticipated this report somewhat, for on March 5 he wrote to Manuel Eoxas, Chairman of the Philippines Independence Commission, that the Filipinos " must make many great advances on the road to education, culture, and economic and political capacity before undertaking the responsibilities of self-government." The whole year was marked with recurring disorders in the Philippines, including a very serious mutiny of the constabulary as well as an uprising of several of the tribes.

The death of ex-President Wilson in Washington on February 3 [see Obituaries] caused nation-wide sorrow and drew from foes as well as friends many tributes to him. President Coolidge ordered the flags on Government buildings to remain half-masted for thirty days while Congress adjourned in memory of the dead. Although the country had spurned, with all the emphasis it could, Mr. Wilson's handiwork—the League of Nations—the drift of events had modified and softened the country's feeling about him. It was at this moment that the German Ambassador, Herr Wiedfeldt, made a diplomatic error which might have had unfortunate results. He decided on February 5 that as Mr. Wilson was a private citizen, the German Embassy need not and should not half-mast its flag. Perhaps this decision was prompted by the consciousness that the German Government, confronted at home by Nationalists who were bitterly anti-Wilson, would be in hot water if the German Ambassador joined in mourning for Mr. Wilson. However that may have been, Herr Wiedfeldt was stunned to discover the indignation which his decision caused in the United States. On February 6,

the day of the funeral, a mob of ex-soldiers nailed the American flag to the door of the German Embassy and sang the "Star Spangled Banner." That afternoon the Embassy half-masted its flag; Herr Wiedfeldt resigned his post and was succeeded by Baron Ago von Maltzan.

In domestic affairs the outstanding event of the year was the sensational "oil scandal" which threatened at one time to bring down both the old parties—the Republican and the Democratic—in a common ignominy to defeat.

For more than a year a committee of the Senate had been investigating, with great suspiciousness but without any tangible results, the mysterious transfer of very valuable oil lands in California belonging to the American Navy, from the Navy Department to the Department of the Interior, and their subsequent leasing to an oil-magnate, E. L. Doheney. The committee was also suspicious regarding the *bona fides* of the sale of the Teapot Dome oil lands in Wyoming—belonging to the Government—to another oil man, H. F. Sinclair.

Early in January, 1924, the Senate Committee discovered that the former Secretary of the Interior, Mr. A. B. Fall, had received from Mr. Doheney a "loan" of 100,000 dollars on November 80, 1921, some months before the Navy oil lands were transferred from the Navy Department to the Department of the Interior, and leased to Mr. Doheney. This news broke on the committee and the astounded country on January 24. On the very next day, attorneys for H. F. Sinclair announced that Sinclair, too, had "loaned" Secretary Fall 25,000 dollars in June, 1923.

This was the gist of the "oil scandal," but the hearings lasted for several months, and almost every day brought to light fresh charges and counter-charges in regard to the Government's oil lands and the relations of the private oil companies to prominent members of both the Republican and Democratic Parties. The affair reached the proportions of the Credit Mobilier scandal of an earlier day. Congress directed the Government to take court proceedings to cancel the oil leases granted to Doheney, and the sale of the Teapot Dome land to Sinclair. It followed this up by directing that criminal proceedings be started against Mr. Fall. But as the then Attorney-General, H. M. Daugherty, had approved the oil leases, Congress insisted that he was not a proper person to conduct these proceedings and that the President should appoint separate independent counsel.

President Coolidge finally consented to do this. Public clamour against Secretary of the Navy Denby and against Attorney-General Daugherty forced both men to resign. When it was disclosed that W. G. McAdoo, formerly Secretary of the Treasury under Wilson and a prominent candidate for the Democratic nomination for President, had accepted fees amounting to 150,000 dollars from Doheney for legal services rendered after retiring from the Government, excitement throughout the

country was intense. The popular view was that both parties were "tainted" with oil and that corruption was far more rampant in American public life than had hitherto been suspected.

Nevertheless the scandal died down almost as quickly as it arose. Mr. McAdoo remained an active and obstinate candidate for the Democratic nomination and came very near to capturing it at the prolonged Democratic convention in New York city in July. By the middle of the summer, when the Eepublicans had nominated Coolidge and Dawes for President and Vice-president and the Democrats had nominated John W. Davis, formerly American Ambassador to England, and Governor Charles W. Bryan, of Nebraska, for President and Vice-president, respectively, the whole country was tired of the "oil scandal" which played almost no part in the election. A third party sprang up, led by Senator Eobert M. La Follette, of Wisconsin, which sought to "clean house" vigorously, but—much to everybody's surprise—Senator La Follette succeeded in carrying only his own State. The country as a whole, as has been said, swung to the Eight. President Coolidge was re-elected, polling 15,748,000 votes against Mr. Davis's 8,617,000 votes and Senator La Follette's 4,686,000 votes.

This triumph for Mr. Coolidge at the polls is all the more striking in view of the fact that throughout the year he had very little influence with Congress and suffered repeated defeats on such important issues as the reduction of the income tax, the Bill appropriating many millions of dollars for bonuses to the soldiers in the World War, and the Bill providing for complete publicity for income tax returns.

Prohibition-enforcement continued as confusing as ever. The United States Supreme Court, in an important opinion, clarified the situation a little by ruling that personal stocks of liquor purchased before the Prohibition amendment went into effect, were not—as many people had claimed—exempt from seizure as contraband. On the other hand, several state courts handed down rulings that leaned toward a more liberal interpretation of the various "dry" enactments. Governor Smith, of New York State, in a message to the Legislature insisted that Congress should amend the Volstead Act so as to permit the manufacture and sale of light wines and beers, but the struggle between the "wets" and the "drys" was marked by few, if any, gains on either side.

Both the Senate and the House adopted a constitutional amendment which—when ratified by the requisite number of State Legislatures—will mark an interesting change in the American constitution. Under this amendment, the President, Senators, and Eepresentatives who are elected in November will take office in the January immediately following. At present there is a long wait from the November election until the inauguration in March before the President-elect can assume

the duties of his office, while the Congressmen who are elected in November frequently cool their heels in idleness until the December of the following year, a wait of practically thirteen months. But it will be several years, probably, before the proposed amendment will be sufficiently ratified to become part of the constitution.

The Prince of Wales visited the United States, arriving in New York on August 29. He lunched the next day with President Coolidge and spent several weeks thereafter in a round of social entertainments, finally proceeding to his ranch in Canada.

Two events in the air should be included in this recital. Three American aviators completed on September 28 at Seattle, Washington, the first complete circumnavigation of the globe by air. The other interesting event was the trip of the German-made dirigible balloon, the Z.E. 3, from Friedrichshaven, Germany, across the ocean to Lakehurst, New Jersey, where, on October 15 it was turned over to the United States Government. Under the agreement, the Z.E. 3—subsequently re-named the "Los Angeles"—can be used only for civil purposes.

CANADA.

Some surprise was caused in political circles in the early days of the year by the resignation of Sir Lomer Gouin, Minister of Justice, on the ground of ill-health. This withdrawal, combined with the prolonged absence—also for reasons of health—of Mr. Fielding, the veteran Finance Minister, deprived the Government of two powerful debaters and tacticians.

On the invitation of the Prime Minister the two Western leaders, Mr. T. A. Crerar, of Winnipeg, former Parliamentary Chairman of the Progressives, and Mr. Charles Dunning, Premier of Saskatchewan, journeyed to Ottawa to discuss the coming session, especially in its relation to the interests and views of Western Canada. In view of the relative position of parties in the House of Commons—Mr. Mackenzie King being faced with the prospect of meeting Parliament in a technical minority—the Government was naturally desirous of securing all possible co-operation from the Progressives. Contrary to general expectation, these *pourparlers* did not result in fresh Cabinet appointments on the lines of a Liberal-Progressive alliance. After some weeks Mr. Ernest Lapointe, a prominent French-Canadian and Minister of Marine, was appointed Minister of Justice in succession to Sir Lomer Gouin, and Mr. P. J. A. Cardin, the member for Eichelieu, was appointed Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

The Annual Conventions of the Grain Growers of the three Prairie Provinces held during January and February revealed the fact that there was considerable declension in the membership of the United Farmers, and it was recognised in the

Dominion that for various reasons the Progressive Party was less formidable as a political organisation than it was a year ago. Some journals even declared that as a National Party the Farmers had ceased to exist. It is true that although the Agrarians still controlled two Western Legislatures and constituted the second group in the House of Commons, there was no Farmers' Party in the Atlantic Provinces; the attempt to create such a party in Quebec had to be abandoned; and even in Saskatchewan the advocates of political action sustained a decisive defeat. It is significant that some modification of principle was laid down by the Canadian Council of Agriculture which is the central advisory body of the Agrarian interests. The revised platform condemned the principle of protection, advocated a tariff based solely on the needs of public revenue, the immediate abolition of the tariff on implements of production, a substantial increase in British preference, and a reciprocal trade arrangement with the United States.

The Third Session of Parliament (the fourteenth) was opened on February 28 by the Governor-General, Lord Byng of Vimy, with the customary ceremony. The principal subjects referred to in the Speech from the Throne were: The urgent need of reduced taxation and cost of production, tariff readjustment, the facilitation of marketing natural products, the stabilisation and control of freight rates on grain, the development of inland water transportation (particularly the St. Lawrence Waterway), the proposed construction of new Canadian National Railway lines, and the Reports of the Imperial Conferences held in London during 1923.

In the ensuing debate on the Address, Mr. Meighen, Leader of the Opposition, after critically analysing trade figures, submitted that a large proportion of the goods imported from Great Britain and the United States could be made in Canada if home industries were given sufficient protection, and that many Canadians were migrating southward owing to conditions prevailing in the Dominion. To this the Prime Minister replied that the Government was embarking on a vigorous policy to develop Canadian resources through the influx of labour and capital, and that, regarding Canadian migration, a large percentage classed by the United States returns as Canadian immigrants remained only temporarily in the United States and later returned to Canada. Moreover, there was a steadily rising tide of immigrants from other countries. Mr. King also emphasised the necessity of harmonising as far as possible the divergent demands of East and West respecting tariff policy, and appealed to the Progressives to support the Government in the task it had undertaken to that end.

Speaking on the Imperial Conferences Mr. Lapointe declared that any attempt to make the Conferences executive rather than merely advisory would be a dangerous mistake. The Parliament of Canada, he said, would never subscribe to the doctrine

that any decision of the Conference was binding either on Great Britain or any Dominion without ratification by their respective Parliaments.

Ultimately the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne was carried, after the defeat by a vote of 107 to 46 of a Conservative amendment on the Tariff issue round which the debate had largely centred.

Canada's constitutional right to amend the British North America Act and Charter of Federation irrespective of confirmatory legislation by the British Parliament formed the subject of a debate arising out of a resolution proposed by the Labour member for Winnipeg. The leaders of all three parties agreed that Canada had now all necessary autonomy to maintain practical nationhood on a parity with the people of Great Britain, and the resolution was withdrawn after a preponderating expression of opinion from all sides of the House that Canada's present constitutional situation was entirely satisfactory and there was no necessity for an academic declaration to prove it.

In connexion with the St. Lawrence International Waterways project, by which large ocean-going vessels would be enabled to pass through the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes to the centre of the continent, a resolution proposed during March by the Liberal member for Chambly and Vercheres for the tabling of the correspondence between the Canadian and United States Governments revealed acute sectional differences. All the Quebec members opposed the scheme without reservation, believing it to threaten Quebec interests, and particularly the port of Montreal. The Ontario members, on the other hand, supported the project, irrespective of party, while the Western and Maritime members, generally favourable, urged great caution and a thorough inquiry before embarking upon such an ambitious enterprise. The Premier assured the House that a complete engineering and financial investigation would precede any action taken by the Government, and that the interests of every section of the Dominion and of the Public Treasury would be carefully safeguarded. The men whom it was proposed shortly to appoint to the National Committee would, he said, be men of outstanding distinction and the Canadian experts on the Joint Engineering Board (consisting of three members representing each country) would pay special attention to the river and harbour levels, the cost of power production, and the question of possible revenue derivable from power enterprises.

Another waterways problem causing much concern to the Canadian Government was the diversion of the waters of Lake Michigan for drainage purposes at Chicago and the proposal to cut a canal between that city and the Mississippi. American operations had already perceptibly lowered the waters of the Great Lakes with injurious effects upon Canadian harbours and locksills, and the Government announced that it was "unalterably opposed" to any further diversion.

On April 19 Mr. J. A. Kobb, Acting Minister of Finance, presented his Budget. After expressing the unanimous regret of members of the House that Mr. Fielding was unable because of illness to introduce the Budget, Mr. Kobb reviewed the finances of the past two fiscal years. For the year 1922-23 the gross revenue was 403,094,210 dollars and total disbursements 350,608,546 dollars. The surplus of revenue over disbursements left 52,485,663 dollars available for railways, Merchant Marine, and other obligations amounting to 84,126,730 dollars. Of this amount 77,862,348 dollars was required for railways and 5,979,856 dollars for the Canadian Government Merchant Marine, and the outcome of the year resulted in an increase of 31,641,067 dollars to the Public Debt. For the year 1923-24 Mr. Eobb announced that the Budget had been balanced for the first time since 1913. Taking the estimated revenue as 396,000,000 dollars and the estimated expenditure chargeable to Consolidated Fund as 328,250,000 dollars, the surplus of revenue over ordinary expenditure would be 67,750,000 dollars available for capital, special, and other obligations. Turning to the Public Debt the Minister stated, after an analysis of the figures, that Canada's net public debt as of March 31, 1923, would be reduced by 30,409,109 dollars. Beferring to the growth of trade Mr. Bobb noted an increase of 60 per cent, in the aggregate trade as compared with 1914, while the unfavourable pre-war trade balance had been converted last year into a favourable balance of 142,000,000 dollars. The main proposals of the Budget were:—

Tariff reduction on agricultural and dairying implements, and mining, quarrying, lumbering, and logging machinery;

Reduction of general sales tax from 6 to 5 per cent;

Removal of sales tax on certain dairying and agricultural implements, provisions and breadstuffs;

Reduction of 50 per cent, of the sales tax on boots and shoes, tinned fruits, and tinned vegetables, etc. ;

Extension of British preferential tariff to any territory administered under a mandate by a British country already receiving British Preference

The Conservatives, with a few Liberal Protectionists, opposed the tariff reductions, Mr. Meighen denouncing "the blow at tariff stability" and challenging the Government to meet the country on the issue; while, as a protest against the tariff changes, Mr. Mitchell (St. Antoine) resigned his seat. Conversely Mr. McMaster (Brome), who crossed the floor last year on the tariff issue declared his intention of returning to the Liberal Party. The Prime Minister in answering Mr. Meighen said that the changes made had been mainly a reduction in the taxation of primary capital employed in basic industries which was the national policy of the Liberals, and that the country was against an election. After long debates—during which a Labour amendment providing for a tariff reduction on foodstuffs and clothing and the levying of special taxes on unearned income was rejected by a vote of 204 to 16—the Budget resolutions were adopted by a vote of 165 to 53, the whole of the

Progressives and Liberals (with the exception of four Liberals and one Progressive) voting in their favour.

Remarkable enthusiasm was displayed in the capital in May when the supporters and opponents of the Church Union Bill besieged the Private Bills Committee. This Bill for the union of the Presbyterian, Congregational, and Methodist Churches, created Dominion-wide interest and discussion, and the measure passed into law two months later to become effective in June, 1925.

During the deliberations of Parliament a significant party split occurred, when six Progressive members (four from Alberta, one from Saskatchewan, and the lady member for Ontario) formed a separate group and formally notified the Progressive Leader, Mr. Forke, that they would no longer attend the Progressive caucus but would act independently. The new group declared that the present Progressive Party was not sufficiently radical and democratic, and that there was too much caucus rule.

A provincial General Election took place in British Columbia during June. The Liberals were returned to power, the party strength being: Liberals, 26; Conservatives, 17; Labour, 3; and Provincial Party, 2. Both the Prime Minister, Mr. Oliver, and the Conservative Leader, Mr. Bowser, lost their seats, but later the Prime Minister successfully contested a seat at Nelson and reorganised his Cabinet, reducing the number of Ministers from eight to seven. Two subjects of note in British Columbia politics were the Liquor question and the Acquisition of the Pacific Great Eastern Railway.

Canada's reluctance to ratify the Lausanne Peace Treaty, involving the question of Dominion status and treaty-making powers, aroused much controversy in the Press on both sides of the Atlantic. Mr. King in his speech in the House of Commons pointed out that Canada was treated differently at Lausanne than at the Conferences at Versailles and Washington, where she was accorded direct representation, right of participation in argument, and right of signature by representative. He said that the Dominion had notified the British Government that Canada could not be expected to have the same direct interest in the Treaty of Lausanne and, while she did not desire any special terms or direct representation at Lausanne, she did reserve her right to concur in the agreement. Mr. King was emphatic that while the Canadian Government neither regarded the Treaty as binding upon the Dominion nor concurred with the ratification, still the Dominion had no objection to such ratification by other nations, and felt no resentment that she had taken no part in its negotiation. Publication of the correspondence between the British and Canadian Governments fully set forth Canada's attitude. Remarkable publicity was given to a speech made by the Canadian Premier in the House of Commons in June in which he stated:—

As I see it, looking to the future of Canada and having regard to the kinds of discussion that have taken place, there are at least three possible avenues of political development: one leading to complete independence; another leading to annexation with the United States; another leading to a more dearly recognised nationhood within the community of nations, comprising the British Empire or the British Commonwealth, by whichever term you may wish to call it. I can conceive of only one other possible alternative, and that is the Dominion reverting back into its original parts, and there then being two or more separate Colonies or Dominions, whichever you wish to call them, within what are now the confines of the one Dominion. That possibility, I think, is not to be considered for an instant.

FUTURE OF THE DOMINION.

For my own part, I believe that the future of this Dominion will be happiest and best, most prosperous, and in every way most to the good if its development is along the line—on which it has been thus far—towards a fuller recognition of national status within the community of free nations which comprise the British Empire; and it is because I hold that view; it is because I believe in it so strongly, that in this particular matter I have been prepared to risk whatever in the way of misunderstanding and criticism and censure might come from those who have not had a full knowledge or appreciation of the significance of the facts.

I have been taking my stand from the point of view of Canada, a nation within the British Empire, not Canada a Colony, not Canada in any inferior or subordinate position, but Canada a country which has gained and which merits equality of status with other Dominions and with the Mother Country in these inter-Imperial relations.

Finally the Canadian Government agreed that the Lausanne Treaty bound the whole Empire if ratified by the British Parliament, but that as to the obligations arising under the Treaty, the Canadian Parliament having regard to the representations made to the British Government would in no way be bound by any obligation beyond that which Parliament of its own volition recognises as arising out of the situation. Subsequently the British Order in Council announcing August 6, 1924, as the date of the termination of the war with Turkey was published in the Dominion.

This thorny problem (which created but little popular interest) again arose when the question of Canada's representative at the Inter-Allied Reparations Conference in London was considered in the House of Commons. Mr. King again insisted that "If a Protocol is to be signed on behalf of Canada and in accordance with the terms of the resolution of the Imperial Conference, it will, we think, be necessary to have at the Conference a representative of Canada holding full powers to sign, by His Majesty, in the form prescribed and sanctioned by Order in Council of our Government." Eventually an arrangement was agreed to by each Dominion, as an expedient and not as a precedent, whereby the accredited representative of each Dominion attended the Conference in turn as the delegate for the whole of the Dominions. Senator Belcourt, a former Speaker of the Canadian Parliament, acted as Canada's plenipotentiary. During July the appointment of Professor Oscar D. Skelton as Counsellor to the Department of External Affairs at Ottawa was announced, and was regarded as most timely, in view of the increasing importance of Canada's international

status and responsibilities. Professor Skelton later accompanied Canada's delegates to Geneva.

In the latter days of the session the House of Commons unanimously passed a resolution requesting His Majesty's Government to amend the British North America Act in order to make clear that an enactment by the Canadian Parliament, if expressed to operate extra-territorially, shall have that operation in matters affecting the peace and order and good government of Canada. Mr. Ijapointe, explaining the resolution, said that constitutional authorities now differed regarding the legal right of Canada to apply any legislation extra-territorially. He instanced the prosecution for breach of the shipping or aviation regulations, fisheries protection cases, or bigamy cases, if the offence were committed outside Canadian territory.

Parliament was prorogued by the Governor-General on July 19 after a comparatively long session. One of the most important legislative measures of the session was the Redistribution Bill based on the 1921 census, which provided for 245 seats in the next Parliament. This increased the number of seats in the House by 10. The Western Provinces gained 12 and Nova Scotia lost 2, the new allotment being: Ontario, 82; Quebec, 65; Saskatchewan, 21; Manitoba, 17; Alberta, 16; British Columbia, 14; Nova Scotia, 14; New Brunswick, 11; Prince Edward Island, 4; Yukon, 1. Other Bills and subjects dealt with during the sitting of the House were: Church Union (to which reference has been made), State Inspection of Banks, Capital Punishment, Suppression of smuggling operations between Canada and United States, the Co-ordination of the National Railways, Migration, Tariffs, International Trade (including the completion of an Agreement—the first of this kind to be signed in the Dominion—between Canada and Belgium and the Netherlands), together with the concurrence of the Liquor Smuggling Convention between Great Britain and the United States, and extensive amending legislation.

Following the Senate's insistence on drastic amendments to a number of measures, particularly one concerning the Soldiers' Pensions Act, Mr. King declared at the close of the session that during the recess the Government would carefully explore the problem of restricting the veto powers of the Senate.

In August both Mr. King and Mr. Meighen started on political tours throughout the country. After several meetings in Ontario and a brief visit to New Brunswick, the Prime Minister, accompanied by several of his colleagues, spoke at a number of points in the Western Provinces, and was generally well received in his review of the activities of the last Parliament and his exposition of his Government's policy. Speaking at Markham, Ontario, the Premier claimed that there had been a restoration of the policy of responsible government and the supremacy of Parliament. There had been greater economy in expenditure, a new and aggressive immigration

policy had been inaugurated, annual taxes had been reduced by over 24 million dollars, and a new fiscal policy and tariff revision had been adopted reducing the burden on implements of production, thus cheapening the cost of living and promoting greater production. The Premier also frankly advocated a Liberal-Progressive alliance.

One of the questions with which Mr. King had frequently to deal during his tour was the attitude of his Government to the matter of railway freight rates arising from a recent decision of the Board of Railway Commissioners to annul the Crow's Nest Pass Agreement. This agreement, made in the early days of the Laurier Administration, provided for favourable rates to shippers of certain classes of goods including lumber, furniture, agricultural implements, etc., from the East to the Western Provinces, and for grain and flour eastbound from the West. The Western farmers regarded this decision as a grave development, and Mr. Oliver represented to Mr. King during his visit to Victoria that a complete and far-reaching revision of the whole Western rate structure was imperative. The Eastern financial and industrial interests, on the other hand, were apprehensive of "designs of Western Radicalism," while the Atlantic Provinces entertained grievances against the administration of the Canadian National Railways over the former Inter-colonial' Line. The problem is an acute one which awaits solution by the next Parliament. Meanwhile an Order has been made authorising the restoration of the Crow's Nest Pass Agreement, pending a decision of the Supreme Court on the appeal of the Western Provinces.

Mr. Meighen denounced the Government's trend towards Free Trade and urged the continuation of the policy of Protection with tariff stability which he declared was the main issue before the Canadian people. Regarding Empire relationship, the Leader of the Conservative Party stated at a meeting in Winnipeg that the indefinable relations which had in the past made for the strength of the British Empire should be allowed to continue, and he saw great danger in any constitutional conference whose object would be to put in black and white the exact relations of the Empire.

Two important by-elections in the Province of Quebec were won in September by the Government. In Rimouski where the Government had a majority in the General Election (1921) of over 5,000, Major-General Fiset was elected by a majority of nearly 2,000. In the St. Antoine Division of Montreal, a traditional Conservative constituency, Mr. Husion, the Liberal candidate, was elected over the Conservative candidate, Mr. W. M. Birks, by a majority of 1,048. As this vacancy had been caused by the withdrawal of Mr. Mitchell on grounds already stated, the victory caused exultation in Liberal ranks as a vindication of the Government's fiscal policy. Among Conservatives a bitter controversy ensued centring in an attack

(chiefly in the Montreal section) on the leadership of Mr. Meighen. However, at a Conference held later in the year at Toronto at which representatives of Provincial organisations were present, Mr. Meighen was elected President of the new Conservative Association.

An Unemployment Conference also took place in September when representatives of the provincial municipalities, manufacturers, and labour organisations (the latter holding an independent Congress in the same month) conferred with the Government on the best methods of dealing with unemployment during the winter months. In this Conference the Government was represented by Mr. Murdock, Minister of Labour, and Dr. J. H. King, Minister of Public Works. During this month Mr. Harold Buchanan McGiverin, Liberal member for Ottawa, was appointed Minister without Portfolio in the King Cabinet.

On September 26 an official announcement was made of the conclusion of a Trade Treaty, after many attempts over a long period, between Canada and Australia. This agreement was of a reciprocal character granting Canada preference on selected lines of exports in return for which Canada agreed to extend equally favourable treatment in respect of specified Australian products. Several Australian Government representatives visited the Dominion on this and other trade matters, and the Treaty has yet to be ratified by the Parliaments of both countries. The Government of South Africa, from whom an inquiry was received at Ottawa, was advised that the preferential rates accorded to Australia under this agreement would be applied automatically to the Union of South Africa.

At the Autumn Assembly of the League of Nations, Canada was represented by Senator Raoul Dandurand and Mr. E. M. Macdonald, Minister of Defence. In the course of the Assembly's deliberations on the proposed Arbitration and Disarmament Protocol (for which Canada cast her vote in favour) Senator Dandurand emphasised the Dominion's attitude to Article X. of the Covenant, to which reference had been made earlier in the year when the Government had declined to accept the League's Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance. Canada had always, he said, sought an interpretation of that Article which would leave to her Parliament the decision as to the measure of participation in a conflict, and the Senator recalled the fact, that last year an amendment to Article X. in this sense secured the support of the Assembly with only one dissentient vote. The Japanese Immigration Amendment was also of direct importance to Canada since it involved the question of the right of the Dominions to discriminate against certain classes of immigrant.

During October a keenly contested by-election took place in the Northumberland riding of New Brunswick, caused by the death of Mr. Morrissey (Liberal), who had a majority of 1,400 votes at the General Election. Mr. W. B. Snowball, the

Government candidate, was successful in defeating his Conservative opponent, Mr. C. P. Hickey, by a majority of 700. In Yale, British Columbia, the by-election held on November 7 (in which both Mr. King and Mr. Meighen took part), was caused by the death of Mr. J. A. McKelvie (Conservative), and resulted in the return of Mr. Sterling Grote, the Conservative candidate, by a majority of 500 over Mr. D. S. Sutherland, Liberal. At the West Hastings by-election in the latter part of November, the Liberals won a conspicuous victory in the return of Mr. Hanna, ex-Mayor of Belleville, by a majority of 500. This constituency had been Conservative at each election since Confederation, and the vacancy had been caused by the resignation of Mr. G. Porter as the outcome of charges made (though investigated and dismissed by the Government) against the Minister of Labour in connexion with the failure of the Home Bank. Two Liberal candidates contested (December 2), Temiscouata, Quebec, for the seat rendered vacant by the death of Mr. Charles Gouvreau, who had held it continuously since 1897, and Mr. Jean Pouliot defeated Mr. Parrot, the official candidate, by a 3,000 majority.

As the whole question of Dominion status had been much to the fore throughout the year, the announcement of the Colonial Secretary, made during December, that the High Commissioners of the Dominions would be given Ambassadorial rank was well received in Canada. Mr. Mackenzie King had drawn attention at the last Imperial Conference to the matter of the diplomatic standing of the High Commissioners, and the removal of the anomaly was regarded as another definite step in the evolution of Dominion status.

In the last days of the year the Canadian Cabinet advised the British Government, that while appreciating the desire for a Conference in London on the subject of the Geneva Protocol, it was difficult, if not impossible, for either the Prime Minister or any of his chief colleagues to leave the Dominion in face of the approaching session and the prospect of a General Election.

Non-political but noteworthy events of the year include: The visit to Canada of a Soviet Trade Delegation (March), Canada's participation in the British Empire Exhibition, the Plebiscite held in Saskatchewan after eight years of Prohibition, resulting in the repeal of the Temperance Act and the substitution of Government sale of liquor (July), a similar Plebiscite in Ontario resulting in favour of continued Prohibition (October), the Meeting of the British Association at Toronto (August), the Visit of the Prince of Wales to his Ranch in Alberta (September), the Inaugural Banquet of the Canadian History Society of France at the Palace of Versailles (October), the Exchange of Ratifications completing the much-discussed Halibut Fisheries Treaty between Canada and the United States (October), the successful Operation of the Wheat Pools by the United Farmers of the three Prairie Provinces (September to November), the

Government Trade Delegation, headed by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, to the West Indies (December), and the Settlement of a long-standing dispute between the Government of Canada and the Hudson's Bay Company respecting the allocation of land (December).

ARGENTINA.

The year 1924 was on the whole uneventful. Elections were held in April which gave the Socialists a somewhat increased representation, but did not materially alter the balance of parties either in the Chamber or the Senate. The Radical Party, which constitutes the majority in both Houses, split into two factions, one supporting the President, Dr. Alvear, and the other the ex-President, Dr. Irigoyen, who has been at open feud with his successor. Owing to the bickerings of these factions, the sittings of Congress have been legislatively barren, and even the discussion of the 1925 Budget was put off till a special session in December in spite of the repeated insistence of the Minister of Finance on the urgent necessity of financial reforms.

In the summer the Government was pressed by the Socialists to avail itself of the powers accorded to it by Congress in the last session of seeking a loan of 150,000,000 dollars gold abroad, and of opening the Conversion Office, which had been closed under the emergency legislation of August, 1914, as a preliminary to placing the monetary system of the country on a gold basis. Dr. Molina, the Minister of Finance, replied that the Government was biding its time till the international money market, more especially the American market, should be more favourable for such an operation. Meanwhile he denied that there was any inflation, pointing in proof to the absence of speculation in land and other phenomena which usually accompany inflation.

Great embarrassment was caused to the Government during the year by popular resistance to the enforcement of the Pensions Law, which had been promulgated in December, 1923. This law, which was rushed through Parliament without adequate discussion, exacts a contribution of 5 per cent, from all employees on monthly salaries or on wages, and as much from the employers. The law was highly unpopular, and its validity for the district of Buenos Aires was questioned. The first contributions were due on April 30, and for a month before that date the question of complying with the law was hotly debated by the general public. On April 28, a largely attended meeting of business men took place at Buenos Aires, as a result of which the Minister of Finance was asked to postpone the operation of the law. Dr. Molina could not see his way to accede to the request, and in consequence a kind of general strike took place against the enforcement of the law. Collections for the first three months amounted to only 7,957,649

dollars paper, about one-tenth of what on the most conservative estimate would have been the proceeds of the levy if the law were universally complied with. Fines were in some cases imposed for disobedience, but their collection was not enforced. Modifications in the law were proposed in Congress, but the session closed before the discussion was concluded.

In the summer an attempt was made by the "Federacion Obrera Maritima" to paralyse the shipping trade by means of a general strike of port workers. Some coastal and river services were suspended for a time, but thanks to Government protection sufficient non-Union labour was forthcoming to prevent any serious interference with the export shipping.

Immigration was somewhat below anticipation in the first three quarters of the year, but increased in the last quarter, owing to good harvest prospects. It was found that numbers of the immigrants used the Argentine as a half-way house to the United States, and in order to retain them in the country the Government gave inducements to settle on the land; up to October it had placed 27,000 in its land camps.

BRAZIL.

At the opening of the year Brazil was visited by the British Mission', headed by Mr. E. S. Montagu, which had been invited by the President, Dr. Bernardes, to survey the financial and economic conditions of the country with a view to suggesting improvements in administration. The Mission returned to England on March 21 and sent its report to Dr. Bernardes soon afterwards. Its chief recommendation was that the Government should aim at framing Budgets after the English model. It also advised that a strong Committee should be appointed to examine the possibility of effecting drastic economies. The Government immediately took in hand the formation of such a Committee to analyse the Budget estimates for the coming year. Within two months the Committee had issued a memorandum suggesting diminutions in the public expenditure amounting to over 100,000 contos during the coming year. The Government had, however, at this point to lay aside all projects of reform in order to suppress a series of revolts against its authority which occupied its whole attention for the rest of the year and which no doubt were in part provoked by the mere prospect of reform.

Early in the year the Government had found it necessary to proclaim a "state of siege" in the State of Bahia, owing to political unrest prevailing there. But the most serious challenge to its authority came from a quarter in which it was not expecting immediate trouble—the State of Sao Paulo. Here early in July the standard of revolt was raised by General Isidoro Dias Lopes along with certain sections of the army which were embittered against President Bernardes on account of the severe treatment he had meted out to the leaders of the revolt in 1922,

The rising was joined by certain elements of the population of Sao Paulo, largely non-Brazilian, which regarded the central Government as inefficient and corrupt, and cherished Separatist leanings.

The rising took the Government by surprise, and the rebels were able to occupy the city of Sao Paulo, Brazil's chief commercial centre, without opposition. Dr. Bernardes immediately proclaimed a state of siege in the States of Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and the Federal District. He retained most of his own forces in the capital, in order not to leave it exposed, and called on the Federal States to send troops to Sao Paulo. The States obeyed the call, and the rebels soon found themselves shut up in Sao Paulo. Being threatened with a bombardment there, they withdrew into the interior on July 27. Here they immediately split up into small bands with which the Federal troops found no difficulty in dealing separately, and the revolt was practically at an end. During the rebel occupation the ordinary life of Sao Paulo had been paralysed, some 200,000 of its inhabitants having taken refuge in the suburbs and the interior; and the expense of quelling the revolt, together with the loss of business caused by it, was a serious drain on Brazil's none too flourishing finances.

Sporadic revolts and mutinies took place throughout the rest of the year. The most spectacular, and the one which at first caused most alarm, was the escapade of certain officers on board the battleship *Sdo Paulo*, who on November 4 declared themselves in revolution and sailed out to sea from Rio de Janeiro, where they were stationed. The *Sao Paulo* exchanged shots for two hours with a harbour fort. It was pursued by the other Brazilian dreadnought, the *Minas Geraes*, and made its way to Montevideo, where it was brought back to its allegiance by some officers on board who had remained loyal.

Owing to the unrest left by the Sao Paulo revolt, the Government found it necessary to prolong the state of siege in the States of Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Para, Bahia, Mattogrosso, Sergipe and Amazonas till the end of the year. Thanks to this and other precautionary measures, President Bernardes was able to preserve comparative calm in the country. In an address to the Brazilian people on the termination of his second year as President of the Republic in October, he referred to the insurrections as having been " apparently instigated by small parties of self-seeking individuals," and gave an assurance that the Government was determined to maintain order and exercise authority as legally constituted. On November 15, the anniversary of the declaration of the Republic, a " Word to the Nation " was issued, signed by the Presidents of all the States, the purport of which was that those responsible for the welfare of the people would not tolerate any more subversive movements, and that rigorous action would be taken to suppress any such efforts which might still come to light. Reference was made to the damage caused to the credit

and prestige of Brazil by the "anarchy of mutiny and revolt" which had been in evidence during the preceding months, and an appeal was made for the loyal service of the armed forces and the frank co-operation of the civil population in order to re-establish tranquillity.

CHILE.

Great political unrest, culminating in a *coup d'etat*, has marked the year 1924 in Chile. The opening of the year found the President, Senor Alessandri, attempting to govern without Congress, owing to his inability to agree with the Conservative majority in the Senate which blocked his attempts to reform the electoral system. A new election was due in March, but the Senate insisted on Congress remaining in session till that date. By the end of January an amicable settlement was reached, the President consenting to reopen Congress, while his opponents undertook to support a number of reforms which he proposed, the chief of which were that Senators and Deputies should receive salaries, and that members called to office should go to their constituencies for re-election. At the same time a new Cabinet was formed with Sr. Jose Moza as Prime Minister.

The General Election was held at the beginning of March, and resulted in a strong Liberal majority in both Chambers. As the President also belonged to this Party, the way seemed clear for fruitful legislative activity. Nevertheless the public felt no great confidence in the new Congress owing to the unconstitutional methods used in the election; and its apprehensions proved to be well grounded. The time of the Congress was taken up with the bickerings of political factions, and no progress was made with legislation. Meanwhile the financial situation of the country went from bad to worse. Salaries of Government officials fell into arrears, the exchange remained weak, and the Government declared itself unable to see any way of reducing the deficit, the returns from the income tax imposed in January having fallen short of expectation. The patience of the public became exhausted, and the rejection by the Senate of a Bill to increase Army pay, after it had been passed by the Chamber of Deputies, brought matters to a head. On September 4 General Luis Altamirano, at the head of a group of officers, presented an ultimatum to the President demanding that certain reforms should be carried through. As a result Congress immediately, on September 8, passed a number of Bills which had long been pending, among them a Bill to raise funds for cancelling the deficit of approximately 110,000,000 paper pesos, and the 1924 Budget, which had been before Congress for more than a year.

In order to reassure the public, which had been greatly alarmed by the *coup*, the Military Council issued a statement declaring that the military movement had no political character,

that it was inspired by the supreme necessity of saving the country which was being ruined by political and administrative corruption, and that the armed forces had no desire to establish a military Government, or enthrone a dictatorship of any sort. A few days later a new Ministry was formed containing both military and civilian elements, with General Altamirano at its head. The new Ministry was well received by the public, which looked to it to effect a general cleansing of the administration.

The Military Council at first advised President Alessandri to take six months "leave of absence," but afterwards accepted his definite resignation. On September 12 he reached Buenos Aires, and thence proceeded at the end of the year to Europe. The new Cabinet constituted itself a *Junta de Gobierno*, or Government Board, and issued a decree announcing that the presidential election would be held on May 10, 1925, by direct vote, and not, as hitherto, by electing electors. At the same time there would be a General Election to Congress on a new electoral law. The newly elected Deputies and Senators would on July 25 act as a Constituent Congress to ratify or reject the reforms proposed by the Provisional Government; on August 25 they would assemble in full Congress to proclaim or elect the new President; and on September 18 the constitutional regime would be in full force.

MEXICO.

At the opening of 1924, the forces of Senor de la Huerta, who had raised the standard of revolt against President Obregon a month previously (*vide* ANNUAL REGIKTER, 1923, p. 312), were more than holding their own, and the issue of the conflict was doubtful. The United States, however, which from the first had openly favoured Obregon, on January 17 took a step which enabled him to secure a decisive advantage. It gave him permission to move Mexican troops from Sonora through United States territory to a point in Texas from which they could re-enter Mexico. By this means the Federal troops were able to take the rebels in the rear, and within a couple of months Obregon had succeeded in practically suppressing the revolt.

At the beginning of the year a Mexican representative, Senor Nieto, came to England to negotiate for the recognition of Mexico by that country. British bondholders made representations to the Foreign Office against recognition being granted till certain liabilities of the Mexican Government should have been met. Recognition was therefore refused for the time being, but Mr. MacDonald took steps to send out a British Mission to Mexico under Sir T. Hohler to examine the possibilities of recognition. Meanwhile an acrimonious controversy took place between President Obregon and Mr. H. A. C. Cummins, the British Charge d'Archives, whom Mr. MacDonald had commissioned to watch over British interests

in Mexico, on the subject of armed attacks which had been made by brigands on Mrs. Rosalie Evans, an Englishwoman who owned property in the State of Puebla. President Obregon accused Mr. Cummins of interfering unwarrantably in the internal affairs of Mexico and of insulting the Government, and in June expelled him unceremoniously from the country. The British Government thereupon cancelled Sir T. Hohler's visit, and broke off diplomatic intercourse with Mexico (*vide* English History, p. 70). President Obregon retorted by withdrawing soon afterwards the Mexican consular representatives in British cities.

The attacks on Mrs. Evans continued, and culminated in her murder on August 2. They were symptomatic of the agrarian unrest prevalent in the country, due to the action of the Government in expropriating the owners of the *haciendas* (large estates) in favour of the *peons* (land workers). The latter in many cases resorted to brigandage, which the Government made very feeble efforts to suppress.

In July the presidential election took place, and General Plutarco Calles, the nominee of General Obregon, was elected. For the first time in many years the accession of a new President to office took place unaccompanied by any disturbance or display of violence. General Obregon, in his final message to Congress on September 2, vigorously attacked the policy of Great Britain in breaking off relations with Mexico, and reiterated his statement that the expulsion of Mr. Cummins was due not to the fact of his having made representations on behalf of British subjects in Mexico, but to his discourteous attitude towards the Mexican Government.

The new President, like his predecessor, belonged to the Labour Party, and was suspected of leaning even more strongly to the side of Communism. His first utterances and actions after his assumption of office, towards the close of the year, did not support this opinion. On Christmas Day a strike broke out among the railway workers in Vera Cruz, of the lawless kind common in that city, but the Government took such firm measures that it collapsed after a single day. In his first public statement on December 28, the President declared that the greatest and most urgent problem was that of the economic condition of the country, and announced his intention of abolishing the practice of illegal commissions among public employees, the chief source of political corruption in Mexico.

OTHER COUNTRIES.

Evolutionary movements have taken place in Peru, Bolivia, and Honduras, analogous to those which in Spain and Chile substituted a military junta for the civil power. In Peru a military rising took place after the presidential election on July 6. It was soon quelled by Senor Leguia, who then announced

that he had received 200,000 votes for re-election as President—the largest vote ever recorded in Peru. In Bolivia also Senor Saavedra restored order without difficulty.

CHAPTER XI.

AUSTRALASIA: THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA—NEW ZEALAND.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

During the early part of 1924 Mr. Stanley Bruce, the Commonwealth Prime Minister, was in England in connexion with the Imperial Conferences, and Dr. Earle Page, who represented the Country Party in the Coalition Government, was acting Prime Minister. When Mr. Bruce resumed active office, he addressed the Commonwealth House of Representatives on March 27 upon Australian aspects of the Imperial and Economic Conferences. Mr. Bruce said that it was imperative that such conferences should be held at the shortest intervals and, if possible, annually. But, in view of the vast distances separating the different parts of the Empire, the best that could be achieved at present was a Biennial Conference. Continuity was desirable and could best be accomplished by the substitution of an Imperial Secretariat drawn from Britain and the self-governing Dominions for the present purely British Secretariat. Australia made a tentative move in this direction later in the year when Mr. Bruce appointed Mr. B. G. Casey as liaison officer in London between Australia and the British Government. At the same time Mr. Alan Leeper, an Australian in the employ of the British Government, was loaned to the Commonwealth Government to prepare the way for a similar liaison between the Commonwealth and the Mother Country. As a result Dr. W. Henderson was appointed liaison officer in Melbourne on December 31.

Beferring to Imperial Defence, Mr. Bruce advised the Australian Parliament to accept the principle of a common scheme of Empire Defence. As a first step, the Australian Government proposed the construction of two cruisers of 10,000 tons each with eight-inch guns to replace the cruisers *Melbourne* and *Sydney*. During January Australian public attention had been drawn to the problem of naval defence by the visit of a Japanese squadron under Vice-Admiral Saito. In March, a British squadron, including five light cruisers and the battle-cruisers, *Hood* and *Bepulse*, under Vice-Admiral Sir Frederick Field, also visited Australian ports and met with an enthusiastic reception. The sight of battleships which had served in the World War, and conversation with their officers and men,

quickly brought Australian opinion in contact with the basic realities of Imperial Naval Defence. Australia's education in naval affairs was carried a stage further on April 12, when H.M.A.S. *Australia*, the only battle-cruiser in the Commonwealth fleet, was sunk twenty-two miles east of Sydney Heads under Treaty obligations entered into at the Washington Disarmament Conference. The episode deeply touched the public imagination. The hulk of the dismantled flagship was towed by four tugs to the "burial spot," accompanied by *Brisbane*, *Melbourne*, *Adelaide*, *Anzac* and the destroyer *Stalwart*, as well as the vessels of the British light-cruiser squadron. The actual sinking lasted twenty minutes and at the end, the Australian fleet fired a salute over the spot and two aeroplanes dropped wreaths. The ceremony was the first of its kind in the history of the Royal Navy. Mr. Bruce said at the time, the *Australia* was the first great ship of the young Australian Navy and Australia's contribution to the defence of civilisation. "In her passing she symbolises our contribution to the cause of peace."

A report upon the Commonwealth land forces, prepared by the chief of the general staff (Sir H. G. Chauvel), was presented to the House of Representatives on June 20 by the Minister for Defence (Mr. Eric Kendall Bowden). The report revealed a shortage of officers, inadequate training and lack of equipment, which were disquieting. Sir Harry Chauvel recommended that the period of training for the Citizen Forces should be increased from two to three years, and the annual training increased from ten to twelve days. The extra training would necessitate calling up three annual quotas, those of 18, 19, and 20 years, instead of two quotas, and would cost 100,000Z. a year more, but, in General Chauvel's opinion, "would render the nucleus of some real value." The present nucleus numbers 37,655, including 31,000 boys aged 18 and 19 years, who receive ten days' military training a year for two years.

Dr. Earle Page, the Commonwealth Treasurer, made his Budget speech in the House of Representatives on July 31, a feature in the statement being the proof afforded of the buoyancy of revenue. Largely owing to unexpected Customs receipts, the revenue was over 4,000,000Z. more than the estimates. The accumulated surplus in June was 10,000,000l., of which nearly 5,000,000Z. was used for debt redemption and the rest for defence, road development, old-age pensions and grants to produce exporters. There was also a general reduction of 10 per cent, on income tax and 26,000 income tax payers were relieved by increasing the total exemption from 200l. to 300l. Earlier in the year, on February 12, Dr. Page, then acting Prime Minister, advocated a drastic limitation of Federal and State borrowing, on the ground that the national debts of Australia were becoming dangerously large. Dr. Page's proposal was that the public debts should be limited to 160l. per head of population. As there was an annual increase of 125,000 persons, 20,000,000Z,

could be borrowed annually by the Federal and State Governments, without increasing the existing total debt.

With reference to the schemes for assisting primary producers, Mr. Bruce, speaking on April 17 at the Royal Show, Sydney, outlined certain proposals for the better marketing of Australian goods and, on October 3, announced specific measures for helping the wheat industry. The Commonwealth Government was prepared to co-operate with the States in constituting voluntary pools in the four wheat-producing States, which would operate for three years. A single selling organisation would be established for the disposal of wheat sold overseas, and all shipping and freight arrangements for wheat exported would be controlled by the organisation. A levy would be made on each bushel handled by the pool in order to build up a fund to finance a similar wheat pool when the Government guarantee ceased to operate.

On October 1 Mr. Pratten, who had succeeded Mr. Austin Chapman as Minister for Trade and Customs, announced that the Government had decided to increase from 25 to 75 per cent, the proportion of British material or workmanship that must be represented in the cost of goods which claimed the tariff preference accorded to British goods. Mr. Pratten said that the 25 per cent, condition pressed hard upon such Australian industries as textiles, iron, and machinery. When goods were imported direct from Europe, dumping duties prevented detriment to Australian industries. But, when goods of continental origin were first imported into Great Britain, the addition of only 25 per cent, to their value by British labour on materials entitled them to admittance into Australia at preferential rates. Such goods not only gained immunity from dumping duties, but benefited by the lower duty on British goods. The change from 25 to 75 per cent, was made in agreement with the Government of New Zealand, which made a similar change in its own tariff at the same time. Another important tariff change was the negotiation of an agreement between the Australian and Canadian Commonwealths, under which certain tariff preferences were extended to leading articles of Canada-Australian trade. After protracted negotiations Australia agreed to give Canada preference on twelve items, seven at British preferential rates and five at intermediate rates. For her part, Canada offered Australia British preferential rates on fourteen items. Fish, gloves, printing machinery, cash registers, and printing paper were the chief Canadian goods which received the benefit of the British preferential rate, corsets, rubber goloshes, and vehicle-parts receiving the benefit of the intermediate rate. Canada offered Australia the benefit of British preferential rates on such goods as meat, tallow, cheese, butter, dried fruit, canned fruit, wine, honey, eucalyptus oil, and brandy. In his speech to the House of Representatives on September 26, announcing the agreement, Mr. Pratten said that for the first time two Anglo-Saxon

Dominions had clasped hands across the Pacific. The proposals were of world-wide importance, bringing closer the accomplishment of inter-Imperial preferential trade.

During the last weeks of 1924 Australian trade suffered much from shipping disputes. Under the provisions of the Returned Soldiers and Sailors Employment Act of 1919, members of the Australian military and naval forces, who had been on active service, were entitled to preference when crews were made up, and, at Sydney, a Shipowners' Labour Bureau was established to give effect to the preference. For some time there had been trouble between the Sydney Bureau and the shipping trade unions, as many returned soldiers and sailors were not members of the Wharflumpers Union, and among these non-members were some who had remained loyal to the shipowners during the 1917 strike. Applications were made to law-courts during December and Mr. Bruce called a Strike Conference on December 14, but no agreement acceptable to the trade unions was reached. Ships of all types were unable to make up their complement of men, and on December 22 the trouble was so serious that the Australian Steamship Owners' Federation threatened to lay up seven inter-State fleets, totalling 290,000 tons and including 100 ships. The Federation protested against the militant attitude of the Seamen's Union and urged the authorities to enforce the arbitration laws. At the end of the year the shipping strike was still not settled. It is seriously affecting the Commonwealth Line of Steamers which has had difficulty in paying its way since the re-organisation of 1923.

In State, as opposed to Commonwealth, politics, immigration continues to be a matter of absorbing interest and importance. At the end of 1924 a new development took place in the introduction of considerable numbers of Italians, Yugoslavs, Greeks, and Czechs. These migrants went to Australia direct from Mediterranean ports because the United States are no longer open to them. This migration of Southern Europeans aroused strong opposition among Australians who not only favour a "White Australia" but a "British Australia." The arrival of the first Southern Europeans coincided with the return to Australia of Sir John McWhae, lately Agent-General for Victoria. Sir John came to London as an ardent advocate of migration, and three years' experience in England convinced him that the present State control favours a multiplicity of migration schemes. His arguments have convinced many supporters of Australian migration that the problem should be put upon a Commonwealth basis.

In Victoria, there were numerous ministerial changes, consequent upon the break-up of the Coalition between the State Liberals and the Country Party. This Coalition had formed a Government headed by Mr. Lawson, a Liberal, in which the Ministry for Lands was held by Mr. John Allan, of the Country Party. The Victorian Coalition had a special interest as it was of

similar origin to that which maintained Mr. Stanley Bruce and Dr. Earle Page in office in federal politics. During March a conference of farmers at Bendigo decided that Mr. Allan and other Victorian Ministers associated with the Country Party should be instructed to oppose their Liberal colleagues in the Coalition in the event of a General Election. This decision forced Mr. Lawson to resign (March 19) in order to reconstruct his Government, without aid from his five colleagues of the Country Party. Mr. Lawson was defeated on a Parliamentary vote, and, on April 25, resigned a second time after holding office for the long period of six years. He was succeeded by Sir Alexander Peacock, a Nationalist, who attempted to carry on without the help of the Country Party and despite the fact that the Labour Party was the largest group in the Victorian Assembly. When the Peacock Government was defeated, the State Governor, the Earl of Stradbroke, commissioned Mr. Prendergast, an ex-compositor and leader of the State Labour Party, to form a Cabinet, this being the first Labour Ministry in Victoria, with the exception of one which held office for ten days in 1913.

There was a General Election at the end of June in which Mr. Prendergast's Party gained a few seats, but was still in a minority of about ten. The Labour Government held office until November. At this time the Labour Party were in office in all the Australian States, with the exception of New South Wales. In Victoria the members of the Cabinet were chosen by a ballot of the members of the party, though the portfolios were allotted by Mr. Prendergast, as Premier. The policy of the Victorian Labour Party included a reduction of railway freights upon agricultural produce by 10 per cent., the establishment of an agricultural bank, and the spending of 1,500,000Z. upon developmental roads. Mr. Allan and Sir Alexander Peacock settled their difficulties and formed a composite Ministry on November 19, Mr. Allan becoming Premier, and Sir Alexander Peacock, Treasurer and Minister for Labour. Mr. Lawson the ex-Premier, refused office as did the former Victorian Treasurer, Sir William McPherson. The significance of the Victorian political crisis extended beyond State politics because a similar union of the Country (Farmers') Party and the Nationalists maintains Mr. Bruce and Dr. Page in office in federal politics. In order to counter the Federal Labour Party, Mr. Bruce and Dr. Page in May came to an agreement that Nationalist and Country Party members should be nominated for the seats they held and receive the support of both parties. Where a seat was held by Labour, each Ministerial Party could nominate a candidate, but efforts would be made to avoid a split vote in any constituency. The policy of the Country Party, as outlined by Mr. Allan on June 3, included the lowering of railway freights, the decentralisation of urban populations, the introduction of a Credit Foncier Act granting easy loans

to farmers, and the organisation of overseas markets for produce.

The New South Wales political situation remained stable during 1924, but a General Election in South Australia on April 7 resulted in gains for the Labour Party, and Mr. Gunn formed a Ministry to replace the Government of Sir Henry Barwell. There was a strong Labour majority in the South Australian Legislative Assembly, but a Liberal majority in the Council rejected several Labour Bills, including measures for the Abolition of the Council, Adult Suffrage, State Insurance, and a Bill making it necessary that any recommendation for a knighthood, or other title, should be endorsed by both Houses of Parliament before it was conferred by the King. The elections for the Western Australian Assembly in May resulted in the return of 27 Labour members and 23 Anti-Labour members, Sir James Mitchell's Government being replaced by an administration under Mr. Collier, the Labour leader. As in Victoria and South Australia, Sir James Mitchell was hampered by the partial disruption of the coalition between Nationalists and the Country Party in his State. The Executive of the Primary Producers' Association outside Parliament claimed that the Association should be consulted regarding policy, and, when the claim was refused, nominated candidates who stood against the "Official" Country Party. Mr. Collier's land settlement policy was substantially the same as that of the Mitchell Government, though the Labour Party was critical regarding the administration of Western Australian immigration schemes.

In Queensland, Mr. Theodore, the Labour Premier, held office throughout the year, the chief event in Queensland politics being the settlement of the long-standing dispute between the Queensland Government and the British holders of pastoral leases. In 1920 the Labour Party passed a Bill which had the effect of increasing rents payable under leases granted to British companies. This was regarded by the companies as a violation of their contracts. London financiers supported the British Pastoral Companies in their protest, and for some years Queensland was unable to borrow on the London money market and raised some small loans in New York. In view of the fact that 25,000,000*l.* of Queensland loans were due for repayment in 1924 and 1925, Mr. Theodore judged it wise to come to a settlement with the London financiers. The settlement was reached after a declaration by the Queensland Premier that "if his Government had been advised that the Act of 1920 constituted a breach of contract, it would not have been passed." The declaration was accepted by Sir Arthur Balfour, on behalf of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in London, and the controversy ended.

In Tasmania, political problems were mainly concerned with finance. The increase in debt of the State has outstripped the growth of population, largely owing to the big expenditure upon roads. On December 6 Mr. J. Lyons, the Tasmanian

Labour Premier, described the financial position of the State as "hopeless," the accumulated deficit being nearly 1,000,000l. Mr. Lyons announced his intention to increase taxation by 10s. per head of population and initiate a Sinking Fund, but even then a special grant from the Commonwealth Treasury would be required. The amount proposed was 100,000l. a year, in addition to the 85,000l. grant already paid to Tasmania by the Commonwealth.

During 1924 Dame Nellie Melba paid a farewell visit to Australia, and her opera seasons at Sydney and Melbourne attracted immense audiences. On August 26 the 17th Congress of The Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science met at Adelaide, the papers including an important presidential address by Sir John Monash upon "Power Development." Professor Elliot Smith, who is a native of New South Wales, attended the Congress and also discussed projects with the National Research Council of Australia regarding the development of anthropological research, particularly in connexion with the aborigines. During the summer M. Vilhjalmur Stefansson, the well-known explorer, made a journey through the so-called "dead-heart" of Australia. His report took the form of a comparison between prairie conditions in the United States and Australia, his conclusion being that if the American prairie at the same stage of development was more hopeful for agriculture, the Australian "dead heart" is more hopeful from the standpoint of stock raising.

NEW ZEALAND.

Political activity in New Zealand during the year 1924 has continued on the even course established during the first session of 1923, the Et. Hon. W. F. Massey's Reform Party maintaining its small majority over all others in the House of Representatives. Mr. Massey himself, who had been in England attending the Imperial Economic Conference, returned to the Dominion on February 6 and was received with great enthusiasm.

In view of the amount of Preference granted to Empire products by the New Zealand Customs Tariff and of the extent to which she is dependent on the markets of the Mother Country for the support of her own vital industries, great satisfaction was expressed throughout the country at the decision of the British Government to establish the principle of Empire Preference in this country. Keen disappointment was felt, therefore, when the reins of Government were assumed by the Labour Party under Mr. MacDonald, and it was announced that the Conference decisions on this matter would not be carried into effect. In a statement to the Press on May 7, Mr. Massey said that, from the Dominion's standpoint, it seemed inimical to the Empire's interests that large sums of British money should go to foreign countries for the purchase of commodities which, with

proper encouragement, **could be produced in abundance by** British citizens. He added, however, that **what was happening** then would not affect New Zealand's loyalty to the Empire in the slightest.

At the reassembling of Parliament on June 26 the attitude adopted by the Government with regard to this question was stated in these terms by the Governor-General in his Speech from the Throne:—

"However much we may regret the decision of the House of Commons regarding the Resolutions on the Imperial Preference, my Ministers clearly recognise that an Administration, whose Prime Minister was not present himself and was not otherwise represented at the Conference, must necessarily be free to determine whether it will, or will not, support in Parliament the Conference Resolutions. The policy of this Dominion, which provides for special preference to British Empire trade, was adopted without request on our part for reciprocal treatment and it remains unaffected."

The Address in reply was moved in the House of Representatives on July 2, and after a protracted debate, a Liberal no-confidence amendment to the Address was defeated by 37 to 33.

The Financial Statement for the year which ended on March 31, as presented to Parliament by the Minister of Finance, showed a satisfactory surplus of Revenue over Expenditure. This result was attributed to the general improvement in the condition and prospects of the Dominion, due largely to the gratifying revival in demand and in the prices paid for her produce in the overseas markets. Continued strict economy in the administration of public finance also played an important part. The total surplus was 1,812,365l.

The Revenue for the year showed an increase of 380,927l. over that for the previous year. The principal increases were shown by the Customs (1,105,924?.) and Railways (234,604?.), and there was a decrease of 456,731l. in the expenditure for permanent charges. Land Tax (115,040?.), Income Tax (49,401?.) and miscellaneous Revenue (615,459?.) were the sources of Revenue returning amounts less than in the 1922-23 period. The increase in customs revenue, in so far as it indicates an expansion of the import trade not accountable for by the increase in population, cannot be looked upon as an unmixed blessing. It was, however, due in part to the extra preferential duty levied on foreign goods. In view of the all-round reduction of 20 per cent, in income tax (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1923, p. 324), the decline in receipts from this source as compared with 1922-23 is less than might have been expected, but it should be remembered that the receipts in that year had been affected by the general trade slump which began in 1920 and extended over the greater part of 1922.

Expenditure amounted to 26,148,005?., the principal items being Permanent Appropriations (debt and pensions charges)

12,450,5722., Railways 5,153,1411., Post and Telegraph 2,117,9521., and Education, 2,604,5081.

The net Public Debt was shown as 205,962,883?—a decrease of 1,111,185? on the year. Of this total 72,751,732? represents the War Debt, while State Advances account for 17,100,522?. Annual charges on the debt amounted to 8,557,497?. During the year loans totalling 13,575,575? matured and were dealt with by redeeming 7,173,675? and renewing 6,397,965? while bonds for 3,935? were unrepresented.

Further liberal assistance to settlers and workers under the State Advances Act of 1894 was reported in the Statement. In the twelve months under review 7,292 applicants received loans amounting to 6,205,686?. Some of this money was granted for the purpose of repaying mortgages. The policy of assisting settlers in this way was decided on in October, 1922, and from that date to June 30, 1924, at which date the capital of the Department totalled 24,483,525?., 3,584,205? had been lent for this specific purpose to 3,549 mortgagors.

The effects of the war and post-war boom, which led to high prices and the granting of many large mortgages in connexion with the sale of land, have not yet entirely disappeared. On the return of more normal times and lower prices for produce many of the mortgagors found difficulty in meeting their obligations. The Mortgages Extension Act of 1919 was passed to give relief in such cases and to enable other arrangements to be concluded. In the session under review new legislation in the form of the "Mortgages Final Extension Act" was introduced to terminate the Moratorium as from March 31, 1925. Provision is made in the Act, however, for further extensions up to December 31, 1927, to be granted by Judges of the Supreme Court in cases of hardship. The passage of this Act through Parliament was attended by an unusual incident. A difference of opinion arose between the two Houses as to the date at which the moratorium should terminate, and several amendments and counter-amendments were made before a compromise was reached. The dates mentioned above are those finally agreed upon.

In his statement on estimated expenditure for Public Works for the year 1924-25, the Minister of Public Works placed the limit at 3,665,000?. Of this sum 1,325,000? will be for electrical works and 1,200,000? for railways, the balance being for roads and bridges, telephones and telegraphs, public buildings and similar works.

The Government's schemes for the providing of hydro-electricity have been pushed on with energy. On August 1 the Minister of Public Works stated that plants in operation totalled 26,000 h.p., while those in course of erection would produce a further 109,000 h.p. One, the Mangahao Electric Power Station, was officially opened on November 3 by the Prime Minister. This is the largest Station at present operating in New

Zealand. It has a mile-long reservoir containing 525,000,000 gallons of water, and has a total generating capacity of 110,000 volts. A smaller station, which is capable of being extended to become one of the largest in the country, is under construction at Lake Waikaremoana, in the Hawkes Bay District.

Another large station is to be built at the Arapuni rapids, on the Waikato River, and a contract for the provision of a dam, spillway, headworks and powerhouse and the installation of plant, has been let to the English firm of Sir W. G. Armstrong, Whitworth & Co., Ltd. The amount involved in the contract is 1,175,6522.

Railway works have also been pushed on steadily, and a contract let for the building of an 18-mile section in the Bay of Plenty district. Messrs. Armstrong, Whitworth & Co., Ltd., were the successful tenderers.

Legislative enactments passed by Parliament during the session, which came to an end on November 7, consisted largely of Amending Acts. The "Customs Amendment Act," relating to Empire Preference, increases from 25 per cent, to 75 per cent, the amount of British materials and workmanship required to qualify merchandise for the Preferential Rates of the Customs Tariff. (See above under Australia, p. 314.)

The/* Prevention of Crime (Borstal Institutions Establishment) Act" makes provision for the acquisition of land for the establishment of Borstal Institutions, and for the supervision of inmates after the expiration of their term of detention. Wages by way of reward for special industry may be credited to inmates and used for their benefit during detention. Any balance standing to the credit of an inmate may, at the time of release, be paid to him either in a lump sum or placed to his credit in an account in the Post Office Savings Bank.

Two further measures for the control of rural products were passed and as a consequence the interests of Fruit and Honey producers will now be in the hands of their own elected representatives. The "Fruit Control Act" relates to both export and local marketing, but the Board representing the Apiarists will deal only with exported Honey ("Honey Export Control Act"). Both Acts are effective only after ratification by a poll of those concerned in the industries and the publication of a Proclamation by the Governor-General.

The wisdom of giving Legislative authority to the New Zealand Meat Producers' Board ("Meat Export Control Act, 1922,") and the Dairy Producers' Board ("Dairy Produce Export Control Act, 1923 ") has been established beyond question. Following on the economies previously effected by the Meat Board in freights, freezing, and handling charges, a contract for freight has now been made for a term of three years at rates which show a further all-round reduction, and steps have been taken to ensure that only the best quality meat shall be shipped.

The Dairy Produce Board has confined its activities mainly

to co-operating with the Meat Board in the matter of freight negotiations and the supervision of steamship loading operations. A deputation was sent to investigate the markets of the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and Europe, and freight and insurance contracts have been made which will effect a considerable saving. It is estimated that the freight contract, which is for a period of three years, will save to the producers an average of 121,875l. per annum.

While the Meat Producers' Board is able to bring about economies and improvements in the directions indicated, there is one phase of the meat industry which continues to put an unnecessarily severe strain upon it. It has been evident for some time past that some of the freezing works established in New Zealand are superfluous. The output of meat from the Argentine is approximately $4\frac{1}{2}$ times greater than that from New Zealand, but in the former country there are ten export works operating as against 44 in New Zealand. A proposal has, therefore, been put forward which, if carried into effect, would place all the works in the Dominion under the control of a Board which would have power to close down such works as are not required in the economic operation of the industry. Support for the proposal comes mainly from the weaker farmers' co-operative concerns, while it is strongly opposed by the well-established proprietary companies. Special legislation would be required to give the necessary powers to the Board.

The year has shown much industrial activity and trade buoyancy. The search for Petroleum in the Dominion has for long received the active encouragement and assistance of the Government, but as yet oil has not been found in appreciable quantities. For some years past the search has been carried on in a more or less desultory manner, but towards the end of 1923 an eminent Geologist visited the country and reported on its possibilities as a producer of oil. As a result of his report a strong Company has been formed and has secured the right to prospect over two large tracts of country. Active operations have now been commenced. The production of Shale Oil, too, is to receive fresh attention. A Company which established a works for this purpose about twenty years ago has sought and obtained from the Government a promise of a substantial bonus on oil won, and it now proposes to make a fresh start.

The Iron Industry has likewise been placed on a working footing after many years of experiment and the loss of large sums of money. The Iron and Steel Industries Act of 1914 offered a liberal bonus on production, and the Onakaka Iron and Steel Company has now established a blast furnace and a battery of sixteen coke ovens on the huge iron-ore deposits at Parapara, in the north of the South Island. A trial run in January, 1924, met with complete success and continuous production has now commenced.

Prices for raw wool continued on a high level, bringing

prosperity to the sheep farmers. The manufacturing end of the industry is now receiving increased attention and a new woollen mill is in course of erection at Wanganui. Proposals are being considered for the establishment of two further mills in the North Island—one in the Manawatu and one in the Wairarapa district.

Viscount Jellicoe, on the completion of his appointment as Governor-General, sailed from New Zealand on November 26. Throughout his term of office he showed himself to be in marked sympathy with the aims and ambitions of the Dominion and earned the deepest respect of all classes. The new Governor-General, Sir Charles Fergusson, is the son of a former Governor, Sir Jas. Fergusson, 1873-74.

The *Port Elliot*, a new vessel belonging to the Commonwealth and Dominion Line, went ashore on the rocks at East Cape about midnight on January 12. The crew were landed safely.

Several vessels of the Eoyal Navy visited the main ports of the Dominion in April and May in the course of an Empire cruise. They were received with great enthusiasm and were visited by large crowds. Thousands of school children were brought by the Government from country centres to view the warships. The visit synchronised with a strike of Eailway employees, members of the Amalgamated Society of Eailway Servants, which commenced at midnight on April 21. The question of increases in wages had been under consideration for some time, and a Wages Board representative of the Society on one side and of the Eailway management on the other, with an impartial Chairman agreed to by both sides, had been set up. Before the taking of evidence had been completed, the Executive of the Society issued strike notices and a complete stoppage was effected immediately before the visiting British Fleet entered Dominion waters. A proposal for the setting up of a new Commission, put forward by the Eailwaymen on April 26, was not accepted by the Government, which declared that it could not agree to discuss the matter unless ordinary working of the railways had first of all been resumed. As a result of this declaration of policy the strike was declared off at midnight on April 29.

Serious floods were experienced practically throughout the country during the Autumn and early Winter. Extensive damage was done to roads, bridges, railways, and farm lands.

New Zealand has continued to administer the territory of Western Samoa under the Mandate of the League of Nations. A report relating to the year ended March 31, 1924, was submitted to the League, the Mandates Commission of which congratulated the Dominion on its satisfactory administration of the territory. Public Health, the Liquor Traffic, Education, and the regulation of Labour conditions, have received special attention. The efforts of the Health Authorities, particularly

among the natives, have met with most satisfactory results—the death-rate being practically halved. The natives now present a general appearance of cleanliness and freedom from disease. There is very little crime in the territory and few serious offences. In May legislation came into force giving British nationality to the children of Europeans resident in the territory and married to Samoans or half-castes.

A delegation from the Samoan Native Parliament (Faipule) visited New Zealand in December. They expressed great pleasure at the results which have been achieved by the efforts of the Administrator and his Staff, and expressed the hope that Great Britain would eventually take over the whole of the Samoan Group.

At the invitation of the Administrator, Samoa was visited in July and August, 1924, by Dr. S. M. Lambert, of the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation. Dr. Lambert's report on his health survey of the territory pays tribute to the work of the Public Health officials, particularly regarding their efforts to control Yaws and Hookworm. Such a report, coming from an Authority with no personal interest in the Administration, deserves to be specially recorded.

PART II

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

IN 1924.

JANUARY.

1. The New Year Honours lists included a Viscount (Lord Inchcape) and throe Barons, Sir Frederick Banbury (Lord Banbury of Southam), Sir Charles Darling (Lord Darling of Langham), and Sir Herbert Jessel (Lord Jessel of Westminster).

— Messrs. Waterlow & Sons were appointed printers of British postage stamps. This is the fourth change of printers since adhesive stamps were introduced into this country, eighty-four years ago.

— Mr. Henry Laming made a gift of 50,000/. to Queen's College, Oxford, for the purpose of founding travelling fellowships.

— A third supplementary Royal Charter granted to the Institution of Civil Engineers gives to the members the right of describing themselves as "Chartered Civil Engineers."

3. Mr. Howard Carter opened the doors of the three remaining shrines in the tomb of Tutankhamen, and discovered the sarcophagus in which the Pharaoh lies.

— At 8 A.M. the level of the Seine at the Pont d'Austerlitz was officially stated to be 6 metres 65 centimetres above the normal, and a further rise was expected.

7. Direct communication by trans-Atlantic cable and land wire was opened by the Western Union Telegraph Co. between London and Chicago.

— Mr. G. Washington Browne, U.S.A., was elected President of the Royal Scottish Academy, in place of Sir J. Lawton Wingate, resigned.

8. The Fifth Parliament of King George V. was opened.

— Bitter wintry weather, with severe gales on the coasts, was reported from all parts of the British Isles.

9. It was announced that a new political party had come into existence, to be known as the Rural Party.

9. A dinner was held at the House of Commons in honour of members of the new Parliament who had been imprisoned on political or religious grounds. Nineteen members of Parliament were qualified to attend the dinner and sixteen were present.

— The cold weather continuing, the heaviest fall of snow for several years was experienced in London, the snowstorm being particularly severe in the suburbs.

10. The British submarine L24, after collision with the battleship *Resolution*, was sunk, with a loss of forty-three lives.

— By the collapse of part of the top floor of a spinning mill in Bradford the machinery crashed through to the basement, and many work-people were killed.

11. *The Times* reported that as the Board of Education was advised by its inspectors that the schools at Lowestoft were inefficient, the Government grant had been withheld from the local education authorities.

12. *The Times* announced that Mr. J. W. Archer, a resident of Bournemouth, had presented 20,250l. to the Royal National Lifeboat Institution.

15. The Ven. L. J. White-Thomson, Archdeacon and Canon of Canterbury, appointed to the Bishopric of Ely.

— Another violent earthquake occurred in Japan in the same area as that of the previous September.

18. The following gentlemen were appointed King's Counsel: The Hon. Hugh John Godley, Henry H. Slessor, and Col. H. D. F. MacGeagh, C.M.G.

19. *The Times* announced that the late Mr. E. N. Buxton had presented to the National Trust for the nation Hatfield Forest, situated between Bishop's Stortford and Harlow. The property, which has been maintained as a deer park from Tudor times, is about 215 acres in area and is richly wooded.

22. Mr. Baldwin resigned and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was charged with the formation of a Ministry—the first Labour Administration in the history of the country.

23. Convention signed between Great Britain and the United States under which search, and possible seizure of British vessels suspected of an intent to infringe the liquor laws of the United States will be permitted at points beyond the three miles limit. In return British vessels will be allowed to carry liquor under seal into United States harbours and out again.

— It was announced that the King, acting on the advice of the late Prime Minister (Mr. Baldwin), had nominated the first members of a Commission of Fine Arts for England. The Commission is a purely advisory body and its members are unpaid. The first nine members were Lord Crawford and Balcarres (Chairman), Lord Curzon, Sir Aston Webb, P.R.A., Sir Reginald Blomfield, R.A., Sir Edwin Lutyens, R.A., Mr.

Alfred J. Gotch, Mr. D. Y. Cameron, R.A., Sir George Frampton, R.A., and Mr. T. H. Manson.

26. The new Labour Government announced its decision to remove the wooden barriers in Downing Street and King Charles Street.

— *The Times* announced that Sir Daniel Stevenson, the Glasgow coal exporter and a former Lord Provost, had made a gift of 40,000L to the University of Glasgow for the purpose of founding a chair in Italian and another in Spanish.

30. Eight diplomatic documents, including the agreement concerning Fiume, regulating relations between Italy and Yugoslavia, were published.

FEBRUARY.

3. The innermost shrine in Tutankhamen's tomb was removed and the sarcophagus revealed.

5. The following members of the Labour Government were raised to the peerage: Mr. Sydney Arnold, Under-Secretary for the Colonies (Lord Arnold of Hale), Sir Sydney Olivier, Secretary for India (Lord Olivier of Ramsden), and Brigadier-General Thomson, Secretary for Air (Lord Thomson of Cardington).

8. The list of Resignation Honours was issued, including one baron, Sir John Butcher (Lord Danesforfc), nine baronetcies, and sixteen knighthoods.

11. Mr. S. Melton Fisher, A.R.A., was elected a Royal Academician.

12. The lid of the sarcophagus containing the mummy of Tutankhamen was raised.

13. *The Times* announced that a contract for the salving of the German warships sunk at Scapa Flow on June 21, 1919, had been concluded with the Admiralty by Messrs. Cox & Danks, iron and steel merchants, of Regent Street, London. It is believed that this is the biggest salvage operation that has ever been attempted.

— The following were elected Royal Scottish Academicians: Mr. David Gauld (Glasgow); Mr. W. M. Fraser (Edinburgh); and Mr. Fiddes Watt (Edinburgh).

14. *The Times* reported that owing to a disagreement between Mr. Carter and the Egyptian Government, the latter had ordered the tomb of Tutankhamen to be closed, and work was to cease there for the present.

— Fame Islands, off the coast of Northumberland, purchased by the National Trust as a bird sanctuary.

— Lord Glanely, on resigning the office of President of University College, Cardiff, presented the College with a further gift of 12,500/., bringing his total contributions to 65,000l.

15. The Prince of Wales lunched with the Prime Minister (Mr. Ramsay MacDonald).

16. Centenary of the foundation of the Athenseum Club.

— Severe frosty weather was experienced all over the country during the last four days.

16. The announcement was made that the private library of Mr. J. P. Morgan, in New York, had been handed over to six trustees as a public reference library.

19. Sir Laming Worthington-Evans, M.P., who was Postmaster-General in the last Cabinet, appointed editor-in-chief of the *Financial News*.

— The Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation offered the University of Oxford a gift of 75,000L for the development of the Department of Biochemistry.

20. Mr. Noel Buxton, Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries, handed over to the National Trust the ancient house, built about 1500, known as Paycockes House, in Coggeshall, Essex.

23. A Hammersmith woman and two young children were killed by falling from the observation balcony of the campanile of Westminster Cathedral.

26. *The Times* announced that a tablet is to be placed in Westminster Hall to mark the spot where Sir William Wallace was tried in 1305.

28. Dr. H. R. Hall was appointed Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, and Dr. F. A. Bather Keeper of Geology, at the British Museum.

— The Chancellor of the Exchequer received from "Well Wisher" 5,000L Four per cent. War Loan Stock for cancellation.

— Mr. Arthur Henderson, Home Secretary, was returned as member for Burnley, retaining the seat for Labour by a majority of 7,037.

— The Oxford Union centenary debate was on the proposition "That civilisation has advanced since the Society first met."

29. The month was exceptional in the severe spell of cold which lasted almost right through its four weeks. Only 54.8 hours' sunshine were registered at the Rothamsted Experimental Station, being 21 per cent, of the possible total for the month. On the other hand, there was less rain than usual: 7 millimetres as against the normal of 39 millimetres.

MAECH.

1. *The Sporting and Dramatic News* reached its fiftieth birthday with No. 2633.

— For the first time after 288 years, public vehicles were allowed to be driven in Hyde Park.

3. The price of insulin was reduced to a little under 2s. per 100 clinical units.

— The price of coal in London rose 2s. per ton.

4. Mr. H. E. Blair, assistant manager and director of the London Underground Railways, was appointed Principal Agent to the Unionist Party in succession to Vice-Admiral Sir Reginald Hall.

— Celebration of the Centenary of the Royal National Lifeboat Institution.

4. The new premises of the Oxford University Press at Amen House, Warwick Square, opened.

6. Official opening by the Egyptian Government of the tomb of Tutankhamen.

7. The Founder's Medal of the Royal Geographical Society awarded to Ahmed Hassanein Bey for his journey in 1923 to Kufra and Darfur.

10. The train from Calais to the Riviera was derailed six miles from Lyons; 4 passengers were killed (3 English travellers and 1 French) and 25 injured.

15. *The Times* drew attention to the marked decline in the number of entrants to the medical profession—545 in 1923, as against 2,000 in 1922, 2000 in 1921, 2,500 in 1920, and 3,500 in 1919.

— The first Parliament of independent Egypt was opened.

17. Members of the United States Army Air service began their attempt to fly round the world.

19. Mr. Otto Nicholson, the official Conservative candidate, was returned as member in the by-election of the Abbey Division of Westminster by a majority of 43 over Mr. Winston Churchill.

20. Celebration of the Jubilee of the Physical Society of London.

21. Strike of London tramway and omnibus men commenced.

25. A British world-flight begun under the leadership of Squadron-Leader A. Stuart MacLaren.

27. A cloudburst and landslip which caused serious damage and much loss of life occurred on the south side of the Sorrento Peninsula, one of the chief beauty spots of Italy (the "Amalfitan Riviera").

28. A correspondent of *The Times*, telegraphing from Taormina, in Sicily, stated that the first northward-flying swallow of the year was observed there.

— A great storm in the Mississippi valley between Minnesota and Missouri, with wind, snow, rain, and hail, did serious damage and killed many people.

31. Strike of London tramway and omnibus men ended (see under March 21).

APRIL.

1. An eruption of Stromboli, one of the Lipari Islands, was reported.

2. The National Gallery celebrated its centenary. In honour of the occasion the Government gave a dinner at which the Prime Minister presided.

— It was officially announced that since August 4, 1914, 350 soldiers (including officers) had been executed in accordance with sentences of Courts-martial. The offences were: mutiny, 5; cowardice, 18; desertion, 266; murder, 40; striking or violence, 5; disobedience, 5; sleeping on post, 2; quitting post, 7; and casting away arms, 2.

— *The Times* reported that in the four years' chess match, carried on by correspondence, between the London and New York Bars, the latter was defeated.

3. The second International Conference of the Women's Engineering Society was opened at Manchester.

4. The Ministry of Health announced that a Royal Charter had been granted for the incorporation of the Governing Body of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, which is to be established with the 2 million dollars given by the Rockefeller Foundation.

5. Professor O. W. Richardson, F.R.S., was appointed the third Yarrow Research Professor of the Royal Society.

— In the Oxford and Cambridge Boat Race, the 76th of the series, Cambridge beat Oxford by four and a half lengths.

— Jubilee of the first performance of *Die Fledermaus* by Johann Strauss.

7. Some 1200 delegates attended the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics, and Citizenship ("Copec"), which was opened at Birmingham.

— Oil-fuel bunkering prices were advanced 5s. a ton, making the third advance during the current year.

— The new aquarium at the Zoo was opened.

— At the Bow County Court a young woman aged 18 was awarded 650L for the loss of her right arm in an accident while working in a laundry.

— Celebration of the centenary of H.M. Stationery Office.

8. Under the Chantrey Bequest the Royal Academy purchased an oil painting by Mr. William Rothenstein, entitled "The Princess Badroulbador."

— Dr. John William MacKail was appointed by the Royal Academy Professor of Ancient Literature, in succession to the late Viscount Morley.

9. It was announced that the President and Council of the Royal Society had received from an anonymous donor a gift of 10,000?. for the prosecution of original research in medicine for the prevention of disease and relief of suffering, with special attention to tropical diseases in British possessions, and to cancer and tuberculosis.

— The Clerical, Medical, and General Life Assurance Society celebrated its centenary with a dinner.

— The American Hospital in Hampstead opened by the United States Ambassador.

10. Mr. A. J. Cook, of South Wales, was elected Secretary of the Miners' Federation in place of Mr. Frank Hodges.

13. Summer time commenced at 2 A.M. (to end Sept. 21).

14. The Councils of the Royal Institute of British Architects and the Society of Architects approved a scheme for uniting the two bodies.

15. It was announced that the Countess Bathurst had sold the *Morning Post* to a body of influential Conservatives with whom the Duke of Northumberland was associated.

16. The official **returns of fatal street accidents in Great Britain** were published **-2979 in 1923, as against 2768 in 1922.**

17. Dr. Lasker **won first place at the New York International Chess Tournament.**

19. The centenary of Byron's death **celebrated both in this country and in Greece.**

21. Thirty'-one more acres of Ken Wood acquired for **the public.**

— The largest floating dock built in this country was safely berthed at Southampton.

22. The two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Kant celebrated in Germany.

— The Prince of Wales laid the foundation-stone of the new headquarters of the Royal Association in Aid of the Deaf and Dumb at Shepherd's Bush.

23. King George V. accompanied by the Queen, opened the British Empire Exhibition; his speech, broadcast by wireless, was heard by millions of listeners. In honour of the occasion the King conferred a Barony on Sir James Stevenson, Bt. (Baron Stevenson of Holmbury), Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Exhibition.

— About 2.30 A.M. two express trains collided at Bellinzona, resulting in Tnany deaths, including Herr Helfferich, the German politician. (See Obituaries.)

24. The train-ferry service between Harwich and Zeebrugge was opened by Prince George.

— Mr. W. Russell Flint and Mr. Ambrose McEvoy elected Associates of the Royal Academy.

26. Newcastle United beat Aston Villa by 2 goals to none in the final tie for the Football Association Cup, at Wembley Stadium.

— An excursion train carrying passengers to the Cup Final Match, from Coventry, collided with another train in a tunnel near Euston; 4 passengers were killed and about 50 injured.

27. It was reported from Des Moines, Iowa, that Charles Paddock ran 125 yards in 12 seconds, a feat which was regarded as constituting a world's record.

28. The first General Election held in Southern Rhodesia under self-government.

29. Princess Mary, Viscountess Lascelles, unveiled in the Royal Exchange the panel painted by Miss Lucy Kemp-Welch, entitled "Women's Work in the Great War," which Mr. C. Williamson-Milne had presented on behalf of the Empress Club.

30. Excessive rain fell in London during the month of April; the rainfall registered at Kew was 3.3 inches, more than twice the average for April.

MAY.

1. A set of wrought-iron gates was presented to King's College, Cambridge, by Sir Charles Walston, Litt.D.

2. It was announced that Messrs. Glyn, Mills, Currie, Holt & Co. had acquired the business of Messrs. Child & Co.

3. Seven hundredth anniversary of the University of Naples celebrated.

5. Sir Edward Elgar, O.M., appointed "Master of the King's Musick."

9. Lord Balfour, the Chancellor of the University, opened the new Sir William Dunn laboratories for the School of Biochemistry at Cambridge.

12. A certain subsidence occurred in one place in Waterloo Bridge. The bridge was accordingly closed, partly as a precaution and partly to expedite the repair work.

— The King and Queen of Rumania arrived in London on a State visit.

13. Mr. Harold Knox Shaw appointed Radcliffo Observer at Oxford.

16. A new Parliamentary Labour Club in Tufton Street, Westminster, opened by the Prime Minister.

19. For the first time the song of the nightingale was broadcasted, at about 11 P.M. The nightingales were singing at Oxtod, in the garden of Col. Harrison.

21. Field-Marshal Lord Ypres unveiled the Cavalry War Memorial at the Stanhope Gate entrance to Hyde Park.

22. At the by-election in the West Toxteth Division of Liverpool, Mr. J. Gibbins gained the seat for Labour from the Conservatives by 2,471 votes.

25. An impressive Empire Thanksgiving Service was held in the Stadium at Wembley. The King and Queen and about 100,000 people were present, and the Archbishop of Canterbury gave the address. The British Broadcasting Company transmitted the speeches, etc., to all their stations in Great Britain.

26. The King and Queen of Italy, with the Prince of Piedmont and Princess Mafalda, arrived in London as guests of King George and Queen Mary.

— Mr. A. D. Lindsay appointed Master of Balliol College, Oxford.

30. The statue of Lord Roberts, erected by the Government on the Horse Guards Parade, was unveiled by the Duke of Connaught.

— It was officially announced that 1,421,323 persons paid for admission to the British Empire Exhibition during the month of May.

JUNE.

1. All over the country unusually heavy rain fell, followed by floods described as the worst for forty years. Vast tracts of land were transformed into lakes many feet deep, owing to rivers overflowing their banks. In Worcester the electricity and gas works were flooded, and the city was deprived of light, power, and domestic water supply.

2. Harvard University received from Mr. George F. Baker 5,000,000 dollars as a permanent endowment for its Graduate School of Business Administration.

3. Worcester continued to suffer from the flooding of the Severn.

— The Middle Temple received 60,000*l.* from Mrs. Alfred Harmsworth and Lord Rothermere, for the establishment of a benevolent endowment to be known as "The Alfred Harmsworth Memorial Fund," in memory of the late Alfred Harmsworth, of the Middle Temple.

5. Lord Derby won the Derby with his colt Sansovino. The great race at Epsom was run on one of the most unpleasant days in recent memory, rain falling incessantly throughout the day. This was the first occasion in 137 years on which a holder of the Derby title won the race founded by his family.

— *The Times* announced that a new national pinetum is to be established at Bedgebury, in Kent.

— Three aeroplanes were destroyed in flames, and five members of the Royal Air Force were killed, in crashes at Grantham and Northolt.

— At the by-election in Oxford City the Conservative candidate gained the seat from the Liberals.

9. Whit Monday—321,232 people visited the Empire Exhibition at Wembley.

— The cart-horse parade in Regent's Park was four miles long, 986 horses and 869 vehicles having been entered for the competition.

10. The Rhys Memorial Fund for the purpose of promoting Welsh and other Celtic studies offered to the British Academy.

11. M. Millerand resigned the Presidency of the French Republic.

12. Thunderstorms were experienced all over the country; at Maidenhead there was a severe rainfall flooding many houses.

13. M. Gaston Doumergue elected President of the French Republic.

14. The first Rodeo (cowboy riding and lassoing exhibition) was performed at Wembley in the presence of over 80,000 people.

16. *The Times* announced that the British Museum had acquired an ethnographical collection of objects used by a tribe of Indians living in a remote part of Panama, of whose existence nothing apparently had hitherto been known.

— The fourth International Congress of Refrigeration opened at the Institution of Civil Engineers.

— The pearl necklace once owned by Mme. Thiers, wife of the former President of the French Republic, was sold in Paris for 11,280,000 francs.

16. Sir Jeremiah Colman dedicated to the nation 20 acres of land on Reigate Hill.

20. P. Nurmi, of Finland, beat the world's running records at Copenhagen. He covered 1,500 metres in 3 minutes 62½ seconds, and 5,000 metres in 14 minutes 28⅔ seconds.

22. The King and Queen of Denmark arrived in London on a private visit to the Court.

23. Lieut. R. L. Maughan, of the U.S. Army Air Service, flew across the American Continent, from New York to San Francisco, in 21 hours 49 minutes.

24. The King, as sovereign and patron of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, held an investiture in Buckingham Palace, the first in 800 years.

25. The centenary of the birth of Lord Kelvin was celebrated at Glasgow University.

27. Walter Hagen, of Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A., won the Open Golf Championship for the second time at Hoylako, with a score for the 72 holes of 301.

28. A violent hurricane swept over the Southern shore of Lake Erie, killing over 300 people and injuring 2,500.

30. The first International Conference to consider the further development, conservation, and most economic use of the power resources of the world, was opened by the Prince of Wales at the British Empire Exhibition.

— The number of persons recorded on the registers of the Employment Exchanges in Great Britain was 1,009,500. This was 276,123 less than on December 31, 1923.

— It was officially announced that 3,080,356 persons paid for admission to the British Empire Exhibition during the month of June.

JULY.

3. *The Times* announced that Mr. S. A. Courtauld had presented 20,000l. to the Middlesex Hospital Medical School, to endow a Chair of Anatomy.

4. *The Reading Observer*, first published sixty-five years ago as a Liberal newspaper, appeared as a Labour organ.

— The International Postal Union (which celebrated its jubilee this year) opened its eighth Congress at Stockholm.

5. Lord Chalmers was elected Master of Peterhouse, in place of the late Sir A. W. Ward.

— The Olympic Games were opened at the Colombes Stadium, in the presence of the President of the French Republic and the Prince of Wales.

7. Owing to the continued rise in the cost of flour, the London Master Bakers' Protection Society increased the price of the quartern loaf from 8½d. to 9d. in the London area.

7. H.T.H. Tafari Makonnen, the Regent and Heir-Apparent of Abyssinia, arrived in London.

9. At the by-election in the Lewes division of Sussex, Captain T. Beamish retained the seat for the Conservatives by a slightly increased majority.

11. E. H. Liddell (Great Britain) won the final heat of the 400 metres in the Olympic Games in $43\frac{3}{5}$ seconds, thus constituting a new " world's record."

12. The hottest day in the year: throughout the greater part of England 87 degrees in the shade were registered.

14. At Wembley, the Prince of Wales opened the Twentieth Annual Convention of the Advertising Clubs of the World.

— Waterloo Bridge re-opened (*vide* May 12).

16. Mr. Charles Leonard Hartwell, A.R.A., sculptor, was elected a Royal Academician.

— The United States Army airmen who were flying round the world (*vide* under March 17) arrived at the London Terminal Aerodrome, Croydon.

17. The twentieth Convention of the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World was concluded with the enthusiastic adoption of a resolution condemning war.

19. In the presence of King George V. and Queen Mary, the Bishop of Liverpool consecrated the newly built Liverpool Cathedral.

21. At Westminster Hall, the Lord Chancellor presiding, a cordial welcome was given to the members of the American Bar Association, who were visiting this country as the guests of the English lawyers and of the Canadian Bar Association.

22. Revival of the Bayreuth Musical Festival, after an interval of ten years.

— A thunderstorm of great severity, accompanied by a torrential downpour of rain and hail, broke over London.

23. A memorial statue of Sir William Blackstone, presented by the American Bar Association to mark its visit to this country, was unveiled in the Central Hall of the Law Courts.

24. The first Congress of delegates from Commercial Travellers' Associations throughout the British Empire was opened at the Skinner's Hall.

26. It was reported that 50,000 spectators witnessed the Pageant of Empire at Wembley.

28. A serious railway accident at Edinburgh resulted in four deaths.

29. Congress opened at Christiania of the International Federation of University Women.

29. A violent storm swept over London, with torrential falls of rain, some hail, and semi-darkness frequently pierced by flashes of lightning. The railway service was dislocated owing to flooded stations.

31. At the Annual Meeting of the Agricultural Organisation Society it was resolved to wind up the Society, which had been in existence for twenty-two years. The course was adopted owing to the existence of the National Farmers' Union.

— The rainfall during July was much above the normal; at Kew Observatory 3.74 inches was registered, as against the average of 2.16 inches.

AUGUST.

I. The Rev. Canon Ernest William Barnes was appointed Bishop of Birmingham.

— At the by-election in the Holland-with-Boston division of Lincolnshire, Mr. A. W. Dean won the seat from Labour for the Conservatives by a majority of 806.

— A mural tablet to the genius of Wren, presented by the Architectural League of New York, was unveiled in St. Paul's Cathedral.

4. The Bank Holiday crowd at Wembley numbered only about 145,000.

— Owing to serious damage to his machine Squadron-Leader MacLaren was forced to abandon his world-flight (*vide* under March 25).

5. The 700th anniversary of Elgin Cathedral, which actually fell on July 19, was celebrated by a series of civic and religious ceremonies.

7. *The Times* announced that in order to safeguard future transfers of the controlling shares in that newspaper, a Committee composed of the Lord Chief Justice of England, the Warden of All Souls' College, Oxford, the President of the Royal Society, the President of the Institute of Chartered Accountants, and the Governor of the Bank of England, had been set up. The Committee, in coming to their decision, shall have regard to the importance of (a) maintaining the best traditions and political independence of *The Times* newspaper, and national rather than personal interests, and (b) eliminating as far as reasonably possible questions of personal ambition or personal profit.

10. The International Boy Scout Jamboree was opened near Copenhagen, and was attended by 6,000 scouts.

11. The price of bread in London was raised by ½d., making the quartern loaf 9½d.

14. At the by-election at Carmarthen Sir Alfred Mond retained the seat for the Liberals.

18. The Hendon to Edgware extension of the Hampstead line was opened.

— A six days' race between a man (Mr. C. W. Hart) and a horse ("Big Ben," owned by Mr. Dimsdale and ridden by Mr. A. Nightingall) with the object of determining which can show the greater endurance, was begun at the Crystal Palace Football Ground.

21. Princess Mary, Viscountess Lascelles, gave birth to her second son.

22. Heavy rainstorms and lightning experienced in London and in parts of the country, Bristol being flooded.

23. The race between the man and the horse (*vide* under August 18) ended in the victory of the man, who had covered 345 miles 880 yards against the horse's 337 miles 1618 yards.

— The Prince of Wales left Southampton for the *United* States and Canada.

24. Heavy rainfall and cold weather in nearly every part of the country. In London the temperature was only 59 degrees, as compared with 68 degrees, the normal for the end of August.

27. The 700th anniversary of the foundation of Dornoch Cathedral was celebrated by a service attended by members of the various religious denominations.

30. August was a wet month, with 22 rainy days against an average of 14.

SEPTEMBER.

9. The two American airmen concluded their flight round the world. They were greeted by President Coolidge (*vide* under March 17).

10. The 700th anniversary of the coming of the Friars to England was celebrated at Canterbury, both in the Cathedral and in the Roman Catholic Church of St. Thomas.

16. The first Annual Conference was held at Glasgow of the newly formed Institution of Public Lighting, Engineers, and Superintendents.

20. Extensive damage done all over the country by a severe gale.

21. End of Summer time (*vide* under April 13).

25. An earthquake partially destroyed the village of Someo, in the vicinity of Locarno, in Northern Italy, and many lives were lost.

— Squadron-Leader MacLaren and Flying-Officer Plenderleith were entertained at the Hotel Cecil in recognition of their attempt to fly round the world.

28. The Memorial Hall presented by the City of Liverpool to Givenchy was opened by the Lord Mayor of Liverpool.

29. Sir Alfred Bower was chosen to be Lord Mayor of London for the ensuing year.

30. *The Times* announced that Mr. Harry Simpson Gee, of Leicester, had left 20,000*l.* to the endowment fund of the Leicester, Leicestershire, and Rutland College.

OCTOBER

6. The price of the 4*lb.* loaf in London rose from 9½*d.* to 10*d.*

— The number of unemployed persons on the registers of Employment Exchanges was 1,215,600, being 70,023 less than on December 31, 1923.

10. The Fifth Parliament of King George V. dissolved.

— Monsieur Callizo, the French airman, reached an altitude of 11,841 metres (38,847 ft.), thus creating a world " record."

11. Mr. James O'Grady appointed Governor of Tasmania. This is said to be the first instance of the appointment of a Labour Governor.

12. The airship Z.R.3 left Friedrichshafen for Lakehurst in New Jersey, U.S.A.

15. The airship Z.R.3 successfully landed at Lakehurst.

— Monsieur Rakovsky, Soviet Charge d'Affaires in London, took over Chesham House, the old Imperial Russian Embassy.

22. *The Times* announced that the Duke of Westminster had granted a sixty years' lease of Grosvenor House to Lord Leverhulme.

27. Mr. Percy Stafford Allen, Fellow and Librarian of Merton College, appointed President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

29. Polling Day in the General Election. Sweeping Conservative victories.

30. It was announced that a gift of 00,000/. had been made to the Bristol General Hospital by Sir George Wills, Chairman of the Imperial Tobacco Company, Ltd.

NOVEMBER.

1. The British Empire Exhibition at Wembley was publicly closed by its President, the Prince of Wales. The number of visitors to the Exhibition from April 23, when it was opened, until the closing hour on November 1, was 17,403,119.

3. An accident to the express train from Liverpool to Lytham and Blackpool resulted in the death of thirteen people.

— The jubilee of the admission of women to medicine was celebrated by a luncheon which was graced by flowers sent by Queen Mary.

4. Resignation of the Labour Government.

5. Bicentenary of the establishment of the publishing house of Longmans, Green & Co., celebrated by a luncheon in Stationers' Hall, at which literature, science, theology, and education were represented by many distinguished men and women.

— Millenary of the accession of King Athelstan was celebrated by the unveiling of a memorial window in the Town Hall at Kingston-on-Thames.

— An omnibus was overturned in the Brompton Road, causing injuries to several passengers.

6. The list of members of Mr. Baldwin's Cabinet was issued.

8. The Incorporated Society of Auctioneers and Landed Property Agents established.

11. Kirkstall Abbey House, an historical building in the neighbourhood of Kirkstall Abbey ruins, purchased for Leeds by the City Council for 6,000l.

14. Mr. Hector William Sassoon, of Hong-Kong and London, provided in his will that about 36,000L should be invested for the purpose of assisting first offenders, unmarried mothers, and illegitimate children.

17. Mr. J. G. P. Thomas, on a Leyland-Thomas car, beat the " record " at Brooklands by covering 109 miles 160 yards in one hour.

18. *The Times* reported the completion of the purchase scheme of the Ken Wood estate. The land has been vested in the London County Council.

19. Mr. Terrick Williams, painter, and Mr. Walter Sickert, painter, were elected Associates of the Royal Academy.

— *The Times* announced that Little Bookham Common had been presented to the National Trust by Mr. H. C. W. Pollen, the Lord of the Manor.

— The Prince of Wales opened the reconstructed section of the great new road (old Watling Street) between Dartford and Rochester.

24. The rebuilding of the Bank of England, a task which will occupy many years, was commenced.

27. A severe gale, with a velocity varying from 57 to 72 miles an hour, swept over the whole country, doing much damage to the coast towns.

29. The Rev. Charles Leonard Thornton-Duesbery, Rector of Holy Trinity, St. Marylebone, appointed Bishop of Sodor and Man.

30. Five of the eleven men entombed for three days in the flooded Killan Colliery were rescued alive and safely brought to the surface.

— Successful experiments were completed for transmitting from London to New York photographs by wireless telegraphy.

DECEMBEE.

1. The City & South London Railway (the City Railway), between Moorgate and Clapham Common, was opened after complete reconstruction.

— A new bell, known as St. Peter's Bell, to replace the Kaiserglocke, melted down during the war, was consecrated in Cologne Cathedral by the Cardinal-Archbishop. The bell weighs about 25 tons.

— A woman barrister appeared as an advocate in the Court of Criminal Appeal for the first time in the history of that Court.

2. The Sixth Parliament of King George V. opened.

— It was announced that Mr. Geoffrey E. Duveen had presented 50,000Z. to University College Hospital for the construction and equipment of a new Ear, Nose, and Throat Hospital.

— Professor O. W. Richardson was appointed the third Yarrow Professor of the Royal Society.

3. A National Tithe-payers' Association was formed.

4. The first annual award of the Woodrow Wilson Peace Prize (25,000 dollars) was made to Lord Cecil of Chelwood.

6. The Royal College of Music announced that Sir Ernest Palmer had made a gift to the College by establishing "The Ernest Palmer Fund for Opera Study."

8. Mr. George Eastman, of New York, distributed 3,000,000L for higher education, of which about 1,700,000J. was intended for the University of Rochester.

9. Mr. James B. Duke announced that he had created a trust fund of 40,000,000 dollars for establishing a University in North Carolina, to bear his name.

10. Mr. Frank Dicksee elected President of the Royal Academy. He is the eleventh President since the incorporation of the Academy on the 10th December, 1768.

11. One of the worst fogs experienced for a long time in the London district disappeared after two days.

19. *The Freeman's Journal* (Dublin), which was founded 161 years ago, appeared for the last time.

23. An aeroplane travelling from Croydon to Paris crashed to the ground near Purley, and its seven passengers together with the pilot were killed.

24. Pope Pius XI. inaugurated the "Holy Year" with the usual ceremonial of opening the Holy Door into St. Peter's.

27. Severe gales swept over the British Isles. Rain fell almost incessantly and many parts of the country were flooded.

29. The number of unemployed persons on the registers of Employment Exchanges was 1,272,600, being 13,023 less than on December 31, 1923.

31. The severe gales continued; they were accompanied by heavy rain, causing much damage in many parts of the country, and in particular flooded the Thames Valley.

— *The Times* drew attention to the declining birth-rate in 1924—194 per 1,000 as against 19·7 in 1923 and 20·4 in 1922.

— The number of visitors to the Zoological Gardens during the year 1924 was 2,057,146, an increase of nearly half a million on 1923.

— In regard to the weather, the year 1924 was very wet, with deficient sunshine and very little Summer. At the Rothamsted Experimental Station, the record of rainfall was 36·505 inches, being 7·957 inches above the average for 71 years; and of the quantity of sunshine, 1516·4 hours, being 50·1 hours below the average.

— In regard to human beings, *The Times* reported that 1924 was even healthier than 1923, although the average death-rate was slightly higher, 12 per 1,000 of the population, as compared with 11·8 for 1923.

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1924.

LITERATURE.

(Booh marked with an asterisk are specially noticed at the end of this section.)

THE following analysis of books published in the United Kingdom during 1924 is taken from the *Publishers' Circular*, by kind permission of the Editor, Mr. E. B. Marston. As regards book production 1924 established a new record, exceeding the figures for 1913 by 327. The increase is chiefly localised under the headings of Fiction (to which reprints contributed largely), Biography, Travel, and Eeligion. For new books apart from new editions, however, 1913's record is still unbeaten.

CLASSIFIED ANALYSIS OF BOOKS PUBLISHED DURING THE YEAR 1924.

Classes of Literature.	New Books.	New Books.	
		Translations.	Pamphlets.
Philosophy	207	23	17
Religion	065	30	120
Sociology -	587	12	269
Law	128	—	39
Education	168	—	34
Military and Naval -	91	—	72
Philology	146	—	14
Science	416	13	65
Technology	401	2	96
Medicine, Public Health, etc.	235	10	42
Agriculture, Gardening -	120	—	25
Domestic Arts -	41	—	4
Business	103	—	11
Fine Arts -	264	14	10
Music (Works about)	75	1	39
Games, Sports, etc. -	170	—	8
Literature -	360	27	25
Poetry and Drama -	492	44	83
Fiction - - -	1,220	76	6
Juvenile -	638	5	90
History	378	16	18
Description and Travel	414	8	49
Geography	67	—	6
Biography	418	40	26
General Works -	220	—	—
Totals	1,024	321	1,168
		9,513	

A number of literary monthlies made their appearance during the year. Perhaps the most notable among them was *The Transatlantic Review*, edited by Mr. F. M. Ford (Ford Madox Hueffer), which boasted some illustrious contributors ; but the representatives of modern schools seem to depend for their effects upon unorthodox typography. *The Northern Review* set out "to rescue Scottish arts and letters from the slough of Kailyardism," and contained poetry, drama, addresses, and general articles befitting that aim. Another assurance of "regional" literary activity was *The Voyager*, published at Bristol. Several new magazines bore witness to the interest taken in contemporary poetry—among them *The Decachord*, to be issued bi-monthly if public support permits ; *The Poetry Magazine*, hailing from Northallerton in Yorkshire, the work of a company of lovers of poetry, whose zeal, at least, deserved applause ; and a quarterly extra of *The Poetry Review* entitled *Poetry of To-day*. *Artwork*, a quarterly, assembled valuable articles by distinguished practical exponents of the arts and crafts. In the interests of religious unity Sir Henry Lunn revived his "Constructive Quarterly," *The Review of the Churches*, which sought to encourage the co-operation of the different bodies in social reform as a more immediate end than doctrinal agreement.

Except as witnessing the passing of two famous novelists, French and English, and the appearance of a dramatic masterpiece on the greatest of French heroines, 1924 did not promise to be a significant date in the history of imaginative literature. To the resources of future historians in other departments it made, however, copious additions. Biography, autobiography, and cognate works were overwhelmingly abundant, despite an evident and unregrettable slackening in the production of unofficial character studies of contemporaries. Exceptionally numerous and handsome were the volumes devoted to description and travel, albeit they included no work of serious exploration. Poetry and the drama provided several works of real distinction, and fiction maintained a high level of achievement and promise without revealing any unmistakable genius. In its material aspect general book production showed undeniable advance, several presses and publishing houses adding considerably to their laurels in this respect. The book trade itself enjoyed unusual prosperity.

The centenary of the death of Byron was celebrated with a somewhat unexpected piety, and called forth several studies, rather of the poet's personality than his work. Mr. Samuel C. Chew presented *Byron in England*; Mr. Harold Spender had the congenial theme of *Byron and Greece*; Mr. Harold Nicolson combined irony and admiration in *Byron: the Last Journey*; and Mr. J. D. Simon pronounced a favourable verdict in *Byron in Perspective*. Statesmen were not so prominent as usual in the year's biography. Mr. John Budan's *Lord Minto*, a memoir of the fourth Earl, Governor-General of Canada and Viceroy of India, depicted the personality and career of an attractive and enlightened servant and ruler of the Empire. In * *General Botha*, Earl Buxton portrayed the soldier-statesman with the skill arising from the intimacy that existed between South Africa's Premier and its Governor-General. *The Life of Lord Wolseley*, by Major-General Sir F. Maurice and Sir George Arthur,

claims its place here as the record of a career whose greatest victories were perhaps won in Whitehall. A figure of rare significance and worth was the subject of *Thomas Burt*, planned as an autobiography but supplemented by chapters by Mr. Aaron Watson. Brigadier-General J. H. Morgan evaded the late Lord Morley's ban on a set biography with the intimate reminiscences and conversations recorded in his *John, Viscount Morley*. Mr. J. Saxon Mills paid due tribute in *David Lloyd George : War Minister*, and the Earl of Birkenhead compiled a series of rather slight but interesting sketches in *Contemporary Personalities*. Sir James Marchant's **Dr. John Clifford, C.H. : Life, Letters, and Reminiscences* made an unexpectedly benign figure of the doughty preacher-politician. Illustrious scientists were the subjects of several volumes. After an interval of ten years, Professor Karl Pearson issued the second volume of his *Life, Letters, and Labours of Francis Galton*, dealing with the discursive but important researches of Galton's middle life. The fourth Lord Fitzleigh gave a concise and engaging account of his father's achievements in *John William Strutt, Third Baron Rayleigh, O.M., F.M.S.* A great naturalist and polemist was the hero of Mr. Percy F. Bicknell's *The Life of Fabre*. Professor Gilbert Murray and Mr. Eamsay MacDonald joined Mr. George Glasgow in a tribute to a much regretted scholar and Philhellene in *Ronald Burrows: A Memoir*, and Mr. H. G. Wells in *The Story of a Great Schoolmaster* described what was lost to education by the death of Sanderson of Oundle.

To historical biography Miss Kate Norgate contributed a spirited account of **Richard the Lion-Heart*. Professor Huizinga added to the Great Hollanders Series a brief study of *Erasmus*, a subject more adequately treated in Dr. Preserved Smith's *Erasmus. A Study of His Life, Ideals, and Place in History*; while Dr. and Mrs. Allen issued the fifth volume of their great edition of the Letters, *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*. In *John Donne*, Mr. Hugh I'Anson Fausset provided a biography and critical study that has long been needed. Mr. Arthur Irwin Dasent's *Nell Gwynne (1650-87)* was of larger scope than the title suggests, ranging over her whole period and environment. Mrs. Edith Hinkley's *Mazzini: the Story of a Great Italian*, while excellent in many respects, covered quite familiar ground. The chief figure of Mrs. Kosita Forbes' *El Raisuni, the Sultan of the Mountains* (more familiar as Raisuli) does not yet, in spite of rumours, belong to past history; but these interviews with the brigand chief revealed him as an important factor in politics that were of pressing interest throughout the year. Authors were well to the fore in biography. Mr. D. A. Wilson's second volume, *Carlyle to "The French Revolution"* introduced its hero to London and Edinburgh and corrected many false impressions as to his relations with the men of distinction with whom he then associated. *Patrick Bramwell Bronte*, by Miss Alice Law, F.R.S.L., stirred up vigorous controversy over his part in the composition of *Wuthering Heights*. Mr. J. A. Steuart's "revelations" of the youthful errors of his subject in *Robert Louis Stevenson* seemed to excite resentment in many quarters. *W. H. Hudson; A Portrait*, by Mr. Morley Roberts, did not pretend to be a full-dress biography, but revealed by disconnected talks and incidents something of that elusive personality. **The Life of Olive Schreiner* was

the work of her husband, Mr. S. C. Cronwright-Schreiner, executed as only a labour of love could be. This also applies to the companion volume, *The Letters of Olive Schreiner, 1876-1920*. The publication of Mr. Ford Madox Hueffer's *Joseph Conrad: A Personal Remembrance* followed close upon the novelist's death. Among other outstanding volumes devoted to literary figures may be mentioned Dr. Greville Macdonald's *George Macdonald and His Wife*; Mr. Thomas Beer's *Stephen Crane*, chiefly valuable for the Introduction by Joseph Conrad; and the *Life and Last Words of Wilfrid Ewart*, by Mr. Stephen Graham. * *Anatole France : The Man and His Work*, by Mr. James Lewis May, suffered, at least as regards the account of his later life, by being published before the death of the great master of irony, and the appearance of such intimate studies as M. Brousson's irreverent *Anatole France en Pantoufles* and M. Marcel le Goff's *Anatole France a La Bechellerie*. Mr. Charles E. Pearce filled a notable gap with his *Sims Reeves ; Fifty Years of Music in England*, while Paul Bekker in his * *Wagner* sought to reveal the mind of the master by a close study of his works.

Political autobiography has been better represented in preceding years. The historian of war-time administration will have to refer to the Rt. Hon. Christopher Addison's *Politics from Within, 1911-1918*, devoted to his experiences as Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Munitions and in charge of the Ministry of Reconstruction. Dr. Addison's work, especially in its later stages, was not remarkable for impartiality, but his account of the national effort in the supply of munitions was excellent and inspiring. Two leaders of two mutually hostile parties fighting for the same cause published their reminiscences : Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, J.P., LL.D., in *What I Remember*, and Miss Annie Kenny in *Memoirs of a Militant*. Mr. Henry Wickham Steed described his *Through Thirty Years, 1892-1922*, as "the work of a journalist," but his intimacy with foreign politics, and the opportunities of seeing European history in the making afforded to an Editor of *The Times*, gave a definitely political character and importance to his two volumes, which, however, were slightly marred by a number of small slips of memory. Among legal memoirs may be mentioned *Seventy-two Years at the Bar*, the recollections of the veteran Sir Harry Poland, narrated in the form of conversations with Mr. Ernest Bowen-Rowlands, K.C., and *The Years of My Pilgrimage*, the life-story of the last Irish Lord Chancellor, the Rt. Hon. Sir John Ross, Bart. Several distinguished soldiers dedicated their leisure to similar ends. *The Autobiography of General Sir O'Moore Creagh, V.C., G.C.B.*, described the honourable career of the recent Commander-in-Chief in India. General the Rt. Hon. Sir Nevil Macready, Bart., held a series of difficult posts as Adjutant-General to the Forces, Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, and Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, and his *Annals of an Active Life* were correspondingly full of alarms and excursions, with no little light relief. *Spun Yarn*, by H.E. Admiral Sir Henry Woods Pasha, K.C.V.O., abundantly fulfilled the promise of this combination of British and Turkish dignities. More peaceful adventures, and wistful memories of a vanished social order, were happily recalled by the late Lord Willoughby de Broke in *The Passing Years*, a volume to which Mr. Moreton Frewen's *Melton Mowbray* provided the most suitable

partner. *Mark Twain's Autobiography*, edited with an Introduction by Mr. Albert Bigelow Paine, proved to be a characteristically informal production, observing no order of time or theme, but illumined throughout by the spirit of its author even when his pessimism was most express. *Memories and Friends*, by Dr. A. C. Benson, LL.D., C.V.O., contained a wonderful gallery of Etonian portraits. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's **Memories and Adventures* described early struggles and triumphs, war, whaling, boxing, medical work in West Africa, and world-wide travel, with unflinching gusto. A journal kept by Mr. St. Loe Strachey for his son's amusement provided the delightful miscellanea of *The River of Life: A Diurnal Digression*. Herself an artist, wife of an artist, and mother of a famous caricaturist, Mrs. E. M. Ward was able to load with interest her *Memories of Ninety Years*. Another unusually long and successful career, which closed during the year, was described in *A Long Life's Work*, by Sir Archibald Geikie, O.M. Sir William Orpen was in holiday mood when he wrote and illustrated his *Stories of Old Ireland and Myself* while his compatriot Mr. George Moore provided another volume of his curious blend of reminiscences and criticisms in *Conversations in Ebury Street*. Theatrical personalities thronged the pages of Mr. Cosmo Hamilton's lively *Unwritten History*, and the memoirs of stage and racecourse compiled by one of our most lamented comedians, Mr. Charles Hawtrey, were edited by Mr. Somerset Maugham under the allusive title of *The Truth at Last*. Vols. III. and IV. of *The Farington Diary*, edited by Mr. James Greig, continued this entertaining miscellany from September, 1804, to January, 1808. *Jane Welsh Carlyle: Letters to her Family, 1839-1863*, collected under the editorship of Mr. Leonard Huxley, more than 200 letters, most of them the hasty, inimitable, but rather disloyal confidences of Mrs. Carlyle to two cousins. A more lovable spirit expressed itself in the *Letters of Anne Thackeray Ritchie*, edited by her daughter Miss Hester Eitchie, which included some forty letters from Thackeray himself.

In the category of historical works, the second volume of the **Cambridge Ancient History*, edited by Professor Bury, Dr. S. A. Cook, and Mr. F. E. Adcock, took at least chronological precedence, being devoted to the Egyptian and Hittite Empires and reaching the relatively recent period of about 1000 B.C. The six Ford Lectures delivered at Oxford by the late Professor Haverfield, and revised by Dr. George Macdonald, composed *The Roman Occupation of Britain*. Such conclusions as that the Roman occupation had no effect on the later history of Britain, and that "the Roman has passed from Britain as though he had never been" would, however, be disputed by many readers. One region where his sojourn left emphatic traces was explored by Miss Jessie Mothersale in *The Saxon Shore*, and her account of Roman sites and defences, while popular in style, was the result of serious thought and study. Professor W. G. de Burgh added to the number of recent works on our debt to earlier civilisations with his *The Legacy of the Ancient World*, a study of the genius and influence of Israel, Greece, and Rome. In **A Guide to World History* (which, published late last year, was really one of this year's books), Mr. A. R. Cowan attempted to evaluate world history as a whole. Moving homeward to special episodes and institutions, we

come upon Mr. Walter George Bell's tragic history of * *The Great Plague in London in 1665* ; the first two volumes of Sir Charles Edward Mallet's detailed and captivating *History of the University of Oxford*, reaching the end of the seventeenth century; and two works that undesignedly supplemented one another on the sites where "the studious lawyers have their bowers"—* *The History of the Temple, London*, by Mr. J. Bruce Williamson, from the institution of the Templar's Order to the end of the Stuart period, and *The Story of the Inns of Court*, by the Et. Hon. Sir D. Plunket Barton (Gray's Inn), Mr. Charles Benham (Lincoln's Inn), and Mr. Francis Watt (The Temple). *Chronicles of the Eighteenth Century*, of which the first two volumes, compiled by Lady Maud Wyndham, appeared during the year, was only indirectly illustrative of the age, through the medium of the correspondence of the large (and assiduously place-hunting) family of Sir Thomas Lyttelton. Mr. Hilaire Belloc published another masterly work on military history in *The Campaign of 1812 to the Retreat from Moscow*. To recent history Mr. H. W. V. Temperley contributed the sixth and last volume of his authoritative **History of the Peace Conference of Paris*. Mr. F. H. Hooper, the editor of *These Eventful Years*, united some eighty renowned contemporaries in the attempt to have the history of our own times set before us by those who played prominent parts in its making. Allies and late enemies gave their versions of great incidents in the World War, and the science and art sections were in the hands of high authorities, the volumes being prefaced by a masterly epitome of recent history by Mr. J. L. Garvin. Another instalment of the official *History of the Great War* was *The Merchant Navy*, Vol. II., by Mr. Archibald Hurd, covering the period of intensive submarine warfare from 1915 to 1917. Vol. II of Mr. J. S. C. Bridge's *History of France from the Death of Louis XI* covered the reign of Charles VIII. and his invasion of Italy. Miss Dorothy Muir's *History of Milan under the Visconti* destroyed, after the fashion of monographs, many of the illusions precious to the historical novelist. Dr. Luigi Villari's *The Awakening of Italy* showed something of the same tradition still active in Italian politics; his work was extremely interesting, but his Fascist partisanship was unmistakably in evidence. Mr. E. B. Cunningham-Graham in *The Conquest of the River Plate* made the slow penetration of the empty Pampas as romantic as any tale of sack and treasure in the gold regions. Sir Thomas W. Arnold was responsible for *The Caliphate*, an exhaustive treatise on that perplexing but potent institution, abolished, in the author's opinion, after it had long ceased to be a political reality.

In view of the results of the 1924 elections, two volumes of political history made a very timely appearance: Mr. Keith Feiling's **History of the Tory Party, 7640-1714*, and Mr. Maurice Wood's *History of the Tory Party in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. The "Gentleman with a Duster" chose ten living members of the Conservative Party as representative of * *The Conservative Mind*, during the analysis of which he castigated freely the leaders of the opposing parties. The Et. Hon. George N. Barnes attacked the paramount problems of the day, and outlined a scheme for their solution, in *Industrial Conflict: the Way Out*, with a foreword by Lord Cecil, and a group of distinguished students of the un-

employment question continued their investigations in *Is Unemployment Inevitable? An Analysis and a Forecast*. State use of the unemployed for public undertakings was urged by Mr. Arthur Bertam in *The Economic Illusion*. The scheme of credit manipulation recommended in Major C. H. Douglas's *Social Credit* seemed to make numerous converts, among them Major A. E. Powell, who attempted to simplify the whole theory in *The Deadlock in Finance*. In his **Psychological Theory of Value*, Mr. G. B. Diblee handled a difficult theme in an attractive and novel fashion. Mr. Henry Higgs, G.B., issued four valuable lectures under the title of *Financial Reform*, which discussed *inter alia* the position of our rather amateur Chancellors of the Exchequer in times that call for unexampled financial knowledge and resourcefulness. Miss Eleanor Powell's *The Disinherited Family* described the mischief done by a wage system entirely unrelated to the altered economy of the modern family, and drew attention to the systems of family allowances in operation abroad. In *A Year of Prophesying*, Mr. H. G. Wells brought together miscellaneous articles criticising most aspects of our present civilisation and probing with his wonted logic and imagination the possibilities of the future. Mr. Lothrop Stoddard diagnosed the condition of Europe in the light of the Nordic racial theory in **Racial Realities in Europe*. Mr. Stephen King-Hall's *Western Civilisation and the Far East* was a somewhat lurid exposure of the relations between China and the European Powers, whose villainy appeared to be excelled only by that of Japan. **The Lost Dominion*, published over the pseudonym of Al. Carthill, proclaimed with no ordinary courage and eloquence, obviously backed by first-hand knowledge, the coming of disaster as a result of the piecemeal abandonment of British authority in India.

The travel books of 1924 again showed that, in spite of all the camera can do, success still depends upon the personality of the traveller. Aubrey Herbert died before he could finish *Ben Kendim* ("I Myself"): *A Record of Eastern Travel*, but his book, which was edited by Mr. Desmond MacCarthy, was the perfect expression of his gay and questing character. His Turcophil sympathies were not shared by Colonel A. Bawlinson, judging from his *Adventures in the Near East, 1918-1922*, which opened with his voyage to Mesopotamia and told the story of his dangerous work after the Armistice as Intelligence Officer in Transcaucasia, and his sufferings as a prisoner of the Turkish Nationalist Army. Dr. Ferdinand Ossendowski's *Men and Mystery in Asia* was a tale of horror that would inspire incredulity but for something compelling and consistent in his account of the modern inferno of Siberia, Manchuria, and Sakhalin. Mr. H. M. Tomlinson used all his enchantments in *Tide-marks* to bear the reader with him to the Malay Archipelago, to Java, Celebes, Macassar, up the volcano of Ternate, and deep into the untrodden forests of Malaya. Mr. Stephen Graham started from Spain on the track of the conquistadores, *In Quest of Eldorado*. Picturesque descriptions of life in Cuba, Haiti, and Porto Rico, reflections on the decline of Spanish power, on the achievements and function of Northern Americans in Latin America, accompanied his narrative of a courageous expedition through the wilds in the footsteps of Balboa and Cortes. Mr. W. Beebe's expedition was far from the beaten track, and multitudes

of iguanas afforded his sumptuous volume *Galdpagos* some of the eeriest photographs imaginable. *Adventures in Peru*, by the late C. H. Producers, seemed to come from the lips of one of the medieval adventurers with whom he had such an affinity. The Earl of Birkenhead's recent lecture tour gave him the material for his appreciative *America Revisited*; Mr. Harold Noyce's *With Stefansson in the Arctic* threw new light on a memorable expedition and a commander of no common mould.

In the department of theology the greatest commotion was caused by Dr. James Moffat's first volume (Genesis—Esther) of his new translation of *The Old Testament*. Dr. Moffat's desire to be absolutely accurate and intelligible throughout evoked passages which, by their contrast with familiar versions, were startling and at times comic; but the enterprise was a proof of real courage and scholarship. Sir James Marchant was the editor of *Immortality*, with an Introduction by Lord Ernie, in which acknowledged authorities dealt with the idea of life after death among the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, Indians, and Hebrews. A section on the Christian point of view was followed by a posthumous paper on "Immortality in the Poets" by the late Maurice Hewlett. Sir James Frazer, O.M., described the customs and beliefs of the Micronesian peoples in the third volume of *The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead*. Sir E. A. Wallis Budge issued the two volumes of *Baralam and Yewasef*, the Ethiopic text and English translation of a far-travelled Christianised version of legends of the Buddha. Much interest was aroused by Mr. Arnold Lunn's study in *Roman Converts* of the influences determining the ultimate religious allegiance of such men as Cardinal Manning, Father Tyrrell, Mr. G. K. Chesterton, and Father Konald Knox. Mr. D. H. Lawrence's incursion into philosophy, *Fantasia of the Unconscious*, deserves mention chiefly as helping to show the range of its author's activities during the year. In * *Personality and Social Adjustment* (though published in the United States in 1923, it reached this country in 1924), Professor E. R. Groves traced the influence of psychology on social conduct.

The art books of 1924 included fewer of the familiar colour-illustrated editions of the classics. The more sombre arts of wood-cutting and etching seemed to be in the ascendant, and were represented by *Woodcuts and Some Words* (very provocative words), by Mr. E. Gordon Craig; *The Modern Woodcut*, by Mr. Herbert Furst; *A History of French Etching*, by Mr. F. L. Leipnik; and *The Etchings of I. Y. Cameron*, by Mr. Arthur M. Hind. A series of drawings made by Mr. Joseph Pennell twelve years ago, with accompanying papers of no high order by Mr. Sydney Dark, were worthily reproduced in *London*, while *The Artist's London* comprised some eighty drawings by fifty contemporary artists. Mr. E. V. Lucas issued an invaluable companion to the galleries of Europe in *A Wanderer among Pictures*. Works on individual masters included *Angelica Kaufmann, R.A.*, by Lady Victoria Manners and Mr. D. G. Williamson; *Ernest Oimson*, by Mr. Ernest Benn and Mr. Basil Blackwell; and *Rodin*, by Mr. Ernest Benn. *The Decorative Arts in England, 1660-1780*, was the splendid posthumous work of a great collector, Colonel H. H. Mulliner, and an ambitious undertaking was excellently begun by

the first volume of the *Dictionary of English Furniture* (A to Ch), by Mr. Percy Macquoid and Mr. Ralph Edwards.

Collections of essays and criticisms appeared in embarrassing confusion; few authors seemed to hesitate to make a volume of even the most fugitive of journalistic trifles. Nothing but welcome, however, could await such work as *Elizabethans*, unpublished essays and lectures in which the erudition and understanding of the late H. H. Bullen were at their richest. Professor George Saintsbury brought from his inexhaustible store of memories, whims, and robust prejudices *A Last Scrap Book*, and his essays in French literature formed the fourth volume of his *Collected Essays and Papers* (1875-1920). The Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell's *More Obiter Dicta* was warmly greeted. Miscellaneous papers on subjects historical and literary, a speech on Chamberlain, a Romanes Lecture on the Victorian Age, and two reviews of the biography of Campbell-Bannerman, made up the *Studies and Sketches* of the Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith. Mr. W. B. Yeats combined three earlier volumes, containing some of his finest work in prose, in one volume of *Essays*. *A Gallery*, by Mr. Philip Guedalla, was full of clever landscapes and portraits, and if the colouring was often too high, there was no disputing the virtuosity of the treatment, whether of Fez, or Biarritz, Palmerston or Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. Mr. C. E. Montague's *The Right Place: A Book of Pleasures* recaptured and communicated the delights of the open and the world beyond the study walls. General volumes in their authors' usual vein included *Encounters and Diversions*, by the ever felicitous Mr. E. V. Lucas; *Punch and Judy*, by the Hon. Maurice Baring; Mr. Robert Lynd's *The Peel of Bells*; *White Horse and Red Lion*, by the accomplished Mr. James Agate; and *Last Essays*, by the lamented Maurice Hewlett. English literature evoked Mr. John Freeman's careful but rather heavy *English Portraits and Essays*; the acute and witty *Figures in Modern Literature*, by Mr. J. B. Priestley; and an unusually penetrating and attractive series on *The English Novel of To-Day*, by Mr. Gerald Gould. Mr. Alfred Noyes wrote with freshness and authority on *Some Aspects of Modern Poetry*. In his *Studies in Classic American Literature*, Mr. D. H. Lawrence treated a curious group comprising Franklin, Poe, Cooper, and Hawthorne as illustrating all that he finds amiss with the American spirit. Eloquent indeed, but far more convincing as an analysis of a country's spirit and literature, was Mr. Salvador de Madariaga's *The Genius of Spain*, containing studies of such figures as Galdos, Unamuno, Azorin, and Valle Inclan, whose very names are unfortunately still too little known in England. * *Essays on Jewish Life and Thought* also shed a good deal of light on a theme where light was welcome.

Many distinguished plays appeared in book form during the year, but all other dramatic achievements were overshadowed by Mr. George Bernard Shaw's **St. Joan*, which finally won from his fellow-countrymen that recognition of his genius which they have been the last to accord. Sir James M. Barrie's *Mary Rose* was another welcome arrival, and among other plays which claimed revived interest in printed form were Mr. John Galsworthy's *The Forest and Old English*, Mr. C. K. Munro's *Storm*, and Mr. Sutton Vane's *Outward Bound*. Mr. Ashley Duke's *The Man with a Load of Mischief*, a romantic piece of unusual literary quality,

anticipated its production in the ordinary theatre. Two plays by the late Mr. Joseph Conrad, *Laughing Anne* and *One Day*, showed no new aspect of his genius, and Mr. E. V. Lucas's venture as a playwright, *The Same Star*, was not wholly successful. The poetic drama was represented by Mr. W. W. Gibson's *Kestrel Edge and Other Plays*, Mr. Lawrence Binyon's *Ayuli*, and an actor's study of a dramatist, Mr. Ernest Milton's *Christopher Marlowe*. An American playwright, Miss Susan Glaspell, won golden opinions with *Inheritors*, a drama on the decay of liberty in America, and *The Verge* and *Berenice*, two less direct pieces in a manner suggestive of Pirandello. Her compatriot Mr. Eugene O'Neill was as arresting as ever in *Beyond the Horizon* and *Gold*. Among books dealing with the stage were Mr. James Agate's reprinted articles in *The Contemporary Theatre*, Mr. St. John Ervine's general irascibilities in *The Organised Theatre*, and a work on a school from which modern producers derive continual inspiration, *The New Theatre and Kinema in Soviet Russia*, by Mr. Huntley Carter.

The poetry of 1924 was not of the most memorable vintage. New work by the Poet-Laureate, Mr. Thomas Hardy, and many younger writers of distinction appeared in the reviews, but was not issued in book form. Anthologies continued to abound. Dr. Kobert Bridges himself compiled and annotated for the use of schools *The Chilswell Booh of English Poetry*, a fine collection but less individual than one had hoped. In *The Golden Treasury of Modern Lyrics*, Mr. Laurence Binyon continued Palgrave's original volume, which set itself the limit of 1850, up to the present day, and his choice and arrangement were both happy, though his notes were meagre. Mr. George Moore's exacting standards were only satisfied by the contents of a very slender volume, *Pure Poetry*. Miss Naomi Royde-Smith's *A Private Anthology* was much more comprehensive and revealing. A recent bicentenary possibly stimulated the labours of Mr. Edmund Blunden and an Australian author, Mr. Percival Serle, in their two new editions of Christopher Smart's *A Song to David and Other Poems*. Mr. Blunden's researches also resulted in the discovery of new poems by John Clare, which he edited under the title of *Madrigals and Chronicles*. Collected editions included the *Complete Poetical Works of Austin Dobson*, surely some of the most charming verse of modern times, and the *Collected Works of Arthur Symonds* gathered into the first three volumes that critic's work in poetry. Mr. W. H. Davies played his accustomed tunes as sweetly as ever in *Secrets*. Mr. Walter de la Mare, always attracted by the epitaph form, presented a group of epitaphs in a frail setting of story in *Ding Dong Bell*. Mr. Hugh I'Anson Fausset's *Before the Dawn* just missed the vigour and colour of what his full day promises to bring. *Kensington Gardens*, by Mr. Humbert Wolfe, in very much lighter vein, was one of the most pleasing collections of the year. *Heliodora and other Poems*, by H. D., a volume of translations and adaptations from the Greek into free verse, won high praise. Lord Alfred Douglas published a fine sonnet-sequence, written in prison, *In Excelsis*; and M. H. E. Palmer struck out a line for himself in ** The Unknown Warrior*. Probably the most original poem of 1924 was *The Flaming Terrapin*, by a South African author, Mr. Roy Campbell, whose theme and technique suggested another Herman Melville expressing

himself in verse. A book of nursery poems by Mr. A. A. Milne, *When We Were Very Young*, took the public of the Christmas season by storm, and promised to become a new children's classic; older people had already surrendered to their captivating rhythm in the pages of *Punch*.

Fiction was once again overwhelming in quantity, and even highly meritorious work is deprived by considerations of space of proper recognition here. A striking feature of the year's publishing was the rise of volumes of short stories in popular esteem after a long term of neglect. Most of the best-known exponents of the novel were represented during 1924. Mr. H. G. Wells had much that was delightful in **The Dream*, but the Utopian element disturbed the balance and focus of the story. The Atlantic Edition of his collected works in twenty-eight volumes was undertaken in the autumn. Mr. Arnold Bennett's contribution was a volume of short stories, but took its title of *Elsie and the Child* from a kind of epilogue to *Hiccyman Steps*. Mr. John Galsworthy gained unwonted popular success with **The White Monkey*, another portion of the Forsyte saga, and his *Works* were issued in a collected edition with new prefaces by the author. In *The Old Ladies* Mr. Hugh Walpole limited himself to a study of unloved old age on the top landing of an old house in Polchester. Mr. John Masefield's **Sard Harker*, a tale of terrific ardours and endurances in South America, may follow by way of the widest possible contrast. Mr. Compton Mackenzie, after completing with **The Heavenly Ladder* his inexplicable enterprise of leading a young clergyman by many a woary winding path to Kome, evidently took a holiday with his breezy South Seas comedy of adventure, *The Old Men of the Sea*. Mr. J. D. Beresford was not up to his usual level in *Unity*. In many quarters Mr. E. M. Forster's **A Passage to India* was awarded the palm as the artistic masterpiece of the year, disputing its place, if at all, with Mr. Galsworthy; it was chosen for the English Femina Vie Heureuse prize for 1923-24. An emphatic popular success was scored by Mr. Michael Arlen's witty society novel **The Green Hat*. Mr. Conal O'Riordan continued the *Adam of Dublin* series, which has not fulfilled expectations, with *Married Life*, and Mr. Robert Keable also followed the fortunes of the characters of an earlier work in **Recompence*. The year's lengthiest novel had the briefest title: *C*, by the Hon. Maurice Baring, was an extremely diffuse pseudo-biography of a gifted ineffectual whose career at Eton and Balliol, in Paris and Rome, was treated with all the detail and verisimilitude the author's talent and experience could supply. Mr. A. C. Benson adopted something of the same method in *Chris Gascoyne*, based on the imaginary diary of a friend of the elusive but charming hero. Mr. Edward Booth furthered his advancing reputation with another lengthy East Riding story, *The Treble Clef*. By the title of *Some Do Not . . .* Mr. Ford Madox Ford apparently meant that some, like his hero and heroine, do not compromise with life and society; the author himself was uncompromising enough in method and expression in the brilliant but bitter story of the unaccommodating Tietjens. Mr. W. L. George devoted considerable wit and mordancy to the self-revelation of a pushful cad in *The Triumph of Gallio*. In *Trimblerrigg*, Mr. Laurence Housman depicted the rise to world-renown of a Nonconformist minister of resource and unscrupulousness, taking

no pains to avoid a parallel with the career of a living statesman. Mr. Robert Hichens' *After the Verdict* was an effective story, right up to the moment in setting and treatment. The prolific Mr. D. H. Lawrence collaborated with Mr. M. L. Skinner in an Australian story * *The Boy in the Bush*. With * *A Man in the Zoo*, Mr. David Garnett did not repeat the success of *Lady into Fox*, which achieved the distinction of being parodied as *Gentleman into Goose*, by Mr. Christopher Ward. The most humorous book of 1924 was considered by many to be the mock autobiography, *Augustus Carp, Esq., by Himself*. Two bold contemporaries followed not unworthily in the footsteps of great predecessors, Mr. David Alec Wilson in *Modern Lilliput*, and Mr. John Cournos in *The New Candide*. The Rev. Father R. A. Knox presented *Sanctions* as "A Frivolity," but it was in fact a lively series of country-house debates with the serious aim of commending a specific faith and an authoritative Church. * *The Natural Man*, by Mr. Patrick Miller, was a publisher's prize novel commended by the judges. The Hawthornden Prize was given to Mr. R. H. Mottram's *The Spanish Farm*, a fine story of the War, which until this award had attracted curiously little notice.

Women novelists again produced work of a very high standard. Miss May Sinclair not only made the bold experiment of writing a novel in free verse, *The Dark Night*, but also created in *Arnold Waterlow: A Life*, a male counterpart of her *Mary Olivier*. In * *Wandering Stars* Miss Clemence Dane was not at the height of her powers, her theme and construction being uncomfortably bizarre. Miss Anne Douglas Sedgwick's *The Little French Girl* explored the difference between English and French ideas on love and marriage. Miss G. B. Stern worked on the grand scale in her detailed and documented history of a widely-ramifying Jewish family in * *Tents of Israel*. The scene of Miss Stella Benson's brilliant and unsparing *Pipers and a Dancer* was once more laid in China, while Miss Rose Macaulay's characters recreated the Victorian polity under tropic skies in * *Orphan Island*. (It is of interest to note that Gerhart Hauptmann in *Die Insel der grossen Mutter*, one of the striking German novels of the year, chose a similar milieu for his ironical reflections on modern life.) An American novelist, Miss Fannie Hurst, concentrated a strange intensity of style and feeling on the tale of a New York servant-girl of Scandinavian origin in * *LummoX*. Few recent novels have evoked such a chorus of critical approval as greeted Miss Margaret Kennedy's *The Constant Nymph*.

The versatile Mr. Frank Harris displayed all his inventive power in the exotic tales appropriately entitled *Undream'd-of Shores*. Mr. D. H. Lawrence's stories in *England, My England*, were laid in an obsessed and cruel country not familiar to most Englishmen. Mr. Aldous Huxley allowed himself every licence in * *Little Mexican*, for the most part to the reader's advantage. *Grub Street Nights Entertainments*, by Mr. J. C. Squire, contained nine memorable stories and satires of literary life. Satire, too, was abundant in Mr. Osbert Sitwell's * *Triple Fugue*, and Mr. H. C. Harwood was by turns romantic and sophisticated in *Judgment Eve*, which took its title from his account of the destruction of London from the air during a war of the future. Women writers were represented by another posthumous volume of stray writings by

Katherine Mansfield, *Something Childish*; a striking set of stories, *When the Bough Breaks*, by Mrs. Naomi Mitchison; and the subtleties of Miss Viola Meynell in *Young Mrs. Cruze*.

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.

General Botha, by Earl Buxton (John Murray). Lord Buxton's sketch is based on the experience of four years of war-time during which he was Governor-General and High Commissioner of the Union of South Africa and in the closest touch with the Premier. It is doubtful if the difficulties which had to be faced in South Africa at the outbreak of the Great War have ever been so clearly and impressively presented, and the achievement on behalf of the Empire of the man who twelve years before had been among the most enterprising of its foes given its full significance. Lord Buxton does not weary in driving home the fact that it was the personality and influence of Botha himself which rendered abortive the rebellion of Beyers and De Wet (his old associates), and brought hosts of South Africans of Dutch descent to fight wholeheartedly in the cause of Britain. Here British statesmanship had for once merited and received a noble reward, for it was the action of a Government of which Lord Buxton was a member which had created us this Botha. The generosity of the grant of self-government was answered by all that was chivalrous in his own spirit; it inspired him with the ideal of the Union of the two white races of his country, and set up the institutions by which it might be accomplished. He treated the entry of his country into the Great War as an obligation of honour and a service to that ideal. After the victory, as after the rebellion and at the Peace Conference in Paris, his mind was still full of the lessons of the Peace of Vereeniging. The magnanimity he showed the defeated, like that which he himself had experienced, was amply justified by events. But he came back from France in failing health, perturbed and disappointed by what he felt was the vindictive character of the Treaty of Versailles. Lord Buxton's memoir, written with admiration and insight, gives a vivid picture of the physical presence of the man as well as of the qualities that went to make him one of the greatest of Imperial figures.

Dr. John Clifford: Life, Letters, Reminiscences, by Sir James Marchant (Cassell & Co., Ltd.). It will come as a shock to many readers of this biography to discover how grossly they misunderstood Dr. Clifford's personality. There is no doubt that to many worthy citizens he stood as the embodiment of sectarianism, contentiousness, a narrow system of thought, and a harsh discipline of life which he would fain have imposed universally. Sir James Marchant's is a very different picture. John Clifford appears as the most cheerful and optimistic of men. Despite his firm convictions and unresting militancy on their behalf, he was able, at least in his later years, to write in his diary that he rejoiced

in men who differed from himself. If he cherished a special allegiance to a small community of no great width of outlook, he could still be described as an Imperialist. Sir James holds that his aim was not to incarnate and impose the "Nonconformist conscience," but to secure both individual liberty and social reform in generous measure. He was born in 1836, and the influences dominating his youth swayed the whole of his career—his strict evangelical upbringing, a boyish sympathy and friendship with the Chartists, his experiences of the sixteen-hour day in a lace factory at the age of nine, and the "spiritual emancipation" which decided his future when he was fourteen. However fiercely, as he said, he hated politics, he felt that it was in the political arena that he must win his fellows a life of more freedom and opportunity; what use to make of their gains he would tell them from the pulpit. He was only in his teens when he began his preaching, and he entered on his first pastorate at Praed Street Chapel at the age of twenty-two. Before long his congregation was too large for the premises. In the wider field Westbourne Park Road Chapel offered him for all kinds of social, educational, and religious work, he was to labour for sixty-eight years. One of the most interesting phases Sir James Marchant describes is that of the controversy of the late eighties between the great Spurgeon and Clifford, then President of the Baptist Union, who stood out for freedom of thought and speech, and won a notable victory for his fellow-ministers. In the keen strife over the Education Act of 1902 he makes a much less pleasing figure, but his later years, as seen in these pages, were passed in the glow of wider sympathies, and the official honours he received were an assurance of widespread affection and esteem. Sir James Marchant has acquitted himself worthily in what must have been congenial labours.

In *Richard the Lion-Heart* (Macmillan & Co.), Miss Norgate gives us a further instalment of her Plantagenet monographs. The present volume has been treated in a different style from its predecessors. Richard I. is perhaps the only English monarch until the eighteenth century, the record of whose life can be virtually disassociated from that of his reign. Miss Norgate has accordingly set herself to write a biography and nothing more—the first, indeed, since the antiquated production of G. P. R. James. She describes in detail the confusing initial period of intrigue and warfare of the undutiful sons against their father, Henry II. She gives a minute account—the fullest hitherto written, at least in English—of the Third Crusade, upon which the reputation of her hero has been made chiefly to rest. She treats clearly of the last phase in which Richard showed the qualities of a statesman as well as of a soldier in his relations with the Empire and his struggle against France. But she consciously neglects the most important aspect of the reign, which renders it of crucial importance in the study of the growth of English institutions. Richard's continuous absence from England had given a powerful impetus to the growth of the idea of ministerial government. The harshness displayed by his representatives, and the heavy taxation necessitated to support his military expenditure and to pay his ransom, commenced to alienate the people from the King, whom they had hitherto regarded as their defence against the Barons, and to consolidate them with the Barons, who henceforth

championed them against the King. In the combination which overthrew Longchamp is foreshadowed that which secured Magna Carta. At the same time the conceptions of the jury and of the knights of the shire were making notable progress ; and the towns—especially London—profiting from Richard's necessities or taking advantage of his absence, were advancing rapidly towards self-government in that "lavish recognition of municipal life" which has long been recognised as the principal significance of the reign. All of these aspects Miss Norgate has consciously omitted. So far as it goes Miss Norgate's work is a solid contribution to the study of English History, but it might well be completed by adding a history of the reign to the splendid biography of the ruler.

The Life of Olive Schreiner, by S. C. Cronwright-Schreiner (Fisher Unwin). The task of writing a biography of Olive Schreiner has presented, even to her husband, special difficulties. There was much of her private life that she seemed singularly unwilling to discuss during her lifetime. Many friends have assisted her husband in reconstructing a lengthy period with regard to which such papers as had survived the destruction wrought during the South African War could only avail him little. The first part of his book describes her parentage, childhood, and education. She was the ninth of the twelve children of a Gorman Wesleyan missionary and an English mother who left Europe to begin their work in South Africa more than seventy years ago. She was therefore born and brought up as the child of pioneers in an undeveloped country; but the family was more than intellectually self-supporting, so to speak, and Olive Schreiner's education was wide enough, however unorthodox. Mr. Cronwright-Schreiner shows how completely autobiographical was *The Story of an African Farm*, though the young people represent different phases of herself rather than the other children. From the time of her marriage onwards the narrative naturally gains in fullness and intimacy. It would, perhaps, have benefited by some abbreviation in the history of the painful period of the South African War, important as were its effects on the fortunes and temperament of Olive Schreiner. Her sufferings were intense and did not cease with the hostilities. How passionate, how lacking in any sense of proportion she could be at times, was evident in her *Letters* published by her husband later in 1924. It was not only her life-long struggle with asthma that prevented the full flowering of her genius. Her extraordinary energy dissipated itself in political and social activities or in studies that were relatively sterile. This biography is written simply and with great tact and delicacy, and is a worthy tribute to a woman who will long be honoured here and in her well-loved South Africa.

Anatole France: The Man and his Work, by James Lewis May (John Lane). Mr. May divides his book into biography and criticism in accordance with his title. The external facts of Anatole France's life are related first, with no special fullness or intimacy, perhaps, but in an agreeable manner. The autobiographical novels, which Mr. May regards as the most enduring of his author's works, are naturally the basis of the story of France's youth on the Quai Malaquais and the Quai Voltaire, and there is a pleasant chapter on his experiences as a young man **among**

warring poets on the staff of the Library of the Senate. For the later life the proper material was lacking when Mr. May's book appeared, before the death of the great novelist and the issue of several candid works dealing with his *vie intime* at the Villa Said and La Bechellerie. His first marriage, the storm and stress of the Dreyfus affair, the marriage of his daughter to Psichari, the grandson of Renan, his adherence to Socialism, and his second marriage make up the chief events of which Mr. May was able to treat, though the Epilogue describes a visit to the Master in 1923. It is a hard thing to say of the biographer of a satirist, but Mr. May seems to have taken his author too seriously. Mr. May has followed a rather mistaken policy of critical analysis in his treatment of his author as novelist, story-teller, historian, critic, philosopher, and stylist, and he does not show himself very penetrating. Anatole France's work, like his personality, defies dissection of this kind; its essential graces are not revealed in the process, any more than those of a sentence would be by parsing. Nevertheless, the book is an honest attempt at interpreting an elusive author to English readers, and may well increase their number.

Wagner: Das Leben im Werke, by Paul Bekker (Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt). Paul Bekker is the musical critic of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, and the author of a standard work on Beethoven. When it became known that he was busying himself with a study of Wagner, those who were acquainted with his writings expected a magnificent volume. They will not be disappointed. This stately book of 588 pages, beautifully printed and bound as it is, must be accounted one of the outstanding books of the year. It is not an ordinary biography, but rather, as its sub-title implies, a narrative of Wagner's life through his works. "Richard Wagner sprang from a theatrical family"—so the book begins, and at once gives an indication of the author's method, which seeks in environment and heredity to demonstrate how Wagner became what he was. Bekker reviews the operas in turn with regard to their origin in the particular period of Wagner's life in which they were conceived and written; he shows the relation between words and music and between one opera and the others; and finally he gives a clear, well-cut characterisation of each opera which the general reader no less than the music-lover will find highly delectable. The psychological studies result in presenting a clear portrait of Wagner; not Wagner the man, but Wagner the artist. It is not an easy book to read, but will repay perusal by reason of its wealth of material and its wonderful insight. The book should unquestionably be translated into English.

Memories and Adventures, by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (Hodder & Stoughton). Sir Arthur's reminiscences are no whit less interesting than any of the other volumes, goodly in number and in quality, for which we are indebted to him. With his own works he does not appear to concern himself very greatly; no man could be more modest in his claims as a writer. But he does obviously take a just pride in the active, as distinct from the sedentary, occupations of his career. His immediate forebears were artists rather than adventurers, but Sir Arthur has amply made up for any remissness in that respect. The heroes of his novels have been allowed few feats and hazards unknown to their creator, and he seems to have enjoyed all his experiences. Before he began his practice as a

doctor he had ranged from the rigours of whaling in Greenland to the other climatic extreme in West Africa. He has engaged in every known form of sport—fishing, football, cricket (where he gave W. G. Grace the satisfaction of seeing him set on fire by a ball which ignited a box of matches in his pocket), golf, hunting of every kind—often in the strangest of environments. He has seen several campaigns: the expedition against the Mahdi, the South African War, in which he served as a temporary Medical Officer, and operations on the French and Italian fronts in the Great War. In addition he has shown the courage of being able to stand by honest convictions in face of any amount of ridicule. The space devoted to his psychic beliefs and experiences in the present volume is not large, but his chapter on the supernatural is of rare interest. Despite all his travels, however, it was Sir Arthur's birthplace, Edinburgh, that gave him the agent of his widest fame. The methods by which Sherlock Holmes won his reputation in the *Strand Magazine*, when *A Study in Scarlet* had failed to establish it, were inspired by those of Dr. Joseph BeD, the Edinburgh surgeon under whom the author studied.

The Cambridge Ancient History: Volume II.—The Egyptian and Hittite Empires, to 1000 B.C. (Cambridge University Press). This stately volume, giving the latest results of scholarship particularly in the field of archaeology, worthily continues the narrative which appeared in the first. Its predecessor, from the nature of things, dealt with "origins;" the present volume already touches on the period with which people are acquainted by reason of their knowledge of the Bible and of classical tradition. Already the beginnings of European history are considered, and Mr. Peter Giles gives a brief but readable account of the races of Europe. The book contains, besides, informative chapters on the earliest Greek records, on Crete, Homer (by Professor Bury), and the Trojan Wars. Egypt, however, is still the centre of interest; in this volume there is depicted the period of the growth of Egyptian power till it reaches its zenith, and then its decay. Perhaps the most attractive chapter in this section is that from the pen of Professor Peet, which deals with life and thought in Egypt. Second to it in interest is the last chapter, by Professor Halliday, on the religion and mythology of the Greeks. Lastly, this volume tells the early history of Israel, naturally paying attention to Bible criticism, but as Mr. Stanley A. Cook is the writer of these chapters, readers have a guarantee that the criticism is not of the advanced school, but is moderate in character. Especial attention is devoted in this volume to the results of archaeology, and in particular to the Hittites, the newest discovery in ancient history. The usual maps and lists of authorities accompany the text; the physical map of Palestine deserves special mention for the beauty of its execution. The work must certainly be counted among the outstanding historical publications of the year.

A Guide to World History, by Andrew E. Cowan (Longmans, Green & Co.). Mr. Cowan in his long study of history and of historical works has come to the conclusion that history is too often studied, as it were, vertically—each country receiving attention by itself. This, in his opinion, militates against the proper perception of the comprehensiveness of world history, and he therefore suggests that history should be studied

horizontally; that is to say, that in any particular period all countries should be reviewed. This, he suggests, would stimulate the sense of "simultaneity" and the notion that the life of the world is one and undivided. From this point of view he has furnished a survey of world history divided up into eras, in which he pays attention not only to European countries but also to China, Japan, India, Mexico, and Peru. It is obvious that within the compass of one volume it is only possible to furnish an outline; the author calls his book "a compass by which the reader may steer his path." The general reader may find the book helpful; whatever else it does, it will certainly make him think, for it is full of provocative statements. The author appears to hold strong views concerning the progress of mankind, and some of his footnotes are extremely interesting.

The Great Plague in London in 1665, by Walter George Bell (John Lane). Many visitors to the British Government Pavilion at Wembley gazed cheerfully enough on the hideous figure of the shrouded Plague Doctor, with his fumigator, high boots, and long pointed nose-piece and on one of his grim instruments beside the picture of the interior of a stricken house. To read Mr. Bell's work is to learn the full sum of horror for which that figure stands. This is the first thorough and trustworthy study we have been given. Defoe's *Journal of the Plague Year* is, as Mr. Bell points out, only a historical novel written sixty years after the event, though some of its incidents which seem to belong to fiction have been found to be authentic, while others even fall short of the truth. Two common illusions are speedily dispelled. The Plague was not imported from abroad, and it was not an unprecedented visitation. The previous twenty years had been marked by very severe outbreaks. "The Poore's Plague" was no false name for the calamity of 1665; it began and spread in their houses, and to them its ravages were practically confined. Very few of the more prosperous were attacked at all, even if they faced the risk. Extraordinary weather, apart from the portents in the sky marked by the superstitious, announced its coming. The previous summer had brought unprecedented swarms of flies. In 1665 a great frost held till the end of March, and after April there were four months of almost unbroken drought and stifling calm. The first alarm came from St. Giles's in the Fields, and at the beginning of July every one who could escape from the City had fled. After the break in the weather, the fury of the pestilence diminished in October, but by that time, out of a population Mr. Bell estimates as short of half a million, 100,000 people had perished. The authorities showed either unrelieved cowardice and inhumanity or incompetence. The Court and Parliament removed to Oxford, and the latter body occupied itself with the Five Mile Act and rilled the prisons of London with recalcitrant Nonconformists, thereby creating gigantic centres of disease and infection. The parish authorities of London were completely overwhelmed. Only the City showed courage and such intelligence as the medical knowledge of the time allowed. Its Aldermen were ordered to remain (or return) and fulfil the duties of their office, which they performed unflinching. On these and other details Mr. Bell's book is as illuminating as it is harrowing. He deserves praise for having rescued from oblivion the

story of the people of the remote Derbyshire village of Eyam, nearly all of whom perished during a year's self-imposed isolation. This book with the companion work on the Great Fire will be indispensable to every future historian of London.

The History of the Temple, London, by J. Bruce Williamson (John Murray), is primarily a work of filial piety on the part of an alumnus of this uniquely English nursery of lawyers. But it is in effect something of a far wider interest. The name itself originated from the "Poor fellow-soldiers of Christ and the Temple of Solomon" who first occupied the site. The tragic history of this Order in England, which left deep traces in matters so diverse as architecture and finance, has hitherto lacked an historian. The first part of this work fills the lacuna, being devoted to an account of the Knights Templar in London—virtually in the whole kingdom—from their first settlement towards the middle of the twelfth century to their mysterious and ferocious suppression at the commencement of the fourteenth. Thereafter their property was formally made over to the rival order of St. John—a burdensome gift, as events proved. The immediate fate of the great House without the walls it is impossible to determine, but seventy years later the place is found in the occupation of Apprentices of Law, to be known by the time of the Pastons by their present titles. Thus early the two Learned and Honourable Societies of the Temple were embarked upon the tradition which has continued to the present day. It is to their heyday under the Tudors and the Stuarts that the present work is principally devoted. As may be imagined, its interest is not confined to the legal world. The most casual recollection of seventeenth-century literature will show the position which the institution occupied in English social life: and to this aspect justice is amply done by Mr. Williamson. The period from the Restoration, when the Great Seal was virtually an appanage of the Temple, is not the only one when political history and biography receive important illustration. Finally, the London antiquary will find in this volume (particularly in the chapter which describes the neighbouring taverns and the "Alsatia" of the seventeenth century) an interesting light upon the history and topography of the capital. It is to be regretted that since the records of neither Society have been published beyond the Stuart reigns, the present account (although based upon the original manuscripts) closes with that period.

The History of the Peace Conference in Paris, edited by H. W. V. Temperley. Volume VI. (Henry Frowde and Hodder & Stoughton). The present volume completes this monumental work, which has been splendidly planned and as splendidly executed, and the British Institute of International Affairs deserves the gratitude of students for having made possible the venture. Like the five previous volumes, the book is well printed and furnished with maps and documents. It reviews the treaties relating to the settlement of North and Eastern Europe and much that is outside of Europe, including the relation of the Allies to Arab and Jewish nationalism. Nor are these the only tangled and difficult problems which are admirably clarified; there are others, as, for instance, the relationship between China and Japan, the attitude of the United States to the general European settlement, the mandatory

system, the status of the British Dominions in regard to foreign policy, and the possibilities of the League of Nations itself. All these problems are dealt with in the true historical spirit; that is to say, clearly and dispassionately.

In *The History of the Tory Party, 1640-1714* (Oxford University Press), Mr. Keith Feiling has made a noteworthy contribution to the history of the later Stuarts. The subject is indeed not new, but it is approached from a wholly fresh point of view. Mr. Feiling emphasises the fact that it is the history of the original Tory Party, which may be said to have disappeared in 1714, with which he is dealing: for it is in effect only by the slender thread of the personality and teachings of Bolingbroke that the traditions of the party may be traced back across the catastrophe of the Hanoverian succession. The present work is based upon a peculiarly deep knowledge and appreciation of the seventeenth century, in the literature of which the author is steeped to an amazing extent. He has used in addition a vast mass of original material, both printed and manuscript, even the bibliography of which (unfortunately lacking) would be an invaluable guide for students of the period. While not intended primarily to break virgin soil, his work, where it touches the main current of political history, seldom fails to illustrate it with a new light. Valuable contribution is incidentally made also to the biographies of nearly all the statesmen of the Restoration and Revolution, and particularly of the reign of Anne. Mr. Feiling is, however, content to regard his work as an "introduction" to the subject. It is in this that its shortcoming lies. He presupposes the most detailed knowledge of the period in his readers—a knowledge such as he alone perhaps enjoys. Too often the current of his narrative is lost in a sea of allusions, and his illustrations and generalisations frequently lack for all but the highly specialised reader their requisite background. The result is in consequence uneven, and frequently confusing. These strictures, however, (and they are in themselves a tribute to Mr. Feiling's profound knowledge and research) do not apply to the introductory portion of the book which traces the history of the Tories from their genesis up to the Restoration. In this, the author has been more even, if less profound, in his treatment: and his picture is both vivid, stimulating, and exact. The chapter on the Cavaliers especially, with its brilliant character-sketches to illustrate the different types, deserves to become classic.

The *Conservative Mind*, by "A Gentleman with a Duster" (Mills & Boon). The ardour of converts is proverbial, and the author of these studies of ten prominent members of the Conservative Party provides an interesting illustration of it in the violence of his reaction from the avowed Liberal leanings of a recent past. If the common identification of this author is correct, he may well have cultivated Liberalism by way of a relief from his former environment; to-day his success as an iconoclast seems to make him feel at home among the Conservatives. In former volumes his title has usually indicated the group chosen for chastisement, which has not been too sharply applied. In the present instance, however, his Conservative subjects are treated with more than generosity, and he has fallen upon their Liberal and Labour opponents with the heaviest cudgel at his disposal. But if his denunciations lack

nothing in vigour, his criticism, often meted out in epigrams, is not very damaging. The author is an incurable sentimentalist. His enemies are very black and red, his heroes appalled in celestial light, the champions of more than earthly policies. Yet on the whole, the estimates of characters and possibilities in relation to ideal Conservatism are of much interest. Mr. Baldwin is idealised, but stands on fairly solid earth, if Mr. Wood seems to merit translation to a higher sphere. Sir Robert Home and Sir William Joynson-Hicks perhaps have their commercial gifts too heavily emphasised, while Sir Douglas Hogg and Sir Philip Lloyd-Greame are said to have missed their opportunities of greatness. The House of Lords is represented by the Duke of Northumberland, in whom the author sees a Savonarola *de nos jours*. Other studies deal with Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Captain E. A. Fitzroy, and a young Conservative, Mr. Oliver Stanley, son of Lord Derby, admirably suited in the author's view to conduct a campaign of education in the principles of Conservatism among the working classes.

The Psychological Theory of Value, by G. B. Dibblee (Constable). Burke's dictum that "the Age of Chivalry is gone; that of sophisters, economists, and calculators has succeeded" is truer than ever to-day. We are all economists, some true and some false; and we are all certainly interested in economic problems. The great majority of books on this subject follow traditional lines, and some are extremely stimulating. Occasionally, however, there is published an original book on some aspect of economic theory, and this comes as a refreshing addition to the literature on economics. Mr. Dibblee has written such a book. It possibly may not please all professed economists, but it will certainly instruct and interest an average educated person with the capacity and desire for thought. Mr. Dibblee takes the view that since economic activities are part of man's conduct, they therefore involve psychology, and it is to trace out the psychological roots of a good deal of economic conduct that Mr. Dibblee has set himself. He is something of a pioneer; would that all pioneers were as illuminating. His wide reading, his business experience, and his capacity for saying brilliant things, combine to place this book among the books of the year that matter.

Racial Realities in Europe, by Lothrop Stoddard (Charles Scribner's Sons). Shortly after the conclusion of peace, Mr. Lothrop Stoddard published a book entitled *The Rising Tide of Colour*, which found great popularity in the United States and gave an impetus to much discussion there, since it directed attention to the possibility of the yellow races one day mastering the white. Mr. Stoddard is a believer in "race," and he has in this book attempted to give a picture of the present and the future of the principal countries of Europe from the racial point of view. He propounds the theory—it is only a theory—of the Nordic races—tall and blond and blessed with creative energy; of the Mediterranean races—short, dark, and emotional; and of the Alpine races—heavily built, sturdy, and possessing round heads. The theory is certainly interesting, but unfortunately it has too little solid fact to support it. Some of Mr. Stoddard's generalisations give the impression of not being altogether unbiased. Of Great Britain he says that she has grit and determination; of France he is a little doubtful, for France has both

strong and weak points; Germany possesses dogged tenacity, but the majority of her people have the qualities of slave natures, and are easily subjected to the rule of the strong; as for Poland, "all things considered, New Poland seems to be a pretty poor life-insurance risk." This is a typical example of Mr. Stoddard's style, which must be written down as good journalese. His book is a popular work, paying some attention to anthropology, but for the most part based on fanciful and obsolete dogmas. It deserves notice among the books of the year as showing some of the problems that were occupying certain type3 of mind.

The Lost Dominion, by Al. Carhill (William Blackwood). This book created a stir, and went through several editions. Two strong reasons were responsible for this: firstly, the book is written in a vigorous style which grips the reader and carries him along; and in the next place, it deals with a problem of no small import—the continuance or decline of British dominion in India. Whoever the author may be, it is quite clear that his knowledge of India is comprehensive, and must have been gained first-hand. Briefly his argument is that the present method of governing India is wrong in so far as it applies Western ideals to an Oriental population which does not understand them and is not suited to them. His standpoint is broadly Conservative. He believes in force. He holds that Indians must be ruled. He is the Imperialist at his best—or at his worst—according to the point of view. He does not love Whigs, sentimentalists, humanitarians, Socialists, or iconoclasts. He believes in old-fashioned patriotism and in respect for national honour. He is convinced, and his object is to warn his fellow-countrymen, that representative Government for India is a mistake; that it represents the slackening of the hold on India; and that ultimately it will lead to the inevitable—the loss of the Indian Empire. This is a vigorous book, a readable book, a book that makes you think.

Personality and Social Adjustment, by Ernest R. Groves (Longmans, Green & Co.). Psychology has of late made very great progress, and it is not always easy for the general reader, as distinct from the specialist and the student, to obtain a summary of the advances that have been made. Mr. Groves has therefore supplied a want. Though his book deals only with certain aspects of psychology, they are those which are of great moment for parents and teachers, seeing that he is concerned very largely with the behaviour of children. Mr. Groves has written simply and clearly to show the influences of the hunger-drive, of the self-preservation instinct, and of the instinct of sex. The ordinary citizen will find much that will be of help to him in treating children correctly on the basis of a knowledge of psychology. It will suffice to indicate the scope and usefulness of the book if it is said that the eighteen chapters are devoted, among other things, to the social significance of fear, anger, sex, gregariousness, and self-assertion. Perhaps the two most interesting chapters in the book are those which treat of the maturing of a boy and a girl; while that on self-assertion and the family will specially attract all those who love to probe for the roots of conduct in psychology.

Essays on Jewish Life and Thought (Longmans, Green & Co.). Though the Jews are among the oldest of peoples, not much more is

generally known about them to-day than when the ANNUAL REGISTER was first published. Here is an attempt on the part of a Jewish publicist to provide information about this remarkable people, and, since such information must in the long run make for a better understanding between Jews and Gentiles, this book deserves a warm welcome. Moreover, the author believes that on religious and social questions public opinion in this generation is showing distinct signs of a closer and closer approach to the Jewish view. If he is correct, then there is every reason for the Jewish view to be more widely appreciated. Many interesting topics are treated in these pages—the contribution of Jews to the religious thought of the world, their love of education, their ideals of business morality, their devotion to hygienic principles in ordinary life, and their attitude to Christians. The essays, written in a pungent style, will give the careful reader a certain number of clear impressions—that Jews have always protested against cruelty and injustice; that they have suffered persecution in larger measure than any other people; that their devotion to knowledge is something that the world should be grateful for, and that, at its best, Jewish teaching must inevitably produce fine citizens. These essays deal with the Jews and the Jewish views of life as they have never been dealt with before, and among thinking people the book has been received with respect and attention.

Saint Joan, by George Bernard Shaw (Constable & Co.). It is curious to see what an attraction Joan of Arc has for the great minds of history: Voltaire*, Schiller, Anatole France, Mark Twain, in their various manners; and now Mr. Shaw who has written one of the great books of the year. Any casual reader, skimming Mr. Shaw's Preface and seeing Joan described as the queerest fish amongst the eccentric worthies of the Middle Ages, the pioneer of rational dressing for women, afflicted with hallucinations, a Gal tonic visualiser, a thorough daughter of the soil, a born boss, burnt after a comparatively fair trial, and so on, would come to entirely erroneous conclusions. Mr. Shaw writes with the force and fullness of a sincere admiration; he is concerned only to point out that the real Joan is finer than the sentimentalised Joan, and that there were no villains in her tragedy, only "normally innocent people" who burnt her "in the enorgy of their righteousness." So to the "Chronicle Play in Six Scenes and an Epilogue," which public opinion has described as Mr. Shaw's best work. It is full of magnificent scenes and splendid discussions, one of the most striking being that between the English chaplain, John de Stogumber, the Earl of Warwick, and the Bishop of Beauvais. To the fanatical Stogumber, Joan is a sorceress; to the Bishop, she is no witch but a damnable heretic, guilty of claiming to deal direct with God regardless of the authority of the Church; Warwick must destroy her for military reasons and because she deals direct with kings, regardless of the feudal aristocracy. The discussion between these three characters is one of the best things of the play. Next to it perhaps may be placed the Trial Scene, which is brilliant both as a scene and as a piece of writing, and which contains the Inquisitor's magnificent exposition of the standpoint of the Holy Office. Argument ran high as to the fitness of the Epilogue. Mr. Shaw's view, however, was that Joan's history did not end at the stake but rather began there. On the

whole there is perhaps much to be said for including the Epilogue. It links with the present and the future the action of a play which, it is probably safe to prophesy, is destined to find a permanent place in English literature.

The Unknown Warrior and Other Poems, by Herbert Edward Palmer (Heinemann). "These poems," says Mr. Palmer in his preface, "were written to be boldly recited or chanted, read aloud with unhesitating rhythmical emphasis. Poetry pushes its effects further than mere silent and solitary fireside enjoyment. It is an audible Voice." This pronouncement leads one to look in his work for vigour rather than subtlety, and that precisely is what one finds. He has a refreshing muscularity of mind, a scorn of over-refinement, and his mysticism is spontaneous and not the self-conscious, intellectual sort which so many modern poets have evolved for themselves out of the careful study of Jacob Boehme or St. John of the Cross. Nevertheless, Mr. Palmer cannot escape his heritage, and though he would rather be a "scop" or a "skald," singing his own songs by the fireside or on the village green, than a maker of little books, there are evidences of very modern influences, of John Davidson, for instance, and John Masefield, in his verse. His fundamental originality, however, is equally evident. He writes as he feels, and his rhythms, with their air of spacious carelessness which sometimes lapses into awkwardness and obscurity, are genuinely the tunes of his moods, which are none the less authentic for being various. Whether he is arraigning the profiteer or praising a trout-stream, regretting the past or aspiring towards the future, joyful or despondent, satirical or pious, he is always sincere. There are flaws in his work, but there is also an arresting quality of vitality and beauty.

FICTION.

The Dream, by H. G. Wells (Jonathan Cape). About 2,000 years from the present date, a party of our remote posterity are exploring the ruins of Domodossola as the First World War, the Poison Gas War, and the Great Desolation had left it, and the scientist Sarnac cuts his hand on a piece of glass. It gives him a feverish night, and he dreams a dream of a former life as Harry Mortimer Smith amid the incredible barbarism of the early twentieth century. He tells his dream to his companions, and his replies to their comments and questions break the narrative at intervals, switching the reader from modern England to the Golden Age of the future. This treatment makes the book a kind of pastiche of Mr. Wells's earlier works. The ordinary human beings belong to *Kipps*, *Mr. Polly*, and *Tono-Bungay*; Sarnac and his companions, in all their effortless superiority, to the Utopian group. Part I. tells how Harry Mortimer Smith was made. Mr. Wells utilises the opportunity of depicting in his best style the everyday life, the housing conditions, the educational system and the social standards of the lower middle class in England to-day. On the death of the hero's father, his mother moves to Pimlico to join forces in a boarding-house with her old friend the garrulous, sensible Matilda Good, liberally endowed with Mr. Wells's own gift of comment and epithet. Part II. (The Loves and

Death of Harry Mortimer Smith) opens with the reappearance of Fanny, the hero's sister who had run away from home, and through her influence with her lover he joins the great publishing firm whose centre is at Thunderstone House. Mr. Wells here lays bare the methods and aims of the great enterprises which provide cheap reading matter for the masses, and he makes the most of the opportunity. When the Great War breaks out the hero joins the Army and goes through the whole campaign with only a slight wound. It is while he is still in camp at Cliffstone that he meets Hetty Marcus, the beginning of a moving story of marriage and divorce. There follows the tale of his second marriage with its secret dissatisfactions; the revival of old love; and Smith's death at the hands of an assassin. Mr. Wells's own thorough and pungent criticism of our civilisation is throughout expressed in the descriptions and elucidations. Sarnac has to give his listeners, and some of the passages show Mr. Wells at his best.

The White Monkey, by John Galsworthy (Heinemann), is yet another part of the voluminous saga of the Forsytes. The end of Soames Forsyte is not yet, and his endurance seems even to have won the admiration of the author. Fleur, his beautiful acquisitive daughter, is very much *dans le mouvement*, and it is made clear that Mr. Galsworthy does not approve of the movement at all. His criticism, implicit and direct, of the younger generation does not show the sympathy, tolerance, and sense of proportion for which his name has usually stood; and there is an abundance of topical illusion in the book which will be the darkest of riddles in a few years' time. Fleur does not love her husband, Michael Mont, but her feelings towards his friend are not on any higher plane. However, all is settled for the time being at least by the arrival of a son and heir to Michael. The parallel story of the Bickets raises some of Mr. Galsworthy's favourite issues. Bicket is a packer for a firm of publishers. He steals books to pay the expenses of treatment for his ailing wife, and is caught and dismissed. He cannot get work and is trying to earn and save enough money to go to Australia, in which cause he has unexpected assistance from his wife, now recovered, who raises funds by posing in the nude to the artist, Aubrey Greene. This situation inspires Mr. Galsworthy, per Mr. Greene, to nothing less lofty than a limerick! Indeed the author shows an unwonted and very welcome sprightliness throughout, which may explain the success the book appears to have had on both sides of the Atlantic.

Sard Harker, by John Masefield (Heinemann). As far as the plot is concerned, Mr. Masefield's novel might be taken for the scenario of an ultra-sensational cinematograph film in four reels. It is crammed with incredible hazards, heroisms, and villainies; it ends in a positive welter of melodrama. Yet, being the work of Mr. Masefield, it is an enthralling, sublime, and unforgettable story no other hand could possibly have written. Sard Harker, the chief officer of Captain Cary's *Pathfinder*, now off the Central American State of Santa Barbara, got his nickname for being sardonic. He is a silent, superbly efficient seaman. A premonition comes to him that in Santa Barbara he will find again a girl he knew when he was a boy, who has never left his dreams. While ashore at a boxing match he overhears two roughs arranging to kidnap

a girl from a house on the coast, and, though the ship is to sail that night, he gets leave to go and warn her. On a borrowed bicycle he reaches Los Xicales, the home of an English brother and sister, but the brother scoffs at any suggestion of danger. As Sard leaves the house, he catches sight of the sister and thinks he recognises the girl he once knew. But when he goes to find his bicycle, it has vanished, and the *Pathfinder* sails without him. This is the beginning of strange and terrible mischances. As he strives to reach the vessel by a short cut through the forest he is caught in a quicksand, and his leg is paralysed by a bite from a sting-ray. Liquor smugglers capture him and would have shot him but for the intervention of one man, who has him flung on a bullion train bound inland. When it stops at a mining town, Sard is thrown into prison as a silver thief. He makes his escape and sets out alone to walk the hundred miles from Tlotoatin to the coast, over a country in which nature and man do their utmost to destroy the traveller. Part III., which narrates this epic journey, is of a length that destroys the balance of the book, and of a power and sinister beauty that render it a masterpiece. Here is the real heart of the story, 150 pages of Mr. Masfield's finest work in prose. Part IV. lapses into pure melodrama. Sard reaches the coast only to hear that the *Pathfinder* has sunk. He rescues the girl from abduction by a miscreant who practises black magic, and they sail away as happy lovers. The sonnets scattered about the book add to its individuality and intensity.

The Heavenly Ladder, by Compton Mackenzie (Cassell & Co., Ltd.). In this last section of the Mackenzie trilogy we are brought to the end of the troubled career of Lidderdale the clergyman. With *The Heavenly Ladder* the spiritual odyssey draws to its close. We see him slowly, zealously, with the blinkered mind not of the religious fanatic but of the man with *idee fixe*, persistently infiltrating the creed of Anglican Catholicism into a narrow Cornish village. Here he meets a sturdy Nonconformity as uncompromising as his own Ritualism. The author shows us the skilfully laid plans of his hero for conquering first the children and then the adults through the women folk. The trouble starts with the erecting of a primitive stone altar in the church. His own High Church parishioners appeal to the Bishop. He sticks to his convictions and disobeys. Then comes the inevitable scandal of the small and prurient-minded. The foolish artistic lady follower is the next thread in the net that draws in on the unhappy Lidderdale. There follows the conflict of the great war in the mind of the priest, the oscillation between Faith and Scepticism, the discussion with Fox, the stranger—a symbol of the battle within the soul of Lidderdale of the two forces, and finally the last panting steps to complete Catholicism, and then the end—spiritual rest in monastic self-abnegation in Italy. Thus *The Heavenly Ladder* is no Scala Grande to spiritual peace but the commonplace rickety staircase up which all spiritual seekers have to climb before they reach the attic of peace nearer the stars.

A Passage to India, by E. M. Forster (Arnold). Mr. Forster's book was received on all hands with the warmest praise, and went through several editions during the year. Racial prejudice is his theme, and he has set out with impartial irony to deal fairly by both Indians and Englishmen.

The community at Chandrapore is not by any means unenlightened : it tries to bridge the gulf between the cultured Indian and the English official, and the attempt is not confined to one side any more than is the scepticism as to its ultimate outcome. There are too many trivial things that can cause trouble in spite of the best intentions on both sides, and they usually happen. Fielding, the schoolmaster, has his successes, but he knows their limitations. Cultured Indians, as the opening of the book shows, can still argue as to the very possibility of friendship with an Englishman. Ronny Heaslop is a young official at Chandrapore, and his mother, Mrs. Moore, comes out to visit him together with Agatha Quested, who wants to see him at his post before deciding to be engaged to him. Both the Englishwomen are eager to see the real India behind administrative life. Mrs. Moore's simple but deep nature can reach understanding with very little effort, while Miss Quested proves nothing but a disturbing influence. They make a specially close acquaintance with the Mohammedan Dr. Aziz, whose mercurial, effusive, and sensitive character the author renders with wonderful vividness and fidelity, and the pious Brahmin Godbolo. An excursion to the Marabar caves outside Chandrapore is proposed, and Aziz is sent into the seventh heaven by being allowed to arrange it. It turns out disastrously. What the influence was that disturbed even Mrs. Moore in the caves of Marabar, Mr. Forster does not in so many words explain. In Agatha's case it led to a brain-storm of some kind which caused her to accuse Aziz of having assaulted her. It was quite untrue, but the very suggestion brought the mightiest forces into play. The English at Chandrapore believed it, and felt it as an outrage to all they held most sacred and as a menace of worse things to come. The Indians thought the accusation false, a pretext for new humiliations and exactions. Ostracism was the lot of the reasonable man on either side, legends multiplied on every hand, there was a small riot. Club talk, bazaar gossip, " half-Kome " and " the other half-Rome " are reproduced with detail, humour, and insight by Mr. Forster. The trial is brilliantly described in a vein of the highest comedy. It ends with Miss Quested's realisation and admission that Aziz is entirely blameless. But immense mischief has been done. Aziz goes to a native state, forsaking his science for an older lore, and though we see him and Fielding riding together as friends, Mr. Forster suggests that every influence in the land conspires to keep Englishman and Indian from riding side by side.

The Green Hat, by Michael Arlen (Collins). Mr. Arlen's curious mixture of cynicism, impertinence, romance, and artificiality is evidently delectable to many palates. His characters are the creatures of a pseudo-Restoration period. His Shelmerdines and Irises have beauty, their rank and wealth are painstakingly impressed upon the reader, their conversation, when it does not drop into rhetoric, admirably displays their author's intelligence. They are loyal friends, heart-breaking and promiscuous lovers. Iris Storm, the woman of the green hat, has (and is) a family curse. She drives one husband to suicide by her behaviour on the night of their wedding, she is unfaithful to her second. Having robbed another woman of her husband, she is allowed to make tardy and scarcely proportionate amends in the last chapter. The book

had a great vogue during the year, no less than seven editions being issued between June and August.

Recompence, by Kobert Keable (Constable & Co.). Mr. Keable takes up the story of Peter Graham and Julie Gamelyn, who were the leading characters in his earlier success *Simon called Peter*. The end of the war finds Peter a private in the ranks of the South African contingent under the command of his friend Donovan. The latter persuades him to come to South Africa and procures him a post at a trading station in the interior. There Peter hopes to find peace of mind, racked as he is by his constant preoccupation with his fancied disloyalty to God in resigning Orders, and the love for Julie which for his soul's sake he has sacrificed. He resigns that love a second time and reconciles himself with God by becoming converted to Roman Catholicism while in Spain and entering a Carthusian house. Julie, still longing for love, finds it with Maurice Sampson, a surgeon with unconventional ideas, and when the book closes Julie offers to further his great plans by becoming the mother of the child he should contribute to the Race. Religion and sex interest have long been a combination profitable to the novelist, and Mr. Keable's work has enjoyed marked success. Mr. Keable's South African descriptions are both loving and skilful, and his dialogue in its serener phases is excellent.

The Boy in the Bush, by D. H. Lawrence (Martin Seeker). However Mr. Lawrence may change the milieu of his stories, his fundamental philosophy of life remains unchanged. It runs like a turbulent stream through all his writings. It is always the story of the struggle between the animal spirits and man's spiritual nature, the dark and scarcely fathomed forces of our impulse life forever asserting themselves in all our activities—a disturbing dark red thread in the woof and warp of human psychology. Lawrence rightly feels that the background of inanimate nature is always something more than a backcloth against which the human story is acted. It is rather the flint soil from which his nature springs, the source of those biological forces which give to him his virility and against which a something spiritual is always fighting to emancipate itself. The story is laid in an uncultivated part of Australia in the years before industrialism had organised the life of Australia into a community of the Western type. A young Englishman—emigrating from a gentle family in England—is thrown into a small farmstead where the discarded wardrobe of Victorianism is still worn, but underneath it all the untamed life emerges when brought into contact with almost primitive conditions of civilisation. In clumsier hands this canvas would have become messy in the extreme. But with his struggling philosophy Lawrence makes an interesting story. Lawrence, however, frequently loses himself in this rather inchoate story, but finds himself and at his best in some very arresting descriptions of Australian scenes.

A Man in the Zoo, by David Garnett (Chatto & Windus). John Cromartie and Josephine Lackett have a lovers' quarrel in the Zoological Gardens because John has been trying rather to browbeat Josephine into marrying him in spite of her family's opposition. Josephine lets her tongue run away with her so far as to tell John that he ought to be shut

up and exhibited there in the Zoo with the gorilla on one side of him and the chimpanzee on the other. John takes her at her word, and makes the corresponding application to the Royal Zoological Society, pointing out that "to leave out man from a collection of the earth's fauna is to play *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark," and the Society is ultimately persuaded to instal him in the cage. Public interest is, of course, enormous, and the chimpanzee and the orang are jealous of the attention he arouses. Josephine, who has been furtively to see him, is at last impelled to go and talk to him, but the interview is not a success. Josephine determines to ask forgiveness, but on the way she learns that he has been severely mauled by the orang, which had been waiting for a chance to seize him. On his recovery, John learns that the authorities have found the experiment a success and, as a preliminary to establishing a complete man-house, have put in the next cage a very blatant and garrulous negro. At last Josephine arrives, determined to press her own rights and occupy John's cage with him as his wife. The authorities, however, decide that in such a contingency John must leave the Zoo. The two walk away hand in hand across Regent's Park. Mr. Garnett has by no means repeated his former success, and his idea had many possibilities he did not attempt to exploit. There is a certain curious charm in the contrast of the extravagance of the situation with the sobriety and matter-of-factness of the style.

The *Natural Man*, by Patrick Miller (Grant Richards). The *Natural Man* depicts the life of an artillery officer on the French Front during the Great War. Perhaps the book might have been more aptly called "The Unnatural Man," for there is something singularly unnatural in the lofty heroism of Blaven. A few failings would possibly have made him more attractive; but at any rate, the author does not introduce the usual love element so common in war fiction, though the hero's singular insensitiveness to the charms of women makes him appear still more "unnatural." The book is a clever study of a particular (and rather uncommon) kind of war mentality. Mr. Miller writes with great ease and vigour and succeeds in conveying the atmosphere of war, though he rather fails in characterisation. His characters are not seen with sufficiently sharp definition, and also suffer from being the too obvious foils to the effortless superiority of the hero. The book won a prize of 1000J., and all the judges were unanimously in favour of it.

Wandering Stars, by Clemence Dane (Heinemann). Miss Dane is nothing if not courageous in experiment. Her new book contains two interrelated stories, "The Lover" and "Wandering Stars." In the latter "The Lover" recurs, with the same title and plot, as a play written by the character who himself relates the story of "Wandering Stars." "The Lover" is a tale of married life and the loss and recapture of love. Harry and Hester Peile are a childless middle-aged couple. The husband is becoming gross, and his wife knows him to be unfaithful; yet he used as a lover to be all that was winning and gay. Sadly she puts out of her heart the image of what he once was—and lo! it takes bodily form as the Harry of old time, and stays to rill her life with new happiness. He is a ghost, but so solid a ghost as to be visible to every other eye, and his existence does not impair that of the real Harry, her husband. He for his

part is moved to jealousy, and, as he watches his wife (without doubting her integrity), his mind too harks back, and he regrets the change in himself. While he is away abroad, he multiplies small attentions to her. A photograph of the phantasmal Harry plays an important part in bringing about a happy ending in which the two Harrys meet and mingle and are one. In "Wandering Stars" George Greydon Hart and the deformed Jimmie Cairns leave the theatre together and begin a tremendous discussion of Damaris Payne, the actress they have seen. Cairns claims to have known Damaris more intimately than anyone else, and his story of her life covers a period when Hart himself was in close relationship with her; yet it discloses a secret emotional life and a love-affair he had never suspected. As Cairns talks on, apparently unaware of the other's identity, it gradually becomes clear that this tragic passion was Damaris's secret love for Hart himself, who wrote "The Lover" in which she made her reputation. But she hid it so well, though her hopes were always kept so high by their daily intimacy, that her heart died. She was prevented from suicide, but she froze. Amazed and frantic, Hart dashes off to find her; but it is too late. It is a dead woman who sits there and laughs. "Wandering Stars" is unconvincing in itself, and the manner of its relation amid the entanglement of its inverted commas tiring in the extreme. "The Lover" is a thing of beauty.

Tents of Israel, by G. B. Stern (Chapman & Hall). Miss Stern has outdone other exponents of the family novel by narrating the history of six generations of the immense Jewish family of Rakonitz-Cz'elovar in a single volume. The story is consequently so thronged with characters and incidents that it largely defies summary; and in following the fortunes of any one member it is easy to do injustice to the main theme, the ramifying of the family and its none the less tremendous centralisation. Miss Stern says that her chronicle is partly true, and its analogies are obvious. The fortunes of the house were founded in 1791, when a schoolgirl, Babette Weinburg, was sent for to act as interpreter to Napoleon when he entered Pressburg. In time the family acquired their London, Paris, Vienna, Budapest, and Constantinople branches. In the last century the colossal authority of the Family is vested in the magnificently presented "Matriarch" Anastasia, who exacts and receives the allegiance of all the tribe, however disparate their individual activities and fortunes. The strength of this deep racial principle, and the struggle of the later generation to free itself from the intermarriage and separatism it imposes, form the principal motive of Miss Stern's novel, and the woman who incarnates it, and her granddaughter Toni, who willy-nilly is to succeed to her authority, are its chief characters. Danny, Toni's lover, the medium of sardonic commentary on the whole intricate drama, is supposed to be her cousin; but his entry into the family was unauthorised, and the story closes with the erasure of his name from the genealogical table—which, it should be noted, Miss Stern wisely appends in full for the guidance of the reader. The successes and misadventures of the other Rakonitzes, cosmopolitan, versatile, artistic, idealistic, all touched with a gentle atavistic melancholy, make enthralling reading.

Orphan Island, by Rose Macaulay (Collins). In the early fifties a remarkable little company is wrecked on the way to San Francisco and

cast away on an Island in the Pacific. It consists of forty orphans emigrating under the care of the governess, Miss Charlotte Smith, an austere Scottish maid, and the bibulous ship's doctor, an Irishman. Authority over this community is grasped and more than competently maintained by Miss Smith, who, true to her traditions and an august example, reconstructs upon her coral reef the social order of Victorian England. She is married by the maid to the ship's doctor after the Scottish rite, and remains serenely unaware that her husband is a bigamist until just before he is disposed of by a shark. The Smiths, her progeny, form the island nobility, while in duo time the orphans furnish the working classes, the plebs. The land of the island is divided among the Smiths, and the orphans go only where they may upon sufferance. It would perhaps have been more logical to call the possession Smith Island. Miss Smith rules autocratically from Balmoral, deteriorating in many respects through excessive power and prosperity, but never letting fall the sceptre. Education is based on what she herself had learned and taught in former days; literary standards are established by the odd volumes saved from the lost vessel; spiritual matters are naturally in the care of the Church of England by Miss Smith established. The orphans prove curiously amenable, except for the rebel group in one corner of the island which provides its Irish problem, but by the time Miss Smith has reigned for seventy-five years the elements of social unrest and possible upheaval are rife. Meanwhile, the descendants of the sailors who originally left the Smith party to their fate have been growing up in far-off England, and one of them, a Cambridge don, finds a written confession by his grandfather which leads him to set out on an expedition of rescue in 1922. Mr. Thinkwell and his three children therefore land on Orphan Island and discover Miss Smith, aged ninety-seven, still holding sway over a population of 2,000 souls. The experiences of the Neo-Georgians thus brought face to face with a Victorian Age in actual being complete the story. It will be seen that Miss Macaulay has all and more than she needs for an entertaining, if remorseless satire on the Victorians, the moderns, and the whole human race, and it need only be said that she makes admirable use of her material. The book was among the most widely read during the year.

Lummox, by Fannie Hurst (Jonathan Cape). Webster defines a lummo as "a clumsy, stupid person; an awkward bungler." It is the name every one gives to the servant girl who is the heroine of this novel, simply because she is big and inarticulate. Bertha is a Scandinavian of unknown parentage, and a foul sailors' lodging-house is the only refuge she knows when she is out of work. But her soul responds to beauty in every form, and her instinct for mothering knows no limit of self-sacrifice. She does hard work for sixteen hours a day in the houses of the prosperous in New York. When the book opens she is at the Farleys, the willing thrall of their selfish poet son, Rollo. She finds that he is to marry and has no heed for his responsibilities to herself, so she returns to the lodging-house, toiling as a charwoman until Kollo's son is born. For the child's sake she gives it up to a well-to-do couple eager to adopt it, and takes service with the Musliners. There her only reward for bringing the neurotic wife into the right relations with her husband is

an extra month's wages and dismissal, and the next few years are spent amid the incessant warfare of Christian wife and Jewish mother-in-law in the Wallenstein manage. Death breaks up the household, and she returns to the water-front until an advertisement discloses the address of her son's adoptive parents. She makes the acquaintance of Willy, a servant at the child's house, and lives with this impotent degenerate for the sake of hearing regularly of the boy's doings. When her son is sent to Europe to study the piano, she leaves Willy. From the household over which Mathilde Oessetrich exercises a despotic sway that ruins the happiness of her whole family, Bertha goes under a false imputation of theft. Further chances and changes bring her one night outside the hall where a great pianist is to play. She recognises a name heard in conversation at the Oessetrichs and is impelled to go in. She assists at a triumph, but she never knows that the pianist is her son. We leave her happy, however. In the country one day she meets the baker, Meyerbagen, a good-hearted widower with five children, and she has at last a home and the duties that delight her heart. Miss Hurst's book is strangely moving. It is hard to decide whether her brilliant, richly imaginative, but staccato and impressionistic style, of which any paragraph taken at random is merely infuriating, justifies itself in the long run. That the reader is impelled to go on at all is a high tribute to the author's handling of her theme.

Little Mexican, by Aldous Huxley (Chatto & Windus). These six stories give welcome evidence of the maturing of Mr. Huxley's undeniable talent. They have all the wit, observation, boldness, and technical cunning of his earlier work, with a tenderness and charity he formerly lacked. "Uncle Spencer" occupies nearly half the book. It begins by recapturing youthful impressions of holidays spent in Belgium with the owner of a sugar factory at Longres, kindly, erratic, enthusiastic, full of the most untrustworthy information, Swedenborgian, an original character, in short, half-Belgian in blood, but incurably English by upbringing. Longres itself, its carillon, its market, its annual kermesse, provide a series of delightful descriptions. There is a break in the succession of holidays until the eve of the war. Uncle Spencer stays in Longres, and is interned by the Germans with a queer cosmopolitan company on the top floor of the Ministry of the Interior at Brussels. These surroundings heighten the attractions of a fellow-prisoner, Emmy, a little English male impersonator, and Uncle Spencer falls in love idealising her in spite of all the evidence, including her own confessions. When released to live under supervision in Longres, he breaks bounds to try to see Emmy in Brussels, until the enemy are forced to intern him in Germany. He tells his nephew the story while recuperating in England in 1919, and for weeks the two play at detectives to discover where Emmy is—but so far in vain. "Little Mexican" takes its title from the large black hat which gained its wearer the acquaintance of Count Fabio Tirabassi and his father, and a view of the wonderful frescoes in their ancestral home. "Hubert and Minnie" sketches the end of a one-sided love affair. Minnie would make the ideal wife and mother, but she has everything but vitality. Hubert has merely responded to her very real passion for him. Minnie makes up her mind

to give herself to Hubert, and waits for him by the mill at which they are to stay; but he only comes to excuse himself clumsily and leave her. "Fard" contrasts, not very skilfully, the worn-out servant Sophie and her opulent mistress. In "The Portrait" Mr. Bigger, a picture-dealer, invents a wondrous tale of eighteenth-century Venice to accompany the bogus old master he is selling to a newly-rich Lord of the Manor. "Young Archimedes" is probably the most touching piece of work Mr. Huxley has yet accomplished. The playmate of the child of an English household in Italy, Guido, a peasant's son, reveals himself as a budding mathematical genius with a musical twist. The Englishman who tells the story gives him every encouragement, but during his absence in England the selfish, overpowering Signora Bondi worries the parents into letting her adopt Guido. She takes him away, keeps him hard at the piano, and denies him his mathematics. Home-sickness and despair drive the child to take his life.

Triple Fugue, by Osbert Sitwell (Grant Richards), is a collection of five stories of varying and unequal merit. With the exception of "Triple Fugue," a witty and clever satire of modern society (with a peep into the future), they all bear the impress of a close study of the maturest manner of Henry James. Whether the latter's influence has been altogether salutary may be doubted. Mr. Sitwell enmeshes himself in a net of elaborate psychological analysis, and as a result his characters refuse to take on the form of flesh and blood. The author is amazingly clever, stows a fine sensitiveness to the value of words and, occasionally, (see "The Greeting" for example), a brilliant power of analysis. But he has not the storyteller's gift. The last piece in the book is commendably free from the pervading influence of James. In it the author appears as a satirist of no mean order.

SCIENCE OF THE YEAR

THE BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

THIS has been a year of conferences and of much coming and going between Great Britain and her colonies. The British Empire Exhibition at Wembley brought many scientists to England, and the occasion was seized to hold conferences in London on biological subjects. In August the British Association met at Toronto, and large numbers of scientists crossed the Atlantic to attend.

Sir David Bruce, who was President of this meeting in Canada, gave an inspiring address on the prevention of disease; he described the remarkable control of infectious diseases that has come about of recent years, and indicated the important advances against deficiency diseases that we may expect from our increasing understanding of the role played by vitamins and the endocrine glands. Dr. H. H. Dale, President of the Physiology Section, dealt with the same question from a different angle. He reviewed recent work on systematic chemotherapy, and showed how, in spite of the biological complexity of the problem, the treatment of syphilis, yaws, and relapsing-fever have been revolutionised, Leishmania and Bilharzia infections have been made definitely curable, and trypanosomiasis at last brought within the range of effective treatment.

In London an appeal was made for 250,000l. for a campaign against leprosy, the successful treatment of which seems to be in sight at last, thanks mainly to the work of Sir Leonard Rogers.

A great newspaper controversy has raged round the assertion made by Ellis Barker and others that cancer is a disease of civilisation and is produced by chronic poisoning and vitamin starvation. McCarrison, working on *Epitheloma contagiosum* in birds, finds that in animals subjected to vitamin-deficient diet the disease is much more easily transmitted than in those normally fed.

The French have produced a compound which appears to be nearly identical with Bayer 205, the now famous German drug which is being used with such good effect as a trypanosomicide. It is hoped that this discovery will lead to an increased supply of the drug, whose secret has been so carefully kept by the Bayer Dye Company.

During the early part of the year foot-and-mouth disease caused enormous financial loss in England, and great interest has been revived in the attempt to deal with the disease. No drug has yet been found effective nor has there been any success in the search for a specific prophylaxis. Nothing is known certainly on the important question of immunity. In April, Frosch and Dahmen announced in Germany that they had isolated, cultivated, and photographed the virus of foot-and-mouth

disease, which they say is a minute bacillus forming colonies smaller than a human red blood corpuscle. The results of this discovery should be of great practical importance.

Levaditi and his colleagues have now shown that *Encephalitozoon cuniculi*, the first microsporidian proved pathogenic to mammals, is transmitted through the digestive tract. They suggest that hydrophobia may be due to an allied organism.

Besredka's heretical views on local immunity to infectious diseases have been taken up by the Health Section of the League of Nations, which is proceeding to carry out an investigation on a large scale in cases of cholera outbreak in Russia.

Professor MacLean delivered a discourse on insulin at the Royal Institution, and pointed out that "the evidence available at present suggests that the pancreas forms another hormone essential for the process of normal carbohydrate metabolism besides insulin, and unless this hormone is present, insulin alone will not sustain life for a long period."

Carrel, of the Rockefeller Institute, opened a discussion at the annual meeting of the British Medical Association at Bradford, on the method of tissue-culture and its bearing on pathological problems. De Beer has published a book on "Growth," written for the general public, which should prove a useful introduction to the experimental study of tissue-growth; and, for the specialist, there are this year two useful works by Strangeways on the technique of tissue-culture *in vitro*.

The*prevailing shortage of cotton is partly due to the ravages of the pink boll-worm. The work of Williams, who has published an account of the entire life-history of this moth, should do much towards making effective legislation possible in cotton-growing districts.

Plant pathology has probably made greater progress during the last ten years than has any other branch of botany. In his presidential address to the British Association (Agriculture Section), Sir John Russell pointed out that the best hope for the future lies in the combination of empirical and scientific methods. Mycologists from all parts of the Empire met in London in July, and a great deal of interesting discussion was held on diseases of tropical plantation crops. It was convincingly shown that the diseases of many valuable plants are primarily due to soil conditions, and that fungi are parasitic only when these conditions make the hosts susceptible. Professor Blackman's address to the Botanical Section of the British Association also dealt with parasitic diseases in plants. He explained that the practice of medicine among plants is far more difficult than among animals. The plant seems to respond in the same way to totally different invaders, whereas, in animals, if certain symptoms appear, it is much more easy to assume the invasion of one particular parasite. Plants show natural immunity, but none of the acquired immunity produced in animals after one attack of a disease; probably this is related to the lack of a circulating blood-stream.

Important works on the production of field-crops and grassland farming have been published by Hutcheson and Wolfe and by Maiden. They are written on severely practical lines and illustrate the increasing attempt by scientists to put their special knowledge at the disposal of the farmer.

The first Scottish Cattle-breeding Conference held at Edinburgh proved a great success, but it became evident that there is much need of scientifically trained journalists who can interpret to the breeder the work of men of science. Many of the breeders' problems are no longer problems to the geneticist; but the science of genetics is at present made difficult of access to the "practical man" by an extreme technicality of language.

In the Government Pavilion at Wembley there was an exhibit by the Cambridge School of Agriculture which deserves especial mention. It illustrated fertility and sterility in domestic animals, and in connection with it an admirable explanatory memorandum was issued.

Stocker, of Bremerhaven, has issued an interesting account of his experimental work with Montfort on moorland plants. He claims to have shown that the water of moorland soils is not toxic to plants like heaths, and that transpiration and water absorption go on freely. The theory of "physiological dryness," if this view be accepted, becomes untenable, so far as such plants are concerned. Wilson's work on Australian xerophytes shows that in these also there are no special powers of accommodation when they are exposed to rapid increases of temperature or to hot winds. He claims that the average transpiration rate per million stomata has no apparent relation to the depth to which the stomata are sunk, or to the amount of protection which hairs and other outgrowths might be supposed to afford.

Orr, of Edinburgh, has found in the mucilage of the leaf-glands of *IHoscorea macroura* quantities of a bacterium which he has isolated in pure culture and proved to have the power of nitrogen fixation. Lipmann and Taylor, working in America on water-cultures of wheat and barley, claim to have shown that green plants are capable of fixing atmospheric nitrogen without the intermediation of bacteria.

The development of very powerful electric gas-filled lamps equipped with reflectors has made it possible to work on a large scale on the effect of artificial light on the growth of plants. American experiments show that the bloom in most cases can be accelerated by about eight days. Flammarion reports from France that plants grown under red light are four times as large as those grown under white; red, orange, and yellow rays stimulate plant life; blue rays have an arresting effect; ultra-violet rays in the right proportion are beneficial, but when in excess they cause shrivelling of the leaves and death.

Increasing contamination of the air by London smoke has made it impossible to grow coniferous trees at Kew, and a new national pinetum has been started at Bedgebury in Kent, where experimental work can also be carried on.

A large aquarium was opened in April in the Zoological Society's Gardens at Regent's Park, London. There is a fresh-water hall with twenty-five tanks, a sea-water hall with twenty-five, and a tropical with forty tanks, most of which are small. A workroom, well equipped, is attached to the aquarium for zoological and economic research.

Barret and Smith, in America, claim to have made successful cultures of an amoeba, *Endammba barreti*, from the intestine of a turtle. The medium employed was human blood serum one part, with nine parts of 0.5 per cent, salt solution. At the time of reporting, the work had been

carried on for nineteen months, and one strain was in its sixty-seventh sub-culture.

Another American worker, Cleveland, has confirmed by experiment the suggestion put forward by Grassi and Sandias some years ago that there is very close symbiotic connection between wood-eating termites and the trichonymphid protozoa living in their intestines. The termites furnish the flagellates with food and lodging, and the protozoa digest the fragments of wood and hand on some of the products to their insect hosts.

Woodruff and Moore cultivated the ciliate *Spathidium spathula* in standard beef-extract for 444 days; there was neither endomixis nor conjugation during this time, and the authors consider that this protozoon can reproduce by simple division indefinitely, given suitable environment.

A very interesting little crustacean, *Thermosbcena mirabilis*, is described by Monod from a Roman bath-cistern in Algeria. The creature lives in water coming from a hot spring with a temperature of 48° C. Allowing for peculiarities probably resulting from subterranean life, systematists consider that we have in *Thermosbcena* the representative of a new order of Crustacea linking the Mysidacea with the Tanaidacea.

So little is known about the physiology of invertebrates that Yonge's work, published this year, on the feeding and digestive processes of the Norway lobster is a very real contribution to biology.

Professor Teacher has published some interesting observations on the implantation of the ovum and the early development of the trophoblast in man. The ovum has an entering or implantation pole and an adhering or closing pole, and this polarity determines the position of the embryonic rudiment in the blastocyst and the situation of the placenta.

Cannon has made a valuable addition to our knowledge of crustacean embryology by his work on the development of an estherid.

Pearl and Parker, in America, have studied the duration of life of *Drosophila*, the fruit-fly; they find that under conditions of feeding, the wild flies have an expectation of life three times as great as in the mutation with vestigial wings, whereas under starvation, the mean length of life is the same for both.

Investigations by Lloyd and his colleagues on tse-tse flies in northern Nigeria confirm the belief that *Glossina morsitans* and *G. tachinoides* breed almost solely in the dry season. There is some indication that postponement of grass-burning may interfere with free breeding of these tse-tses. This is to be tested, and an experiment is also to be made of excluding game and pig, by means of fencing, from one of the dry season haunts of the flies. Valuable information has been gathered as to their feeding habits.

In September the Cambridge and Eoyal Society Expedition set out to investigate the biology of the Suez Canal. The waters near the shores of the Bitter Lakes, which in 1882 Keller described as almost devoid of life, are now found to yield a rich and interesting fauna. The Expedition is studying organisms attached to ships, piles, and buoys in the Gulf of Suez, and has put out wooden floats which should eventually give valuable

information as to the factors helping in the distribution of such organisms and their growth.

The St. George Expedition reached the Isthmus of Panama in June, and very large zoological, botanical, and archaeological collections are being made.

The Trustees of the British Museum have arranged to explore the deposits of dinosaur bones in Tanganyika Territory. The beds in which these occur date back to the early Cretaceous period, and before the war yielded the Germans some valuable dinosaur fossils. The work will occupy two years.

The Permian rocks have hitherto shown little evidence of insect life. Sellards and Dunbar announce this year that they have found thousands of very well-preserved specimens of may-flies, cockroaches, dragon-flies, etc., in the Lower Permian of St. Elmo, Kansas.

The first stalked crinoid of tertiary age ever described from the western hemisphere—a species of *Balanocrinus*—has been reported by Springer from the lower Miocene of Haiti.

X-ray photographs of mummies have been taken in America, and by their means it is possible to learn what has been buried with the body and whether it is advisable to proceed with unwrapping or not.

The value of the cinema as an instrument in education is more and more fully realised. The Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, arranged this year a series of twelve free programmes of moving pictures with occasional lectures for children on Saturday mornings. The films shown dealt with aspects of botany, zoology, and geology, and printed "museum stories" were given to the children at each entertainment, telling them more about the animals and plants they had seen and explaining how to find further information from appropriate cases in the museum.

Talks on biological subjects are becoming more frequent on the programmes of the British Broadcasting Company. In the right hands, the possibilities for popular education in science by means of wireless are enormous.

The controversy between the Mechanists and the Vitalists dies down only to rise again with fresh vigour. Of recent years the vitalists have been somewhat in the ascendant. Interesting therefore is the opinion expressed by such an authority as Professor A. V. Hill in the Joule Memorial Lecture delivered at Manchester on "Thermodynamics in Physiology"—"There is no good evidence that the ordinary laws of physics and chemistry, including those of thermodynamics, do not apply to the living cell and animal. When proof to the contrary is alleged, it is always found to be of the kind which requires a high degree of credulity, an emotional preference for the miraculous, an imperfect appreciation of the canons of scientific thought, or an actual ignorance of the principles involved."

THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES.

The year has been chiefly notable for an unusual number of conferences and anniversaries. The most important of the former was the World Power Conference held at Wembley, June 30—July 12; while

among others held in London were the Fourth International Congress of Eefrigeration and the Empire Mining and Metallurgical Congress. Conferences in other countries attended by British delegates included the International Mathematical Congress at Toronto, the International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics at Madrid, the International Commission on Illumination at Geneva and an International Conference on Soil Physics in Rome. The anniversaries in chronological order were (1) the jubilee of the formation of the Physical Society of London which was marked by a series of meetings on March 20-21, an exhibition of historic apparatus, and a banquet, attended by H.R.H. the Duke of York and the Prime Minister, on March 22; (2) the centenary of the birth of Lord Kelvin which was celebrated on June 26 and again in July in conjunction with the World Power Conference; (3) the centenary of the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, in September, and (4) the jubilee of the Yorkshire College of Science, known for the last twenty-one years as the University of Leeds, in December.

The British Association, with Sir David Bruce as President, met in August at Toronto. The choice of meeting-place was, perhaps, rather unfortunate when so much of scientific interest was to be seen at the Empire Exhibition. Nevertheless, in spite of this counter-attraction the overseas party at Toronto numbered 573 out of a total enrolment of 2600 which included 300 members from the United States.

From the public view-point the developments in wireless telegraphy have again excited most interest. The success which had attended the attempts of the British Broadcasting Company to relay speech and music transmitted from America by waves of only 100 metres wave-length concentrated attention on the possibilities of short wave transmission. The results obtained in 1924 by Senatore G. Marconi (and indeed by amateur experimentalists also) have been of an even more notable character. Continuing experiments which he had commenced in 1916, Marconi carried out a series of investigations between Poldhu, in Cornwall and his yacht *Elettra*, using wave-lengths varying from 32 to 92 metres, and found that the daylight range of practical communication increases very rapidly as the wave-length diminishes. Thus when the power used at Poldhu was 12 kilowatts the 32 metre wave was regularly received all day at Beyruth, 2100 miles away, while at Madeira, 800 miles distant, the 92 metre wave could not be detected for many of the daylight hours. Later in the year Poldhu was received for 23½ hours out of the 24 at Sidney although the power used was only 15 kilowatts, and similar success has been obtained with the stations at Cape Town, Bombay, Rio, and Buenos Ayres. To appreciate precisely the nature of this achievement it is only necessary to remember that the new Empire Station which is being erected by the Post Office at Rugby is designed to employ 1000 kilowatts with a wave-length of from 12,000 to 16,000 metres. The use of short waves has made it economically possible to construct reflectors which tend to restrict the waves to one selected direction—the Beam System—so that further economies in power consumption are possible while some degree of secrecy is obtained. Finally it may be noted that Marconi estimates that the practicable speed of signalling with short waves will prove to be as much as 100 times that with waves of the order of 10,000

metres. No theoretical explanation of the observed receptive range of short wave signals is as yet forthcoming; it is only obvious that the Austin formula for adsorption does not apply to short wave phenomena.

An invention likely to become familiar in the course of a few months is the Fonofilm system of talking pictures due to De Forest of thermionic valve fame. In this process the sounds, *e.g.*, of orchestra, voice, or musical instrument, are recorded as a series of line lines at the edge of a standard cinematograph film. To reproduce the sounds a beam of light is passed through this edge on to a thalofide screen. The variations in the intensity of the light due to the fine lines cause corresponding variations in the electrical resistance of the thalofide and these variations magnified by a battery of valve amplifiers cause the original sounds to be emitted by a loud speaker. The details of the process have not been revealed but its success is beyond question, and, running costs permitting, the reproduction is good enough for presentation to the public in the ordinary cinema hall.

The Admiralty permitted publication of the details of new methods of depth sounding and position finding developed by the Scientific Research Department under the direction of Mr. F. E. Smith. The depth sounder is a particularly ingenious device. A diaphragm let into the side of the ship is struck every half second by a small hammer whose movement is controlled electrically. The impulse so produced travels down to the bed of the sea, is reflected and received by a hydrophone also let into the side of the ship. The observer receives the sound from the hydrophone in a telephone whose terminals are short-circuited except at certain definite moments when they are connected to the hydrophone. These instants of connexion to the hydrophone occur every half second and at a variable but known period after the hammer has struck the diaphragm. This period is adjusted, by moving a pointer over a graduated disc, so that the impulses reflected from the sea bed are heard in the telephone. The period is, of course, that taken by the sound to travel twice the depth of the water. The velocity of sound in sea-water having been determined (with the same apparatus) the desired depth immediately follows.

Turning next to the domain of pure science and dealing first with astronomy, we have to record as the outstanding feature of the year Eddington's work on the relation between the masses and luminosities of the stars. Eddington's discovery was that the luminosity of a star is very approximately a function of its mass alone. He obtained this result theoretically by assuming that the material of a star behaves as a perfect gas; but when put to the test it was found that nearly all the stars behave in the same way even though their density far exceeds that of water. An explanation of this last result is provided by supposing that, at the high temperatures which obtain in the interior of the stars, the atoms are stripped of most, if not of all, their orbital electrons and have, in consequence, only about one hundred thousandth part of their normal bulk. Eddington's result implies that the dwarf stars have a smaller mass than the giants—a result to be expected from relativity principles if they represent different stages of evolution. According to

the relativity theory loss of energy implies a corresponding decrease of mass (to be precise the energy lost is equal to the decrease of mass multiplied by the square of the velocity of light) so that, for example, the sun in consequence of its radiation must be losing mass at the rate of four million tons every second. Thus as time goes on the energy radiated by a star and its mass both gradually decrease.

Important consequences follow from Eddington's theorem, for hitherto all calculations in cosmogony have been based on the assumption that the mass of a star remains constant. The time scale is increased and the continual decrease of mass implies a corresponding expansion of the universe which, in past ages must have been much more closely packed than now. The close packing and increased time disturbs the attractive conclusion deduced by Jeans from his tidal theory of the formation of the solar system, namely, that the earth is quite possibly unique in all the universe.

Jean's theory that normal low density stars are being formed by condensations in the arms of spiral nebulae, was opposed by Professor Snapley of Harvard whose calculations led him to conclude, that stars so formed would be of the wrong order of absolute magnitude. Shapley's observations of the variable stars in globular clusters have shown that the velocities of blue and of yellow light in stellar space do not differ by as much as one part in twenty thousand millions.

In experimental physics a good deal of interesting work has been done. During the summer Michelson obtained a series of observations with his new velocity of light apparatus which employs a revolving octagonal mirror. Working over a distance of 22 miles from Mt. Wilson Observatory to Mt. San Antonio, he finds the velocity to come out as 299,820 kilometres per second with an uncertainty of 1 part in 10,000. The best previous experiments were those of Newcomb which gave 299,860 kilometres per second with about the same probable error. Michelson proposes to repeat the observations next summer with improvements suggested by the preliminary work and hopes to reduce the uncertainty in his measurements to 1 part in 50,000.

Two methods for the production of intense momentary magnetic fields have been described during the year. In the *Proceedings of the Royal Society* for June, P. L. Kapitza, writing from the Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge, describes how he has obtained magnetic fields whose intensity exceeds half a million gaussses and indicates the possibility of obtaining fields four or five times greater. F. T. Wall, working at Sheffield University, by a different method has obtained fields up to about 1*5 million gaussses and anticipates reaching 10 millions. These fields are produced by the momentary passage of very large currents through solenoid coils of small diameter. In Kapitza's experiments the necessary energy is stored in lead plate accumulators so arranged, that they can be suddenly discharged in a hundredth part of a second at some 10,000 amperes by a specially designed switch. Wall uses electrostatic storage in a battery of condensers whereby oscillating currents are obtained, the peak values being of the order of 25,000 amperes. Kapitza has applied his fields to a-ray tracks and to the Zeeman effect; Wall to the magnetic behaviour of steel. His work received a good deal of

publicity during the year by being represented as an attempt to explode the atom.

The problem of the transformation of the elements continues to excite an active interest. Eutherford has effected the transformation in the case of certain light elements, by bombarding them with swift α -particles. It now seems possible that gold has been obtained from mercury, both by Miethe in a Jaenicke mercury lamp burning overcharged and at the Institute of Physical and Chemical Research, Tokio, where a visible crystal of gold is reported to have been obtained.

Dr. F. W. Aston has continued his work on isotopes with his Mass Spectrograph. His investigations on the elements of the alkaline and rare earths have been particularly fruitful and show that both strontium and barium have isotopes whose atomic weights are quite definitely less than whole numbers. In the case of tellurium, the observations indicate that there are three isotopes whose masses fall short of whole numbers by one or two parts in a thousand. The results obtained by Dr. Aston in the case of this element tend to show that its atomic weight is greater than 128; the latest chemical determinations give 127.5.

There have been no new developments of the Bohr theory which need to be recorded. Millikan states that he has obtained certain results which are in conflict with the theory in its present form, but it is so flexible that, without doubt, an explanation will, in due course, be forthcoming. The problem of reconciling the quantum hypothesis with the phenomena of interference remains unsolved; a suggestive paper by de Broglie may prove of assistance in its solution.

A discussion before Section A of the British Association focussed attention on the divergent views of Professor A. N. Compton of Chicago, and Professor Duane of Harvard concerning the mechanism of the process of the scattering of X-rays by material substances. Compton's work supports a theory put forward independently by himself and by Professor Debye of Zurich. It supposes that, when a quantum of radiation falls on the scattering substance it may be considered as colliding with an electron which is either free or very loosely bound to the atom. This electron takes some of the energy of the quantum and the radiation passes on as a quantum of radiation of diminished frequency. Assuming that, for the encounter, the laws of the conservation of energy and momentum hold good, it is found that the wave-length of the scattered radiation should depend on the angle through which its path has been turned as a result of the impact. Compton and several other independent observers have verified this experimentally. Duane on the other hand obtains results which confirm another explanation of the scattering based only on the Einstein energy equation. There is at present no satisfactory explanation of these very different results.

Another controversy has arisen between Professor Vegard and Professor McLennan concerning the luminescence of solid nitrogen and its bearing on the auroral spectrum. Solid nitrogen when bombarded by cathode rays gives a spectrum of rather an unusual type. It shows in particular a band in the green with three maxima which McLennan regards as ordinary spectral lines. Vegard, however, states that they have no definite positions and considers that the green line of the auroral spectrum

represents the limiting position of this band when the luminescent particles are reduced to a molecular order of magnitude. This ditierence of opinion first became manifest at the Fourth **International** Congress of Refrigeration already referred to. Two other interesting results were revealed at this Congress. First, that experiments on liquid helium show that it has a maximum density at -270.8° C.; secondly, that all metals do not become super-conductors at very low temperatures, but only those possessing an electron (or electrons) which can respond far more readily than the rest of the atom to the magnetic field and whose orbital motion is free from interference by the other electrons. That the phenomena of super-conduction is different from that previously supposed is shown by the fact that currents induced in a ring of super-conducting metal persist when the ring is cut so that the circuit is no longer closed.

In physical chemistry much work has been done on the conditions which determine chemical activity, but the conclusions reached are as yet very indefinite.

The Report on the work of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research for 1923-24 shows that nine Research Associations have reached or are about to reach the end of the *Hve* year period during which grants-in-aid were promised by the Department. The work of these associations has been reviewed by suitably constituted committees, and only in one case has their report on the scientific results achieved been unfavourable, namely, in the case of the Glass Research Association. For this and other reasons the provision of another method of providing for glass research is under consideration. In the case of the British Portland Cement Association the subscriptions now being raised by the industry itself are sufficient to provide for effective research.

ART, DRAMA, CINEMA, AND MUSIC.

I. ART.

THE year 1924 was remarkable for three things—the exhibition in the Palace of Art at Wembley of a large collection of works by British artists past and present; the coming of age of that invaluable institution, the National Art Collections Fund; and the centenary of the National Gallery. The original National Gallery, the hundredth anniversary of whose establishment was celebrated in April, contained only the collection of pictures formed by John Julius Angerstein, which were purchased by the Government in 1824 and at first exhibited at No. 100 Pall Mall, the house formerly occupied by Angerstein. The purchase of the pictures, strongly urged by Lawrence and others prominently connected with the arts, was regarded as an important event; and the opening of what was the first public picture gallery in England had been awaited with interest and curiosity. Yet for some reason the opening ceremony on the 10th of May, 1824, was almost ignored by the principal contemporary newspapers, none of which described the building or the pictures it contained or said anything about the people who were present. *The Times* recorded the event in a paragraph of half a dozen lines, the *Morning Post* gave it the same amount of space, and the *Morning Chronicle* neglected it altogether.

Angerstein's house in Pall Mall has long since disappeared, and except for a drawing or two there is no record remaining of the original National Gallery. But those who were invited to the reception at Trafalgar Square, held in April, to mark the centenary, were able, owing to a happy idea on the part of the authorities, to obtain some idea of the quality of the pictures shown in 1824. A number of them, including many not now exhibited, were arranged in one room, and the result was interesting but not altogether impressive.

In October the National Gallery was enriched by the Mond pictures, which were placed on view in that month in Room XXVI. Collected by the late Dr. Ludwig Mond they were left by him to the National Gallery subject to the life interest of his widow, who died in 1923. The Mond pictures are perhaps the most valuable gift ever made to the National Gallery, and include a Crucifixion by Raphael, a fine early work of large size; works by other Italian masters (Crivelli, Botticelli, and Bellini), and a Murillo, "St. John in the Desert," which is of great interest because of its connexion with a famous English painter. It was brought from Spain by Richard Cumberland and bought by Gainsborough for what was then considered the high price of 500*L*. Several other pictures were acquired by the Gallery during the year, including a

portrait of a young man by Rembrandt's pupil, Carel Fabritius, which was purchased at Christie's in December, on behalf of the Trustees, for 6,300 guineas.

In May the National Art Collections Fund celebrated its twenty-first anniversary at a large meeting of the members which was addressed by the Prime Minister (Mr. Ramsay MacDonald) who spoke sympathetically of the good work the Fund had accomplished. Shortly afterwards Sir Robert Witt, the Chairman of the Fund, made a public appeal for subscriptions towards the purchase of a portrait by Tintoretto, of Vincenzo Morosini, for presentation to the National Gallery in connexion with its centenary. The portrait was exhibited at the Wallace Gallery and the amount required, 14,000L, was subscribed and the picture was hung at Trafalgar Square at the end of December.

At the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley the visitors to the Palace of Arts were exceedingly numerous, despite the extra charge that was made for admission. The Basilica designed by Sir John Simpson and Mr. Maxwell Ayrton especially for the display of ecclesiastical art; the rooms decorated and furnished in the styles of various periods from 1750 onwards; and the Queen's Dolls' House, in the design and adornment of which many eminent British artists took part, were among the principal attractions of the Palace. There was a good display of examples of the applied arts; a special section was devoted to the Art of the Theatre; and sculpture was shown not only in the galleries but in the open air, various parts of the gardens. But to the majority of those who visited the Palace of Arts the pictures were more interesting than anything, and of these the collection was considerable, and representative in the sense that it included works by a very large number of modern artists. The retrospective oil paintings of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, from Hogarth to Turner and Bonington, included such famous works as Sir Joshua's portrait of the Duchess of Devonshire playing with her infant child; Gainsborough's rarely seen full-length "Anne, Countess of Chesterfield," his portrait of a boy "The Hon. Edward Bouverie," and the best-known version of his "Harvest Waggon," lent by Lord Swaythling; Hogarth's "David Garrick and his Wife;" Romney's portrait of Lady Hamilton as a spinstress and his group of "The Gower Children;" Blake's "Canterbury Pilgrims;" Raeburn's "Mrs. Robertson Williamson" and "The MacNab;" Hoppner's "Mrs. Michael Angelo Taylor;" and Lawrence's "Harriet Elizabeth, Countess Gower and Child," and "Master Lambton".

A numerous collection of retrospective miniatures, chiefly eighteenth century was also on view in the Palace of Art; and a group of retrospective paintings of a later date. The latter included the "Mrs. Bischoffsheim," painted by Millais more than fifty years ago, and one of the best of his portraits; and his "Sir Isumbras at the Ford," a work of his later Pre-Raphaelite period. Wilkie's "Chelsea Pensioners Reading the News of Waterloo;" "The Golden Stairs" by Burne-Jones; Cecil Lawson's "Valley of Doon," and Fred Walker's "Bathers/" were among the other pictures of interest shown in this section.

The Royal Academy lent some of its galleries in January for an exhibition of Swedish paintings and sculpture, arranged and held under

the patronage of the Crown Prince of Sweden. The exhibition if not of the first class, was interesting and contained a few admirable pictures. About four hundred works in all were shown, and the exhibitors included Prince Eugen of Sweden, who contributed a group of landscapes. Sweden's great painter and etcher, the late Anders Zorn, was represented by several pictures, one of which was his well-known and beautiful twilight study of "Midsummer Night Dance." Two or three of his vigorous paintings of the nude in the open air, of which "After the Bath" was typical, were also shown in the exhibition. The Swedish pictures remained on view for some weeks and were, generally speaking, favourably noticed by the London critics.

There were no new departures at the summer exhibition of the Royal Academy, but fewer works than usual were submitted to the judgment of the selecting committee. Among the principal works sold at the Royal Academy exhibition were the following: "The Grey Horse" (1,000/.), by Mr. A. J. Munnings; "Leda" (500/.), by Mr. W. G. de Glenn; "The Resting Acrobats" (500/.), by Mr. Glyn Philpot; "A River in France" (500/.) and "Spring on Wimbledon Common" (250/.), by Mr. Philip Connard; "Harvesters, Aragon" (200/.), by Mr. W. Russell Flint; "Winters White Silence" (420/.), by Miss Lucy Kemp-Welch; "Quiet Evening, Honfleur" (300/.), by Mr. Terrick Williams; "The Damozel of the Lake" (525/.), by Mr. F. Cadogan Oowper; "The Old Water-gate" (450/.), by Mr. Tom Mostyn; "Early Winter" (350/.), by Mr. Joseph Farquharson; "The Corridor" (250/.), by Mr. L. Campbell Taylor; "The Top of the Pass" (350/.), by Mr. Sydney Lee; "Cypress and Olive" (200/.), by Mr. Adrian Stokes; "My Lady Nicotine" (210/.), by Mr. Stanley Thompson; and "Going Out with the Cow in Provence" (300/.) and "A Provencal Road" (200/.), by Mr. H. H. La Thangue. The unpriced pictures marked as sold included works by Sir David Murray, Mr. Clausen, Mr. Joseph Farquharson, Mr. Oliver Hall, Sir Luke Fildes, Sir A. S. Cope, Mr. Arnesby Brown, Mr. H. S. Tuke, and Mr. A. Chevallier Taylor. Much of the sculpture shown at the Academy is commissioned work and sales are rare in this part of the exhibition. The most important in 1924 were "This Little Pig Went to Market:" group, marble (750/.), by Mr. Herbert Hampton; and "This Girl with her Dreams" (250/.), by Mr. W. Reynolds Stephens.

No fewer than nine works were bought for the Chantrey collection, as against two in the preceding year—"The Princess Badroulbador" (500/.), by Mr. William Rothenstein; "Among the Dolomites" (450/.), by Mr. Sydney Lee; "Pastoral" (420/.), by Mr. F. Cayley Robinson; "The Jockeys' Dressing Room at Ascot" (350/.), by Sir John Lavery; "New Risen Hope" (250/.), by Mrs. Annie L. Swynnerton; "Apollo and Marsyas" (175/.), by Mr. Harry Morley; "A Smiling Woman" (167/10s.), by Mr. Francis Dodd; "The Infant Christ:" bust, bronze (150/.), by Mr. Charles Wheeler; and "Ju-Jitsu:" group, bronze (120/.), by Mr. Kellock Brown.

Early in December Sir Aston Webb, the President of the Royal Academy and the second architect who has been elected to the chair in the hundred and fifty years of the Academy's history, resigned on account of the age limit. On the tenth of the month, on the anniversary

of the Academy's foundation, Sir Frank Dicksee was elected in his place.

The painfully overcrowded condition of the National Portrait Gallery was the subject of several articles and letters published in the newspapers, but up to the end of the year the Government had shown no signs of proceeding with the extensions to the Gallery that have long been needed. At the Tate Gallery an admirable collection of pictures, chiefly by nineteenth century French artists, lent by Mr. Burrell of Glasgow, was placed on view. Another notable loan collection, of Old Masters, was that held in June by Messrs. Agnew, in aid of Lord Haig's appeal for ex-service men. A very large and attractive exhibition of the work of Mr. Frank Brangwyn, R.A., was held at South Kensington in the galleries built by the late George McCulloch to receive his collection of modern paintings and sculpture; and a group of paintings by Mr. Sargent was included in one of the several exhibitions at the Goupil Gallery. Other exhibitions during the year were those of pictures by Gauguin, Mr. Algernon Talmage, and Mark Fisher at the Leicester Galleries; by Boudin at Messrs. Lefevre's; and by E. R. Frampton and Mr. Talbot Kelly at the Fine Art Society's, where also was shown some interesting work by the Serbian sculptor Mestrovic. Late in the autumn an exhibition arranged at the newly-founded Magnasco Society, founded for the study of certain phases of seventeenth and eighteenth century art, was held at Messrs. Agnew's in old Bond Street.

In the saleroom the year was comparatively uneventful, except that in December, at the dispersal of a collection of etchings by Rembrandt, a proof of the rare portrait of Arnoldus Tholinx fetched the record price of 3,600 guineas. None of the Duke of Westminster's pictures realised a large sum with the exception of Nicholas Poussin's "Holy Family" the last bid for which was 6,510l. At the Benson and Mulliner sales high prices were paid for Chinese porcelain and eighteenth century furniture. An uncatalogued Rembrandt, a portrait of Saskia, fetched 6520l. at Christie's, where the most important sale of the year was that of the late Lord Swaythling's famous collection of silver.

II. DRAMA.

The theatrical year was perhaps marked by more than the usual disproportion between successes and failures, the latter largely predominating. But a still more disquieting feature, because of its implication, was the excessive reliance placed upon foreign (including American) products. To what extent this may have been due to the reluctance of most of our older dramatists to re-enter the lists, and in what measure to the inability of some of the younger dramatists to obtain a hearing, it is impossible to say. The fact remains that with one or two exceptions the old brigade maintained consistent silence. Barrie, for instance, was represented only by revivals, among them that of "Alice Sit-by-the Fire" (with Marie Tempest in the part originally identified with Ellen Terry), and "A Kiss for Cinderella;" and, save for one very notable example to the contrary, provided by George Bernard Shaw's "St. Joan," it cannot be said that any fresh laurels were gained by those of the older generation who ventured into the light. Galsworthy's "The Forest"

(St. Martini, March 6), proved a disappointment, partly on account of what seemed like the needless intricacies of the story, and partly because of its rather oppressively gloomy atmosphere, while the same author's "Old English" (Haymarket, Oct. 21), albeit a much "pleasanter" play, was chiefly interesting to those who recalled the admirable Galsworthy Btory upon which it was founded, and derived its main dramatic significance from the exceedingly fine performance of Norman McKinnel in the part of the shrewd but obdurate old Victorian in whom the plot centres. Another disappointment, despite—or perhaps because of—a stimulating first act, was Somerset Maugham's "The Camel's Back," though its cynical cleverness, helped by the excellent acting of Frank Cellier, Madge Tithoradge and others, secured for it a fairly good run.

But whatever may be said of the average quality shown in the work of our native dramatists during the past year, no one is likely to dispute the fact that in "St. Joan" Bernard Shaw made a really vital contribution to the British stage. In a way this achievement amounted to a *tour de force*, seeing that the theme was one which, despite many previous attempts, had never before been effectively shaped to the needs of the theatre. Shaw's version of the story may be open to exception in some details, but, after all, pedantry has, or should have, little concern with play-writing, and the fact to be remembered is that the six scenes of his "Joan"—a role which it is difficult to imagine could be better acted in most respects than it was by Sybil Thorndike—make strong and often engrossing drama in which the author rises to heights he had not previously attained. The immense hold the play exercised over the public could never be rivalled by such a work as "Back to Methuselah," if only for the reason of its prodigious length, which makes it impracticable for the ordinary traffic of the stage. In any case, "Back to Methuselah," although it was not seen in London until the production at the Court in the Spring, really dates from 1923, when it was staged at the Birmingham Repertory Theatre, so that one is exempt from the impossible task of discussing it in a line or two.

On the whole, the younger generation of British playwrights may be said to have done well, even though success did not in every instance reward their efforts. Prominent among native productions that met with their deserts was Frederick Lonsdale's "The Fake" (Apollo, March 13), which succeeded by virtue of its strong dramatic interest and the skill shown in the characterisation—qualities which sufficed to counteract the ethically unsound means whereby the author arrived at a happy ending. Godfrey Tearle played the leading part with his usual ease and sincerity, while a young actor, Franklyn Bellamy, made his mark in the very unsavoury role of a venomous dipsomaniac. In "The Vortex," transferred to the Royalty on the strength of the enthusiasm with which it had been received at the Everyman, Noel Coward, perhaps our youngest author, took a decided step forward. There is no denying the cleverness and daring of this play, but it seems a pity that so promising a dramatist should chose to delineate social types utterly unsympathetic and bereft of all moral sense. Lilian Braithwaite brilliantly handled her opportunities in the play, as also did the author. "The Pelican," by H. M. Harwood and Tennyson Jesse, a deeply interesting play of which

the central motive seems to have been suggested by a widely-discussed legitimacy case, must also be numbered among the year's successes. Mention should also be made of two war plays, Harry Wall's "Havoc," which revealed vivid treatment of life at the Front, and Allan Monk-effects wrought by the horrors of war upon a conscientious objector, house's "The Conquering Hero," which depicted with striking skill the a part finely played by Nicholas Hannen. Yet somehow the play failed to win the public's suffrages. C. K. Munro's "Progress," which was brought to light by the Stage Society, proved a work of altogether greater significance than his comedy "Storm," notwithstanding that the latter secured a West-end run. In the play last mentioned one experienced a difficulty in understanding the mentality of some of the leading characters, as illustrated by conduct exceeding the limits of ordinary eccentricity. Another disappointment, having regard to the author's previous record, was Clemence Dane's "The Things That Happen," a play of which the title was unhappily belied by the actions of the characters. Incidentally this production was notable for a beautiful piece of acting by Haidee Wright. Yet another disappointment was Sutton Vane's "Falling Leaves," a work that nowhere approached the interest and high originality of his "Outward Bound." Then, Temple Thurston's "The Blue Peter," while good enough in parts as pure melodrama, seemed to aim at something higher, and in so doing just missed the mark.

In the domain of light comedy, pride of place must be given to "The Farmer's Wife" (Court, March 11), a piece in which Eden Phillpotts made delightful and wholly diverting use of Devonshire rustic types. A. A. Milne's "To Have the Honour" (Wyndham's, April 22), was an effort in the gossamer style of his "Belinda," of which it was also somewhat reminiscent in theme. The play owed much to the presence in the cast of Madge Titheradge and Gerald du Maurier. Very good fun of a broader type was Ian Hay's "The Sport of Kings," which, with Holman Clark in a role admirably suited to his personality and method, enjoyed considerable favour at the Savoy. Another production at that theatre which calls for mention was "Blinkers," a pleasant comedy on more or less conventional lines by H. A. Vachell and Leon M. Lion, while in the same category of light-hearted plays might be included J. E. Harold Terry's "Collusion," the main humours of which were made much of by Hugh Wakefield and Iris Hoey. But one of the most amusing comedies of the year was an adaptation from the Italian, which in C. B. Fernald's English version was called "The Mask and the Face." It owed its popularity in no small degree to the delightfully pointed and humorous acting of Athene Soyler in the part of a wife whom her jealous husband pretends that he has killed. In a more farcical vein another extraordinarily successful importation—from America—was Koi Cooper Megrue and Walter Hackett's "It Pays to Advertise," which, ingenious in itself, would have succeeded if only for the extremely droll performance of Ralph Lynn in the chief part. Of other farces that came to London from New York more than one could have been spared. But, among American products other than farce, enduring success was achieved at the Playhouse by Leon Gordon's "White Cargo," a piece,

somewhat unusual in atmosphere, designed to illustrate the demoralising influence of a tropical climate on the "white man." From America, too, came a most deftly constructed mystery play entitled "In the Next Room," which had quite a good run at St. Martin's, and Channing Pollock's "The Fool," a play which, however effective theatrically, could hardly be accepted at its face value as a serious attempt to show how thorny would be the path of a man who set himself to live strictly according to the principles of Christ. Even the vigorous acting of Henity Ainley as the central figure of the play failed to make it convincing. The same actor assumed a leading role in the Drury Lane production of "London Life" (Arnold Bennett and Edward Knoblock), a play that proved ill-suited to such spacious environments.

The year witnessed the production of many plays derived from foreign authors, conspicuous among them, in addition to those already referred to, being "Tiger Cats" (Savoy, June 26), an adaptation by Michael Orme of a Scandinavian play presenting a strong and uncompromising study of a woman ruled only by passion—a part splendidly handled by Edith Evans. (This accomplished actress showed her versatility by making also a striking success as Millamant in a revival, at the Lyric, Hammersmith, of Congreve's "Way of the World.") Another adaptation which attracted considerable attention was "Fata Morgana," a play (from the Hungarian) which, whatever it may have owed to its rather daring handling of a delicate situation, was certainly greatly indebted to Tom Douglas, a young American actor, and Jeanne de Casalis, a French actress, for their extremely skilful performance as the protagonists.

Revivals were numerous, chief among them being "Diplomacy" at the Adelphi, with Gladys Cooper in the role which she played in the pre-war revival of that play; Arnold Bennett's "The Great Adventure" at the Haymarket, with Leslie Faber as the strangely diffident hero; and "The Ware Case" at Wyndham's, in which Du Maurier and Marie Lohr resumed their original parts. Strictly speaking, an eighteenth century work such as "The Duenna" should be included among revivals; but Nigel Playfair's characteristically ingenious version of Sheridan's comic opera at the Lyric, Hammersmith, really amounted to a novelty, and certainly was to be reckoned the most noteworthy of the year's musical productions. Of native modern examples "The Street Singer" (Frederick Lonsdale and H. Fraser-Simson), which enjoyed success at the Lyric, Shaftesbury Avenue, was perhaps the most meritorious. At the Duke of York's "The Punch Bowl," a bright and pretty revue, succeeded better than most entertainments of a similar kind.

III. THE CINEMA.

The year 1924 has been a depressing one for the British Film Industry, despite the effort made in connexion with British Film Week. Under the organisation of the British National Film League practically every exhibitor agreed for a week to show only British films. The effect, however, was purely spasmodic and the number of producing concerns grew steadily less. The Ideal Company decided to cease production and confine their activities to renting, the British and Colonial

Film Company went into voluntary liquidation, and in the Autumn, Hepworths, one of the longest established producing concerns, went bankrupt. At the close of the year, however, a new company, the Millar-Thompson Productions, was formed, which proposes to make three big pictures in 1925.

The British producers were very hard hit by American competition. The Americans could undercut in price, and had popular stars and a steady output to offer the exhibitors. In an attempt to break into the American market English companies tried the experiment of importing American stars, and during the year a number of them worked in this country. Nevertheless, not many English pictures were sold in the United States, these included "The Great Well;" "Chu Chin Chow;" "This Freedom;" "The Passionate Adventure;" "A Royal Divorce;" and "Quality Plays." The call of the United States also affected British artists and many of them went to America.

The tendency for American companies to acquire picture houses in this country for the exploitation of their goods showed itself during the year. The Tivoli is owned by Metro-Goldwyn Co., the Rialto by Universal, and there are rumours of others to come.

The royal family have helped towards making pictures fashionable. The Prince of Wales officially attended the first presentation of the English war picture "Reveille," in June. The King and Queen, in November, attended at the Marble Arch Pavilion, a showing of the Admiralty film- "Zeebrugge."

Permission to open the cinemas on Sunday lies with the local authorities, and is being vigorously fought for by the Cinematograph Exhibitors Association, which is a very strong organisation.

The exhibitors have their grievances against the renters, who are the middle men of the trade and stand between the producer and the exhibitor. Two especially emerged during the year. One is the habit of showing big pictures first in theatres instead of hiring them straight to the cinemas. This forces the exhibitor to pay more for his picture and lessens his potential public. The second is that a super-production can often only be obtained if the exhibitor agrees to take a certain number of bad pictures as well.

The renters, especially the independent men working in a small way, have a grievance against the exhibitors for their habit of "block booking." That means that the exhibitor agrees with one of the big American firms that he will take their output for the next six or twelve months, even though he has never seen the pictures. The exhibitor's programme being then already full, no matter how good a picture another renter may have, it cannot be squeezed in. Grainger, a firm that did considerable renting trade with the Continent, and Walturdaw, another independent renting firm, were both this year obliged to close down.

In November, English production was at its lowest ebb, and early in the month every English studio was closed. Undue importance must not be attached to this, for though it was a serious sign of the condition of the industry, and though it threw a great many people out of work yet the English winter weather conditions are very unfavourable. The

year before, a great deal of money had been wasted in waiting for the clearance of fog, which prevents even interior work from going forward.

A number of important pictures were made during the year. From America we had Charlie Chaplin's first effort as a serious producer in "A Woman of Paris." Ernst Lubitsch, imported from Germany, made two successful pictures in America, in "The Marriage Circle" and "Rosita." The latter starred Mary Pickford who later returned to Marshal Neilan, under whom her early pictures were made, and gave us "Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall." Douglas Fairbanks expended largely on an Eastern "super-film" "The Thief of Bagdad." Cecil de Mille was equally spectacular in "The Ten Commandments," and "Monsieur Beaucaire" marked the return to the screen of Rudolph Valentino, after his long legal quarrel with Lasky's. D. W. Griffith's "Love and Sacrifice" was only shown here after considerable trouble with the censor, who found it anti-British in sentiment.

The big English pictures were nearly all of the "costume" variety. We had "Comin' Thro' the Rye;" "Eugene Aram;" "Claude Duval;" and "Decameron Nights." A fine picture of war-time London was "Reveille," produced by George Pearson and starring Betty Balfour. Among the travel films of the year "The Epic of Everest" was the most outstanding.

The Germans undoubtedly have made the most important experiments in technique and the most artistic pictures yet seen. "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari," though made some years ago, was only shown here this year. "The Street" gave us a real attempt to photograph thought. "Destiny" and "The Nibelungs" were outstanding pictorial successes, but best of all was "Warning Shadows."

Colour films are still being much talked of, and Mr. Claude Friese Greene, an Englishman and a son of the pioneer film inventor, has perfected a process which is finding considerable favour. In July we were shown the first all-natural-colour film made in America, in "Wanderer of the Wasteland."

Sound-pictures seem to be becoming practical. Dr. Lee de Forest's "Phonofilms" have had a number of successful demonstrations.

IV. MUSIC.

In regard to Music the year 1924 was in some respects busier even than its immediate predecessor, but it failed signally to produce any specific composition or even performance that can be described as marking an epoch. There was much the same weary round of concerts and occasional opera in London and the provinces as before, a general level of mediocrity, and the changes were rung on much the same programmes. Possibly there were signs in the autumn of a veering in the public taste from the somewhat extravagant utterances of the younger contemporary composers, whose names and works have vanished from the programmes of most of the established series of concerts. In consequence these programmes so far have shown a tendency towards reaction, towards a return to the classics. Whether this is to become permanent remains to be seen.

In the beginning of the year there were persistent rumours of the advent of the whole of the chief opera company from Vienna to Covent Garden for a spring season. But owing to the attitude of the Orchestral Association, the Vienna orchestra was not permitted to play here, and the project fell through. Nevertheless a season was organised at Covent Garden during which were given two cycles of "The King" in German, J^h Strauss's "Ariadne auf Naxos," "Salome," and "Der Rosenkavalier." The two latter works enjoyed a considerable triumph owing to the interest in the performers; there followed a short season of opera in Italian, of no particular moment.

For a time the British National Opera Company held a season at Covent Garden during which they produced Rutland Boughton's "Alkestis," a work that failed to come up to expectations; a capital version in English of Puccini's little masterpiece "Gianni Schicchi;" and also "Parsifal," "Tristan," "The Mastorsingers," Verdi's "Othello," "Hansel and Gretel," and other familiar works. The Company's later season at His Majesty's Theatre was artistically an even greater success, but afterwards it became known that the financial results were deplorable. Frederic Austin had become artistic director of the concern, and his hand was clearly visible. "Pelleas and Melisande" was among the chief operas revived, Maggie Teyte in the latter role, and the English version of "The Golden Cockerel" (Le Coq d'Or) proved deservedly popular. But the season is memorable largely for the initial production of Vaughan Williams's comedy opera "Hugh, the Drover." A more thoroughly British opera than this remains to be composed. Sir Alexander MacKenzie's little opera "The Eve of St. John," produced in Liverpool, also saw the light in London where it was played in conjunction with Hoist's "Perfect Fool." Bantock's "The Seal Woman" was also produced.

If novelty was rare in the operatic world, it was still rarer in the concert world. There was an abundance of orchestral music to be heard, but little of it was either new or even approximately so, for reasons suggested above. It was a case of conductors first and music second. There were seen during the year at either the Philharmonic or the London Symphony Concerts (the Queen's Hall Symphony Concerts went their accustomed way under the direction of Sir Henry J. Wood as for many years before), Furtwangler, Nikisch's successor at the Gewandhaus in Leipzig, Weingartner, Bruno Walter (in concert as well as in opera), Koussevitzky, Albert Coates, Sir Thomas Beecham, Sokoloff from America, Fritz Reiner (from Cincinnati), and Eugene Goossens. At various concerts Sir Henry Wood gave us first hearings of compositions, but, taking them all in all, they were a poor choice. Max Reger's Romantic Suite, and Leos Janacek's symphonic poem "Sumarova Dite" made no deep impression, and are already forgotten. On the other hand, it was good to hear again Dame Ethel Smyth's Mass in D, after it had been ignored for thirty years. A rhapsody by E. J. Moeran, Arnold Bax's E Flat Symphony, J. B. MacEwen's Solway Symphony were products of the year. In the autumn the Halle Orchestra from Manchester gave several concerts in London, one of which was remarkable for a fine performance of Berlioz's "Symphonic Fantastique" under Hamilton Harty's direction. A "British Women's Symphony Orchestra" was founded during

the year, but it failed to come up to the requisite level; and Robert Meyer's delightful series of concerts for children was a splendid venture, directed as were the concerts by Walter Damrosch from New York, where he has long been a pioneer in such matters, Adrian Boult, and Malcolm Sargent.

A vast number of choral concerts took place at various times during the whole year, and Bach's "St. Matthew" Passion and the B Minor Mass were heard, as was Stanford's "Stabat Mater," while a worthy performance of Elgar's "The Apostles" was given at the People's Palace. Coleridge-Taylor's "Hiawatha" was performed in the Albert Hall several times in dramatic form. The Bach Choir, the Royal Choral Society, the London, the Langham, the Westminster Choral Societies all gave concerts of ephemeral interest. There were festivals of the old kind at Norwich, where the centenary of the Norfolk and Norwich Festivals was celebrated in October, and at Hereford.

It is not possible to enumerate all that was accomplished in the realm of chamber music. Eugene Goossens directed a series of concerts at which many unfamiliar works were performed, including Schonberg's second string quartet, Stravinsky's "Histoire du Soldat," Milhaud's "Catalogue de Fleurs," and Armstrong Gfibb's "Pastoral." But it is not wrong to suggest that these works were a primary cause of the return to the classics already referred to. Arnold Bax wrote a new oboe quintet, Delius a new violin sonata, John Ireland a cello sonata, Herbert Howells a quartet, and among our visitors were the Quartets Rose, Hungarian, Lener, Tourret (Paris), Dutch, Philharmonic, and Roth.

Of singers and instrumentalists who were heard there is no end. Towards the close of the year Galli-Curci set the public agog by preliminary puffing; her public success was undoubted. Then Elena Gerhardt, Frieda Hempel, Giannini, a newcomer who made good, Battistini, Chaliapin, Clara Butt, John Coates, John McCormack, Claire Dux, Thibaud, Suggia, Szigeti, Rachmaninoff, Hofmann, Cortot, Arthur Rubinstein, Buhlig, Irene Scharrer, Myra Hess, Gil-Marchex, Solito de Solis, and Rummel, all were heard in London,

The Diaghileff Russian Ballet gave a season with some distinction, and the British Broadcasting Company initiated a series of international concerts of real interest.

FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN 1924.

THE economic recovery which began in 1923 became much more marked in 1924. Indeed, the progress made was surprising in its ramifications, and tends to show that invention, which has speeded up virtually all forms of economic activity, may wipe out the scars of war much sooner than after the Napoleonic wars. There are certain similarities in the conditions which followed the close of Bonaparte's career and those after the great European war. Debt, as now, had been multiplied ten times; inflation, as now, had reduced the value of the currency; severe depression and distress, as now, followed the post-war "boom," rendering it necessary to institute a system of "doles," succeeded, because of its abuses, by subsidies on wages, which led to other abuses resulting in the final abandonment of all exceptional unemployment relief. Abnormal unemployment lasted, however, about twenty-five years, the "hungry forties" marking the beginning of the more or less permanent improvement which continued, with slight interruptions, until the catastrophe of 1914. It is doubtful whether, but for the introduction of machinery into industry, twenty-five years would have sufficed to get rid of the distress which followed Napoleon's defeat. In 1924, six years after the termination of hostilities with Germany, we find that Great Britain's economic position has greatly improved, thanks to new inventions of various kinds—notably the internal combustion engine, wireless telegraphy and telephony, electrical development, more intense specialisation and division of labour and mass electrical production. This speeding-up of economic processes seems likely to shorten the period of convalescence, after the European conflagration, by possibly several years. At any rate that seemed the prospect at the beginning of 1925. At the end of 1924 the figures of unemployment had been reduced to 1,100,000 approximately, as against a maximum of about 2,500,000 at one time in 1921. There are many tests by which to measure the economic improvement in 1924. A further advance occurred in English commodity prices, amounting to 6 per cent., following a rise of 6½ per cent, in 1923. Our overseas trade expanded by about 12 per cent., so that it follows that the real increase in overseas trade was substantial. Short-time working was further reduced, especially in the cotton industry and in the shipyards. Unemployment was reduced materially, the decrease on the year being about 127,000. As this followed upon a decrease of 350,000 in 1923, obviously there was a considerable increase in national production at the end of 1924 as compared with the figures at the end of 1922. We reproduce below as usual *The Times* index number of commodity prices since January, 1924, based upon the price of sixty

commodities, with the percentage change month by month, together with the number in April, 1920 (when the highest point was touched), and at the close of the years 1921, 1922, and 1923:—

	Food.	Materials.	Total Index Number.	Inc. or Dec. Per Cent.
April, 1920 -	301.2	382*8	352*9	
December, 1921 -	168.1	158.8	162*1	- 5.40
December, 1922 -	163.0	156*1	158.6	- 2*2
December, 1923 -	169.1	169*1	169.1	+ 6.5
January, 1924 -	177.8	171*4	173.8	+ 2.8
February, „ -	173.5	171*9	172.5	- 0*7
March, „ -	164.9	171.4	169.0	- 2*0
April, „ -	161*4	171*8	168.0	- 0*6
May, „ -	157.0	170.0	165*3	- 1*6
June, „ -	158.4	168*3	164.7	- 0.4
July, „ -	159*4	172.2	167*5	+ 1.7
August, „ -	164.5	171*7	169*1	+ 1.9
September, „ -	175*6	172*1	173*4	+ 2.5
October, „ -	182.1	173.7	176*8	+ 2*0
November, „ -	177*1	177.1	177*1	+ 0.2
December, „ -	178*1	180.1	179.3	+ 1*2

The prices of the commodities included in the calculations are shown in the next table (p. 73), comparison being made with the quotations at the close of the preceding year.

The year was a notable one in banking, for the last of the bad debts which the great depression of 1920-21 left were written off during the year. Commercial failures were fewer; the total number in the United Kingdom was 7,984, against 8,146 in 1923. That trade was more active is apparent from the analyses of industrial profits made by *The Economist*. In the first quarter of 1924 419 companies reported net profits of 40,382,9012., an increase of 3,227,8532., or 87 per cent.; in the second quarter 466 companies showed profits of 51,292,9442., an increase of 1,498,5272., or 3 per cent.; in the third quarter 214 companies reported profits of 18,069,8002., an increase of 402,7402., or 2*3 per cent.; and in the fourth quarter 312 companies reported profits of 29,616,6282., an increase of 3,473,7292., or 13.3 per cent. Thus the total profits of 1411 companies declared in the year 1924 were 139,362,2732., an increase of 8,602,8492., or 6.6 per cent. Of the total profits of 139,362,2732., the sum of 83,162,065 or 59.7 per cent, was distributed in ordinary dividends and 27,148,6172. or 19*5 per cent, in preference dividends, as compared with 73,047,2522. and 24,869,5812. respectively in 1923 (for 1351 companies whose profits were 122,584,0642.). The total profits were equal to 10.3 per cent, on the total ordinary and preference capital combined, against 9.8 per cent, in 1923 and 7 per cent, in 1922.

In the realm of national finance the year was remarkable for the introduction of the first Labour Budget. It did not differ very much from the Budgets of the other parties, except that it gave unblushing expression to the Labour Party's commitments. Mr. Philip Snowden, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, retained the new sinking fund as introduced in 1923 by Mr. Baldwin. In accordance with that plan, he allotted a

Commodities.	Dec. 31, 1924.	Dec. 31, 1923.
FOOD.		
Wheat, Eng., Gaz. Av.	1121b.	12s. 2d.
" No. 2, N. Man.	496 lb.	72s.
Flour, Ldn., Straights	2801b.	54s.
Parley, Eng., Gaz. Av.	112 lb.	14s. 5d.
Oats, Eng., Gaz. Av.	112 lb.	9s. 6d.
Maize, La Plata, ex ship	480 lb.	46s. 3d.
Rice, No. 2, Burma	cwt.	18s.
Beef, English sides	8 lb.	6s. 2d.
" S. Amer. chilled	8 lb.	5s.
Mutton, N.Z. frozen	8 lb.	5s. 9d.
Bacon, Irish lean	cwt.	124s.
" Amer. Cumb.	cwt.	82s.
Fish ¹	stone	6s. 2d.
Eggs, English	120	27s.
Sugar, Eng. ref., cubes	cwt.	37s.
" W. Ind. cryst.	cwt.	33s.
Tea, Ind. auctn. Avg.	lb.	1s. 10d.
Cocoa, Trinidad, mid.	cwt.	86s. 6d.
Cheese, Eng. Cheddar	cwt.	100s.
Butter, Danish, fine.	cwt.	222s.
Lard, Amer. ref., pails	cwt.	94s. 6d.
Potatoes, English, good	ton	10/.
MATERIALS.		
Pig iron, Hemt. M'bro.	ton	103s. 6d.
" Cleve'd., No. 3	ton	81s.
Iron, marked bars, Staff.	ton	15/.
" Com. bars	ton	12/.
Steel, rails, heavy.	ton	9/.
" boiler plates.	ton	13/.
" galvzd. sheets.	ton	17/.
" tinplates.	box	23s. 6d.
Copper, electrolytic.	ton	70/.
" stron4 sheets	ton	97/.
Tin, stand., cash.	ton	269/.
Lead, English.	ton	44/.
Spelter, foreign.	ton	39/.
Coal, Jge. steam, C'diff	ton	27s. 6d.
" best gas, Durham	ton	21s. 6d.
" best hse., Yorks	ton	27s.
Petlm., Amer. rfd., brl.	gal.	1s. 1d.
Cotton, Am., mid.	lb.	13'50d.
" Egypt, f.g.f. Sak.	lb.	29.65d.
" yarn, 32's twist	lb.	23d.
" 60's " Egp.	lb.	42c/.
" shirtings, 8¼ lb.	piece	16s. 2d.
" prnt., 17x17, 32 in. 125 yards	piece	45s. 6d.
Wool, gsy. merino, 60's	lb.	32½d.
" " crossbd., 46's	lb.	25kd.
" " tops, 64's	lb.	82d.
" 40's	lb.	33d.
Flax, Livonian, Z.K.	ton	123/.
Hemp, N. Zeal., h.p. fair	ton	43/.
Jute, first marks, shipment	ton	39/.
Hides, Eng. Ox, iirst	lb.	9'4d.
" Cape, dry.	lb.	V2d.
Timber, gd. deal, 3 x 9	stand.	25/.
" W'cot oak, 1 in.	foot	2s.
Cement, best Portland	ton	21. 18s.
Rubber, Plant, sheet	lb.	1s. 8d.
Linseed Oil	ton	49/.
Soda Crystals, bags.	ton	5/.

¹ Average price of plaice, cod, and haddock.

sum of 45,000,000/. (an increase of 5,000,000/.) for the redemption of debt, in addition to the old sinking fund (i.e., the surplus of revenue over expenditure). The Budget year ended March 31, 1924, closed with a surplus of 48,329,000/. after allowing for the definite allocation in the expenditure of 40,000,000/. for redemption of debt. This total of 88,729,000/. applied to repayment of debt compared with a surplus used for the same purpose in 1922-23 of 101,516,000/. Revenue amounted to 837,169,000/., or 18,669,000/. more than the estimate, but a decrease of 76,843,000/. on 1922-23, while expenditure fell short of the estimate by 40,959,000/., and was 23,656,000/. less than in 1922-23. Customs in 1923-24 yielded 119,958,000/. (a decrease of 3,085,000/.); excise, 147,970,000/. (a decrease of 9,305,000/.); motor vehicle duties, 14,691,000/. (an increase of 2,370,000/.); estate duties, 57,800,000/. (an increase of 929,000/.); stamps, 21,570,000/. (a decrease of 652,000/.); land tax, house duty, and mineral right duty, 2,760,000/. (a decrease of 220,000/.); income tax and super tax, 329,971,000/. (a decrease of 49,074,000/.); excess profits duty, *nil*. (a decrease of 2,004,000/.); Corporation profits tax, 23,340,000/. (an increase of 4,363,000/.). The total receipts from taxation were 718,060,000/. (a decrease of 56,678,000/.) Receipts from the Post Office, telegraphs, and telephones were 52,800,000L (a decrease of 400,000/.); Crown lands yielded 920,000/. (or 20,000? more); interest on sundry loans, 12,606,900/. (an increase of 2,590,645/.); ordinary miscellaneous receipts produced 15,980,950/. (a decrease of 8,159,641/.); and special receipts, 51,017,606/. (a decrease of 14,216,172/.) As this mainly consists of surplus war stores and assets it is a constantly diminishing item, and must disappear altogether in the next year or two. As regards expenditure, interest on the National Debt absorbed 307,308,748/. (against 302,237,000/.), and sinking funds, 40,000,000l. (against 21,753,000/.). The consolidated fund service required in all 383,040,211/. (against 353,496,000/.); supply services took 405,800,000/. (against 459,000,000/.—a decrease of 53,200,000/.). Savings on the Army, Navy, and Air Forces amounted to 5,200,000/.; on the Civil Services to 47,460,000/.; and on the revenue departments to 540,000/.

The Budget for 1924-25 provided several interesting features. Revenue was estimated at 794,050,000/. (against 818,500,000/.), of which 685,550,000/. was tax revenue and 108,500,000/. non-tax revenue. The National Debt services were estimated to require 350,000,604/., 45,000,000/. being required for redemption of debt. Expenditure was put at 790,026,000/., leaving a surplus of 4,024,000/. subject to supplementary estimates. The Corporation profits tax was repealed as from June 30, 1924, after which date no profits earned subsequently were subject to it. The inhabited house duty was repealed for the year of assessment 1924-25. Telephone local calls were reduced from 1½d. to 1d. and from 2½d. to 2d. for distances between 5 and 7½ miles. Remissions of customs taxation on tea, cocoa, coffee, chicory, sugar, raisins, figs and plums, table waters, and herb beer, and of the new import duties (McKenna duties) involved a total loss of 25,700,000/. (27,123,000/. in a full year). Reductions of Excise duties, affecting chicory, coffee substitutes, sugar, etc., table waters, and entertainments cost 4,100,000/. (4,820,000/. in a full year), while the abolition of the Corporation profits duty (12,500,000/.) and the inhabited house duty (2,000,000/.) were estimated to cost

14,500,000l. in a full year, against 3,750,000l. in 1924-25—Corporation profits tax (2,000,000/.) and inhabited house duty (1,750,000*). Modifications of Post Office charges were estimated to cost 1,000,000l. in a full year and 500,000l. in 1924-25. The total cost of the remissions in 1924-25 was estimated at 34,050,000l. and in a full year 47,943,000l.

The National Debt on March 31, 1924, was put at 7,680,623,000l., a decrease of 91,772,000l. on the year. The floating debt on December 31 last was 845,825,000l., a decrease of 14,626,500l. on the year, the figures being as follows:—

	Dec. 31, 1924.	Dec. 31, 1923.
Ways and Means Advances :—	£	
Bank of England	24,750,000	1,750,000
Public Departments -	195,015,000	206,422,500
Treasury Bills	626,060,000	652,280,000
	845,825,000	860,452,500

Two important conversion operations were carried out during the year. In the early spring the Treasury invited holders of 200,000,000l. of 5 per cent. War Loan to exchange their stock for 4½ per cent. Conversion Loan, maturing in 1940-44, at the price of just under 97. Holders of 150,000,000l. accepted the offer, the chief attraction of which was that it ensured to the holder a yield of fully 4¾ per cent for a minimum period of sixteen years, whereas the 5 per cent. War Loan gives a yield of 5 per cent, until 1929 certain and for such further period as may be necessary before the Government can refund the whole of the loan on a lower interest basis. In the autumn the Government offered holders of 134,000,000l. of 5¾ per cent. Exchequer Bonds maturing on February 1, 1925, an option to convert into either 4½ per cent. Conversion Loan at about 97 or into 4½ per cent. Treasury Bonds at par, maturing in two to nine years at the option either of borrower or lender. Holders of 81,000,000l. converted, and the balance of 53,000,000l. was subsequently provided for by an issue at the beginning of 1925 of 3½ per cent. Conversion Loan by tender, at a minimum price of 77. 10s. The average price obtained was 77. 10s. 11.58d The question of lightening the debt burden by lowering the rate of interest through conversion will for some years remain the chief problem of Treasury finance.

The report of the London Bankers' Clearing House for 1924 revealed a notable and substantial expansion in the turnover of money, due to the revival of trade and financial activity, particularly in the short-loan market. The turnover for the year was 39,532,864,000l. This was a " record," being 513,961,000l. (or 1.3 per cent.) above the previous highest figure of 39,018,903,000l., in 1920. As compared with 1923, there was an increase of 2,905,272,000l. (equal to 7.9 per cent.). The figures are sub-joined :—

	1924.	1923.	Increase.
	£	£	
Grand total	39,532,864,000	36,627,592,000	2,905,272,000 (7.9 percent.)
Town Clearing -	35,038,605,000	32,270,373,000	2,768,232,000. (8.5 percent.)
Metropolitan Clearing	1,594,114,000	1,546,565,000	47,549,000 (3 per cent.)
Country Cheque Clearing	2,900,145,000	2,810,654,000	89,491,000 (3.1 per cent.)

The ten provincial clearings recorded the following totals :-

Clearing.	Total.	Increase or Decrease.
	£	Per Cent.
Birmingham -	122,335,000	5.2
Bristol -	60,344,000	4.4
Hull	56,735,000	1.8
Leeds	51,955,000	0.4
Leicester -	87,850,000	1.1
Liverpool -	474,306,000	5.3
Manchester	802,935,000	5.5
Newcastle-on-Tyne	94,934,000	9.1
Nottingham	32,416,000	3.1
Sheffield -	64,586,000	5.3

These figures show an aggregate expansion of about 65,250,0002., an increase of nearly 4 per cent. Of the London clearings 95.2 per cent, of the increase was accounted for by the town clearings. The last half of the year saw the biggest increases. Each month showed an increase over 1923, but March, 1920, retained the reputation of being the " record " month, with a total of 3,661,969,0002. The daily total exceeded 200,000,0002. on seven occasions, against four in 1923 and one in 1922. The highest total was 259,924,0002. on December 31; this was a " record " day, and exceeded the previous " record " of June 30, 1924, by 12,010,0002. (or 4.8 per cent.). The increase in trading and financial activity led to a greater demand for credit and currency. In December the demand for currency was exceptionally heavy, and in order to keep the fiduciary issue within the legal limit (248,190,9532.) in the two weeks ended December 24 no less than 4,500,0002. of Bank of England notes was transferred to the currency note redemption account to prevent the legal limit from being exceeded. As it was, the fiduciary issue on December 24 rose to 248,145,3862. (or only 45,5672. below the legal limit). This total being the maximum for 1924 becomes the legal limit for 1925. In the following table is shown the currency note position at the close of the three years 1924, 1923, and 1922 :-

	End December, 1924.	End December, 1923.	End December, 1922.
Total outstanding	£ 295,025,311	£ 291,263,999	301,337,000
Reserve :—			
Gold -	27,000,000	27,000,000	27,000,000
Silver -	7,000,000	7,000,000	7,000,000
• Bank of England notes -	26,950,000	22,450,000	21,150,000
Reserve ratio -	18.29 per cent.	16.98 per cent.	15.9 per cent.
Fiduciary issue -	241,075,311	241,813,999	251,660,922
Legal maximum issue -	248,190,953	270,183,800	309,988,400

The note circulation of the Bank of England increased further, as the next table shows :—

Bank of England.	End December, 1921.	End December, 1923.	End December, 1922.
	£	£	£
Coin and bullion	128,560,002	128,019,382	127,443,007
Note circulation -	128,295,915	128,142,780	124,877,670
Public deposits	8,511,485	15,682,705	13,323,799
Other deposits	165,779,092	116,779,958	119,903,432
Government securities	68,579,552	49,604,532	51,967,900
Other securities	103,600,354	81,072,961	78,158,131
Reserve (Notes and Coin) -	20,014,087	19,626,602	21,015,337
Ratio	11½ per cent.	14⅞ per cent.	15¾ per cent.

The demand for credit in the money market was active throughout the year, and higher rates consequently prevailed. Bank rate remained at 4 per cent., but it would probably have been raised to 5 per cent, if the banks had not raised their rate for short loans to the discount market from 2½ to 2¾ per cent. The effect of this step was to raise discount rates by about ¾ per cent, and to make the 4 per cent. Bank rate fully effective. In fact, not since Bank rate had been fixed at 4 per cent, had the open market discount rate been so high, which means that the discount rate really belonged to a higher official minimum. The average rates for money in the past seven years are shown in the sub-joined table:—

1918.	1919.	1920.	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.
BANK RATE AVERAGE.						
£ 5 0 0 !	£ 5 3 0	£ 6 14 3 1	£ 6 2 3	£ 3 14 0	£ 3 9 10	£ 4 0 0
DISCOUNT RATE (3 MONTHS' BILLS) AVERAGE.						
3 11 9	3 18 10	6 8 0	5 4 3	2 12 9	2 14 2	3 10 9
BANKS' DEPOSIT RATE AVERAGE.						
3 1 3	3 3 10	4 14 3	4 2 4	1 13 10	1 9 9	2 0 0
SHORT LOAN RATE AVERAGE.						
3 5 6	3 9 7	5 3 7	4 12 8	2 5 11	1 18 4	2 12 5 !

There was little movement in banking deposits on balance, as will be seen from the following table, made up of the figures of the ten London clearing banks (in millions of pounds) :—

	January.	April.	July.	October.	December.
Deposits	1715	1655	1682	1674	1697
Advances	778	807	808	824	828
Bills discounted -	295	227	262	240	237
Investments	363	349	340	354	321

In all cases the profits of the banks were larger, and dividends, in course, were easily maintained. The more active demand for money, as shown in the increase of advances, was the outcome of improvement in trade. The more important fusions of the year were the absorption of Child's Bank by Glyn, Mills, and of Drummond's by the Royal Bank of Scotland.

The amount of new capital issues during the year were about 60,000,000l. less than in 1923. We append our usual table :—

	1924.	1923.	1922.
	£	£	£
United Kingdom -	84,612,400	133,915,600	443,518,300
British Possessions -	72,276,900	92,722,900	74,924,200
Foreign Countries	52,436,800	44,754,700	55,233,100
Total -	209,326,100	271,393,200	573,675,600

These figures are compiled by *The Economist*. The Midland Bank's compilation gives a total of 223,545,000l. (an increase of about 20,000,000l. on 1923).

The course of the exchanges in 1924 can be summed up in three words—namely, depreciation of gold. With the exception of the Italian lira, the Danish krone (both showing slight depreciation only), and the Japanese yen (the sharp fall in the value of which was exceptional, being due to the earthquake of 1923), all the currencies quoted in our table of New York exchange rates appreciated in terms of United States dollars—i.e., of gold. The most important movement was the rise in the pound sterling. At the beginning of the year conditions remained unfavourable owing to political uncertainties, and in January the New York rate fell to \$4.20c, the lowest quotation since 1922. From March, however, sterling appreciated steadily, and in the later months the rise was sharp. Money rates being lower in New York than in London, American funds were invested in sterling securities, and the movement of capital from the United States to Europe was accentuated by the signing of the London Separation Agreement, which created the confidence necessary to induce American investors to lend large sums to the Continent.

New currencies were successfully set up in Germany and Poland, and the Hungarian crown was stabilised, the currency being based on

sterling. The stability of other Central and Eastern European exchanges was an encouraging feature. The widest movements of the year occurred in French and Belgian francs. From about 85f. in January the rate on Paris rose to over 120f. in March, that on Brussels advancing from 96f. to 139f. At this stage foreign aid was invoked, and with loans raised in London and New York the French exchange was forced down to 63f. 30c. and the Belgian to 73f. 75c. The operation failed to touch the root of the trouble, however (though the Budget deficits were reduced), and by December 31 the rates had risen to 87f. 17½c. and 94f. 57c. respectively. The fall in the lira was due to a poor harvest, necessitating larger imports of foodstuffs, and to political fears. Good agricultural conditions rather than improvement in State finances were the main cause of the substantial rise in South American exchanges.

Place.	Parity.	Dec. 31, 1924.	Dec. 31, 1923.	During 1924.	
				Highest.	Lowest.
New York	\$4.86\$	4-73 ³ / ₈	4-32 ⁵ / ₈	4-74 ¹ / ₈	4-20
Montreal	\$4.86 ⁷ / ₃₂	474 ³ / ₄	4-43 ⁵ / ₈	4-75 ¹ / ₂	4-30 ¹ / ₂
Paris	25f. 22½c.	87-17½	84.65	120-25	63-30
Brussels -	26f. 22½c.	94.57	96.40	139 00	73-75
Milan -	251r. 22½c.	111.15	100	113-30	94-00
Berne	25f. 22½c.	24.26½	24.78 ½	26-00	23-20
Athens -	25dr. 22½c.	264	205	305	195
Madrid -	25m. 22½pf.	33,86½	33-50	35-35	30-90
Lisbon * -	1 53½d.	2 ³ / ₈ d.	1 ¹ / ₈ d.	2½d	1 15/32 d.
Amsterdam -	12fl. 107c.	11-67 ⁵ / ₈	11-39¼	11-87	11-29
1 Berlin -	20m. 43pl*	19-88	19,000mil.††	19-90	1875
! Vienna -	24kr. 02c.	335,000	310,000	340,000	295,000
! Budapest	24kr. 02c.	345,000	80,500	420,000	80,000
Prague -	24kr. 02c.	156¾	148½	157½	141½
Bukarest	25lei. 22½c.	922½	837½	1,030	750
Belgrade	25d. 22½c.	305	385	398	300
Sofia -	25d. 22½c.	645	600	650	540
Warsaw -	25m. 22½pf.	24.60	26,500,000	24-75	22-30
Riga	25m. 22½pf.	24.55	—	24-65	21-50
1 Reval	—	1,750	—	2,000	1,675
Helsingfors	25m. 22½pf.	187 ⁷ / ₈	175½	189	168
Oslo	18kr. 159	31-37	29-62½	32-92	29-60
Stockholm	18kr. 159	17-56	16-37½	17-58	16-14
Copenhagen -	18kr. 159	26-88½	24-44	28½	24-40
Constantinople	110	875	820	888	790
Alexandria	97½p.	97 ¹⁵ / ₃₂	97 ¹⁵ / ₃₂	97 ⁹ / ₁₀	97½
Bombay -	24d.	1/6 ¹ / ₈	1/5 ⁵ / ₁₆	1/6 ¹³ / ₃₂	1/4 17/32
Calcutta -	24d.	1/6 ¹ / ₈	1/5 ³ / ₁₆	1/6 ¹³ / ₃₂	1/4 17/32
Madras -	24d.	1/6 ¹ / ₈	1/5 ³ / ₁₆	1/6 ¹³ / ₃₂	1/4 17/32
Hongkong	Per dol.	2/3 ⁵ / ₁₆	2/4 ¹ / ₁₆	2/6 ⁷ / ₈	3/11½
Shanghai	Per tael.	3/1 ³ / ₈	3/4	3/6 ⁷ / ₈	2/11½
Manila -	24-066d.	2/1 ³ / ₈	2/3 ¹ / ₁₆	2/4 ³ / ₁₆	1/7 ¹ / ₈
Yokohama	24½8d.	17 ⁹ / ₁₆	2/11½	2/2 ¹ / ₈	1/7 ¹ / ₈
Singapore	Per dol.	17 ⁹ / ₁₆	2/4 ¹ / ₁₆	2/4	2/358 ¹⁶
Rio de Jan. *	27d.	24 ¹¹ / ₁₆ d.	24 ¹³ / ₃₂ d.	6 H *	5d.
Buenos Ayres *	47 ⁵ / ₈ d	46 ¹ / ₁₆ d	39 ³¹ / ₃₂ d.	46½d.	41 ½d.
Montevideo *	51d.	50½ d.	43d.	52d.	38-60
Valparaiso f	\$13 ¹ / ₃ .	40-40	40-10	45-30	49 ⁶ / ₁₀ **
Lima	Par.	14%**	71¼ **	14%**	26½d*
Mexico -	24-58d.	26d.‡	—	30d.‡	—

* Telegraphic transfers. † 90 days. ‡ Nominal. ** Premium.

†† Paper marks (the currency is now quoted in gold reichsmarks; the reichsmark being equal to one billion paper marks or one rentenmark).

New York on	Method of Quoting.	Dec. 31, 1924.	Dec. 31, 1923.	Bise or Fall Per Cent. in Foreign Currencies.
	\$to	\$	\$	
London -	£1	4 73 ½	4-34*	+ 90
Paris	100f.	5-42½	5-10	+ 6-4
Brussels	100f.	4-99	4-51	+ 10-6 «
Berne -	100f.	19-48	17*51	+ 11*3
Rome -	100lr.	4-25J	4-32	- 1-5
Madrid -	100ps.	13-98	12-92	+ 8-2
Amsterdam -	100f.	40-50	37-91	+ 6-8
Copenhagen -	100kr.	17-65	1773	- 0-45
Oslo	100kr.	1511	14-82	+ 1*9
Stockholm -	100kr.	26-97	26-42	4- 2-1
Montreal	Prem. or dis. %		2b dis.	+ 2-2
Yokohama -	100 yen.	38-55	46*50	- 17-1
Calcutta	100rs.	35-80	31-25	+ 14-6
Buenos Ayres	P's. per \$100	110 00	138-00	+ 20-3

The Stock Exchange enjoyed a prosperous year, with rising prices in most departments. At the beginning, the inauguration of a period of Labour government was responsible for weakness, but fears of confiscatory legislation were found unjustified, and were finally dissipated by the Budget statement. Similarly, nervousness created by the Russian Treaties gave way to a revival of confidence on the return of the Conservatives to power, and markets ended the year notably strong. The value of 365 representative securities selected by the *Bankers' Magazine* rose during the year by 261,887,000? (4-1 per cent.) to 6,518,457,000/. While fixed-interest-bearing stocks rose in value by 1½ per cent., the advance in variable-dividend securities amounted to nearly 9½ per cent. The substantial appreciation that has occurred in gilt-edged securities in the past few years can be seen from the following table, giving the prices of twelve stocks at the end of 1924 and 1923 and the lowest prices touched since the war (i.e., in 1920):—

Stock.	Price at end of 1924.	Price at end of 1923.	Lowest price touched.
Consols, 2½ per cent. -	571/8	55½	
War Loan, 5 per cent.	101½	1001/8	81
Do., 3½ per cent.	971/8	96	79
Do., 4 per cent. -	101¼	101	
Funding, 4 per cent.	887/8	87	
Victory, 4 per cent.	925/8	91¼	70½
Conversion, 3½ per cent.	77¾	761/8	615/8
Local Loans, 3 per cent.	65½	64½	49
Irish Land, 2½ per cent.	58½	56	43
Bank of England -	255½	240	163
India, 3½ per cent.	66½	65	51
Do., 8 per cent. -	57	56¾	43

A feature of the foreign market was the great success that attended the issue of reconstruction loans for Germany, Hungary, and Greece, offered under the auspices of the League of Nations; the 1923 Austrian

reconstruction loan rose twelve points during the year. Taking individual groups of securities, the *Bankers' Magazine* index shows only one important fall—namely, of 9.9 per cent, in coal, iron, and steel shares. Thirty-eight commercial and industrial shares appreciated by 15.2 per cent., and substantial rises were shown in foreign railway stocks (10.4 per cent.), shipping shares (137 per cent.), brewery shares (37.6 per cent.), insurance shares (21.1 per cent.), oil shares (117 per cent.), and rubber shares (24 per cent.). The mining market shared in the general movement, a rise of 11.1 per cent, in copper shares being noteworthy. Tea shares, with a rise of 95 per cent., were the strongest market in the "House."

Overseas trade expanded substantially, the total of imports and exports rising by 233,330,3452. (117 per cent.), to 2,215,358,1352. Exports, however, failed to keep pace with imports, and the visible adverse balance rose from 210,424,638l. in 1923 to 344,331,059l. in 1924. Imports were valued at 1,279,844,5972. (as compared with 1,096,226,2142., an increase of 16.8 per cent.), British exports at 795,364,581l. (against 767,257,7712., an increase of 37 per cent.), and re-exports at 140,148,9572. (against 118,543,8052., a rise of 18.3 per cent.). The rise in imports was largely due to higher prices for foodstuffs and raw materials, considerable increases occurring in the price of wheat, cotton, and, notably, of wool. Imports of food, drink, and tobacco rose by 64,004,5772. to 572,869,3082., imports of raw materials by 75,629,5802. to 400,591,3732., and those of manufactures by 42,887,1342. to 299,865,9782. There was an increase of 12,584,5632. to 56,928,1122. in exports of food, drink, and tobacco, a decline of 24,327,1712. to 106,488,6762. in exports of raw materials and unmanufactured goods, and a rise of 38,320,8712. to 618,270,5452. in exports of manufactures. In imports, the principal increases were: from 53,568,0002. to 69,603,0002. in cereals, from 91,189,0002. to 119,426,000l. in raw cotton, from 46,677,0002. to 70,275,0002. in wool, and from 13,773,0002. to 22,383,0002. in iron and steel, the only notable fall being one of 4,543,0002. to 2,130,0002. in imports of motor-cars and parts. Exports of coal fell from 99,847,0002. to 72,080,0002., and those of ships from 9,700,0002. to 5,522,0002.; the chief advance was in the export of cotton yarn and piece goods—from 159,262,0002. to 181,254,0002.—while exports of motor-cars rose from 3,899,0002. to 6,514,000l. The Board of Trade's estimate of the real trade balance put the excess of imports of merchandise and bullion at 341,000,0002., against which invisible exports were reckoned at 370,000,0002.

Lacking the artificial stimulus of 1923—the virtual cessation of production in the Ruhr—the British coal trade suffered last year from a depression of varying intensity. In the opening months there were fears of a strike, and demand was consequently increased. With the signing of the new wages agreement, however, buying orders diminished. Increased production on the Continent was reflected in a decline in European purchases of British coal, and in spite of higher costs, due to the rise in wages and smaller production per shift, prices fell steadily from April to the end of the year. The average export price, f.o.b., calculated by the Board of Trade, was 12. 3s. 5d. per ton for the year (against 12. 5s. 1d. in 1923), but the December average was as low as

11. Is. 7d. (against 12. 4s. 5d). Exports fell from 97,608,000 tons in 1923 to 79,340,000 in 1924. This decline was, however, partly made good by an increase in home consumption, the total production being 9,367,000 tons lower, i.e., 269,133,000 tons. Unemployment was severe in the second half of the year; the spring demand caused the percentage to fall from 4.6 in January to 2.0 in April, but steady increases thenceforward brought the rate to 10.3 per cent, in October, after which there was improvement, the December figure being 7.9 per cent.

Shipping had, on the whole, a better year, the autumn being, as in 1923, the most favourable season. The demand for tonnage due to the Japanese earthquake that marked the closing months of 1923 did not extend far into 1924, and dullness ensued until the late summer. After the signing of the London Agreement, however, freight markets became brisk. Heavy Continental—and especially German—purchases of grain caused rates to rise sharply and idle tonnage to decline. By October the demand had largely subsided, and freight rates eased until the end of the year, when a demand developed for tonnage to load Australian grain for Europe. The beginning of 1925 found rates for loading at Victoria or South Australia some 6s. higher than a year before, at 48s. Qd. to 49s. a ton. Rates from the Argentine and from India were slightly higher on balance, other homeward freight rates showing little change. Coal freights were dull.

With the boilermakers' dispute finally settled (after a nine-months' lock-out in 1923) the way was clear last year for the recommencement of work on ships the construction of which had been suspended in the preceding year. The increase in tonnage launched was surprisingly large, the figure being 1,490,000 tons (against only 685,000 tons). As foreign launchings were about 330,000 tons lower, the production of the Empire exceeded the total from all foreign yards by nearly 500,000 tons, whereas in 1923 the Empire output was only half that of the rest of the world. Building was unhampered by labour disputes, and costs of production were reduced through greater efficiency of the workers. The figures of tonnage under construction at the end of the year were, however, not so favourable as the statistics of actual launchings in the previous twelve months; they showed a fall, due partly from higher costs arising from an increase of wages, of nearly 100,000 tons to 1,297,000 tons, whereas there was a slight increase in tonnage under construction abroad. The proportion of workers unemployed was unchanged on the year at 31.9 per cent., after having been down to 26.4 per cent, in July.

Depression again ruled in the iron and steel industry, prices being substantially lower at the end than at the beginning of the year. Production and export suffered, in comparison with those of 1923, by the removal of the stimulus resulting from the Ruhr occupation; and producers of crude and partly-finished material particularly met with increased competition from the Continent. Production both of iron and steel in the first half of the year was about equal to that of the corresponding period of 1923. In the last six months imports, which had previously consisted mainly of semi-finished material, increased in the case of shipbuilding material and other finished steel, and British exports and production were curtailed. The course of prices may be

gathered from the quotation for No. 3 pig-iron, which declined from 51. per ton in January to *U.* in December. The number of furnaces in blast fell, in the same period, from 199 to 167, pig-iron producers suffering from large utilisation of scrap. For the whole year the production of pig-iron amounted to 7,320,000 tons (as compared with 7,438,000 tons), and of steel to 8,220,000 tons (against 8,489,000). Exports of iron, steel, and manufactures fell from 4,320,000 to 3,853,000 tons, while imports (coming chiefly from Belgium and France) rose from 1,323,000 to 2,430,000 tons. In the closing months, however, Continental costs of production showed a tendency to rise. Unemployment in the industry, already large, increased further: the percentage in December was 18 in the pig-iron branch (against 11*4 per cent, a year previously) and 27*6 in the steel business (against 17*1 per cent.). The output of Cleveland iron ore was estimated at 2,250,000 tons, an increase of 170,000 tons.

An outstanding event in the insurance world was the appointment—arising out of the failure of certain companies—by the Board of Trade (in July) of a committee to inquire into suggested amendments to the Assurance Companies Act, 1909. Points to which the inquiry was particularly directed included: fuller powers for the Board of Trade in cases of insolvency; separation of classes of business in balance-sheets; special deposits by foreign companies; amendment of actuarial statements in the fourth and fifth schedules; and bond investment business. In life assurance a larger volume of business was transacted than in 1923, and most of the companies reduced their ratios of expenses. Some participating policies received attractive bonuses. Interesting developments were the prominence given to the effecting of endowment assurances by a single premium, the greater part of which could be borrowed from the office concerned; and the institution of a system of reversionary bonuses in industrial assurance. Fire claims were the lowest since 1917, *The Times* estimate of the cost of the principal fires in the United Kingdom, at 5,017,000?., being 2,174,000?. lower than for 1923. The questions that had arisen in connexion with the Japanese earthquake of the preceding year were finally disposed of during 1924, the companies gratuitously returning to the insured a full year's premium. Competition in the fire business was responsible for a decline in premium rates, and the marine insurance business had a similar experience. Amalgamations of the year include the purchase of the State Assurance Company by the Royal Exchange Assurance Corporation, and the acquisition of the Western Alliance Reinsurance Company by the Consolidated Insurance Company, under whose auspices it had been established in 1919. It was proposed that the Standard Life Assurance and the Scottish Temperance Life Assurance Companies should be mutualised.

LAW.

WITH the rest of the community the Legal Profession passed through a period of acute depression during 1924. So far as the common law work of the country was concerned, this was greatly accentuated by the shortage of judges in the King's Bench Division, which therefore was quite unable to keep abreast of its work, and at the close of the year actions which had been set down for trial for nearly eight months were unheard. Actions for trial in the King's Bench at the end of 1924 numbered 1,040, as compared with 668 a year before, while in the Probate and Divorce Division, there were 713 causes as against 623 in December, 1923, and this in spite of the fact that many undefended and pauper causes were heard at Assizes. Owing to the fact that the two additional judges authorised by the Judicature Act, 1910, can only be replaced by an address by both Houses of Parliament, during 1924 the Division was reduced to the Lord Chief Justice and fifteen puisne judges, and, further, owing to illness and the necessity for detailing a King's Bench Judge for the Divorce Court, the strength available for the best part of the year consisted of but fourteen judges all told. Just before the adjournment, in December, Parliament authorised an increase under the Act of 1910, bringing the number up to eighteen.

Perhaps the most notable feature of the legal year was the visit of the American Bar Association in July last. More than a thousand members of the Association accepted the invitation of the Inns of Court and the Law Society, who were assisted by the Canadian Bar Association in entertaining their American brethren. Apart from the purely social side of the visit, the meetings in Westminster Hall, and the unveiling of the Blackstone Statue in the Royal Courts of Justice—the gift of the American lawyers to the British lawyers—were occasions that will long be remembered, and the general interchange of ideas was probably productive of goodwill and understanding.

In view of the political situation, the output of legislation was not large. During the regime of the Labour Government, only forty-one statutes were passed into law, almost all of a non-controversial character. The Treaty of Peace (Turkey) Act carried into effect the Treaty signed at Lausanne in July, 1923; the position of the officers of the County Courts was placed on a suitable basis by the County Courts Act; while the Carriage of Goods by Sea Act gave statutory authority to the rules relating to the bills of lading, agreed to at the International Conference on Maritime Law held at Brussels in 1922 and amended in the following year by the Committee appointed by the Conference. Mention must also be made of two important provisions in the Finance Act. Inhabited house duty was repealed in respect of any year subsequent to 1923-24,

and corporation profits tax was terminated with reference to profits arising in an accounting period after last June. Other Acts of Parliament worthy of note are: the London Traffic Act—an attempt to control and regulate the traffic in and near the Metropolis through the Minister of Transport and the Advisory Committee; the National Health Insurance Act—by far the largest of all the statutes passed, extending to 134 sections and seven schedules—which consolidates the numerous Acts passed dealing with this subject since 1911; the Housing (Financial Provisions) Act; the Irish Free State (Confirmation of Agreement) Act, which was necessary owing to the refusal of the Government of Northern Ireland to appoint its representative on the Irish Boundary Commission and the subsequent ruling of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; and lastly, the short statute which postponed the monumental Law of Property Act, 1922, for another twelve months, and the amending Act, a somewhat bulky measure, which prepared the ground for the Consolidation Bills.

One Bill requires special mention—the War Charges Validity Bill. For the fourth time under successive Governments it has been introduced in the House of Commons and passed, but rejected in 1924 by the House of Lords. It seeks to give legislative authority to charges imposed by Government Departments without the authority of Parliament. Charges of this kind have been declared by the Courts to be taxation, and as such illegal, and the Bill can only be described as retrospective legislation of the worst description.

Several other matters in 1924 had more than passing interest for the Law. In January, the Select Committee on the taxation of betting published their unfinished report in which they agreed that such a method of raising revenue was practicable, but they refused to say that it was desirable. The House of Lords, however, on a motion by Lord Newton, was of opinion that it was "desirable and practicable," but professional opinion was disposed to agree with the Committee. Lottery prosecutions again brought into prominence the inequality that exists in the administration of the law on this matter. During the early part of the year a considerable wave of blackmail began to make itself manifest, but the very severe sentences imposed upon those convicted checked it at the outset. In fact, in the case of two men who appealed to the Court of Criminal Appeal against their sentences, the Court added yet another year of penal servitude. Again the long tale of "scuttling" actions seemed to be coming to an end. This form of maritime crime was confined to the subjects of two or three nations, and was part of the aftermath of war. Depreciated vessels and fallen freights were strong inducements to attempt to defraud underwriters.

Apart from cases of purely legal interest, three actions were disposed of by the Courts that attracted considerable public attention. *Harnett v. Bond*, tried by Mr. Justice Lush with a Special Jury, occupied the Court at the end of 1923 for sixteen days and resulted in a verdict for the plaintiff for very heavy damages for assault and false imprisonment against the defendants, one of whom was the manager of a licensed house for lunatics and the other, one of the Commissioners in Lunacy. This verdict was set aside in May, 1924, by the Court of Appeal after seven

days' argument, and judgment was entered for the manager and a new trial ordered against the Commissioner. A further appeal was made, but after the trial a Royal Commission was appointed to consider the whole of the present lunacy law and administration. At the end of the year Mr. Justice Rowlatt was occupied for a very considerable period in hearing *American Tobacco Co. v. Ouardidn Assurance Co.*, the question being whether the fires that occurred in Smyrna, after the Greek debacle and the occupation of that town by the Turks, were within the fire insurance policies or were excluded by the exceptions. Much evidence was given, but the learned judge found that the defendant company were not liable.

The case of *Robinson v. Midland Bank* was the most notorious of the year. Its appeal to the imagination of the public was largely due to the suppression of the name of one of the chief actors for "reasons of state." The details of the case were both unpleasant and sordid, and the true identity of "Mr. A." was known to most people from the outset. For eight days the proceedings before Lord Darling flooded the press, the facts and surmises were widely discussed, and an exceedingly commonplace story of the underworld assumed the proportions of a *cause célèbre*.

From the Professional point of view the number of leading decisions was not large, but their interest was undoubted. Matrimonial relations were considered in two cases by the House of Lords. In *Russell v. Russell*, by a majority of three to two, it was held that the rule which does not allow a husband or a wife to give evidence of non-intercourse after marriage in legitimacy cases, applies equally to divorce proceedings, while in *G. v. G.* an important ruling was given as to the inference of incapacity to be drawn in nullity suits from refusal of intercourse. The same final tribunal in *Duff Development Company v. Government of Kelantan* demonstrated the difficulty of bringing a sovereign government within the jurisdiction of the Courts, even although it had agreed to restrictions on the exercise of its sovereign rights; and *Rose & Frank Company v. J. R. Crompton & Brothers Ltd.* definitely laid it down that engagements of honour only, in whatever form they may be expressed—pledges, understandings, or obligations—cannot be enforced in a Court of law where that is the clear intention of the parties. Two other decisions of the House of Lords are worthy of note. In *Edwards v. Porter*, again by a majority of three to two, the Law Lords refused to reverse the ruling given in *Seroka v. KaUenburg* in 1886, a case that has been the subject of some judicial comment. It must now be taken that until Parliament decides to the contrary, a husband is liable for the torts of his wife, quite apart from the law of agency, the sole exception being where the tort is so intimately connected with a contract that it forms part of the same transaction. *Sutherland v. Stopes*—the birth restriction libel—was finally disposed of during the year. At the trial the jury found that the words were defamatory, that they were true in substance and in fact, that they were not fair comment, and they awarded damages. On these findings the House of Lords approved the holding of the Lord Chief Justice, that the defendant was entitled to judgment. This practically endorses the view of Lord Loreburn in *Dakhyl v. Labouchere* that "the plea of fair comment does not arise if the plea of justification is made good."

Following the lead of the Irish Courts, the Court of Appeal refused to follow the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in *Victorian Railway Commissioners v. Coultas*, and in *Hambrook v. Stokes Brothers* held that damages could be recovered where shock causing damage unaccompanied by actual physical injury, results from an act of negligence. When it is established that there is a direct and natural sequence between the act of negligence and the infliction of material damage, the chain of causation is complete and liability attaches. Local Government is an important branch of our law, and three other decisions of the Court of Appeal should be noted. In *Lapish v. Braithwaite* it was held that under the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, a director and shareholder of a limited company that had contracts with a corporation was not disqualified from being and acting as alderman. Again in *Thornley v. Leconfield* the office of clerk of the peace was decided to be still a freehold office to be held during good behaviour, notwithstanding the passing of the Local Government Act, 1888 ; and in *Attorney-General v. Westminster City Council* the judgment of Mr. Justice Tomlin was upheld that premises erected for use as public libraries cannot be diverted from that purpose.

In *Bex v. Norman* the Court of Criminal Appeal, consisting of thirteen judges, laid it down that it was a question for the jury in each case to decide whether the accused was in fact an habitual criminal and that a previous conviction as an "habitual" was not conclusive on a subsequent charge. Reference may also be made to the gun-running case of *Attorney-General v. Atfield* where the archaic form of procedure of information *in personam* was resorted to.

Judicial changes were not many. The Great Seal changed hands twice during 1924, Lord Cave being succeeded by Lord Haldane, who in turn retired in favour of his predecessor. The sudden death of Mr. Justice Bailhache during the Long Vacation created a vacancy that was filled by Mr. F. D. MacKinnon, K.C., a selection that was universally approved, while in December Sir Hugh Fraser and Sir William Finlay were chosen as the two additional judges authorised by the address. Mr. Leonard Mossop, Mr. H. B. D. Woodcock, K.C., and Mr. R. O. Roberts were made County Court Judges, and Mr. A. T. Tassell and Mr. Thomas Scanlan became Metropolitan police magistrates.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.¹

I.

PROTOCOL FOR THE PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES, ADOPTED BY THE ASSEMBLY, OCTOBER 2, 1924, AND OPENED FOR SIGNATURE BY ALL STATES MEMBERS AND NON-MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.*

ANIMATED by the firm desire to ensure the maintenance of general peace and the security of nations, whose existence, independence or territories may be threatened ;

Recognising the solidarity of the members of the international community ;

Asserting that a war of aggression constitutes a violation of this solidarity and an international crime ;

Desirous of facilitating the complete application of the system provided in the Covenant of the League of Nations for the pacific settlement of disputes between States and of ensuring the repression of international crimes; and

For the purpose of realising, as contemplated by article 8 of the Covenant, the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations;

The undersigned, duly authorised to that effect, agree as follows :—

Article 1. The signatory States undertake to make every effort in their power to secure the introduction into the Covenant of amendments on the lines of the provisions contained in the following articles.

They agree that, as between themselves, these provisions shall be binding as from the coming into force of the present Protocol and that, so far as they are concerned, the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations shall thenceforth have power to exercise all the rights and perform all the duties conferred upon them by the Protocol.

Article 2. The signatory States agree in no case to resort to war

¹ Printed by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office from the following Parliamentary Papers: No. I. from Cmd. 2273; No. II. from Cmd. 2300; No. III. from Cmd. 2259 ; and No. IV. from Cmd. 2260.

* N.B.—The President announced at the session of the Assembly on October 2, that the Protocol had been signed by the representatives of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, France, Greece, Latvia, Poland, Portugal, and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

either with one another or against a State which, if the occasion arises, accepts all the obligations hereinafter set out, except in case of resistance to acts of aggression or when acting in agreement with the Council or the Assembly of the League of Nations in accordance with the provisions of the Covenant and of the present Protocol.

Article 3. The signatory States undertake to recognise as compulsory, *ipso facto* and without special agreement, the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice in the cases covered by paragraph 2 of article 36 of the Statute of the Court, but without prejudice to the right of any State, when acceding to the special Protocol provided for in the said article and opened for signature on December 13, 1920, to make reservations compatible with the said clause.

Accession to this special Protocol, opened for signature on December 16, 1920, must be given within the month following the coming into force of the present Protocol.

States which accede to the present Protocol after its coming into force must carry out the above obligation within the month following their accession.

Article 4. With a view to render more complete the provisions of paragraphs 4, 5, 6 and 7 of article 15 of the Covenant, the signatory States agree to comply with the following procedure :--

1. If the dispute submitted to the Council is not settled by it as provided in paragraph 3 of the said article 15, the Council shall endeavour to persuade the parties to submit the dispute to judicial settlement or arbitration.
2. (a) If the parties cannot agree to do so, there shall, at the request of at least one of the parties, be constituted a Committee of Arbitrators. The Committee shall so far as possible be constituted by agreement between the parties.

(6) If within the period fixed by the Council the parties have failed to agree, in whole or in part, upon the number, the names and the powers of the arbitrators and upon the procedure, the Council shall settle the points remaining in suspense. It shall with the utmost possible despatch select in consultation with the parties the arbitrators and their President from among persons who by their nationality, their personal character and their experience, appear to it to furnish the highest guarantees of competence and impartiality.

(c) After the claims of the parties have been formulated, the Committee of Arbitrators, on the request of any party, shall through the medium of the Council request an advisory opinion upon any points of law in dispute from the Permanent Court of International Justice, which in such case shall meet with the utmost possible despatch.

3. If none of the parties asks for arbitration, the Council shall again take the dispute under consideration. If the Council reaches a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of any of the parties to the dispute, the signatory States agree to comply with the recommendations therein,

4. If the Council fails to reach a report which is concurred in by all its members, other than the representatives of any of the parties to the dispute, it shall submit the dispute to arbitration. It shall itself determine the composition, the powers and the procedure of the Committee of Arbitrators and, in the choice of the arbitrators, shall bear in mind the guarantees of competence and impartiality referred to in paragraph 2(6) above.
5. In no case may a solution, upon which there has already been^r a unanimous recommendation of the Council accepted by one of the parties concerned, be again called in question.
6. The signatory States undertake that they will carry out in full good faith any judicial sentence or arbitral award that may be rendered and that they will comply, as provided in paragraph 3 above, with the solutions recommended by the Council. In the event of a State failing to carry out the above undertakings, the Council shall exert all its influence to secure compliance therewith. If it fails therein, it shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto, in accordance with the provision contained at the end of article 13 of the Covenant. Should a State in disregard of the above undertakings resort to war, the sanctions provided for by article 16 of the Covenant, interpreted in the manner indicated in the present Protocol, shall immediately become applicable to it.
7. The provisions of the present article do not apply to the settlement of disputes which arise as the result of measures of war taken by one or more signatory States in agreement with the Council or the Assembly.

Article 6. The provisions of paragraph 8 of article 15 of the Covenant shall continue to apply in proceedings before the Council.

If in the course of an arbitration, such as is contemplated in article 4 above, one of the parties claims that the dispute, or part thereof, arises out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the arbitrators shall on this point take the advice of the Permanent Court of International Justice through the medium of the Council. The opinion of the Court shall be binding upon the arbitrators, who, if the opinion is affirmative, shall confine themselves to so declaring in their award.

If the question is held by the Court or by the Council to be a matter solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the State, this decision shall not prevent consideration of the situation by the Council or by the Assembly under article 11 of the Covenant.

Article 6. If in accordance with paragraph 9 of article 15 of the Covenant a dispute is referred to the Assembly, that body shall have for the settlement of the dispute all the powers conferred upon the Council as to endeavouring to reconcile the parties in the manner laid down in paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of article 15 of the Covenant and in paragraph 1 of article 4 above.

Should the Assembly fail to achieve an amicable settlement:

If one of the parties asks for arbitration, the Council shall proceed

to constitute the Committee of Arbitrators in the manner provided in sub-paragraphs (a), (6) and (c) of paragraph 2 of article 4 above.

If no party asks for arbitration, the Assembly shall again take the dispute under consideration and shall have in this connexion the same powers as the Council. Recommendations embodied in a report of the Assembly, provided that it secures the measure of support stipulated at the end of paragraph 10 of article 15 of the Covenant, shall have the same value and effect, as regards all matters dealt with in the present Protocol, as recommendations embodied in a report of the Council adopted as provided in paragraph 3 of article 4 above.

If the necessary majority cannot be obtained, the dispute shall be submitted to arbitration and the Council shall determine the composition, the powers and the procedure of the Committee of Arbitrators as laid down in paragraph 4 of article 4.

Article 7. In the event of a dispute arising between two or more signatory States, these States agree that they will not, either before the dispute is submitted to proceedings for pacific settlement or during such proceedings, make any increase of their armaments or effectives which might modify the position established by the Conference for the Reduction of Armaments provided for by article 17 of the present Protocol, nor will they take any measure of military, naval, air, industrial or economic mobilisation, nor, in general, any action of a nature likely to extend the dispute or render it more acute.

It shall be the duty of the Council, in accordance with the provisions of article 11 of the Covenant, to take under consideration any complaint as to infraction of the above undertakings which is made to it by one or more of the States parties to the dispute. Should the Council be of opinion that the complaint requires investigation, it shall, if it deems it expedient, arrange for inquiries and investigations in one or more of the countries concerned. Such inquiries and investigations shall be carried out with the utmost possible despatch and the signatory States undertake to afford every facility for carrying them out.

The sole object of measures taken by the Council as above provided is to facilitate the pacific settlement of disputes and they shall in no way prejudice the actual settlement.

If the result of such inquiries and investigations is to establish an infraction of the provisions of the first paragraph of the present article, it shall be the duty of the Council to summon the State or States guilty of the infraction to put an end thereto. Should the State or States in question fail to comply with such summons, the Council shall declare them to be guilty of a violation of the Covenant or of the present Protocol, and shall decide upon the measures to be taken with a view to end as soon as possible a situation of a nature to threaten the peace of the world.

For the purposes of the present article decisions of the Council may be taken by a two-thirds majority.

Article 8. The signatory States undertake to abstain from any act which might constitute a threat of aggression against another State.

If one of the signatory States is of opinion that another State is

making preparations for war, it shall have the right to bring the matter to the notice of the Council.

The Council, if it ascertains that the facts are as alleged, shall proceed as provided in paragraphs 2, 4 and 5 of article 7.

Article 9. The existence of demilitarised zones being calculated to prevent aggression and to facilitate a definite finding of the nature provided for in article 10 below, the establishment of such zones between States mutually consenting thereto is recommended as a means of avoiding violations of the present Protocol.

The demilitarised zones already existing under the terms of certain treaties or conventions, or which may be established in future between States mutually consenting thereto, may at the request and at the expense of one or more of the conterminous States, be placed under a temporary or permanent system of supervision to be organised by the Council.

Article 10. Every State which resorts to war in violation of the undertakings contained in the Covenant or in the present Protocol is an aggressor. Violation of the rules laid down for a demilitarised zone shall be held equivalent to resort to war.

In the event of hostilities having broken out, any State shall be presumed to be an aggressor, unless a decision of the Council, which must be taken unanimously, shall otherwise declare:—

1. If it has refused to submit the dispute to the procedure of pacific settlement provided by articles 13 and 15 of the Covenant as amplified by the present Protocol, or to comply with a judicial sentence or arbitral award or with a unanimous recommendation of the Council, or has disregarded a unanimous report of the Council, a judicial sentence or an arbitral award recognising that the dispute between it and the other belligerent State arises out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the latter State; nevertheless, in the last case the State shall only be presumed to be an aggressor if it has not previously submitted the question to the Council or the Assembly, in accordance with article 11 of the Covenant.
2. If it has violated provisional measures enjoined by the Council for the period while the proceedings are in progress as contemplated by article 7 of the present Protocol.

Apart from the cases dealt with in paragraphs 1 and 2 of the present article, if the Council does not at once succeed in determining the aggressor, it shall be bound to enjoin upon the belligerents an armistice, and shall fix the terms, acting, if need be, by a two-thirds majority, and shall supervise its execution.

Any belligerent which has refused to accept the armistice or has violated its terms shall be deemed an aggressor.

The Council shall call upon the signatory States to apply forthwith against the aggressor the sanctions provided by article 11 of the present Protocol, and any signatory State thus called upon shall thereupon be entitled to exercise the rights of a belligerent.

Article 11. As soon as the Council has called upon the signatory States to apply sanctions, as provided in the last paragraph of article 10

of the present Protocol, the obligations of the said States, in regard to the sanctions of all kinds mentioned in paragraphs 1 and 2 of article 16 of the Covenant, will immediately become operative in order that such sanctions may forthwith be employed against the aggressor.

Those obligations shall be interpreted as obliging each of the signatory States to co-operate loyally and effectively in support of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and in resistance to any act of aggression, in the degree which its geographical position and its particular situation as regards armaments allow.

In accordance with paragraph 3 of article 1G of the Covenant the signatory States give a joint and several undertaking to come to the assistance of the State attacked or threatened, and to give each other mutual support by means of facilities and reciprocal exchanges as regards the provision of raw materials and supplies of every kind, openings of credits, transport and transit, and for this purpose to take all measures in their power to preserve the safety of communications by land and by sea of the attacked or threatened State.

If both parties to the dispute are aggressors within the meaning of article 10, the economic and financial sanctions shall be applied to both of them.

Article 12. In view of the complexity of the conditions in which the Council may be called upon to exercise the functions mentioned in article 11 of the present Protocol concerning economic and financial sanctions, and in order to determine more exactly the guarantees afforded by the present Protocol to the signatory States, the Council shall forthwith invite the economic and financial organisations of the League of Nations to consider and report as to the nature of the steps to be taken to give effect to the financial and economic sanctions and measures of co-operation contemplated in article 16 of the Covenant and in article 11 of this Protocol.

When in possession of this information, the Council shall draw up through its competent organs :—

- (1) Plans of action for the application of the economic and financial sanctions against an aggressor State ;

- (2) Plans of economic and financial co-operation between a State attacked and the different States assisting it ;

and shall communicate these plans to the members of the League and to the other signatory States.

Article 13. In view of the contingent military, naval and air sanctions provided for by article 16 of the Covenant and by Article 11 of the present Protocol, the Council shall be entitled to receive undertakings from States determining in advance the military, naval and air forces which they would be able to bring into action immediately to ensure the fulfilment of the obligations in regard to sanctions which result from the Covenant and the present Protocol.

Furthermore, as soon as the Council has called upon the signatory States to apply sanctions, as provided in the last paragraph of article 10 above, the said States may, in accordance with any agreements which they may previously have concluded, bring to the assistance of a particular State, which is the victim of aggression, their military, naval and air forces.

The agreements mentioned in the preceding paragraph shall be registered and published by the Secretariat of the League of Nations. They shall remain open to all States members of the League which may desire to accede thereto.

Article 14. The Council shall alone be competent to declare that the application of sanctions shall cease and normal conditions be re-established.

Article 15. In conformity with the spirit of the present Protocol, the signatory States agree that the whole cost of any military, naval or air operations undertaken for the repression of an aggression under the terms of the Protocol, and reparation for all losses suffered by individuals, whether civilians or combatants, and for all material damage caused by the operations of both sides, shall be borne by the aggressor State up to the extreme limit of its capacity.

Nevertheless, in view of article 10 of the Covenant, neither the territorial integrity nor the political independence of the aggressor State shall in any case be affected as the result of the application of the sanctions mentioned in the present Protocol.

Article 16. The signatory States agree that in the event of a dispute between one or more of them and one or more States which have not signed the present Protocol and are not members of the League of Nations, such non-member States shall be invited, on the conditions contemplated in article 17 of the Covenant, to submit, for the purpose of a pacific settlement, to the obligations accepted by the States signatories of the present Protocol.

If the State so invited, having refused to accept the said conditions and obligations, resorts to war against a signatory State, the provisions of article 16 of the Covenant, as defined by the present Protocol, shall be applicable against it.

Article 17. The signatory States undertake to participate in an International Conference for the Reduction of Armaments which shall be convened by the Council, and shall meet at Geneva on Monday, June 15, 1925. All other States, whether members of the League or not, shall be invited to this Conference.

In preparation for the convening of the Conference, the Council shall draw up with due regard to the undertakings contained in articles 11 and 13 of the present Protocol a general programme for the reduction and limitation of armaments, which shall be laid before the Conference and which shall be communicated to the Governments at the earliest possible date, and at the latest three months before the Conference meets.

If by May 1, 1925, ratifications have not been deposited by at least a majority of the permanent members of the Council and ten other members of the League, the Secretary-General of the League shall immediately consult the Council as to whether he shall cancel the invitations or merely adjourn the Conference to a subsequent date to be fixed by the Council so as to permit the necessary number of ratifications to be obtained.

Article 18. Wherever mention is made in article 10, or in any other provision of the present Protocol, of a decision of the Council, this shall be understood in the sense of article 15 of the Covenant, namely, that

the votes of the representatives of the parties to the dispute shall not be counted when reckoning unanimity or the necessary majority.

Article 19. Except as expressly provided by its terms, the present Protocol shall not affect in any way the rights and obligations of members of the League as determined by the Covenant.

Article 20. Any dispute as to the interpretation of the present Protocol shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Article 21. The present Protocol, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall be ratified.

The deposit of ratifications shall be made at the Secretariat of the League of Nations as soon as possible.

States of which the seat of Government is outside Europe will be entitled merely to inform the Secretariat of the League of Nations that their ratification has been given; in that case, they must transmit the instrument of ratification as soon as possible.

So soon as the majority of the permanent members of the Council and ten other members of the League have deposited or have effected their ratifications, a *proces-verbal* to that effect shall be drawn up by the Secretariat.

After the said *prock-verbal* has been drawn up, the Protocol shall come into force as soon as the plan for the reduction of armaments has been adopted by the Conference provided for in article 17.

If within such period after the adoption of the plan for the reduction of armaments as shall be fixed by the said Conference, the plan has not been carried out, the Council shall make a declaration to that effect; this declaration shall render the present Protocol null and void.

The grounds on which the Council may declare that the plan drawn up by the International Conference for the Reduction of Armaments has not been carried out, and that in consequence the present Protocol has been rendered null and void, shall be laid down by the Conference itself.

A signatory State which, after the expiration of the period fixed by the Conference, fails to comply with the plan adopted by the Conference, shall not be admitted to benefit by the provisions of the present Protocol.

In faith whereof the undersigned, duly authorised for this purpose, have signed the present Protocol.

Done at Geneva, on the day of October, 1924, in a single copy, which will be kept in the archives of the Secretariat of the League and registered by it on the date of its coming into force.

IL

COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS—AMENDED PARAGRAPHS.

The text of the Covenant of the League of Nations was printed in the ANNUAL REGISTER for 1919, page 72. Here there is reprinted the amended article 6, in force from August 13, 1924, and the amended articles 12, 13, and 15, in force from September 26, 1924. (The amendments are shown in italics.)

Article 6. The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

The first Secretary-General shall be the person named in the Annex; thereafter the Secretary-General shall be appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.

The secretaries and staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary-General with the approval of the Council.

The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council.

The expenses of the League shall be borne by the Members of the League in the proportion decided by the Assembly.

Article 12. The Members of the League agree that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture they will submit the matter either to arbitration *or judicial settlement* or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators *or the judicial decision*, or the report by the Council.

In any case, under this Article the award of the arbitrators *or the judicial decision* shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

Article 13. The Members of the League agree that, whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration *or judicial settlement*, and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration *or judicial settlement*.

Disputes as to the interpretation of a Treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration *or judicial settlement*.

For the consideration of any such dispute, the Court to which the case is referred shall be the Permanent Court of International Justice, established in accordance with Article 14, or any tribunal agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any Convention existing between them.

The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award *or decision* that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award *or decision*, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

Article 15. If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration *or judicial settlement* in accordance with Article 13, the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary-General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

[This is the first paragraph of Article 15; the remainder is unaltered.]

III.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS AND THE
GERMAN GOVERNMENT TO CARRY OUT THE EXPERTS'
PLAN OF APRIL 9, 1924.

(SIGNED AT LONDON, AUGUST 30, 1924.)

Article 1. (A.) The Experts' Plan of April 9, 1924, will be considered as having been put into execution, except as regards measures to be taken by the Allied Governments, when the Reparation Commission has declared that the measures prescribed by it in its decision No. 2877 (4) of July 15, 1924, have been taken, that is to say:—

(1) That Germany has taken the following measures:

- (a) The voting by the Reichstag in the form approved by the Reparation Commission of the laws necessary to the working of the plan, and their promulgation.
 - (6) The installation with a view to their normal working of all the executive and controlling bodies provided for in the plan.
 - (c) The definitive constitution, in conformity with the provisions of the respective laws, of the Bank and the German Railway Company.
 - (d) The deposit with the trustees of certificates representing the railway bonds and such similar certificates for the industrial debentures as may result from the report of the Organisation Committee.
- (2) That contracts have been concluded assuring the subscription of the loan of 800 million gold marks as soon as the plan has been brought into operation and all the conditions contained in the Experts' Report have been fulfilled.

(B.) The fiscal and economic unity of Germany will be considered to have been restored in accordance with the Experts' Plan when the Allied Governments have taken the following measures:—

- (1) The removal and cessation of all vetoes imposed since January 11, 1923, on German fiscal and economic legislation; the re-establishment of the German authorities with the full powers which they exercised in the occupied territories before January 11, 1923, as regards the administration of customs and taxes, foreign commerce, woods and forests, railways (under the conditions specified in article 5), and, in general, all other branches of economic and fiscal administration; the remaining administrations not mentioned above will operate in every respect in conformity with the Rhineland Agreement; the formalities regarding the admission or re-admission of German officials will be applied in such a manner that the re-establishment of the German authorities, in particular the customs administration, may take place with the least possible delay; all this without other restrictions than those stipulated in the Treaty of Versailles, the Rhineland Agreement and the Experts' Plan.
- (2) The restoration to their owners of all mines, cokeries and other

industrial, agricultural, forest and shipping undertakings exploited under Allied management or provisionally leased by the occupying authorities since January 11, 1923.

- (3) The withdrawal of the special organisations established to exploit the pledges and the release of requisitions made for the working of those organisations.
- (4) The removal, subject to the provisions of the Rhineland Agreement, of restrictions on the movement of persons, goods and vehicles.
- (5) In general, the Allied Governments, in order to ensure in the occupied territories the fiscal and economic unity of Germany, will cause the Inter-allied Rhineland High Commission to proceed, subject to the provisions of the Rhineland Agreement, to an adjustment of the ordinances passed by the said commission since January 11, 1923.

Article 2. The Experts' Plan will be put into execution with the least possible delay. For this purpose the measures indicated in Article 1 will be taken as rapidly as possible; in particular, the laws necessary for the working of the plan will be promulgated immediately after they have been voted.

Article 3. (1) Every effort shall be made to bring the Experts' Plan into full operation not later than October 22, 1924.

(2) On September 2, 1924, at the latest, the Reparation Commission ought to be in a position to announce that the German laws necessary for the working of the plan have been promulgated in the terms approved by it, and also that the Agent-General for Reparation Payments has taken up his duties.

(3) Within five weeks (35 days) from the date of this first announcement (*i.e.*, not later than October 7, 1924), the Commission should be in a position to announce that the other measures prescribed in its decision of July 15, 1924, mentioned in article 1, have been fulfilled.

The Reparation Commission shall have power if necessary to advance these dates if circumstances permit, or to postpone them so far as may be deemed indispensable for the complete fulfilment of the above provisions.

The French and Belgian Governments undertake to fulfil within a fortnight after the date of the second announcement (*i.e.*, by October 22, 1924), the programme laid down in article 1 for the restoration of Germany's fiscal and economic unity. They will notify the Reparation Commission of such fulfilment. The decision that the programme has been fully executed will be taken by the Reparation Commission.

Article 4. (a) As soon as the first announcement referred to in article 3 (2) has been made (*i.e.*, on September 2, 1924), and during the transition period between the first and second announcements (*i.e.*, between September 2 and October 7, 1924), without waiting for the complete execution of the measures prescribed by the Reparation Commission in its decision of July 15, 1924, the French and Belgian Governments, being desirous of restoring in a large measure Germany's fiscal and economic unity as soon as possible, will take the following steps :—

Eight days after the first announcement (*i.e.*, September 10, 1924) the

levy of duties on the eastern customs line (*i.e.*, the customs barrier between occupied and unoccupied Germany) will cease.

Twenty days after the first announcement (September 22), and earlier if possible, the Allied authorities will reduce as far as possible the restrictions imposed since January 11, 1923, on the movements of persons, goods, and vehicles, especially between occupied and unoccupied Germany. Within the same period the French and Belgian Governments will have abolished the said eastern customs line and will apply solely the legislation and tariffs in force in unoccupied Germany to collections and charges of all kinds levied by them in the occupied territories, as well as to the regime for external trade, except so far as concerns the Franco-Belgian Railway Regie, which will continue to apply its own tariffs.

(b) The aforesaid Governments will continue to levy the collections and charges thus adjusted, but will hand over to the Agent-General for Reparation Payments the receipts accruing to them after the first announcement (September 2, 1924), from the application of the new regime, including the net profits from the Franco-Belgian Railway Regie, but less the monthly deduction of a lump sum of 2 million gold marks to cover the cost of collection during the transition period.

(c) On its side the German Government will pay over to the Agent-General for Reparation Payments during the transition period such monthly instalments as, added to the receipts above provided for, shall place at his disposal each month an amount equal to one-twelfth of the first annuity under the Experts' Plan, less the estimated receipts during the month from the operation of the British Reparation Recovery Act or corresponding measures which may be adopted by the other Allied Governments and the paper marks supplied to the armies of occupation. It is understood that the monthly burden to fall upon Germany during the transition period shall be one-twelfth of the first annuity of the global payment incumbent on Germany, as such global payment is defined in Section XI. of the Experts' Plan; to such monthly burden is to be added each month during the transition period the 2 millions of gold marks mentioned above.

(d) Payments towards the above-mentioned monthly sums will be made every ten days.

The first payment by Germany will take place on the date of the first announcement (September 2, 1924).

The first payment by the French and Belgian Governments will be made ten days later (September 12, 1924).

The first and second payments by Germany will amount to 20 million gold marks each. The third payment will consist of the balance of the payment to be made by Germany during the first month.

The subsequent payments by Germany shall be fixed by the Agent-General for Reparation Payments and shall be such as to place at the disposal of the Agent-General during each period of ten days one-third of the monthly instalment stipulated above, taking into account the payments made by the French and Belgian Governments and the receipts from the Reparation Recovery Acts, etc.

The payments by the French and Belgian Governments will only fall

due in so far as the German Government has on its part effected its payments.

(e) With the resources thus placed at his disposal the Agent-General for Reparation Payments shall provide for the payment of reparation and other treaty charges during the transition period, in conformity with the decisions as to distribution which will be taken by the Allied and Associated Governments.

In particular he shall place at the disposal of the interested Governments the sums necessary—

- (1) To ensure the complete financing of all agreements concerning deliveries in kind continued or entered into by them or by their representatives during the transition period, including the cost of the transport of the said deliveries, as provided by the Treaty of Versailles.
- (2) To cover the working expenses of mines and cokeries under Allied management, including the cost of transport to the frontiers.

As a consequence of the above provisions and in order that the period during which German payments are made at the rate prescribed for the first annuity shall not exceed one year, the period corresponding to the first annuity in the Experts' Plan will be reduced by a period equal to that of the transition period, and the second annuity will begin immediately thereafter (*i.e.*, September 2, 1925).

Article 5. Upon the second announcement (October 7, 1924), the railway system of the Reich will be transferred to the new company contemplated by the Experts' Plan. As from that date the operation of all the lines now worked by the Deutsche Reichsbahn will pass to the said company. As from a fortnight after the second announcement (October 22, 1924), the lines now operated by the Regie will be worked on account of the company under the control of the Railway Organisation Committee.

As soon as the present agreement has been signed, the Organisation Committee will place itself in communication with the Regie in order to arrange the details of the transfer. The actual transfer from the Regie to the company will be made step by step under the control of the Organisation Committee with as little delay as is compatible with an orderly transfer. It shall be completed within a period of six weeks (by December 7, 1924), the Organisation Committee, however, having authority to grant extensions of time for the arrangement of details.

Article G. The detailed measures to be applied and the machinery to be set up in order to carry out the provisions of articles 1B, 2, 3 and 4 (a) will be studied by technical conferences between the representatives of the interested Allied authorities and the German departments concerned. These conferences will begin at Coblenz and Dusseldorf immediately after the London Conference.

The measures to be applied as well as transitional measures shall be put into force in the occupied territories in the customary form.

Article 7. In order to bring about mutual conciliation and in order to wipe out the past to the utmost possible extent, the Allied Governments and the German Government have agreed on the following stipulations, **it being understood that, as regards future incidents, the jurisdiction**

and legislation of Germany, notably in the matter of the security of the State, and the jurisdiction and the legislation of the occupying authorities, notably in the matter of their security, will respectively follow their normal course in conformity with the Treaty of Peace and the Rhineland Agreement.

- (1) No one shall, under any pretext, be prosecuted, disturbed or molested or subjected to any injury, whether material or moral, either by reason of acts committed exclusively or principally for political reasons or by reason of his political attitude in the occupied territories from January 11, 1923, up to the putting into force of the present agreement, or by reason of his obedience or disobedience to orders, ordinances, decrees or other injunctions issued by the occupying authorities or the German authorities respectively and relating to events which have taken place within the same period, or by reason of his relations with the said authorities.
- (2) The German Government and the Allied Governments concerned will remit all sentences and penalties, judicial or administrative, imposed for the above facts from January 11, 1923, up to the putting into force of the present agreement. It is understood that fines or other pecuniary penalties, whether judicial or administrative, already paid will not be reimbursed.
- (3) The provisions of paragraphs (1) and (2) do not apply to crimes Committed against the life of persons and resulting in death,
- (4) The offences to which the amnesty provided for in the stipulations of paragraphs (1) and (2) does not apply and which are at the present moment subject to the jurisdiction of the occupying authorities by reason of the creation of special organisations which are to be suppressed under the terms of the present agreement, will be transferred to the German tribunals.
- (5) The Governments concerned will each take, so far as they are concerned, the measures necessary to assure the fulfilment of this article. If need arise, this fulfilment will be amicably arranged by the Governments concerned, and if necessary by means of mixed commissions set up by common agreement.

Article 8. German-Allied commissions of arbitration, similar to those appointed in 1920, charged with the duty of deciding any disputes which the change of regime may give rise to between Allied merchants and the German authorities, shall be set up by the Governments concerned.

Article 9. The suppression of the Bad-Ems sub-committee on October 22, 1924, shall not prejudice the full execution of articles 264 to 267 of the Treaty of Versailles.

Article 10. All disputes which may arise between the Allied Governments or one of them on the one side and Germany on the other side with regard to the present agreement shall, if they cannot be settled by negotiation, be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Article 11. The present agreement, of which the French and English

texts are both authentic, shall come into force from the moment of signature.

IV.

GENERAL TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

(SIGNED AT LONDON, AUGUST 8, 1924.)

Article 1. The present Treaty constitutes the formal general treaty adumbrated in the preamble to the Trade Agreement between His Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic signed in London on the 16th March, 1921, and as between Great Britain, including Northern Ireland, and the Union replaces that agreement.

Commercial relations between the two countries will in future be regulated by the Commercial Treaty signed this day by the representatives of the two parties.

CHAPTER 1. -TREATIES.

Article 2 The following treaties are recognised by the two parties as having lost their force :—

- (i) Treaty : Marriage of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh ; St..Petersburg, January 22, 1874.
- (ii) Protocol: Afghan frontier ; London, September 10, 1885.
- (iii) Protocol: North-west frontier of Afghanistan ; St. Petersburg, July 10/22, 1887.
- (iv) Notes: Afghan boundary ; St. Petersburg, May 31/June 12 and June 8/20, 1888.
- (v) Protocol : Water-rights in Kushk Valley; August 22/September 3, 1893.
- (vi) Note: Surrender of Russian extra-territorial jurisdiction, Zanzibar; St. Petersburg, July 5, 1907.
- (vii) Notes: Scientific missions to Tibet; St. Petersburg, September 23, 1910/January 9, 1911.
- (viii) Agreement: Waiver of consular fees, certificates of origin ; Petrograd, July, 1G, 1915.
- (ix) Agreement : Military service, European war ; Petrograd, July 16, 1917.
- (x) Agreement: Spheres of influence in the region of the Pamirs; London, March 11, 1895.
- (xi) Agreement: Commercial relations between Russia and Zanzibar ; London, August 12/24, 1896.
- (xii) Notes: Railway interests in China; St. Petersburg, April 28, 1899.
- (xiii) Exchange of notes: Trade-marks in China; Peking, October 29/30, 1906.
- (xiv) Convention: Affairs of Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet; St. Petersburg, August 31, 1907.

- (xv) Agreement: Meshed-Seistan, Meshed-Tehran telegraph lines; St. Petersburg, August 31, 1907.
- (xvi) Exchange of notes: Protection of patents and trade-marks, Morocco; Tangier, October, 9/11, 1908.
- (xvii) Notes : Shatt-el-Arab Riverain Commission; St. Petersburg, April 23/29, 1914.

Article 3. The following treaties are regarded by the two parties as in force between them. It is agreed, however, that in the existing circumstances these treaties require modification. Negotiations for the purpose of effecting the necessary modifications in these treaties shall be undertaken on the coming into force of the present Treaty. Pending the completion of these negotiations the provisions of the treaties shall be applied as between the two parties so far as existing circumstances permit:—

- (i) Declaration: Estates of deceased seamen; London, August 9, 1880.
- (ii) Declaration : Tonnage measurement; London, June 9, 1882.
- (iii) Treaty : Surrender of fugitive criminals; London, November 24, 1886.
- (iv) Agreement: Money orders; London/St. Petersburg, October 17/29, 1904.

Article 4. The following multilateral treaties shall in future be applied as between the two parties, there being no obstacle to the observance of the stipulations of these treaties as between the two contracting parties. In the case of such of these treaties as are not in fact being applied at present as between the two parties, the application of their stipulations shall commence at latest on the coming into force of the present Treaty :—

- (i) Treaty, &c.: Redemption of Sound dues; Copenhagen, March 14, 1857.
- (ii) Convention: Telegraphs; St. Petersburg, 1875.
- (iii) Convention: Submarine cables ; Paris, March 14, 1884.
- (iv) Declaration: Submarine cables ; Paris, December 1, 1886.
- (v) Protocol: Submarine cables; Paris, July 7, 1887.
- (vi) Final Act: Marine conference ; Washington, December 31, 1889.
- (vii) Agreement: Unification of formulae for potent drugs ; Brussels, November 29, 1906.
- (viii) Regulations : Telegraphic ; Lisbon, June 11, 1908.
- (ix) Convention: Circulation of motor vehicles; Paris, October 11, 1909.
- (x) Convention: Rules respecting: (1) collisions, (2) salvage; Brussels, September 23, 1910.
- (xi) Convention: Protection of fur seals, North Pacific Ocean; Washington, July 7, 1911.

Additions to the above list of multilateral treaties may be made by mutual accord between the two contracting parties and shall be effected by exchange of notes.

CHAPTER II.—FISHERIES.

Article 5. The provisions contained in the annex to this article shall regulate as between the contracting parties the fishery in waters contiguous to the northern coasts of the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

This article shall not be deemed to prejudice the views held by either party as to the limits in international law of territorial waters.

ANNEX.

1. The provisions of the present annex, the object of which is to regulate the police of the fisheries in the waters adjacent to the northern coasts of the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics outside the limits hereinafter defined within which citizens of the Union shall enjoy the exclusive right of fishing, shall apply to nationals of the contracting parties.

[Here follow 32 provisions under this head.]

CHAPTER III.—CLAIMS AND LOAN.

Article 6. In pursuance of the Declaration annexed to the Trade Agreement of the 16th March, 1921, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics declares that by way of exception to the decree of the 28th January, 1918 (concerning the annulment of debts of the former Imperial and Provisional Governments) it will satisfy, in the conditions prescribed in the present Treaty, the claims of British holders of loans issued or taken over or guaranteed by the former Imperial Russian Government, or by the municipalities of towns in the territory now included in the Union, payable in foreign (non-Russian) currency.

The Government of his Britannic Majesty recognises that the financial and economic position of the Union renders impracticable the full satisfaction of the claims referred to in the preceding paragraph of this article.

The Government of the Union agrees to meet the claims referred to in the first paragraph of this article in respect of holdings by British subjects or companies other than holdings which were acquired by purchase since the 16th March, 1921, and were in other than British ownership on that date.

After negotiation between the parties concerned, the terms on which the claims referred to in the first paragraph of this article shall be satisfied will form the subject of an agreement with His Britannic Majesty's Government, which will be included in the Treaty referred to in Article 11, provided that His Britannic Majesty's Government is satisfied that such terms have been accepted by the holders of not less than one-half of the capital values of British holdings in the loans referred to in this article.

Article 7. All questions connected with the claims of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics against the Government of His Britannic Majesty, or with the claims of the Government of His Britannic Majesty against the Government of the Union, arising out of events which took place between the 4th August, 1914, and the 1st

February, 1924, are reserved for discussion at a later date. This provision includes claims in respect of—

- (a) War loans advanced by the Government of His Britannic Majesty to the former Russian Imperial or Provisional Governments ;
- (b) Gold belonging to the former Russian Imperial or Provisional Governments, and handed over to the Government of His Britannic Majesty by either of those Governments;
- (c) Russian gold handed over to Germany under the Supplementary Agreement to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk ;
- (d) Sums owed by the former Russian Imperial or Provisional Governments to British Government Departments, or *vice versa*;
- (e) The claims advanced by the Government of the Union on the ground of intervention between the 7th November, 1917, and the 16th March, 1921;

and also any adjustments made or to be made in the accounts relating to such claims on either side.

There shall similarly be reserved all questions connected with claims by the nationals of either party against the other party, in respect of loss or damage suffered in the territory of the party whose national the claimant is, and resulting from warlike operations or hostile measures during the above-mentioned period.

Article 8. Claims by nationals (including juridical persons) of the one party against the other party in respect of loss or injury due to events which took place between the 1st August, 1914, and the coming into force of the present Treaty, other than (1) claims covered by other articles of the present Treaty, and (2) claims arising out of normal trading relations between the Government of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic or Governments allied to or federated with it, or their agents, and British nationals, or between the Government of His Britannic Majesty and citizens of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, shall, in view of the admitted preponderance of the claims of British nationals, be finally settled as between the contracting parties by the payment of a lump sum by the Government of the Union to the Government of His Britannic Majesty.

The distribution of this sum shall be effected by the Government of His Britannic Majesty in such manner as they shall consider just. The Government of the Union undertakes to furnish the Government of His Britannic Majesty with any relevant papers or information in its possession which may facilitate the just distribution of such sum.

Article 9. Each of the contracting parties shall appoint three properly qualified persons to examine the claims of which the settlement is to be effected by the payment of the lump sum provided for in article 8. These six persons shall make a joint examination of the claims, and shall report to the two contracting parties the amount at which they consider the lump sum should be fixed. If they are unable to agree as to the amount of the lump sum, they shall present separate reports. They will arrange their own procedure, and shall, in particular, be entitled by agreement between themselves to refer the examination of any particular category of claims to two of their number.

Each of the contracting parties shall defray the **remuneration and**

expenses of the persons appointed by it, together with one-half of the expenses incurred jointly.

Article 10. Being desirous of re-establishing the economic co-operation between their two countries, the Government of His Britannic Majesty and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agree as follows:—

The Government of the Union will, by way of exception to the decrees nationalising industrial businesses and land, negotiate with British nationals (including juridical persons) in respect of industrial businesses or concessions which have been nationalised or cancelled by it, in order to arrange for the grant of just compensation for such claims.

Furthermore a Commission shall be appointed to examine the validity and ascertain the amount of the claims.

Each of the contracting parties agrees to assist the Commission so far as possible with regard to supplying or collecting papers or information required for the proper accomplishment of its task.

If the members of the Commission are unable to agree on a joint report in respect of any particular property, they may present separate reports.

In cases where the Government of the Union concludes an agreement with an individual claimant, the Commission shall be informed of such agreement in order that the claim in question may be withdrawn from the competence of the Commission.

The Commission shall consist of six persons possessing the necessary qualifications for their task, three being appointed by the Government of His Britannic Majesty and three by the Government of the Union.

The Commission shall settle its own procedure, which shall be approved by the two Governments. Each of the contracting parties shall defray the remuneration and pay the expenses of the persons appointed by it, together with one-half of the expenses incurred jointly.

Article 11. A second Treaty will be entered into which will contain:—

1. The conditions accepted in accordance with article 6.
2. The amount and method of payment of compensation for claims under article 8.
3. An agreed settlement of property claims other than those directly settled by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Article 12. Upon the signature of the Treaty referred to in article 11 His Britannic Majesty's Government will recommend Parliament to enable them to guarantee the interest and sinking fund of a loan to be issued by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The amount, terms and conditions of the said loan and the purposes to which it shall be applied shall be defined in the Treaty provided for in article 11, which will not come into force until the necessary parliamentary authority for the guarantee of the said loan has been given.

Article 13. The provisions of this chapter constitute a single and indivisible unit.

CHAPTER IV. - MISCELLANEOUS.

Article 14. On the coming into force of the Treaty referred to in article 11, article 10 of the Trade Agreement of the 16th March, 1921, will be abrogated, until which time it will be maintained in force, article 1 of the present Treaty notwithstanding.

Article 15. Documents and papers of every kind, which on the 1st November, 1917, belonged to individual subjects or citizens of either party, and are now withheld from the owners and are in the possession or under the control of the Government or a public institution of the other party, shall be returned to the owners, or to such representative as they may appoint, within two months from the date of a request to that effect.

Article 10. The contracting parties solemnly affirm their desire and intention to live in peace and amity with each other, scrupulously to respect the undoubted right of a State to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way, to refrain and to restrain all persons and organisations under their direct or indirect control, including organisations in receipt of any financial assistance from them, from any act overt or covert liable in any way whatsoever to endanger the tranquillity or prosperity of any part of the territory of the British Empire or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or intended to embitter the relations of the British Empire or the Union with their neighbours or any other countries.

Article 17. The present Treaty is drawn up and signed in the English language. A translation shall be made into the Russian language as soon as possible and agreed between the parties. Both texts shall then be considered authentic for all purposes.

Article 18. The present Treaty shall be ratified and the ratifications shall be exchanged in London as soon as possible.

OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1924.

JANUARY.

2. **The Rev. Sabine Baring-Gould**, who died in his 90th year, was a voluminous writer on many and varied subjects. After graduating in 1856, from Clare College, Cambridge, he took Holy Orders in 1864. He held his first curacy at Horbury, Yorks, where he composed the celebrated hymn, "Onward, Christian Soldiers." In 1867 he was appointed curate of Dalton, near Thirsk, and four years later became rector of East Mersea, Essex, a position he held for ten years. He then presented himself to the family living of Lew Trenchard in Devonshire where he remained until his death. His writings included fiction, works on ecclesiology, mythology, topography, hymns, and works of travel. Among his best-known books are: "Iceland: its Songs and Sagas;" "Curious Myths of the Middle Ages;" "The Origin and Development of Religious Belief." His most popular novels were "Mehalah," "John Herring," and "Broom Squire." He married in 1868, Grace, daughter of Mr. Joseph Taylor, of Horbury, Yorks, who had been a mill girl. His wife predeceased him in 1916.

— **Dr. Roger Alan Birdwood**, late Medical Superintendent of Infectious Hospitals, London, was born in Bombay on October 14, 1851. He was one of the younger of the fourteen children of General Christopher Birdwood, Deputy Commissary-General of the Bombay Army and sometime Commander of the Poona Brigade. Birdwood was educated at the Dollar Academy, the Blackheath School for the Sons of Missionaries, and at King's College, London. Failing to enter the Indian Civil Service, he proceeded to Peterhouse, Cambridge, to study medicine. He took his M.D. from Guy's Hospital, worked for a short period under the Metropolitan Asylums Board and then served in the Zulu campaign. On returning to England he was appointed house surgeon at the Gravesend Infirmary, a post he relinquished in 1884 for that of medical superintendent of the hospital ships of the Metropolitan Asylums Board. In 1892 he planned the North-Eastern Fever Hospital at Tottenham where he remained for five years and then transferred to the Park Fever Hospital at Hither Green, which institution he supervised for eighteen years, retiring in 1915.

— **The Hon. Louis Philippe Brodeur**, a distinguished French-Canadian statesman, was born August 21, 1862. From the College of St. Hyacinthe he went to Laval University where he took the degree of LL.D. before being called to the Bar. In 1891 he entered the Canadian Parliament as member for Rouville, became Deputy Speaker in 1896 and Speaker in 1900. After holding this office until 1904, he joined the **Laurier** Government as Minister of Inland Revenue, a portfolio he ex-

changed for that of Marine and Fisheries. He was a member of the Imperial Conferences of 1907 and 1911, assisted Mr. Fielding in negotiating the trade arrangement with France in 1909, and associated with Sir Fredrick Borden at the Imperial Defence Conference in London in 1909. The first Naval Bill introduced in the Canadian Parliament was Brodeur's work and he was placed in charge of the Department of Naval Service when it was organised. He represented Canada at Washington on the North Atlantic Fisheries. A month before his death he was appointed Lieut.-Governor of Quebec. In 1887 he married Emma Brillon, daughter of J. K. Brillon, and had four sons and a daughter.

2. Colonel James Lethbridge Brooke Templer, who was 78 years old, was the son of John Templer, a master of the old Court of Exchequer. From Harrow he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, and then entered the Army. As a captain in the King's Royal Rifle Corps he became keenly interested in military aeronautics. Ballooning had now become a recognised military science and Templer took three balloons to the Sudan in 1885. He was present at the battle of Hasheen, was mentioned in despatches and received a clasp to the medal. In the South African War he was Director of Steam Road Transport. Under his administration of the balloon section the practice of filling balloons with hydrogen compressed in steel cylinders was introduced. In 1906 Colonel Templer retired from the post of Superintendent of the Balloon Factory. Colonel Templer married Florence Henrietta, third daughter of the late J. S. Gilliat, M.P., and a former Governor of the Bank of England.

3. Charles Paul Renouard, the well-known French engraver and designer, was born in 1844. He studied art under M. Pils, who decorated the ceiling of the Opera. Later he wrote for the *Journal d'Art* and in 1881 he was engaged as war artist in the Tunisian campaign for *L'Illustration*. His sketches of the Dreyfus trial appeared in the *Revue Illustrée*. Most of his engravings have been acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale, including his "Album de la Guerre."

— M. Ernest Babelon, member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, was born in 1854. After studying at the École des Chartes he entered the Medal Department of the Bibliothèque Nationale of which he became Conservator in 1892. His writings included "Descriptions Historiques et Chronologiques des Monnaies de la République Romaine;" "Le Cabinet des Antiquités à la Bibliothèque Nationale;" "La Gravure en Pierres Fines;" "Cameos et Intailles;" "Carthage" and "Les Origines de la Monnaie."

4. Sir John Tweedy, F.R.C.S., son of John Tweedy of Stockton-on-Tees, was born in 1849. He received his early education at Elmfield College, York, and his medical training at University College, London, qualifying as M.R.C.S. in 1872, and admitted a fellow four years later. Specialising in Ophthalmic Surgery he held various appointments as assistant surgeon and surgeon at the Royal London Ophthalmic, University College, and Great Northern Hospitals. In 1881, he was Professor of Ophthalmic Medicine and Surgery in University College and from 1888 to 1904 he was on the full staff of the Hospital associated with the College. Elected to the Council of the College of Surgeons in 1892, he became its president in 1903 at the early age of 54 and served for three years. He was also president of the Ophthalmological Society from 1903 to 1905, of the Royal Medical Benevolent Fund, 1907-17, of the Medico-Legal Society, 1909-12, and of the Medical Defence Union. He was likewise a trustee of the Hunterian Collection of the Royal College of Surgeons, and Master of the Barbers' Co., a member of the Council of King Edward's Hospital Fund for London. He was knighted in 1906 and received the Hon. LL.D. of Edinburgh in the same year. He married Mary, daughter of Richard Hilhouse* and had two sons and one daughter.

4. **Alfred Grunfeld**, the well-known pianist, was born in Prague in 1852 and studied at the local Conservatorium and then at Berlin. He wrote numerous compositions and an operetta, *The celebrated cellist Heinrich Grunfeld* was his younger brother.

5. **Dr. H. J. Hamburger**, who was professor of physiology in the University of Groningen, Holland, since 1901 was born in 1859. After graduating at Utrecht he was for some years assistant to Professor Denders at his *alma mater*. From 1888 to 1901 he occupied a chair at the Utrecht Royal Veterinary College. In 1913 he presided over the ninth International Physiological Congress held at Groningen; in 1922 he lectured at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore and New York. Dr. Hamburger was an hon. LL.D. of St. Andrews and Aberdeen, both conferred on him when attending the 1912 meeting of the British Association at Dundee.

— **John Leyland**, the naval expert and historian, who was 66 years of age, was the son of Mr. Francis A. Leyland, author of "The Bronte Family." Writing came naturally to him, and after some early work on topography he settled as literary reviewer of the *Army and Navy Gazette*, which he subsequently edited from 1904 to 1909. From 1910 to 1912 he edited the *Navy*, the journal of the Navy League. Devoting himself almost entirely to naval matters he was one of the earliest members of the Navy Records Society and an original member of the Society for Nautical Research. During the war he was attached to the Naval War Staff for propaganda duties. Since 1896 he contributed articles and prepared statistics for the "Naval Annual" and edited the volumes for 1901, 1915, and 1916. For several years he was also responsible for the revision of the navy sections in the "Statesman's Year-Book." In 1910 he wrote a series of articles on the naval dockyards establishments for the *New York Herald*. His literary output was considerable and included chapters on "The Literature of the Sea" and "Seafaring and Travel" for the Cambridge History of English Literature, two novels, a section on the naval officer for "The British Tar in Fact and Fiction." He edited two volumes of the "Dispatches and Letters relating to the Blockades of Brest, 1803-15," a volume on "The Royal Navy," and a booklet on "The Achievement of the British Navy in the World War." Mr. Leyland married Fanny Julia, daughter of Mr. T. Duncan, and left two sons.

8. **Arthur Clutton-Brock**, critic and essayist, whose age was 55, was educated at Eton and New College, Oxford. From early youth he displayed a keen taste for art and letters, although he qualified for the Bar and practised intermittently for about ten years after leaving the university. He then abandoned the law and became one of the first regular contributors of *The Times Literary Supplement*, literary editor of the *Speaker* and art critic of the *Tribune* and *Morning Post*. In 1908 he joined the staff of *The Times*. Strongly influenced by Shelley and Morris he wrote critical works on both these poets. The war was the occasion of two small volumes, "Thoughts on the War." His more recent works were "Essays on Art" (1919), "Essays on Books" (1920), and *Shakespeare's "Hamlet"* (1922). His wife and three sons survived him.

9. **Dr. Basil Lannenn Gilder sleeve** was born in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1831. After graduating at Princeton he studied in various Universities in Germany and took his Ph.D. at Göttingen in 1853. In 1856 he became Professor of Greek in the University of Virginia, a post he held until 1876 when he migrated to Johns Hopkins University. Here he edited a number of Greek texts, including "Justin Martyr" (1877), "Pindar" (1885), and followed up with a "Syntax of Classic Greek." In 1880 his university began the publication of the *American Journal of Philology* and he became its first editor. Under his guidance the *Journal* became a valuable means of building up a school of research which will always remain his greatest monument.

9. The Very Rev. Henry Wace, D.D., Dean of Canterbury, was 87 years old. Educated at Marlborough and Rugby he came to King's College, London, whence he went, first to Trinity and then to Brasenose, Oxford, graduating in 1860 in Lit. Hum. and Mathematics. Taking Holy Orders he held curacies at St. Luke's, Berwick Street, and St. James's, Piccadilly, until 1870 when he became "Lecturer" of Grosvenor Chapel. In 1872 he was appointed Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn and in 1880 Preacher. He took his degree of D.D. in 1883 and was elected an Hon. Fellow of Brasenose in 1911. In addition to his work as a preacher, Dean Wace was Boyle Lecturer in 1874 and 1875, and Bampton Lecturer in 1879. In 1875 he became Professor of Ecclesiastical History at King's College. While thus occupied he edited jointly with the late Sir William Smith the "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities" (1877-87). He also wrote the section on the Apocrypha for the "Speaker's Commentary." Early in his career he had become a leader writer on *The Times*, continuing to write until his appointment as Principal of King's College in 1884, after having been nominated to a prebendal stall at St. Paul's in 1881, and to an examining chaplaincy by Archbishop Benson. From then onwards he took part in every side of church life from the standpoint of a Protestant, strongly opposing the extreme Anglican movement, as well as the Higher Criticism. He resigned his Principalship on the absorption of King's into the University of London and the abolition of tests for most of the staff. He was appointed to succeed Dean Farrar in 1903 as Dean of Canterbury. This gave him further opportunity to exercise his powers of debate to controvert some of the tendencies in the Church to which he objected. Dr. Wace was a voluminous writer on theological subjects, a keen controversialist and a forceful preacher. He was twice married and by his first wife leaves a family.

— **D^r. Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare,** third son of John Charles Conybeare, was born in 1857 and educated at Tonbridge and University College, Oxford, where he studied classics. Subsequently he devoted himself to the study of Christian origins, becoming particularly proficient in the knowledge of ancient Armenian texts. He catalogued the Armenian MSS. in the British Museum and in the Bodleian Library; edited old Armenian Liturgies in "Patrologia Orientalis;" edited and translated "The Key of Truth," a manual of the Paulician Church of Armenia; "The Story of Ahikar" from the Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic and Slavonic versions (in collaboration with Dr. Rendel Harris and Mrs. Lewis); the Dialogues of Athanasius and Zacchaeus and of Timothy and Aquila, and translated the "Apology and Acts of Apollonius." His "Myth, Magic, and Morale" was a study of Christian Origins. During the Dreyfus case he for a time diverted his attention from scholarship to an analysis of the famous *Affaire*. He also translated "Ethiopica" of Heliiodorus. In 1903 Dr. Conybeare was elected Fellow of the British Academy. He was also an officer of the French Academy, a member of Armenian Academy of Venice, an hon. Doctor of Theology of Giessen and an hon. LL.D. of St. Andrews. Dr. Conybeare was twice married, his first wife being Mary Emily Max Mtiller and his second, Jane MacDowell.

14. Sir Richard David Muir, who was born in 1857, was educated at King's College, London, and was on the staff of *The Times* in the Press Gallery of the House of Commons. On being called to the Bar he joined the South-Eastern Circuit and was recognised as a criminal lawyer of exceptional ability. In due course he became one of the Treasury Counsel at the Central Criminal Court. He was appointed Recorder of Colchester in 1911 and knighted in 1918. He was a Bencher of the Middle Temple and held office as Treasurer of his Inn.

— **Charles Welch, F.S.A.,** Librarian at the Guildhall, was born in 1848 and educated at the City of London School, whence he entered the

Guildhall Library. He was largely responsible for the expansion of the Library, wrote many articles on London worthies for the "Dictionary of National Biography,"* and edited a series of records relating to the City. His "Modern History of London" is a very valuable work. A widow and four sons survived him.

15. Sir Archibald Douglas Reid, K.B.E., C.M.G., aged 52, was educated at Bradfield and King's College Hospital. After qualifying in 1901 he specialised in X-ray work. As president of the War Office X-Ray Committee during the war, he rendered useful service and was decorated (1917) and knighted (1919). At his death he was superintendent of the Radiological Department of St. Thomas's Hospital and had been radiologist to several other hospitals. In 1920-21 he was president of the Society of Radiologists and joint secretary of the Radiology section of the International Congress of Medicine. Sir Archibald was a frequent contributor on his special subject to its professional literature.

— Edward Emrys-Roberts, M.D., Professor of Pathology and Bacteriology in the University of Wales, was 45 years old. Educated at University College, Liverpool, he went to South Africa during the Boer War with the Welsh Hospital, and on his return he graduated and was appointed demonstrator of pathology at Bristol University in 1908. Two years later he was elected to the Chair in this subject at Cardiff. He was in France from 1915 to 1918 with the First Army as Commander of the Welsh Mobile Bacteriological Laboratory. He left a wife and five children.

20. Aneurin Williams, aged 64, formerly a Liberal M.P. well-known for his interest in co-partnership and profit-sharing, was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1880. Four years later he was called to the Bar, and eventually he became one of the acting partners of the Linthorpe Ironworks at Middlesbrough. In 1910 he entered Parliament and in 1921-22 was chairman of the Public Accounts Committee of the House of Commons. Mr. Williams was the first editor of *Co-partnership*, contributed articles on co-operative societies to the "Encyclopaedia Britannica," also held many offices in various voluntary organisations for social betterment.

— The Hon. Sir Joseph Turner Hutchinson, who was in his 74th year, was educated at St. Bees' School, Carlisle, and Christ's College, Cambridge, where he obtained a First Class in Classics (1873). On being called to the Bar by the Middle Temple (1879) he practised as an equity draughtsman until he went out to the Gold Coast as Queen's Advocate in 1888. From then onwards he held various legal appointments in the Crown colonies, the final one being that of Chief Justice of Ceylon from 1906 to 1911. He had been previously knighted in 1895. On retiring in 1911 he settled in Cumberland, serving as High Sheriff in 1918.

21. Vladimir Uyich Ulianov, known to the world as Nikolai Lenin, Dictator of Soviet Russia, was born in 1870 at Simbirsk. He belonged to the middle-class urban intellectuals and received the education of his class. From the high school of his native town he went to the University of Kazan where he studied law. Expelled for "unsound political views" he prepared himself privately for his degree which he obtained at St. Petersburg. Like most Russian *intelligentsia* he realised the need of reforms in Russia and at once veered to the Left, becoming a keen student of Marxian Socialism. In propagating its doctrines Lenin found his real vocation, so that he naturally became one of the leading spirits of the Russian Social Democratic Party formed in 1898, a secret body working by methods only known to Russian revolutionaries. Lenin was caught by the police and sent to Siberia, but was fortunate enough to escape in 1900, when he took up his residence in Switzerland. Here he at once

became one of the leaders of the revolutionary exiles, and in 1901 joined the editorial staff of their review, *Iskm* (the Spark). His activities within the party divided it into two, for at its second congress, held in London in 1903, his views in favour of centralised organisation and direct revolutionary action obtained a majority (*bolshinstvo*) against the minority (*meshinstvo*) idea of educational and evolutionary methods. His adherents came to be known as Bolsheviki and his opponents as Menshiviki. In the fierce pamphlet war that followed between the two sections, Lenin further elucidated his principle of a dictatorship. Both worked among the peasantry and workmen on their own lines until their agitation, aided by the discontent caused by the Russo-Japanese War, brought about the abortive revolution of 1905 which culminated in the Constitution of that year and the assembling of the first Duma. In this first revolution, Lenin was not a prominent figure, though he worked behind the scenes in his own characteristic fashion. From 1905 to 1907 he lived in Russia under an assumed name, but left when reaction triumphed under Stolypin and resumed his residence in Switzerland. In 1912 he moved to Cracow in order to be in closer touch with his supporters in Russia. On the outbreak of the war he was arrested as a Russian subject, but released. He returned to Switzerland where he worked as a "defeatist" revolutionary. He naturally took part in the Conferences at Zimmerwald and Kienthal where was drafted the programme which was afterwards put into practice in Russia. The collapse of the Tsarist Government in March 1917 gave Lenin his opportunity. With the aid of the German General Staff he returned to Russia and at once began the work of disintegrating the Russian Army. His programme included an immediate peace with Germany, the foundation of a Soviet Republic and the transfer of all power to the workers. During the regime of the Provisional Government he carried on a vigorous propaganda in favour of his ideas, attempted a *coup d'etat* in July and opposed every effort such as Kornilov's to re-establish law and order. Finally on November 7, 1917, he succeeded in overturning Kerensky and was acclaimed Dictator. Taking up his residence in the Kremlin, whither the Government was transferred, he began the work of demolishing all that remained of the Tsarist state and to prepare his plans for a world-revolution on Bolshevik lines. With the aid of Trotsky the Red Army was organised, the counter-revolutionary movements defeated and all opposition, internal as well as external, ruthlessly crushed. Lenin retained the full confidence of the Communist party throughout the rest of his life, so that his control of Russia was more absolute than that of any Tsar, even though it brought economic ruin, famine, and cannibalism in its train. Whilst Russia was crumbling to pieces under the wounds inflicted upon it by its rulers, their chief and leader was taken ill towards the end of 1921. Despite the efforts of the best German specialists brought from Berlin, Lenin made no progress to recovery. His functions were taken over by a directorate and he himself retired to a country house near Moscow. In 1918 an attempt on his life was made by a Socialist Revolutionary.

21. **Professor Marcus Manuel Hartog, M.A., D.Sc, F.L.S.**, came of a Jewish family distinguished in the academic world. He was educated at University College, London, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he obtained a First in the Natural Science Tripos. In 1874 he went to Ceylon as assistant to the Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens. He returned three years later to become demonstrator and lecturer at Owens College, Manchester. In 1882 he was appointed Professor of Natural History in Queen's College, Cork, where he remained for more than forty years. On his retirement he was made Emeritus Professor.

26. **Admiral Henry Forster Cleveland**, who was in his 90th year, joined the Navy at the age of 14. In 1854 he served in the *Vestal* against

the slave schooners off the coast of Brazil and in the West Indies. On being promoted lieutenant in 1857 he spent seven years in the Mediterranean. Specialising in gunnery he was appointed to the *Hibemia*. Later he served as commander of the *Liffey* frigate, and then in 1872, of the *Excellent* gunnery ship. He was promoted Captain in 1875 and after a period of study at the Royal Naval College, served in that capacity in the China Station in the Mediterranean towards the end of the Egyptian War and at Devonport. In 1887 he was awarded a captain's Good Service medal. Captain Cleveland was raised to flag rank in 1896 and was vice-president of the Ordnance Committee at Woolwich from 1891 to 1894; when he retired. He was subsequently promoted to vice-admiral in 1897 and to admiral in 1902. Even after retirement he continued to perform useful public work. He was a member of the Thames Conservancy Board, nautical assessor to the House of Lords, member of the Council of the Royal United Service Institution, mayor of Richmond, Yorks (1903), and a J.P. for the North Riding. In 1889 he won the Gold Medal of the Royal United Service Institution for an essay on "The Maritime Defence of the United Kingdom."

28. **Dr. Theophilo Braga**, first President of the Portuguese Republic, was born in the Azores in 1843. He was educated at the University of Coimbra and devoted himself to history, literature and philosophy. He became a most prolific writer on these subjects and published more than 100 works. His masterpiece was a history of Portuguese literature in twenty volumes. Most of his life was spent as a Professor at the Higher School, Lisbon, and he had only turned to politics a few months before the Revolution. After that event he was elected President. Under the new constitution of 1911 he gave way to Dr. de ARIAGA but again returned as interim President for a short period in 1915, and then retired into private life.

FEBRUARY.

2. **Arthur Meyer**, whose age was 80, was the proprietor and editor-in-chief of the *Gaulois*. Of humble Jewish parentage, Meyer subsequently abjured the faith of his fathers and became a Roman Catholic. His journalistic career began under the Second Empire and advocated the Bonapartist cause until the death of the Prince Imperial (1879), when he transferred his allegiance to the Comte de Chambord, the head of the Bourbons. Arthur Meyer was a popular and well-known figure in Parisian literary circles.

— **Alderman Sir John Charles Bell**, a former Lord Mayor of London, was 79 years of age. He was educated at the Brompton Grammar School and then became an accountant. Later on he joined a firm of brewers, which ultimately became the Wenlock Brewery Co. In 1882 he entered the Common Council as member for Coleman Street Ward and in 1894 he became alderman of the same ward. He was sheriff in 1901-2 and Lord Mayor in 1907-8. During his year of office he had to receive the ex-German Emperor and Empress in their visit to the City and later M. Failures, President of France.

3. **Woodrow Wilson**, ex-President of the United States of America, was born on December 28, 1856. Of Scotto-Irish extraction he was the son of a Presbyterian minister and was educated at the denominational university of Princeton, New Jersey. After graduating in 1879 he read law in his native State of Virginia and two years later took up practice in Atlanta, Georgia. This, however, proved uncongenial to him and he turned to the academic world for a career. He obtained a history fellowship at Johns Hopkins University and then became professor of history and economics at Bryn Mawr College for women. From there

he returned, after a short term at the Wesleyan University, to his *alma mater*, occupying the chair of jurisprudence and politics until 1910. In 1902 he had been chosen President of Princeton. At the instance of Mr. George Harvey, at that time editor of the *North Atlantic Review* and subsequently Ambassador in London, Wilson entered political life. He became a candidate for the Governorship of New Jersey and was elected (1910). His successful fight against the monopolist companies in the State led to his nomination as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1912. His first term was marked by a series of important "domestic reforms which, however, were soon overshadowed by the Great War. His early attitude to that upheaval was one of detachment, in which he declared that America was "too proud to fight," an attitude which was sufficient to secure his re-election for a second term in 1916. Despite his determination to keep out of war, events proved too strong for him. The unrestricted submarine campaign inaugurated by Germany forced him to abandon his neutrality and join the Allies.* He now became the spokesman of the Allies, laying down the principles of the coming peace. The "Fourteen Points" were hailed as the enunciation of the war-aims of all those who looked for the emergence of a better world from the welter of slaughter. Unfortunately for him the Congress elected in 1918 did not support his policy. After the Armistice he came to Europe as the head of his country's delegation to the Peace Conference. Here he became the champion of the League of Nations and it was chiefly due to his advocacy that it was accepted by his colleagues at Versailles. Meanwhile his policy at the Conference and his methods of carrying it out aroused strenuous opposition at home. When he returned he launched a great campaign to persuade his countrymen to support the Treaty of Peace and the Covenant of the League. In the midst of his tour his health failed him and he broke down utterly. For the remainder of his official life Wilson was a broken man, unable fully to perform the duties of his high office. On leaving the White House his health for a time improved but he never again was able to take any active part in the life of his country. Mr. Wilson was twice married. By his first wife, who died in August, 1914 he had three daughters who survive him. During his professorial career Wilson wrote a "History of the United States" and a politico-philosophical work entitled "The State."

7. **Felix von Luschan** was born in 1854. He studied medicine and on qualifying became military doctor to the Austrian army of occupation in Bosnia. In 1880 he was on the staff of the general hospital at Vienna. He was, however, more interested in anthropology and two years later joined the staff of the University as lecturer in ethnology. He did not remain there longer than three years, transferring to the Berlin Museum of Ethnology. Some years later he was sent to Asia to make excavations and published some valuable accounts of his researches. In 1904 he was appointed director of the German colonial section of the Ethnological Museum. Here his activities contributed to the accumulation of a remarkable collection of African objects and a series of papers to the Berlin Anthropological Society.

— **The Rev. Charles James Ball**, rector of Blackington, Oxon, was 73 years old. He went up to Queen's College, Oxford, as a Hastings Exhibitioner from Wakefield Grammar School. On graduating with a first in Lit. Hum. he became classical master at Merchant Taylors' School until 1878 when he became Censor and Chaplain of King's College, London. He, however, continued to teach Hebrew at the school and was the means of imparting the rudiments of that language to many a pupil who has since attained eminence in it. In 1880 Dr. Ball became Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn and in 1899 Queen's College presented him to the rectory that he occupied until his death. Being near Oxford he was in 1903 invited to lecture on Assyriology, so that when a University Lectureship

was established three years later he was the first to hold the post. Dr. Ball was a recognised authority on Biblical Hebrew and Assyriology and had considerable knowledge of Chinese. His literary output was considerable, including many works on recondite subjects. Among his chief works may be mentioned: "Merchant Taylors' Hebrew Grammar" (1878), "The Inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar," contributed to the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology (1887-89), "The Metrical Structure of Qinoth" (Lamentations, 1887) "Iranian Names among the Hetta-Hatte" (1888), etc. But his most striking work was a volume on "Sumerian and Chinese" (1913) in which he sought to deduce the Chinese language and script from Sumerian. Dr. Ball likewise wrote voluminously on subjects dealing with the Old Testament. His last published work was "The Book of Job, a Revised Text and Version" (1922). In addition to his vast and varied scholarship Dr. Ball was a great teacher. His lessons were clear, stimulating, beautiful in thought and expression. Mrs. Ball survived him but five days.

9. **Dr. Hastings Rashdall**, Dean of Carlisle, was born in 1858. From Harrow he went with a classical scholarship to New College, Oxford, taking his degree in classics with Seconds in Moderations and in Lit. Hum. after having previously won the Stanhope Prize. In 1883 he gained the Chancellor's Essay Prize with an essay on "The Universities of the Middle Ages," which was subsequently expanded into three substantial volumes that are to-day the standard work in English on the subject. On leaving Oxford he lectured for a year at St. David's College, Lampeter, and from 1884 to 1888 he was a tutor in the University of Durham, having previously taken Holy Orders. He returned to Oxford as Fellow and Tutor of Hertford College and remained in the University as one of its principal teachers of philosophy until his appointment as Dean of Carlisle in 1917. His work as tutor was mainly devoted to philosophy and theology. He published several treatises on these themes, among them being "The Theory of Good and Evil" (1907), "Personal Idealism," "Is Conscience an Emotion?" "Philosophy and Religion" (1909), and his Bampton Lectures on "The Idea of Atonement." His theological position was that of liberal orthodoxy and he was closely associated with the Modernist movement in the Church. His paper at the meeting of Modern Churchmen in 1921 aroused keen controversy. Dr. Hastings Rashdall was Preacher at Lincoln's Inn from 1898 to 1903, was a Fellow of the British Academy, a D.Litt. of Oxford and held honorary degrees of the Universities of Glasgow, St. Andrews and Durham.

— **Dr. Richard Martin Collins**, Roman Catholic Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle, was born in 1857. Educated at Malmesbury and St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, he was ordained in 1885. He worked in several parishes in the north until he was appointed to the cathedral parish as Bishop's administrator. In 1905 he was consecrated Auxiliary Bishop, succeeding to the diocese of Hexham and Newcastle four years later. Bishop Collins was president of the Durham Catholic Federation, an organisation supervising the Catholic schools of the County, and was associated with several other organisations of his church.

12. **Dr. Jacques Loeb**, head of the physiological section in the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, was 64 years old. Born and educated at Berlin, he also pursued his studies at Munich, Strasburg and Naples, going to the United States in 1891 as Professor of Biology at Bryn Mawr College, and moving to Chicago in the following year. From 1903 to 1910 he held the Chair of Physiology in the University of California. Dr. Loeb was the author of numerous important works on his subject, mainly as the result of his own experimental investigations.

13. **Sir Prank McCarthy**, who was 62, was President of the Burmese Legislative Council. He was educated at Queen's University and called to the Bar by Gray's Inn but he abandoned law for journalism. Settling in Rangoon he became editor of the *Rangoon Gazette*. He represented the European community in the reformed Legislature.

14. Lieut.-Colonel James Lindsay Travers, late Royal Air Force, was 40 years of age when he was killed at Croydon. Colonel Travers was one of the pioneers of aerial navigation. After passing his tests at Hendon he joined the Naval wing of the old Royal Flying Corps in February 1913. After some time in the R.N.A.S. he was appointed commanding officer at Calshot on the outbreak of the War. He then commanded at Hendon and was detailed for special duty to the Air Department, Admiralty in 1917. On the formation of the Royal Air Force he was promoted a Lieut.-Colonel, resigning his commission in 1919. He subsequently returned to the Air Ministry until 1922 when he became technical advisor to the Chilean Navy, in which he was a captain. He returned home in January of this year owing to his father's illness. Colonel Travers had a thorough knowledge of aeronautics and was responsible for many valuable improvements, based on theory and practice, in this comparatively new branch of locomotion.

— Brigadier-General Sir William Hacket Pain, K.B.E., C.B., whose age was 69, was one of the professional soldiers who associated themselves with the Ulster Volunteers and to him was attributed the famous gun-running incident in April 1914. On the outbreak of the Great War the Ulster Volunteers joined up in large numbers. Hacket Pain raised the 108th Infantry Brigade and commanded it in France until 1916, when he was appointed commander of the Northern District, Ireland, till November 1919. He was then appointed Divisional Commissioner of the Royal Irish Constabulary until 1921. He was created K.B.E. for his services. In 1922 he was elected M.P. for South Londonderry as a Unionist.

15. Lionel Monckton, musical composer and critic, was 62 years of age. He was educated at the Charterhouse and Oxford, and was well known for his many popular musical comedies and songs. He served for a time as musical critic of the *Daily Telegraph*.

18. Sir Reginald Brodie Dyke Acland, K.C., Judge Advocate of the Fleet, was 67 years of age. From Winchester College he passed to University College, Oxford, and on being called to the Bar by the Middle Temple he joined the Oxford Circuit. From 1897 to 1907 he was junior counsel to the Admiralty and on "taking silk" he was appointed Judge Advocate of the Fleet. He represented Great Britain in the North Sea Inquiry in 1905. In 1901 he was appointed Recorder of Shrewsbury, which he quitted for a similar post at Oxford in 1903. He received his knighthood in 1914, and was elected a Bencher of his Inn in 1915. Sir Reginald belonged to the ancient and well-known family of Acland of Devonshire. His wife, two sons and two daughters survived him.

— Heinrich Kundert, President of the Swiss National Bank, was 69 years old. In 1879 he was appointed administrator of Loan and Savings Bank at Bischofzell, a post he held until 1890. The following year he became a director of the Cantonal Bank of Thurgau in Weinfelden and in 1899 transferred to the similar institution at Basle. Three years later he went to Zurich as Director of the commercial branch of the Zurich Cantonal Bank, a bank of issue, at that time the most important financial institution. When in 1907 the Swiss National Bank centralised the issue of notes Kundert was appointed its president. While thus occupied he laid down new principles for discounting bills for the National Bank which placed Swiss currency on a sound basis. In 1915 he retired from the post of president but remained a member of the Council and Executive Committee of the Bank until 1919.

19. **Sir Malcolm Alexander Morris**, whose age was 74, was educated at St. Mary's Hospital, London, Berlin and Vienna, where he specialised in diseases of the skin. On his return home he was appointed clinical assistant at the Blackfriars Hospital for Diseases of the Skin. In 1879 he began to lecture on dermatology at St. Mary's Hospital and three years later, becoming a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, he was appointed chief surgeon in charge of the skin department, a post he held for about twenty years. Sir Malcolm was one of the earliest English surgeons to adopt Koch's views on tuberculosis and represented, this country at a Congress in Berlin in 1899 on this subject. In 1901 he delivered the Lane lectures at San Francisco. He was a member of numerous medical societies, both native and foreign, vice-president of the National Council for Combating Venereal Diseases and a member of the Royal Commission of 1913-15. Sir Malcolm, who was knighted in 1908, was a voluminous writer on many branches of medical science.

20. **Sir Henry Lucy**, the famous parliamentary journalist, was born in 1845. At the age of 12 he started life in a business office which, however, he soon abandoned, and by 1872 he had attained sufficient success as a journalist to obtain a permanent post on the *Daily News*. Most of his work was done in the House of Commons, but for about a year and a half (1886-87) he was editor of this paper. This, however, proved, uncongenial and he returned to Parliamentary journalism. He was an expert sketch writer and supplied several papers with signed sketches. In 1909 he was knighted. His best work was done for *Punch* where his wonderful "Diary of Toby, M.P." appeared week by week, summarising with remarkable skill and unfailing humour the alternating changes of fortune of parties, loaders and private members. Sir Henry was also a voluminous writer of diaries, chiefly devoted to political matters. The best known of those, are "Sixty Years in the Wilderness," "Nearing Jordan" (3 vols.), "Diary of a Journalist," and "Lords and Commons." Lucy's chief recreation was travel. He visited many countries, making a tour round the world in 1883-84.

21. **William Hatchett Jackson**, D.Sc., who was in his 70th year, was at the time of his decease Radcliffe's Librarian at Oxford and Sub-Warden and Tutor of Keble College. Entering New College he read natural science and obtained a First Class in the Final Honours School, 1873. He then became assistant to Professor Rolleston and later Professor of Comparative Anatomy and Physiology. Though he devoted himself mainly to teaching, he published some useful work on various branches of his subject. On being appointed to the Radcliffe Library he interested himself in the designs of the building erected in the grounds of the University Museum.

— **Brigadier-General Nicholson**, aged 60, passed from Harrow into the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, in 1882. He joined the 7th Hussars two years later and spent the next ten years with his regiment in India. In 1894 the regiment was ordered to Natal and took part in suppressing a rising of the natives in Matabeleland. During the operations he raised and commanded the Corps of British South African Police, was mentioned in despatches and received the D.S.O. In 1893 he was appointed Commandant-General of the British South African Police and later, in 1903, succeeded General Baden-Powell as Inspector-General of South African Constabulary. Nicholson, then a major, was at Bulawayo when the Boer War broke out, and eventually was placed in command of the 1st Brigade of the Rhodesian Field Force. In 1905 he gave up his post in the South African Constabulary. In the Great War he was on the staff of the Expeditionary Force with the rank of an Assistant Adjutant-General. From April 1915 to December 1918 he was Base Commandant at Calais; in December 1918 he was raised to the rank of Brigadier-General. He retired in 1920, having received the O.B.E. as

well as numerous foreign decorations. General Nicholson also had political ambitions. He twice unsuccessfully contested East Dorset in 1910 as a Conservative. After a similar experience in December of that year he made no further attempt to enter the House of Commons until 1921 when he was elected, at a by-election for the Abbey Division of Westminster as the "Constitutional Independent Conservative Anti-Waste" candidate. In 1922 he stood as the official Conservative candidate and was returned by a large majority. In the following year he was elected unopposed.

24. Sir George Melville, who was 81 years old, was educated at Edinburgh Academy. He entered the Imperial Civil Service in 1862 and was appointed to the Inland Revenue Department. He later transferred to the Colonial Civil Service, becoming Treasurer and Colonial Secretary of Sierra Leone in 1875. During the next thirty years he held numerous similar appointments, mainly in the West Indies. He retired in 1905. A son and two daughters survived him.

MARCH.

1. Sir Stephen Finney, who was 71 years of age, entered the service of the Indian Public Works Department in 1874 after completing his education at Clifton and Cooper's Hall. For four years he served as assistant and district engineer and then joined the administrative branch of the Railway Department where he remained until 1891, becoming manager of the Eastern Bengal State Railway. In 1899 he became manager of the N.W. Railway and by his business capacity soon converted it into a prosperous undertaking. Within a year of his retirement in 1908 he was recalled to join the Railway Board, where his expert knowledge of Indian Railways proved of great benefit to the country. As a young man Sir Stephen was a keen athlete. In 1872 and 1873 he was a member of the English Rugby team that opposed Scotland.

— George Edward Underbill, Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford, was born in 1859. In 1877 he won a classical demyship at Magdalen, and graduated four years later with a First Class in Lit. Hum. Next year he obtained a classical Fellowship by examination. This was soon followed by an appointment on the Tutorial Staff which enabled him to become Senior Tutor in 1885, a post he held until 1919. Apart from his academic interests Mr. Underbill was an active member of many committees, a University councillor and a representative of the University on the City Education Committee. He was also a J.P. for the city.

2. Sir Cornelius Hermanus Wessels, Administrator of the Orange Free State Province, was 73 years old. He was a prominent politician of the province when it was still an independent republic, and sat in the Volksraad from 1885 until the dissolution of the assembly during the Boer War. From 1907-10 he was Minister of Public Works, Lands, and Mines until he became administrator. He was knighted in 1920.

— Lady Kate Magnus, whose age was 79, was the wife of Sir Philip Magnus, for many years M.P. for the University of London. Lady Magnus was a pioneer of the girls' club movement, a well-known writer in prose and verse and a gifted personality whose social charms secured for her a large circle of friends. Her best-known literary works are a collection of literary essays, entitled "Jewish Portraits" and "Outlines of Jewish History," the latter a deservedly popular introduction to a vast subject.

4. Cyril Harcourt, the dramatist, was 52 years of age. His real name was Cyril Worsley Perkins but he assumed that of Harcourt when he abandoned the engineering profession for the stage. Later he wrote plays

and sometimes acted in some of them. His first play, "The Axis" (1905), was produced at the Criterion. It was followed by "The Reformer" (1907), "The Recompense" (1910), "A Place in the Sun" (1913), "A Pair of Silk Stockings" (1914), "Wanted, A Husband" (1917). He also wrote two novels. At the end of the war he became a partner in the management of the Comedy Theatre, New York.

6. Sir Alexander Grigor Jeans, who was born in 1849, was trained for journalism by his father, proprietor and editor of the *Elgin Courier*. In 1871 he became a junior reporter on the *Liverpool Post*. His success enabled him to leave this throe years later for the editorship of the *Derby and Chesterfield Times*. In 1879 he returned to Liverpool as manager of the *Daily Post*. He was now associated with the late Sir Edward Russell and jointly they made their paper a power in the north. Jeans next founded an evening paper and afterwards brought about the amalgamation of the *Liverpool Mercury* with the *Daily Post* (1904). In 1918 Jeans was knighted. Four sons and a daughter survive him.

8. Dr. Walter de Gray Birch, LL.D., F.S.A., whose age was 82, was educated at the Charterhouse and Trinity, Cambridge. He then entered the MSS. Department of the British Museum and within a year was appointed senior assistant, a post he held for 38 years. Dr. Birch specialised in the study of charters and seals, Anglo-Saxon, mediaeval Latin, Spanish and Portugese, becoming an authority on these and other branches of literary and historical research. He was for 22 years editor of the *Journal* of the British Archaeological Association, held several offices in this learned society and ultimately became its vice-President. Dr. Birch catalogued the seals in his department in six volumes, edited the Royal Charters of London and Lincoln, the Cartularium Saxonicum, etc. He likewise wrote the histories of Margam and Neath Abbeys, "Memorials of the See and Cathedral of Llandaff," edited the register of Hyde Abbey, Winchester, a history of Domesday Book, and numerous other works. He was an honorary LL.D. of Glasgow, an hon. corresponding member of the Royal Academies of Seville and Turin, the Hispanic Society of America and a vice-president of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Association.

— Dr. Edgar Charles Summer Gilson, Bishop of Gloucester from 1906 to 1922, who was 76 years of age, came from a renowned clerical family. Educated at the Charterhouse and Trinity College, Oxford, he was ordained from Wells Theological College. In 1874 he became vice-principal of this institution, but transferred his activities to Leeds two years later. For six years he lectured at the Clergy Training School and then returned as Principal to Wells. Whilst thus occupied he published an edition of the Epistle of St. James, a book on Job, and a two volume work on the Thirty-Nine Articles. In 1895 Prebendary Gilson exchanged the lecture room for the parish on becoming vicar of Leeds. Here he exercised a strong influence over a wide area far beyond the limits of his immediate parish and was naturally marked for promotion. This came in 1905 when the bishopric of Gloucester became vacant by the retirement of Dr. Ellicott. He administered his diocese with vigour and was of great assistance to the Primates under whom he served, often preparing historical studies for them upon many difficult and puzzling Church problems.

11. Ivan Gueshoff, ex-Prime Minister of Bulgaria, who was 75 years of age, was educated at Philippolis and Victoria College, Manchester. On returning to his native country in 1872 he some years later acted as correspondent of *The Times*. For his whole-hearted condemnation of the Turks in 1877 he was sentenced to death. The sentence was commuted to exile, but he was allowed to return home in 1878 after the Treaty of San Stephano. From then onwards he held a number of important political and financial posts. He signed the treaty of peace with Serbia

in 1886 and was a member of the Cabinet formed after the resignation of Prince Alexander of Battenberg. Not approving of Stanibuloff's pro-Austrian policy he resigned and did not re-enter political life until he became Minister of Finance in 1894. Three years later he resigned and in 1901 he was elected President of the Sobranie. In the same year he became leader of the nationalist party. Ten years later he became Prime Minister, signing the conventions with Serbia and Greece which led to the formation of the Balkan League and the war against Turkey in 1912. When his country deserted its allies he resigned and remained in opposition throughout the Great War. As a firm friend of Great Britain he was strongly opposed to the Bulgarian alliance with Germany. M. Gueshoff was the author of several political works, including, "L'Alliance Balkanique" (1915) and "La Genese de la Guerre mondiale et le Debacle de l'Alliance Balkanique" (1919).

13. Sir **William Duff Reid**, builder of the Newfoundland Railway, was born in New South Wales in 1868, but was educated in Canada where his father was engaged in many engineering enterprises. In 1900 he went to Newfoundland and after building 900 miles of railway he obtained the control of the System for fifty years. Reid and his brothers built and owned fleets, docks, tramways, etc., in the island. The railways did not pay and after some experiments in working them the Government took them over in 1923. Reid was knighted in 1916.

— **Richard Simpson Gundry, C.B.**, whose age was 85, was educated privately at Brussels. Choosing journalism as his profession he went out to the East on the staff of an Indian paper. In 1865 he became China correspondent of *The Times* and at the same time edited the *North China Herald*. He held both posts until 1878, a period full of many stirring events in the far East, all of which he described remarkably well. On returning to England Gundry took a leading part in founding the China Association for advancing British interests in that country, receiving the C.B. in 1904 for his services to Anglo-Chinese relations. For twenty-five years he was chief leader writer of the *London and China Telegraph*, and also wrote several works on China, which served to enlighten English readers upon the real conditions in the former Celestial Empire.

10. **Prof. Dr. Ulrich Grubenmann**, whose age was 70, graduated in the University of Zurich, where his scientific studies immediately attracted attention. On leaving the University he became Professor of Natural Science in Frauenfeld. He devoted himself with great zeal and energy to crystallography and microscopic researches. In 1893 he was appointed to the Chair of Mineralogy and Petrology in Zurich and became at the same time director of the department. Grubenmann was prominent in promoting the study of his subject and served on numerous government and cantonal commissions and societies that aimed at the investigation of the formation of the Swiss mountains.

18. Sir **John Frederick Bridge** was 80 years old. For forty-three years he was organist of Westminster Abbey, and for part of that period was also King Edward Professor of Music in the University of London, Gresham Professor of Music, member of the Board of Professors of the Royal College of Music, Conductor of the Royal Choral Society, Director of the Music at the last two Coronations, Master of the Worshipful Company of Musicians and a composer of innumerable musical works. Bridge began as a "practising boy" in the choir of Rochester Cathedral, studied the organ and at the age of 20 became organist of Holy Trinity, Windsor. Here he attracted the attention of many distinguished men which spurred him on to aim at greater things. In 1868 he became organist of Manchester Cathedral, whence he stepped to the similar position at the Abbey in 1875. He was knighted in 1897, received the M.V.O. after King Edward's Coronation and the C.V.O. from King George. Sir Frederick specialised

in commemorating the great English musicians of the past, and wrote several works dealing with them.

18. Sir James Reckitt, who was born in 1833, was well known for his numerous benefactions to Hull and other towns in Yorkshire. He had made a large fortune as manufacturer of blue and starch and used it to endow libraries, orphanages, convalescent homes, prizes and scholarships, and a liberal pension scheme for his employees. He was an alderman of the East Riding County Council, a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant. In 1894 he was created a baronet and in 1908 he received the freedom of Hull for his many services to the town. His title descends to his elder son, Mr. Harold James Reckitt, LL.B., barrister-at-law, and formerly Liberal M.P. for Brigg, Lincolnshire.

19. George Edward Baker, whose age was 77, went from Lancing College to Magdalen, Oxford, whence he graduated with first classes in Classical Moderations and Lit. Hum. (1869). In the following year he was elected a Fellow of his College and was at the same time called to the Bar. After some six years of practice he returned to Oxford and became Estate Bursar of Magdalen in 1885, a post he held until 1909. His administration of the College estates was marked by conspicuous ability that resulted in a considerable increase of revenue from which both College and University benefited.

— **Mr. William Henry Maw**, whose age was 85, was a well-known technical journalist. He was editor and part proprietor of *Engineering* almost from its foundation in 1856. He also practised as consulting engineer and took a keen interest in various technical organisations. In 1901-2 he was President of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers and in 1922-23 of the Institution of Civil Engineers. He was also a member of the Council of the Royal Society of Arts, the Royal Commission for the St. Louis Exhibition in 1904. In 1901 he helped to form the Engineering Standards Committee. During the War he was on the Advisory Panel of the Munitions Inventions Department of the Ministry of Munitions. In addition to engineering he was a keen student of astronomy and had been president both of the Royal Astronomical Society and of the British Astronomical Association. Glasgow University recognised his public service by conferring upon him its honorary LL.D.

— **John Cutler, K.C.**, who was 85 years of age, had practised for fifty years at the Chancery Bar, specialising in patent and trade-mark cases. From King's College School, London, he entered Exeter College, Oxford. He was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1863, but for some time was actively occupied in journalism, editing the *Theatrical and Musical Review* and contributing to the *Morning Herald*. Gradually he won recognition at the Chancery Bar and in 1884 was appointed first editor of the newly established official reports of patent, design, and trade-mark cases published by the Patent Office. He took silk in 1897 and was duly elected a Bencher of his Inn and also occupied the chair of Law at King's College, London.

20. Dr. William Jack, who was born in 1834, was educated at the University of Glasgow and at Peterhouse, Cambridge. In 1859 he was 4th Wrangler and Senior Smith's Prizeman, and was elected a Fellow of his College. The next year he accepted an appointment as H.M. Inspector of Schools for Scotland, but returned to academic work in 1866 as Professor of Natural Philosophy at Owens College, Manchester. Four years later he gave this up to become editor of the *Glasgow Herald*, but again relinquished it for the Chair of Mathematics at Glasgow, a post he held until 1909.

22. Sir William MacEwen, whose age was 75, graduated in Medicine at the University of Glasgow in 1869, served as house surgeon at the Royal

Infirmary and took his M.D. in 1872. Five years later he was elected surgeon to the Royal Infirmary and immediately adopted Lister's anti-septic methods. In 1881 he was Lecturer in Surgery at the Royal Infirmary. He then began to specialise in brain surgery and performed some valuable cranium operations. His work received recognition. He received the LL.D. of his University and was elected an F.R.S. and a Fellow of the Royal Colleges of Surgeons of England and Ireland as well as having similar honours conferred upon him by many foreign medical societies. In 1902 he was knighted and from 1908 he was Hon. Surgeon to the King in Scotland. In 1892 he was appointed Regius Professor of Surgery at the University of Glasgow and Surgeon to the Western Infirmary. He was President of the British Medical Association in 1922 and of the Societe Internationale de Chirurgie in the following year when it met in London. Sir William made many important contributions to the literature of his profession. His three sons who survive him have all entered upon the practice of Medicine.

22. **Vlastimil Tusar**, Czechoslovak minister in Berlin, was an able diplomatist who had played a prominent part in the Czech nationalist movement. In 1919 he became Prime Minister and directed much of the work involved in establishing the Republic, including the inauguration of the Constitution and the creation of the Little Entente. But he only held office for one year and when defeated went to Berlin as representative of his country.

— **Canon John Thomas Fowler**, who was 90 years old, was a noted antiquary. He was at first attracted to Medicine, entering St. Thomas's Hospital in 1853, but not long after qualifying he determined to enter the Church. He went to the University of Durham in 1858 and in due course was ordained and held several appointments in the north until he returned to Durham in 1870. He now began to pursue his antiquarian studies with great assiduity, publishing most of his researches through the Surtees Society, *Notes and Queries*, "Archsoologia," and the transactions of various county archaeological societies. He was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and was unmarried.

— **General Nivelle**, who was born in 1856, distinguished himself so well in the operations before Verdun that in 1917 he was appointed to the chief command of the Franco-British forces in 1917, after having in the previous December been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the French Armies. In April 1917 he launched a fierce attack upon the German front with a view to breaking through between Soissons and Reims. The offensive proved a complete failure and was accompanied by tremendous loss of effectives. As a consequence some serious mutinies occurred in the French armies and General Nivelle was removed from his command. In 1920 he received the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour and the Medaille Militaire in 1921. General Nivelle was the son of an English mother and spoke English well.

2G. **General Pelle** who was born in 1863, was educated at Ecole Polytechnique. Before the Great War he had seen service in Madagascar, Algeria and Morocco and had for some time been French Military Attaché in Berlin. During the war he held several commands including that of the 5th Army Corps. In January 1919 he was a member of the French Mission to Czechoslovakia. Two years later he was French High Commissioner at Constantinople and in that capacity he took part in the negotiations at Lausanne in 1922-23.

— **Eduard Herzog**, Bishop of the old Catholic Church in Switzerland, was 82 years of age. His community comprised those members of the Catholic Church who refused to accept the dogma of papal infallibility in 1870 and seceded from the parent church. Joining with the little Jansenist community at Utrecht, Old Catholicism spread to various parts

of the world, but its success has been limited. That it was not entirely extinguished in Switzerland was mainly due to the work of Herzog.

27. Sir **Walter Parratt**, the celebrated organist, was born in 1841. The son of an organist he early displayed a love for that instrument, and acquired considerable proficiency in playing it. After holding some minor appointments he succeeded Stairier as organist of Magdalen College, Oxford. Here he remained for ten years until he was appointed to St. George's Chapel, Windsor. This was followed later by the appointment of Master of the Queen's Musick and private organist to Her Majesty. About the same time (1883) he joined the staff of the new Royal College of Music. He served under three sovereigns and was knighted for his services in 1892. Sir Walter was an honorary Mus. Doc. of Oxford, Cambridge and Durham Universities and an hon. Fellow of Magdalen.

— Sir Byron Edmund Walker, whose age was 70, was one of the most prominent citizens of Canada. Entering the Canadian Bank of Commerce at the age of 20 he became its manager in 1886 and its president in 1907. He was one of the greatest authorities on Canadian finance and though never a politician his influence upon politics was immense. He likewise exercised considerable influence upon Canadian education, was chairman of the Board of Governors of Toronto University and finally its Chancellor. He was an LL.D. and D.C.L. of the University, a member of the National Battlefields Commission and President and Founder of the Champlain Society.

29. Sir Charles Villiers Stanford, whose age was 71, showed musical talents from his earliest childhood. Educated at home he went up to Cambridge as organ scholar of Queen's College and whilst still an undergraduate he became organist of Trinity College. He had previously spent some time at Leipzig where he acquired a sound technical knowledge of his art. At Cambridge he conducted the University Musical Society. In 1883 he joined the first board of professors of the newly established Royal College of Music and held this appointment simultaneously with the professorship of Music at Cambridge. He was likewise conductor of the Bach Choir in London and of the Leeds Musical Festival. Despite this activity as teacher and trainer of musicians Sir Charles found time to compose a large number of works, including operas, symphonies, choral works, instrumental music for piano, violin, etc. He was knighted on the occasion of King Edward's coronation and received many academic honours. Lady Stanford, with one son and daughter, survived him.

APRIL.

1. Francis Jeffrey Bell, who was 69 years old, was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, whence he graduated with honours in natural science in 1878. He then joined the staff of the British Museum and of King's College, of which institution he was a Fellow and Emeritus Professor. His publications included a "Manual of Comparative Anatomy and Physiology" and the British Museum catalogues of Echinoderms and Madreporaria.

2. Eugenius Warming, whose age was 83, had occupied the Chair of Botany at the University of Stockholm from 1882 to 1885 and at Copenhagen from 1885 to 1911. Professor Warming had travelled extensively in pursuit of his studies and was a recognised authority on the morphology and anatomy of plants. Later he devoted himself to ecological problems and his book on this subject, published in 1895, was later translated into English,

4. Charles Godfrey, M.V.O., who was 51 years of age, proceeded from King Edward's School, Birmingham, to Trinity College, Cambridge. He was 4th Wrangler in 1895 and in the following year was placed in the 1st Division of the 1st Class in Part 2 of the Mathematical Tripos. Three years later he became Senior Mathematical Master at Winchester and at once evinced a strong interest in the reform of mathematical teaching, served on various committees that had this end in view and was part author of a number of text-books that embodied the reformed methods now generally adopted. In 1905 Mr. Godfrey was appointed Headmaster of the Royal Naval College, Osborne, and when this institution was closed he was transferred to Greenwich Naval College, where he held the Chair of Mathematics.

5. Sir Walter Trower, whose age was 71, was educated at Haileybury College and in 1876 entered the legal profession as a solicitor, becoming ten years later a partner in the firm of Trower, Still & Keeling. His capacity soon brought him to the forefront of his profession and his colleagues recognised his merits by electing him on the Council of the Law Society (1902). Sir Walter took a leading part in establishing the School of Law and was likewise a prominent member of the Statutory Committee to deal with cases of professional misconduct under the Solicitor's Act of 1886. In 1912 Sir Walter—the knighthood was conferred on him in 1915—was vice-president, and in 1913 president of the Law Society. He also served on various public committees, and on the Royal Commission on Income Tax, but his chief activities were devoted to the services of the Society.

6. Miss Eleanor Frances Jourdain, whose age was 60, was a leader in women's education. Coming to Oxford in 1883 she read history at Lady Margaret Hall and obtained a second class in the Final Honours School in 1886. After some years as an assistant mistress, she opened the Cowan Collegiate School at Walford in 1892 and remained its head for ten years. She was then appointed Vice-Principal of St. Hugh's College, Oxford. In 1915 she succeeded Miss Moberly as Principal. Miss Jourdain was an excellent lecturer with a wide grasp of her subject and a specialist knowledge of French classical drama and the political thinkers of the eighteenth century. When women were admitted to degrees at Oxford in 1920 she took the M.A., and was one of the first women to hold a university appointment. She was Taylorian lecturer in French and also examined in this subject. Under her guidance St. Hugh's trebled its number of students. Miss Jourdain was the author of a number of important literary and philosophical works, and rendered valuable services to the Government during the war, for which she was specially thanked.

10. Hugo Stinnes, the German industrial magnate, was 54 years of age. Descended from a family long famous in the coal and Rhine transport trade, Stinnes followed in the footsteps of his ancestors. After studying at the Berlin School of Mines and working for two years in his grandfather's business, he set up for himself at the early age of 23. His technical skill and business capacity soon made him a force in the coal mining and shipping industries. His first successes were attained through the firm of "Deutsche-Luxemburgische Bergwerks-und Hütten Aktien Gesellschaft" which is now one of the largest mining companies in Germany. Stinnes' fame, however, chiefly dates from the Great War which provided him with unlimited opportunities for great enterprises. In 1916 he obtained a strong interest in the Hamburg-Amerika, the Norddeutscher Lloyd and other great shipping concerns. This was followed by the foundation of the Hugo Stinnes Co. for overseas trade and the purchase of two large Hamburg hotels for conversion into offices. As an adviser to the German Headquarters staff, Stinnes has been held responsible for the spoliation of Belgium workshops, the deportation of Belgian

workers and the destruction of French coal mines. The Armistice and Peace saw Stinnes engaged upon further vast enterprises, founding new companies, absorbing old ones in electrical, motor and other trades. The list of his interests is enormously large, including paper and printing works, newspapers, etc. The latter included the *North German Gazette*, once the official organ of the Government. By means of his vast interests, Stinnes exerted a great influence upon German post-war politics, both internal and external.

12. **Arthur Lionel Smith**, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, was born in 1850. From Christ's Hospital he passed into Balliol in 1869 and after obtaining a First in Moderations in 1871 he followed it up with another First in Lit. Hum. in 1873, the year in which he rowed bow in his college eight. From classics Smith now turned to history, winning the Lothian Prize in 1874 and being elected a Fellow of Trinity College. For some time he studied law at Lincoln's Inn, but in 1879 he returned to Oxford on his appointment as Lecturer and Tutor in Modern History at Balliol which also elected him a Fellow in 1882. Henceforth A. L. Smith became a force in Oxford, not merely by his teaching, but his interest in every intellectual movement, in athletics and everything that contributed to the welfare of his College and University. Ever a busy man, he had little time for writing, his most notable publication being "Church and State in the Middle Ages," the subject of his Ford lectures. But perhaps his greatest claim to fame outside Oxford was his devotion to social problems and in particular to working-class education. He was from the first an enthusiastic supporter of the W.E.A. and served on numerous committees that aimed at co-ordinating the efforts of all who strive to improve the lot of the worker. The University, too, recognised his work by appointing him a Curator of the Bodleian Library and a Trustee of its Endowment Fund. In 1916 A. L. Smith was unanimously elected Master of Balliol. At first there was little work to do in the college and the Master was able to devote himself to Labour and social problems, but the Armistice brought a large influx of students which demanded all the energies of the head of the College. In 1919 he received the hon. LL.D. of St. Andrews. The Master left a widow, seven daughters and two sons.

— **The Rev. Arthur Wright, D.D.**, Vice-President of Queen's College, Cambridge, whose age was 80, was educated at the Grammar School, Wolverhampton, and Queen's College, Cambridge, whence he graduated with a First in the Classical Tripos in 1867, a result which obtained for him a fellowship at his college. In the same year he took Holy Orders and after five years' work as a curate in London, he returned to Cambridge as Dean, Prælector and Classical Lecturer of Queen's. Some years later he was appointed tutor and catechist and in 1898 was elected vice-president.

13. **Sir Walter Jeans**, the Australian banker, was born in 1846. At the age of 17 he entered the Bank of Australia as a junior clerk. His ability and industry regularly brought him promotion so that he filled the most important offices of the institution, retiring in 1922 as general manager. Sir Walter received his knighthood in 1922 for services rendered in various capacities, including membership of Lord Cunliffe's Committee appointed in 1918 to deal with questions of post-war currency and foreign exchanges.

14. **Prince Roland Bonaparte**, whose age was 66, was the son of Prince Pierre Napoleon Bonaparte and grandson of Lucien, second brother of the Emperor, Napoleon I. Prince Roland received a military education and entered the French army in 1879. He was, however, compelled to abandon the profession of arms by the law of 1886 which excluded his family from the army. He thereupon took up the study of science, notably anthropology, geography and natural history. He travelled

extensively, collected much valuable material which he published in several volumes. For many years Prince Roland was President of the French Geographical Society and many other learned bodies. He collected a vast library on his special subject. In 1907 he was elected a free member of the Academy of Sciences and in 1922 President of the International Geographical Union. With his death the senior branch of the family has now become extinct.

18. The Most Reverend Denis Kelly, D.D., Roman Catholic Bishop of Ross, was 72 years old. Educated at the Ennis Diocesan College and the Irish College, Paris, he was ordained in 1877. For twenty years he occupied various posts at the college, Ennis, and was consecrated Bishop of Ross in 1897. Dr. Kelly was able to do a great deal of public work, serving as a member of numerous committees and Royal Commissions, including the Committee on the Financial Relations between Great Britain and Ireland in 1911 and the Irish Convention of 1917. He was strongly opposed to the terrorist policy of the Sein Fein campaign.

20. Surgeon-Col. R. J. Reece, C.B., M.D., whose age was 61, was senior Medical Officer to the Ministry of Health. Col. Reece was an authority in epidemiology and sanitation and had rendered valuable service by his work on epidemics during the past thirty years. During the war he served on the headquarters' staff of the R.A.M.C. in order to deal with special infectious diseases, particularly cerebro-spinal fever. In 1917 he received the C.B., while still remaining a member of the Army Hygiene Committee. He was President of the Epidemiological Section of the Royal Society of Medicine, Senior Examiner in State Medicine to the University of Cambridge and Vice-President of the Public Health Section at the British Medical Association meeting in Glasgow in 1922. For nearly forty years he was a member of the Honourable Artillery Company.

— Dr. R. Hingston Fox, M.D., F.R.C.P., was born in 1853. After qualifying at London Hospital in 1874 and taking the M.D. at Brussels in 1884 he gave up his general practice in 1902 and set up as a consultant in Harley Street. Fox was keenly interested in insurance and provident work, holding the post of chief medical officer to the Friends' Provident Society for over forty years. He was a devoted member of the Hunterian Society, a keen Student of Greek and Hebrew texts and possessed considerable literary talents.

21. Marie Corelli, whose age was 59, was of mixed Italian and Scotch parentage. She was adopted by Charles Mackay, the author, and was educated partly in France. She began writing early in life, her first novel, "The Romance of Two Worlds," was published when she was only 22. Its immediate success led her to adopt writing as her profession. Numerous novels flowed from her pen, which were widely read and discussed. At Stratford-on-Avon, where she settled, she worked hard to preserve its ancient associations. Her works were designed to counteract the new tendencies of women to adopt the habits of men.

— Eleanora Duse, whose age was 64, came of an Italian theatrical family, and began her own career at the age of 4. At 20 her talents were already winning her fame. Later she played in the dramas of D'Annunzio with a view to reviving the classical tradition in Italy. This did not find favour with her compatriots and Duse began her tours abroad where her style of acting found ready appreciation. Her favourite roles were these of D'Annunzio's plays, Goldoni's comedies and Ibsen parts. Dumas' "La Dame aux Camélias" and Shakespeare's "Antony and Cleopatra" were also favourites with her. She had been in indifferent health for some years and her financial losses in the war compelled her to return to the stage after its conclusion. She died at Pittsburg, U.S.A.

21. **Grenville Arthur Cole, F.R.S.**, who was born 64 years ago, was Professor of Geology at the Royal College of Science for Ireland and Director of the Geological Survey of Ireland. Whilst still at the City of London School, he evinced a strong interest in geology and kindred subjects. Professor Judd, whose lectures he attended, made him his demonstrator at the Royal School of Mines in South Kensington. He was Professor to the Royal College, Dublin, in 1890 and thenceforward made valuable contributions not only to the geology of Ireland but to that of many other countries in Europe, Africa, and America, with which he had become acquainted through his extensive travels. His wife, a former pupil of his, accompanied him on most of his tours, aided him in his work and shared in his scientific achievements.

22. **Sir James Lawton Wingate**, the eminent painter and former President of the Royal Scottish Academy, was born in 1846. Sir James began life as a clerk in a merchant's office and employed his leisure hours in teaching himself the rudiments of painting. After some successes in water-colours he abandoned his mercantile career and went to Italy. Returning home he entered the Academy Schools at Edinburgh at the age of 25, worked hard until his efforts were rewarded by election to the Scottish Academy as an A.R.S.A. in 1878, followed nine years later by promotion to R.S.A. Wingate, who was knighted in 1920, was solely a landscape painter, and was particularly successful as a painter of sunsets.

23. **Karl Theodor Helfferich** was born in Bavaria in 1872. After some years spent in travel he became a lecturer in history in the University of Berlin. At the same time Helfferich evinced a keen interest in monetary subjects, contributing numerous articles on the subject to various reviews. His boundless ambition soon attracted him to politics and his knowledge of finance obtained for him the post of adviser on colonial affairs to the German Foreign Office in 1902. This was followed by appointment, first, as Director of the Anatolian Railway in 1906 and of the Deutsche Bank in 1908. At the outbreak of the war he was made Secretary of the Treasury and placed in charge of the Loan Department. Under his administration began the inflation of German currency. He was driven from office by Count Hertling and devoted his abilities to drafting schemes of peace. At the Armistice Helfferich joined the extreme parties of the Right. He had always been most unpopular in the Reichstag and was accused of having instigated the murders of Erzberger and Rathenau. He died as the result of an accident on the Swiss railways whilst returning from a visit to Italy.

24. **Dr. Q. Stanley Hall**, President of Clark University, U.S.A., whose age was 78, studied at Berlin and Heidelberg under some of the leading teachers of philosophy and psychology. While Professor of Psychology and Pedagogy at Johns Hopkins University he founded the *American Journal of Psychology* and later the *Journal of Applied Psychology*. In 1888 he was elected head of the newly-founded Clark University from which he retired in 1920. Dr. Hall was the author of numerous books and papers on his subject.

25. **Charles F. Murphy**, leader of Tammany Hall since 1902, was 65 years old. He was of Irish descent, had had but little education and began work in a wire factory at an early age. In 1892 he was chosen Tammany leader of the 18th District and in 1897 became a Commissioner of Docks and Ferries and later treasurer of the Board of Aldermen. In 1902 he succeeded "Boss" Crocker as Chairman of Tammany Hall and henceforth exercised enormous political influence in the Democratic Party conventions. He utilised his position for self-aggrandisement, amassing a considerable fortune during his career.

26. **The Right Rev. Dr. J. W. Quirk**, Bishop of Jarrow, whose age was 74, passed from Shrewsbury School to St. John's College, Cambridge. Taking Holy Orders in 1878 he held two curacies before becoming vicar of St. Thomas, Douglas, Isle of Man, where he only remained one year. After holding similar appointments in London and elsewhere he was consecrated Suffragan Bishop of Sheffield in 1901, receiving the D.D. of Cambridge at the same time. When Sheffield was made into a separate diocese Dr. Quirk was appointed Suffragan of Jarrow. The late bishop was very popular in the industrial regions where he worked, took no part in secular affairs but devoted himself entirely to the duties of his clerical office.

29. **William Andrewes Fearon** was born in 1841. At the age of 11 he entered Winchester College and in 1859 passed to New College, Oxford. Here he secured first classes in Moderations and Greats, was president of the Union and in 1864 became a Fellow and Tutor of his College. On taking Holy Orders he was appointed an Assistant Master at Winchester in 1867, becoming a House Master in the following year. In 1882 he was appointed Headmaster of Durham Cathedral School, but returned to Winchester two years later as Headmaster of his old school. This post he occupied until 1901 when he retired. In 1903 he was nominated Archdeacon of Winchester, a post he held until 1920. Dr. Fearon was a great teacher who left his mark upon many generations of Wykehamites by whom he is gratefully remembered.

MAY.

4. **Mrs. Hubert Bland**, who wrote under her maiden name of E. Nesbit, was educated on the Continent. She wrote poetry, novels, children's books. Her best known works are "Songs of Love and Empire" (1898), "The Incomplete Amorist" (1906) and "The Incredible Honeymoon." She was 65 years of age.

10. **Hermann Kretzschmar**, whose age was 76, was one of the leading musical critics and teachers of music in Germany. After founding the Academic Orchestral Concerts in Leipzig, he became music director to the University of Rostock, but returned to Leipzig ten years later to a similar post. Here he published an important work on Concert music and contributed to numerous periodicals. From Leipzig he went to Berlin in 1904 and in 1909 became Director of the Royal High School of Music, continuing at the same time to publish valuable works on the history of music. To his activity Germany owes the "New Bach Society" which organised various festivals that spread the fame of the great master. He likewise edited Bach's works.

11. **Professor Samuel George Shattock, F.R.S., F.R.C.S.**, was 71 years of age. From University College School he passed to University College, London, in 1869 and, devoting himself to medicine, he began to specialise in morbid anatomy. He, however, did not practice but worked first in the museum at University College and then as assistant conservator of the Hunterian Collection at the Royal College of Surgeons. In 1881 he was elected a fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons and three years later became curator of the museum at St. Thomas's Hospital, which he combined, from 1887, with the post of Lecturer on Surgical Pathology in the Medical School. His work for the Pathological Society and the Royal Society of Medicine gained him the editorship of its "Transactions." Professor Shattock was also president of the Pathological section of this society in 1907, of the similar section of the British Medical Association in 1910, and at the International Congress of Medicine in London in 1913. In 1917 he was elected an F.R.S.

14. **Sir Courtenay P. Ilbert**, for nineteen years Clerk to the House of Commons, was 82 years of age. He was educated at Marlborough and Balliol College, Oxford, where he had a brilliant career, carrying off the Hertford, Craven, and Ireland Classical, and the Eldon Law Scholarships, then graduating with firsts in "Moderations" and "Greats." Ilbert was elected a Fellow of his college and also served as Bursar for some years. In 1869 he was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn, becoming soon after a government draughtsman. His reputation as a lawyer led Lord Hartington to nominate him Law Member of the Council of India under the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon. Here he was mainly responsible for the famous "Ilbert Bill" which aroused such a stormy controversy at the time. After other valuable legal work in India, Ilbert returned in 1886 to become Assistant Parliamentary Counsel to the Treasury, a post he held for thirteen years and then became head of this department. At the same time he published a valuable work on "The Government of India" (1898), followed by his "Legislative Methods and Forms" in 1901. Next year he was appointed Clerk to the House of Commons, a position he held until 1921 when he received the special thanks of the House for his services. Sir Courtenay was Chairman of the Statute Law Committee, a governor of Marlborough College and the London School of Economics. He received the K.C.S.I. in 1895, the K.C.B. in 1908 and the G.C.B. in 1911. In addition to the works mentioned above he was also the author of "Parliament, its History, Constitution, and Practice" and "The Mechanics of Law Making." He had five daughters, the eldest of whom is married to Mr. H. A. L. Fisher.

— Emanuel Repoulis, a distinguished Greek politician, was a former Minister of the Interior in M. Venizelos's first Cabinet (Oct. 1910). He was a staunch adherent of his leader, held the Ministry of Finance under him in 1915 and was Premier Minister in the Provisional Government formed by M. Venizelos at Salonika. After King Constantine's first deposition he again held office several times.

— The Rev. George Margoliouth, whose age was 70, was of Jewish descent and was born in Russian Poland. He was educated at Dusseldorf and the University of Bonn. Coming to this country, he was ordained in 1881 and became a curate in Leeds. Later he held a similar position at Cambridge and entered Queen's College. Some years after, he entered the Oriental Department of the British Museum and from 1891 to 1914 was in charge of the Hebrew, Syriac and Ethiopia MSS. His work at the Museum included a descriptive list of Hebrew and Samaritan MSS., followed by a catalogue of them published in 3 vols, between 1899-1915; numerous other works and translations of Syriac and Arabic documents. Margoliouth frequently acted as examiner in Hebrew and Aramaic for the University of London, contributed to the *Jewish Quarterly Review* and other learned periodicals.

18. **Sir Charles Vere Ferrers Townshend** was 63 years of age. He came of military stock, entered the Royal Marines and was present at Abu Klea and Gubat in the Egyptian campaign. After distinguished service in India and South Africa, he became Major-General in 1911. In 1913 Townshend was in command of a brigade in India where he remained until appointed to the 6th Division in Mesopotamia in 1915. Here he pushed forward rapidly to drive the Turks from their strong positions on the road to Baghdad. After capturing Kut he pushed on to Ctesiphon with insufficient force, was repulsed, fell back to Kut where he stood the famous siege for five months. All efforts at relief having failed, Townshend was obliged to surrender on April 29, 1916. He was then a prisoner of war with the Turks until he was released to negotiate the Armistice in 1918. Townshend now received the K.C.B. but being passed over by the Government for employment, he resigned and entered Parliament as an Independent in 1920, though he joined the Conservative Party in 1922, but did not seek re-election later in that year. His own account

of the events of his command he told in "My Campaign in Mesopotamia" published in 1920.

20. **Sir William Edward Goschen**, whose age was 76, was a descendant of George Joachim Goschen, the Leipzig bookseller, some of whose children made England their home. Educated at Rugby and Corpus Christi Oxford, he entered the Diplomatic Service in 1869 and held several appointments in Buenos Aires, Rio, and Peking. In 1898 Sir Edward was Minister at Belgrade but was moved to Copenhagen next year, remaining there until his promotion as ambassador in Vienna in 1905. In 1908 Goschen was sent as Ambassador to Berlin with a view to promoting better relations between England and Germany. Difficulties at once arose out of the action of Austria-Hungary in annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 and Germany's interference in Morocco in 1911. The Balkan Wars of 1911 and 1912 gave further cause for anxiety, but all was arranged more or less satisfactorily until the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia on July 23, 1914. The next twelve days Sir Edward strove with might and main to carry out the policy of the British Government and avert the impending catastrophe. His final interview with the German Chancellor has been made memorable by the latter's famous taunt that Great Britain was making war for a "scrap of paper." Goschen was made a member of the Privy Council in 1905, created a baronet in 1916. He was also a G.C.B., G.C.M.G. and G.C.V.O. and held many foreign orders.

25. **Dr. Charles William Andrews, D.Sc, F.R.S., F.G.S., F.Z.S.**, whose age was 58, graduated in the University of London and in 1892 joined the staff of the Geological Department of the British Museum. He mainly devoted himself to vertebrate paleontology. Whilst serving under Sir Ray Lankester he travelled on behalf of the Museum in the Fayum in Egypt, whence he brought back some valuable and interesting fossils. Later he twice visited Christmas Island where he also made some extensive collections of botanical and zoological specimens. Andrews was elected an F.R.S. in 1906 and received the Lyall Medal of the Geological Society. He was unmarried.

26. **Sir Samuel Dill**, whose age was 80, was eminent as a classical scholar and an educationist. He received his earliest education at the Royal Academical Institution and at Queen's College, Belfast, whence he passed to Lincoln College, Oxford. There he graduated in classics and became a Fellow of Corpus in 1869. After eight years' work at this College, Dill was appointed High Master of the Manchester Grammar School in 1877. His tenure of the headship was marked by the organisation and development of many clubs and societies that gave the school a splendid corporate life. He resigned in 1888 and accepted an appointment as Professor of Greek at his old college in Belfast which he held until January 4, 1924. Apart from his scholastic work Dill attained a great reputation by his two great works on "Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire" (1898) and "Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius" (1904). Dill also served on numerous educational bodies, including the chairmanship of the Vice-Regal Commission on Primary Education in Ireland in 1913-14, was one of the Belfast Commissioners and Pro-Chancellor of its University. He was knighted in 1909, was an hon. Litt.D. of Dublin and an hon. LL.D. of St. Andrews and Edinburgh.

— **Frederick William Pomeroy, R.A.**, first studied sculpture at Lambeth under Dalou and then at the Royal Academy Schools where he won the gold medal and travelling scholarship in 1885, going to Paris and Rome. In 1907 he was elected an A.R.A., and R.A. in 1917. Apart from numerous portraits of contemporary notabilities Pomeroy executed a number of ideal figures such as "Dionysos," "Nymph of Loch Awe," "Ulysses finding the head of Orpheus," "Love, the Conqueror." He was

also one of the sculptors who decorated the City Hall, Cardiff. Besides sculpture, Pomeroy in his early days did a great deal of external carving for public buildings.

29. **Henry Heathcote Statham, F.R.I.B.A.**, whose age was 85, was an architect with a love of all the other arts. For twenty-five years he was the editor of the *Builder* and contrived at the same time to publish a number of works on architecture. Statham's love of music made him a contributor to Grove's "Dictionary of Music" and a writer on musical subjects for the "Edinburgh Review." He was an associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects since 1871 and a Fellow since 1878. Two sons and two daughters survived him.

— **Paul Cambon**, the distinguished French diplomat, was born in 1846. From the Lycee Louis-le-Grand he passed to the École de Droit just when the Second Empire fell. Under the new government he became secretary to Jules Ferry, then one of the chief magistrates of Paris. After holding various important administrative posts, including the Prefecture of Lille, he was appointed in 1882 Resident in Tunis, which had just become a French protectorate. In 1886 Cambon was appointed French Ambassador in Madrid and live years later was transferred to Constantinople. After the Fashoda incident which brought France and England to the brink of war Cambon was sent to London to bring about a better understanding between the two countries. He toiled long and patiently and was rewarded by the Anglo-French agreement of 1904 which laid the foundations of the future alliance. This success enhanced his reputation at home. His efforts at counteracting German ambitions in Morocco and elsewhere were seconded by his brother, Jules, appointed Ambassador to Berlin in 1907. The various crises that followed ultimately led to the eventful days before the war and the ultimate entry of England into the struggle against the Central Powers. Cambon remained at his post throughout the war, only retiring after its conclusion when he had rendered invaluable service to his country. The regard, too, which he had earned in England was testified by honorary degrees from Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh, the G.C.V.O. conferred on him in 1903 and G.C.B. in 1917. His wife predeceased him by many years and his only son is following the father's profession.

31. Senator Nilo Pecanha, who was 57 years of age, had a brilliant career in his native Brazil. Starting as Deputy for, he later became President of, the state of Rio de Janeiro. From 1906-1909 he was Vice-President of Brazil, becoming President in 1909 on the death of President Penna. Under the next administration Dr. Pecanha was Minister of Foreign Affairs and it was due to his influence that Brazil joined the Allies in the war against Germany.

JUNE.

6. William James, Viscount and Baron Pirrie, K.P., the head of the famous Belfast shipbuilding firm of Harland & Wolff, was 77 years of age. He was educated at the Royal Academical Institution, Belfast, but left at 15 to become an engineering apprentice of the firm with which he was henceforth connected all his life. Pirrie rose rapidly in the business and in twelve years he was a partner in it. Shipbuilding was developing rapidly, and Pirrie developed with it. Larger and ever larger ships were launched by his firm. In addition to building, Lord Pirrie also directed shipping business. He was chairman of the African Steamship Co., a director of Elder, Dempster & Co., and of the White Star Line. In politics Pirrie was a Conservative Home Ruler, who, though he did not sit in the House of Commons, filled important municipal and local offices. He was Lord Mayor of Belfast in 1896-7, High Sheriff of Antrim 1896-7, and of Down in 1899. He was also the first honorary Freeman of Belfast, and

had been Pro-Chancellor of Queen's University, Comptroller of the Household to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, a member of the Road Board and a member of the Committee on Irish Finance. In 1911 he was made Lord Lieutenant of the County of the City of Belfast. Towards the end of the war he was Controller of Mercantile Shipbuilding. In 1897 Lord Pirrie was created a Privy Councillor in Ireland and in 1918 in Great Britain. He was raised to the peerage in 1906 and created a viscount in 1921. Though married, Lord Pirrie has left no issue and the title becomes extinct.

8. **A. C. Irvine** was a member of the Mount Everest Expedition. Though only 22 years of age he had had some useful experience in Spitzbergen. He was still an undergraduate at Merton College, Oxford, which he had entered from Birkenhead School, Shrewsbury. Irvine had a powerful physique, was a splendid oarsman who gained his Blue as a freshman in 1922 and also rowed the following year.

— **George Leigh Mallory**, who was killed in the attempt to climb Mount Everest, was 36 years of age. Whilst still a boy at Winchester he evinced an interest in climbing and by 1910 was a member of the Alpine Club. In 1921 he was invited to take part in the first Mount Everest Expedition, going out again the following year. With other members of the Expedition Mallory climbed to 20,800 feet, creating a "record" for high mountaineering. He was a master at the Charterhouse and leaves a widow and two children.

— **The Right Hon. Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.**, whose age was 73, belonged to a family that won distinction in the Indian Civil Service. Educated at Eton he entered the Indian service as a probationer. His facility in acquiring Oriental languages gained him rapid promotion. After some time as an assistant in Rajputana he accompanied Sir Frederick (afterwards Lord) Roberts as political officer in the second Afghan War. At the siege of Sherpur he aided his brother-in-law, Sir Charles Macgregor, to recapture some guns from the enemy. In 1885 when only 35 years old he was appointed Foreign Secretary to the Viceroy, serving under Lords Dufferin and Lansdowne. In 1893 he was sent to Kabul to negotiate with the Ameer of Afghanistan about the delimitation of the Southern frontier, which was fixed at the "Durand Line." This success led to Durand's appointment as Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary to Persia in 1894, where he remained for six years. He was transferred to Madrid whence he went to Washington in 1903, but he had not the gifts that make for success in this difficult and important post. Sir Mortimer was recalled in 1906. In 1910 he unsuccessfully contested Plymouth as a Unionist. Sir Mortimer was a keen sportsman and a voluminous writer whose works included lives of Sir Alfred Lyall and Field-Marshal Sir George White, a couple of novels, etc.

— **The Rev. Vincent Henry Stanton, D.D.**, Emeritus Professor of Divinity and formerly Ely Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, whose age was 78, was born at Hong-Kong, where his father was Colonial Chaplain. From Kensington Grammar School he proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his degree in mathematics and classics in 1870. He became Junior Dean of Trinity College in 1874, Senior Dean in 1876, Hulsean Lecturer in 1879 and tutor in 1884. His work as a theologian earned him the Ely Professorship when it was founded in 1889. This he held until elected to succeed Dr. Swete as Regius Professor in 1916, a post he held until 1922 when he resigned with the title of Emeritus Professor. Among Dr. Stanton's best-known publications are "The Jewish and the Christian Messiah" (1887) and "The Place of Authority in Matters of Religious Belief" (1891).

11. **Sir Frederick William Duke, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.**, permanent Under-Secretary of State for India, whose age was 60, was educated at

Arbroath High School and University College, London. Entering the Indian Civil Service in 1882, he rose steadily to be Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, an office he relinquished in 1908. He had expected the Chief Secretaryship but as Bengal was made a Presidency, he became the senior member of the Governor's Council. Later he returned home to join the Indian Council and became one of the group who prepared the further reforms of Indian government. He accompanied Mr. Edwin Montagu to India and shaped the Act of 1919. In the same year he was appointed Permanent Under-Secretary. Two sons and a daughter survived him.

14. **T. H. S. Escott**, a former editor of the *Fortnightly Review*, was 79 years old. Educated at Somersetshire College and Queen's College, Oxford, he eventually lectured in Classics and Logic at King's College, London, but abandoned academic work for journalism. For twenty years he was on the staff of the *Standard*, the *World* and other papers. Mr. Escott also wrote a large number of books on varied themes of politics, society, etc. He left a son and a daughter.

15. **Richard Maximilian, Lord Acton**, the son of the famous historian who was Regius Professor of History at Cambridge, was born in 1870. After leaving Magdalen College, Oxford, he entered the diplomatic service and held appointments at Berlin, Vienna, Berne, Madrid and the Hague. In 1911 he was Charge d'Affaires at Darmstadt and Karlsruhe. During the war he was employed in Switzerland. In 1919 he was accredited Minister to Finland, but retired in the following year on account of ill-health. Lord Acton was Lord-in-Waiting from 1905 to 1915. He was also a K.C.V.O. and held several decorations. He left two sons and seven daughters.

19. **Sir Adolphus William Ward, Litt.D.**, Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, whose age was 86, was the son of John Ward, C.B., Minister Resident to the Hanse Towns. His earliest education he obtained in Germany, but in 1854 he entered King Edward VI. Grammar School, Bury St. Edmunds, whence he passed to Peterhouse. He graduated with a First Class in the Classical Tripos in 1859, was elected a Fellow in 1861 and an honorary Fellow in 1891. After some years as lecturer at Peterhouse and Glasgow he was appointed in 1866 to the Chair of English Language and Literature and of Ancient and Modern History at Owens College, Manchester. For thirty years he was actively associated with Owens, expending much of his energy, in collaboration with some of his colleagues, in converting it into a University. This was accomplished in 1880 when the "Victoria University" was founded. In 1889 Dr. Ward became Principal of Owens College and served for a time as Vice-Chancellor of the Victoria University. During his residence at Manchester, Dr. Ward produced much literary work, including his "History of the English Drama to the death of Queen Anne," translations of Curtis's "History of Greece," "The House of Austria in the Thirty Years' War," and editions of Pope, and Marlowe's "Dr. Faustus." Dr. Ward served as President of the British Academy, the Royal Historical Society and the English Goethe Society. He was elected Master of Peterhouse in 1900, and was Vice-Chancellor at Cambridge in 1901-1902. In addition to his numerous activities in Cambridge, Ward devoted much of his time to editing and planning and contributing to the great co-operative histories which the University Press has published during the last twenty years, notably the "Cambridge Modern History," the "Cambridge History of English Literature," the "Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy." He also wrote a History of Germany from 1815 to 1890 in 3 volumes. He was an Hon. LL. D. of Glasgow, and Ph. D. of Leipzig. His only daughter is married to Rev. Dr. E. W. Barnes, F.R.S., Bishop of Birmingham.

20. **General Sir Dighton Macnaghten Probyn, V.C.**, who was born in 1833, entered the Indian Army in 1849. He served in the Mutiny where

he won the V.C. at the battle of Agra. After the capture of Lucknow he commanded the 1st Sikh Irregular Cavalry ("Probyn's Horse¹") with which he served in the China War in 1860. Some further service on the N.W. Frontier of India led to his appointment as Equerry to the Prince of Wales in 1872. This brought him the K.C.S.I. in 1876 and on the following year he became Comptroller and Treasurer of the Prince's household. When the Prince ascended the throne in 1900 Sir Dighton became Keeper of His Majesty's Privy Purse, a post he held until King Edward's death in 1910. Sir Dighton now returned to Marlborough House as Comptroller of Queen Alexandra's Household. He was made a K.C.B. in 1887, G.C.V.O. in 1896 and G.C.S.I. in 1911. King Edward made him a Privy Councillor and a G.C.B. (Civil) and in 1910 he was made G.C.B. (Military). Outside royal circles he was the only person who held the highest rank simultaneously in both branches of the Order of the Bath. Sir Dighton was married, but had no issue.

23. **Cecil James Sharp**, whose age was 64, was educated at Uppingham and Clare College, Cambridge, where he imbibed a love of music from Sir O. V. Stanford. In 1883 he went out to South Australia as Associate to the Chief Justice and founded a school of music at Adelaide. Returning home in 1893 he became Principal of the Hampstead Conservatoire. At the same time he began publishing the folk-songs that he had been collecting for some years. Becoming acquainted with Morris-dancing he founded the English Folk Dance Society to foster it. Later he went to America where he found in the villages and farms of the Appalachian Mountains more ancient survivals of his beloved folk-songs. In 1923 he was made honorary Master of Music at Cambridge.

24. **Fredericks Niecks**, Reid Professor of Music at Edinburgh, was born at Dusseldorf in 1846. His father was a bandmaster and the son naturally took to music. He also received a general education at the University of Leipzig. In 1868 he came to Scotland at the invitation of Mr. A. C. (now Sir Alexander) Mackenzie, where he taught music for many years until his appointment to the Reid Chair in 1891. Niecks was a regular contributor to the *Monthly Musical Record* and the *Musical Times*. In 1888 he also published a "Life of Chopin" which has become a standard work. He was a Mus.D. and LL.D.

JULY.

2. **Sir Jethro Justinian Harris Teall, Sc.D., F.R.S.**, the celebrated geologist, whose age was 75, was educated privately and at St. John's, Cambridge, where he devoted himself to the study of geology. After being elected to a fellowship of his college, in 1875, Teall began his active career as an exponent of the science he was rapidly making his own. Various contributions on all the different aspects of geology soon brought recognition. In 1893 he was president of his section of the British Association, in 1901 he was appointed Director of H.M. Geological Survey and of the Museum of Practical Geology in succession to Sir Archibald Geikie, O.M. Teall received honorary degrees from Oxford, Dublin and St. Andrews and was awarded the Delessio prize by French Academy of Science. In 1916 he was knighted.

9. **Dr. Charles Thomas Ovensen**, Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, was 77 years old. After leaving Portora Royal School, Enniskillen, he studied in Germany and then at Trinity College, Dublin, where he graduated in 1870. Dr. Ovensen held several cures in various parts of Ireland before he became Dean of Clogher in 1903. He was elected Dean of St. Patrick's in 1911. He was also a musician, an amateur painter and an author of books of popular science.

12. **Ernest Alfred Bendall, M.V.O.**, Joint Examiner of Plays, was born in 1846. At the age of 20 he entered the Civil Service and at the same

time wrote dramatic criticism for many London journals. In 1912 he was appointed Joint Examiner of Plays in conjunction with Charles Brookfield. The latter died in 1913 and Bendall had to do most of the work alone. He received the M.V.O. for his services.

13. Robert Applegarth, the veteran trade union leader, was born in 1834 and served his apprenticeship as a carpenter. After a few years in the United States he settled in Sheffield and became a member of the General Union of Carpenters and Joiners. Whilst advocating the principles of trade unionism he devoted a great deal of time to self-improvement. His success as an organiser led to his appointment in 1862, as general secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners. With the aid of a group of sympathisers like Frederic Harrison, Professor E. S. Beesly, Judge Thomas Hughes, Applegarth piloted the movement through the period that ultimately led to the legalisation of trade unions by the acts of 1871 and 1876. On resigning the secretaryship he became the French representative of a firm of mining and submarine engineers and subsequently the proprietor of the English branch of the firm's electric light business. In 1870 he also acted as war correspondent of a number of papers during the Franco-Prussian war.

— Alfred Marshall, Emeritus Professor of Economics at Cambridge, whose age was 81, was educated at Merchant Taylors' School and St. John's College, Cambridge, where he entered first as a classical scholar in 1861; but in the following year he was elected to a mathematical scholarship. In 1865 he became 2nd Wrangler and a Fellow of his College. He married in 1877 Miss Paley, a lecturer at Newnham, and in the same year he was appointed Principal of University College, Bristol. Six years later he accepted a fellowship and lectureship at Balliol College, Oxford, but he did not remain long at Balliol; on Fawcett's death, Marshall was elected to the chair of Economics at Cambridge. He had already published his "Economics of Industry" in 1879, written in collaboration with his wife, and in 1890 appeared his "Principles of Economics," a work that revolutionised economic thought in England. The next volume was a long time following. It did not appear until 1919, eleven years after he had resigned his professorship. It was entitled "Trade and Industry." The third, on "Money, Credit, and Industry," was published in 1923. Marshall was a member of the Royal Commission on Labour in 1891, held honorary degrees from Oxford, Cambridge, Bristol, Edinburgh, Cracow and Christiana Universities. He was an hon. Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, and of Balliol College, Oxford, a Fellow of the British Academy, vice-president of the Royal Economic Society, and a Fellow or Member of the chief foreign academies. On his 80th birthday foreign and British economists presented him with a remarkable address, printed in the *Economic Journal*.

14. Sir Sydney Russell-Wells, M.P. for London University, whose age was 54, graduated in Science and passed with distinction through the Medical School of St. George's Hospital. Later he was house surgeon, house physician, and medical registrar at St. George's until appointed Senior Physician at the Seaman's Hospital, Greenwich, and Physician to the National Hospital for Diseases of the Heart. In addition to his professional work he devoted himself to University affairs, so that his election to the Vice-Chancellorship of London University was a merited reward for his services. Sir Sydney received his knighthood in 1921, Lady Russell-Wells, a son and two daughters survived him.

16. Miss {Catherine Stephen, whose age was 68, belonged to a distinguished family, being the daughter of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen and niece of Sir Leslie Stephen. She was educated privately and at Bedford College, London. She had already done some literary work when she became, in 1887, Private Secretary to Miss Helen Gladstone at that time vice-principal of Newnham College, Cambridge. In 1892 she

succeeded her chief and held this post until she became principal in 1911. During her association with Newnham the College developed enormously. She retired in 1920.

21. **Sir William Abbott Herdman, D.Sc, LL.D., F.R.S., F.L.S.**, whose age was 66, was educated at the Academy and University of Edinburgh. After graduating he began work on the records of the *Challenger* expedition, but in 1881 became Professor of Zoology at Liverpool. This post he retained until 1919 when he endowed a Professorship of Oceanography and became the first holder of the new chair. He was knighted in 1921. From 1903 to 1920 he was one of the Secretaries of the British Association. In the latter year he was its president. He had also been president of the Linnean Society in 1904 and foreign secretary of the Royal Society in 1916. He was twice married, but both his wives predeceased him.

24. **James Seth**, Professor of Philosophy at Edinburgh University, was 64 years old. From George Watson's College and Edinburgh he went to Leipzig, Jena and Berlin. His first appointment on his return home was as assistant to Professor Campbell Fraser at Edinburgh. From 1886 to 1898 he held appointments in Nova Scotia, Brown University (Rhode Island) and Cornell University. In 1898 he returned to Edinburgh as Professor of Moral Philosophy where he exercised a wide influence. His principal work, entitled "English Philosophers and Schools of Philosophy," was published in 1912.

27. **Ferruccio Benvenuto Busoni**, whose age was 58, was a notable pianist and composer. Both his parents were musicians and it was his mother who directed his musical training. His first appearance was at Vienna at the age of 9. He then studied under Hans Schmidt and W. A. Remy. Already famous at 17 he settled in Leipzig at 20. In 1886 he accepted a post at Helsingfors and four years later became professor at the Moscow Conservatoire. In 1893 he permanently settled in Berlin. He composed a large number of pieces for the piano and an opera *Die Brautwahl*, based upon F. T. A. Hoffmann's story of the same name.

AUGUST.

1. **Henry Richard Tedder, F.S.A.**, librarian of the Athenaeum, was 73 years of age. Beginning his career under the late Lord Acton in 1873, he was three years later appointed to the Athenaeum where he remained until his retirement in 1922. Mr. Tedder held many honorary offices in connection with the Library Association and similar organisations. He was likewise a valued contributor to the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" and the "Dictionary of National Biography."

— **Sir George Beilby, LL.D., F.R.S.**, whose age was 73, was educated privately and at Edinburgh University. He was a life-long student of fuel economy, interested in the Scottish shale oil industry and other matters affecting this branch of industry. He gave valuable evidence before the Royal Commission on Coal Supplies, was a member of Lord Fisher's Royal Commission on Fuel and Engines for the Navy, and Chairman, since 1917, of the Fuel Research Board. Sir George's scientific work—he was knighted in 1916—won him an F.R.S., and several honorary degrees from various universities. He likewise served as president of the Society of Chemical Industry, of the Chemical Section of the British Association (1905), of the Institute of Metals and as a member of the Central Committee of the Admiralty Board of Invention and Research. His most lasting work, however, was the Fuel Research Station at East Greenwich, the construction and completion of which he carried out himself.

3. **Joseph Conrad (Korzeniowski)**, better known by his first two names, was 67 years old. He was of Polish parentage and was brought up in

Cracow. At the age of 19 he was able to gratify his passion for the sea by becoming a sailor and a little later he entered the British mercantile marine. During the ten years that he was a master mariner he acquired the English language in which he eventually became one of the foremost writers of the day. He began his literary career with "Al mayor's Folly," published in 1895. This was soon followed by other novels in fairly rapid succession. In 1896 came "An Outcast of the Islands," in 1897 "The Nigger of the Narcissus," "Lord Jim" (1900), "Typhoon" (1903), "Nostromo, a Tale of the Seaboard," "The Mirror of the Sea" (1900), "The Secret Agent" (1907), "Within the Tides" (1915), "Chance" (1914) are among the most celebrated of Conrad's works.

9. **Sir Claude Phillips** was born in 1848. He graduated B.A. London and then became a solicitor, but in 1883 he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple. Art, however, attracted him and he began to contribute to the *Portfolio*, a periodical which did not live long. At the same time he published a series of monographs on artists. He was particularly distinguished by his work on Watteau, Titian, and Sir Joshua Reynolds. Phillips was for many years art critic of the *Daily Telegraph*. In 1897 he became Keeper of the Wallace Collection, retiring in 1911 and receiving his knighthood for his services.

— **Professor Julius Wertheimer**, Dean of the Faculty of Engineering and Professor of Applied Chemistry, Bristol University, was 64 years old. He was educated at Liverpool University and Owens College, Manchester. After achieving distinction in practical chemistry he was appointed Headmaster of the Leeds School of Science and Technology in 1887. Three years later he became Principal of the Merchant Venturers' Technical College, Bristol, a post he retained until it was incorporated in the University. Professor Wertheimer was the author of text-books on chemistry and technology, Hon. Secretary of the Association of Technical Institutions for ten years and served on numerous public bodies.

10. **Charles Leudesdorf**, whose age was 71, was Fellow and Vicegerent of Pembroke College, Oxford, and Registrar of the University. Of Jewish extraction he entered Owens College, Manchester, but left soon for Worcester College, Oxford. Here he had a distinguished career in mathematics. After some years as Lecturer at Pembroke he was elected Proctor in 1889, Secretary of the Board of Faculties in 1887, and Registrar in 1906, an office he held until his death.

15. **Richard Green Moulton, LL.D.**, Emeritus Professor in the University of Chicago, was born in England in 1849. From Kingswood School, Bath, he won a scholarship to Christ's College, Cambridge, and later he graduated both at Cambridge and London, also becoming Ph.D. of the University of Pennsylvania. For nearly thirty years he was a University Extension Lecturer in England and America, until elected Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation in the University of Chicago in 1892. Moulton was a voluminous writer, especially on the sixteenth century, Shakespeare, and on the Bible.

— **Francis, 1st Viscount Knollys**, whose age was 87, belonged to an old family whose ancestors had given much personal service to the sovereigns of this country since the early fifteenth century. Francis Knollys obtained his first appointment as Private Secretary to the Prince of Wales and continued in this position when the Prince became King Edward VII. in 1901. For his services he was created a baron in 1902, a viscount in 1911 and retired in 1913. Lord Knollys had also been Gentleman-Usher to Queen Victoria from 1868 until her death, Groom-in-Waiting to the Prince of Wales from 1886 to 1901 and Lord-in-Waiting to Queen Alexandra from 1910. He was admitted to the Privy Council in 1910, received at different times the G.C.B., G.C.V.O., K.C.M.G., I.S.O.

16. **Admiral Sir Cyrian Arthur** George Bridge, G.C.B., was 85 years old. Entering the Navy at an early age, he participated in the expedition to the White Sea during the Crimean War. Subsequently his service took him to all the British Naval Stations. In 1857 during the Indian Mutiny he was in the Bay of Bengal. Steady promotion followed and by 1882 he was Commissioner of the Western Pacific. In 1889 he became Director of Naval Intelligence, a post he held for over five years. From 1895 to 1898 he was Commander-in-Chief of the Australian Station and later as Vice-Admiral held the similar position in China where he retired from active service. He then served on the commissions that investigated the "North Sea Affair" during the Russo-Japanese War and the campaign in Mesopotamia in 1916. His published works include, beside his reminiscences, "The Art of Naval Warfare," an edition of an eighteenth century MS. on the Russian Navy for the Navy Records Society, and numerous contributions to various journals and the daily press dealing with his profession.

18. Professor **Paul** Natorp, leader of the Neo-Kantian school of philosophers at Marburg, was born in 1854. After completing his studies at Berlin, Bonn and Strasbourg he was appointed to Marburg, where he came under the influence of Herman Cohen whom he succeeded. He wrote many books on pedagogy, ethics, logic, etc. Natorp was noted for a liberal outlook which was somewhat uncommon in the universities of pre-war Germany.

27. Sir William Maddock Bayliss, who was born in 1860, attained pre-eminence as a physiologist and researcher. He was educated privately and apprenticed to a doctor, but never completed his medical course. In 1881 he became a student at University College, London, graduating B.Sc. next year and gaining the University Scholarship in Zoology. He then directed his attention to physiology and for this purpose became an undergraduate at Wadham College, Oxford, in 1885. He obtained a First Class in the final school of Natural Science in Physiology in 1888. While at Wadham he came under the influence of Comtist philosophy then dominant there. On returning to London he devoted himself to research, collaborating with Schafer and E. H. Starling and John Rose Bradford. His curiosity was immense, directing him to all channels of investigation and to numerous branches of knowledge. Sometime early in this century Bayliss was appointed to the Chair of General Physiology at University College. In 1914 he published his "Principles of General Physiology," a work of remarkable erudition that has had an enormous influence on the study of the subject. Bayliss received the Royal Medal of the Royal Society in 1911 and the Copley Medal in 1919. He was knighted in 1922. During the War he discovered a method of treating wound shock which was largely used at the front. Bayliss married Gertrude Starling, sister of his "friend and fellow worker."

— Nicholas Misu, Minister of the Rumanian Royal Household and formerly Rumanian Minister in London, was born in 1858. After graduating in Law at Gottingen in 1880 he entered the diplomatic Service. He was Diplomatic Agent in 1900, Minister to Austria in 1908, to Turkey in 1911, and came to London in 1913, remaining there until 1920. On returning to Rumania he was for a time Foreign Minister and then Chief of the Military and Civil Household of the King of Rumania. M. Misu was an exceptional linguist and classical scholar.

28. **Henry William** Massingham, who was 64 years old, was educated at Norwich Grammar School under Dr. Jessopp. At the age of 17 he began his journalistic career on the *Eastern Daily News*. In London he became the correspondent of this newspaper and then editor of the National Press Agency. When the *Star* was founded in 1889 he became its assistant editor. From the *Star* he went to the *Daily Chronicle*, holding various posts until he became its editor. The Boer War found him at

variance with the policy of the paper and he resigned. After some years of miscellaneous journalism he, in 1907, took over the Liberal weekly, the *Speaker*, afterwards changed to the *Nation*, where he was able to display his special gifts. During the War he became sharply opposed to British policy, more especially when its direction passed to the Coalition Government of Mr. Lloyd George. After the peace he vigorously opposed the policy of France until he gradually drifted away from Liberalism to Labour. In 1923 he quitted the *Nation* and joined the *New Statesman*.

SEPTEMBER.

2. Moreton Frewen, whose age was 71, was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. He was an authority on currency questions as well as a traveller and sportsman with a reputation in two continents. His contributions on financial questions were mainly confined to the columns of the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Nineteenth Century*. Frewen was an ardent bimetallist and tariff reformer.

3. Sir Cyril Jackson, who was born in 1863, proceeded from the Charterhouse to New College, Oxford, where he graduated in Classics in 1885. He then took up his residence at Toynbee Hall, became Central Secretary of the Children's Country Holiday Fund and was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1893. From 1891 to 1896 he was a member of the London School Board. In 1896 he went to Western Australia as Inspector-General of Schools and permanent head of its Education Department. After eight years he returned home to become a chief inspector of the Board of Education. This post he held until 1907, when he was elected a member of the L.C.C., becoming chairman of its Education Committee the next year. Among other educational activities of Sir Cyril was membership of the Senate of the University of London, a Governor of the Imperial College of Science. He was likewise member of numerous committees of various kinds relating to social work. He was chairman of the L.C.C. in 1915, receiving his knighthood as K.B.E. in 1917, and again chairman of the Education Committee in 1922. Apart from his numerous activities Sir Cyril wrote a great deal on the questions to which he had devoted his life.

8. Mr. Justice (Clement Meacher) Bailhache was born in 1856 and educated at the City of London School. He began his legal career as a solicitor, but after graduating LL.B. of London University and practising for some years at Newport, Mori, he entered the Middle Temple where he was called to the Bar in 1889. He specialised in Commercial Law, took "silk" in 1908 and soon became a prominent advocate. In 1912 he was raised to the Bench and knighted. During the war, Mr. Justice Bailhache had many first-rate cases to deal with and his decisions attracted a great deal of attention. Bailhache was a sound lawyer, a hard worker, fond of home life, but intensely opposed to most social functions.

16. **Sir Thomas William Holderness, Bt., G.C.B., K.C.S.I.**, whose age was 75, was educated at Cheltenham and University College, Oxford. Entering the Indian Civil Service in 1872 in the North Western Provinces he became Under-Secretary in the Revenue and Agricultural Department in 1880. During the next seventeen years he held various posts until he was called upon to deal with the famine of 1897. His success in this work led to his appointment as a Secretary to Government in the Revenue and Agricultural Department. In 1901 he returned to England as Secretary of the Revenue Department of the India Office. After being knighted in 1907 Sir Thomas became Permanent Under-Secretary in 1912. Though he should have retired on the eve of the War his term of office was extended until, at his own request, it terminated in 1919.

16. Bhupendra Nath Basu, a former member of the Council of India and until recently a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bengal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, was born in 1859. Educated at Calcutta University he became an attorney of the Bengal High Court after graduating. Later he became a member of the Indian National Congress and the Calcutta Corporation and of the Bengal Legislature. In the somewhat stormy politics of India in recent years Mr. Basu was a moderating force, exerting himself on behalf of constitutional reform. He was on Council of the Secretary of State, assisting in formulating the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Throughout his career he was actuated by undoubted patriotism, as well as a love of political power long exercised, officially and unofficially.

18. Francis Herbert Bradley, O.M., whose age was 78, was Senior Fellow of Merton College and one of England's leading philosophical thinkers for the last half-century. He was educated at University College, Oxford, took a keen interest in English and German literature, and after winning an open fellowship at Merton devoted himself to writing on philosophy. His chief works included "Ethical Studies" (1876), "Principles of Logic" (1883), "Appearance and Reality" (1893), a metaphysical exercise which has exercised a great influence, "Essays on Truth and Reality" (1914), "Terminal Essays," etc. Throughout his life Bradley was dogged by ill-health. He was appointed to the Order of Merit in June, 1924.

19. Sir Reginald Pole Carew, who belonged to an old Cornish family, was born in 1849. From Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, he entered the Coldstream Guards. He served in the Second Afghan War A.D.C. to Sir Frederick (afterwards Earl) Roberts, and in the Egyptian War, being present at the battles of Tel-el-Mahuta and Tel-el-Kebir. From 1883 to 1900 he was military secretary to the commander of the Madras Army. In the South African war he accompanied Lord Roberts and was engaged in the march on Kimberley, the actions at Modder River, Magersfontein, Poplar Grove, Dreifontein, the operations around Johannesburg and Pretoria, etc. He was given the K.C.B. for his services. Sir Reginald retired in 1906, becoming M.P. first for Pembroke Boroughs and then for Bodmin, and retaining his seat until 1916. Sir Reginald is survived by his wife, two sons and two daughters.

20. Sir Algernon Methuen, who was born in 1850, proceeded from Berkhamstead School to Wadham College, Oxford, and on graduating he became a schoolmaster. Later he started publishing under the name of Methuen & Co., and also changed his name of Stedman to Methuen. As a publisher Sir Algernon produced the works of some of our leading writers and men of letters. Educational books likewise retained an interest for him. He was created a baronet in 1916 and once contested Guildford in the Liberal interest without success.

23. Ailwyn Edward Fellowes, Lord Ailwyn, whose age was 69, was educated at Eton and Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and was an expert agriculturist. He likewise took a keen interest in politics, representing North Huntingdon as a Conservative from 1889 to 1906. During that period he held several minor political offices until he became President of the Board of Agriculture in 1905 with a seat in the Cabinet. For his services to the industry to which he was devoted and to local government in Norfolk he was made a K.C.V.O. in 1911, a K.B.E. in 1917 and raised to the peerage in 1921. Lady Ailwyn and three sons survived him.

24. Dr. Lacassagne, Professor of Legal Medicine at Lyons University, whose age was 81, was educated at Montpellier, the School of Military Medicine at Strasbourg and at the military hospital, Val-de-Grâce. In 1870 he was detained as a prisoner in Germany. Later he joined the African army where he took up the study of criminology, continuing his

researches on becoming Professor at Lyons. He founded the museum of legal medicine and instituted the archives of criminal anthropology.

26. **Walter Hume, 1st Viscount Long of Wraxall**, whose age was 70, belonged to a well-known Wiltshire family. From Harrow he went to Christ Church, Oxford, and on leaving the University he was elected, in 1880, as a Conservative for North Wilts at the age of 25. In 1886 he became Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board and by 1895 he had become President of the Board of Agriculture with a seat in the Cabinet. His tenure of office was memorable for the clamour raised against his dog muzzling order. In 1900 Mr. Long was made President of the Local Government Board when he succeeded in passing the London Water Bill. Under Mr. Balfour's premiership Mr. Long transferred to the Irish Office which he administered successfully for nine months. After some years in opposition Mr. Long had an opportunity of becoming leader of the Conservatives on Mr. Balfour's resignation in 1911, but fearing to split the party he, as well as his rival, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, gave way to Mr. Balfour. During the Great War, Mr. Long again held office in the Coalition Ministries—first, his old post of President of the Local Government Board and then, in 1916, Secretary for the Colonies. After the Armistice he changed over to the Admiralty, superintending the demobilisation of the Navy, resigning in 1921 for reasons of ill-health, when he was raised to the peerage. Always a keen horseman and interested in many sports Lord Long was President of the M.C.C., and Lord Lieutenant of Wiltshire.

29. **Hugh Chisholm** was born in 1866 and educated at Felsted and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he took firsts in the classical schools. He then read for the Bar but adopted journalism as his profession. From 1892 to 1897 he was assistant editor of the *St James's Gazette*, succeeding to the editorship in the latter year. Three years later he exchanged this post for that of leader writer of the *Standard*. In the same year he undertook to act as co-editor of the supplementary volumes of the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" which formed the 10th edition. He followed it up by becoming editor-in-chief of the 11th edition. When this was completed Chisholm became Financial Editor of *The Times*, a risky adventure for one who had hitherto had no specialist knowledge of this branch of his profession, more especially as he was called upon to discuss the difficult problems of war finance. He relinquished this post to resume the editorship of the 12th edition of the Encyclopaedia which appeared in 1922.

OCTOBER.

2. **His Honour Sir Patrick Rose-Innes, K.C.**, who was 71 years old, was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1878 and was subsequently a member of the South-Eastern circuit. Appointed Recorder of Sandwich and Ramsgate in 1905, he took "silk" in 1913, was knighted in 1918 and was a County Court Judge from 1920 to 1922. Prior to that he had several times endeavoured to enter Parliament as a Unionist.

3. **Sir Max Waechter**, whose age was 87, was of German origin. He came to this country at the age of 22 and built up a large business as a metal, chemical, and general merchant. Throughout his life he was a noted philanthropist who made considerable benefactions to numerous charities. He was knighted in 1902, and then began to propagate a scheme for the Federation of Europe on lines similar to that of the United States. His title passed to his son, Col. Sir Harry Waechter, Bt., C.M.G. and Croix de Guerre.

7. **Thomas Edward Colcutt, F.R.I.B.A.**, was born in 1840. He was a noted architect who erected numerous buildings all over the country. In London he was best known as the architect of the Savoy Hotel and

the Imperial Institute. He was President of the Royal Institute of British Architects from 1906 to 1908, an honorary member of the *Société Centrale d'Architecture de Belgique*, a corresponding member of the *Société des Artistes Français*, and in 1899 received a Grand Prix for Architecture at the Paris Exhibition of 1899.

12. **Rupert Sackville Gwynne**, formerly Conservative M.P. for Eastbourne and Financial Secretary to the War Office, was 51 years old. Educated at Shrewsbury School and Pembroke College, Cambridge, he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1898. In January, 1910, he was first elected to Parliament and held his seat until the 1924 election. Mr. Gwynne was likewise a member of the East Sussex County Council and for twenty years chairman of the Eastbourne Rural District Council.

13. **Jacques Anatole Francois Thibault**, better known as **Anatole France**, was born on April 16, 1844. He was educated at the Jesuit College, Stanislas, where he received a thorough classical training. Entering the *Ecole des Chartes* he devoted himself to history and an essay on "La Légende de Sainte Radegonde" was his first published work. Later he turned his attention to philosophy, studying first the eighteenth century thinkers and then the nineteenth century prophets of rationalism and evolution. At the same time he studied the poets, publishing his study of "Alfred de Vigny" in 1868. This brought him into the circle of Leconte de Lisle which resulted in two volumes of verse, "Les Poèmes Dorés" (1873) and "Les Noces Corinthiennes" (1876). As yet, however, his work had not shown the genius which afterwards developed. The first phase of this genius manifested in the period 1881 to 1897 when there were published "Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard," "Thais" (1890), "L'Étui de Noë" (1892), "La Rotisserie de la Reine Pedauque" (1893), "Le Lys Rouge" (1894), and "Le Jardin d'Épiqueure" (1895). In the following year (1896) he was elected to the Academy. From 1886 to 1891 Anatole France was literary critic to the *Temps*, and his articles under the title of "La Vie Littéraire" attracted a great deal of attention. France's love of freedom of thought led him to support Zola when he demanded the revision of the Dreyfus case. Henceforth he became a leading intellectual member of the Opposition, his four-volume romance "Histoire Contemporaine" (1897-1901), incorporating his contempt for clericalism, anti-Semitism, plutocracy, and other things he despised. The same spirit fills "Crainquebille" (1904), "L'Île des Pingouins" (1908), "La Révolte des Anges" (1914). His "Vie de Jeanne d'Arc" (1908) aroused a great deal of resentment in certain circles. France's work was distinguished by learning, wit, fancy, and above all a gentle irony that out-distanced Voltaire in every respect. Anatole France was twice married and had a daughter Suzanne, who was married to Ernest Psichari, grandson of Renan, who was killed in the war.

15. **Izzet Pasha el Abid** was a Damascene Arab who was a personal favourite with the Sultan Abdul Hamid. He is alleged to have induced his master to revive the Caliphate, to build the Hejaz Railway and generally to propagate Pan-Islamism. In the Revolution of 1908 he escaped on board a British steamer. He afterwards lived in retirement in Egypt.

18. **Admiral Sir Percy Moreton Scott**, who was born in 1853, entered the Navy as a cadet in 1866, serving in the Ashanti War and the Congo. In 1877 he qualified as a gunnery lieutenant, and later joined the *Inconstant* in which he served in the Egyptian campaign of 1882. Wherever he served Scott displayed the inventive ingenuity which distinguished him later in life. In 1896 he was in command of the *Scylla* where he became the foremost exponent of new gunnery spirit of the Navy. Three years later he fought in the Boer War, rendering most valuable services at Lady Smith. He then proceeded to China where his mobile heavy

guns proved exceedingly useful in the Boxer Rebellion. In 1905 he was appointed by Lord Fisher as Inspector of Target Practice. On the occasion of the launching of the *Dreadnought* in 1906 he was made a K.C.V.O. As Rear-Admiral he was for a short time in command of the First Cruiser Squadron of the Channel Fleet and then of the 2nd Cruiser Squadron in the Atlantic Fleet. Promoted to Vice-Admiral in 1908 he hauled down his flag early in the following year, receiving the K.C.B. and hon. L.L.D. from Cambridge University and 2,000? as a special grant for his naval inventions, in 1910. In 1913 he was created a baronet. During the Great War Admiral Scott was for some time in charge of the aircraft defences of London, then gunnery adviser to the Commander-in-Chief of the Home Fleet and a member of the Board of Inventions and Research. Sir Percy became an opponent of the battleship and advocated the building of submarines. He was buried at sea on October 22, not far from Portsmouth.

22. William Henry Stevenson, Fellow and librarian of St. John's College, Oxford, was a learned authority on Anglo-Saxon, local records and place-names. After editing the records of Nottingham, Gloucester, and a Calendar of Records, Stevenson was appointed to the Record Office. Not long after, however, he returned to Oxford, where he continued his work on English place-names. In 1904 he edited Asser's "Life of Alfred," a work replete with learning.

26. B. H. Black well, the Oxford bookseller and publisher, who was 75 years of age, was known to several generations of Oxford scholars, many of whom published their works through him. For some years he was a member of the Oxford City Council.

28. Edouard Alexandre de Max, whose age was 55, studied at the Paris Conservatoire and began his histrionic career at the Odéon where his first success was in the part of Nero in Racine's *Britannicus*. Since then he played almost every great role in French drama. For a long time he was associated with Sarah Bernhardt and so was well known to London audiences.

— Edward Bell, Charge d'Affaires of the United States Legation at Peking, was born in 1882, graduated at Harvard, and entered the United States Consular Service in Egypt in 1900. After holding posts at Teheran and Cuba, he was appointed to London where he remained from 1913 to 1919 whence he went to Tokyo where he spent two years. At the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments in 1921 he served as an expert assistant and secretary to the United States Delegation. For a short period before going to Peking he held a post in the Department of State.

29. Edmund Charles Tennyson D'Eyncourt, who was a cousin of the poet, was born in 1855 and was educated at Eton and University College, Oxford. In 1881 he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple. He practised until 1897 when he was appointed a Metropolitan Police magistrate, a post he resigned early in 1924 for reasons of health.

— Maffeo Pantaleoni, the celebrated Italian economist, died suddenly after speaking at the Savings Bank Congress at Milan. Born in 1857, he was educated at the University of Rome, and at the age of 25 he became Professor of Political Economy at the University of Camerino, later being appointed Director of the Commercial High School at Bari, a post he resigned in 1890. In 1895 he returned to academic life by accepting a professorship at Naples, and in 1902 he was appointed to the chair of Political Economy at Rome. His principal claim to fame was as a great teacher, but he also took part in public life. His devotion to unpopular causes earned for him the title of Don Quixote of Italian politics, but his sterling character won universal recognition. In 1923 he was made a Senator, and he was the Italian representative on the Financial Commis-

sion of the League of Nations for Austria. His principal work was "Pure Economics," published in 1889, and translated into English in 1898.

29. **Mrs. Stephen Townsend**, better known as **Frances Hodgson Burnett**, was born in Manchester in 1849, and at the age of 15 migrated with her family to U.S.A. She married Dr. Swan Burnett of Washington, in 1873, but divorced him in 1898 and two years later married Mr. Stephen Townsend. Though she began writing early in life her most successful work was "Little Lord Fauntleroy." This was several times dramatised, though Mrs. Burnett had to fight a law-suit to vindicate her dramatic rights in her novel.

NOVEMBER.

1. **Dr. Gavrilovitch**, Minister of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in London since 1920 was 55 years of age. He was a scholar as well as a diplomatist. After completing his studies at Paris he was for a time a Professor of History and Director of the Archives. At the age of 40 he entered the diplomatic service, being first Minister to the Vatican and then to Montenegro. He left a widow and three children.

2. **Stephen Szabo**, late Hungarian Minister of Agriculture. He was a simple peasant who entered the National Assembly and became leader of a group of peasant owners. After the revolution he served for a time under Count Michael Karolyi. During the Soviet regime he retired, but returned to become Minister of Agriculture in the three Fried rich Cabinets. Later he was Minister of Food under three Prime Ministers until April* 1921, returning to the Ministry of Agriculture under Count Bethlen.

— **Frank Weston, D.D.**, Bishop of Zanzibar, was born in 1871 and educated at Dulwich, and Trinity College, Oxford. After three years as a curate he went out to Zanzibar where he took charge of the training of native teachers and candidates for ordination. In 1901 he was appointed Principal of St. Andrew's College and two years later was made Canon and Chancellor of Zanzibar Cathedral. On the See of Zanzibar becoming vacant in 1908, the Archbishop of Canterbury nominated him to the vacancy on the unanimous request of the Committee of the Universities Mission. In his new position Weston showed great powers as an organiser and administrator. In 1913 he attacked the Bishops of Uganda and Mombasa for taking part in the Kikuyu conference. This brought him into prominence as a controversialist. During the war Bishop Weston served as a Major commanding the Zanzibar Carrier Corps, receiving the O.B.E. for his services.

— **John Walter Cross**, the husband of "George Eliot," was 84 years of age. After two years at Rugby School he went to New York on behalf of a banking firm in which his father was interested and remained there from 1857 until 1869. In that year he first met George Eliot at Rome. When he returned from the States and settled in England he became an intimate friend of the gifted novelist and her husband, George Henry Lewes. The latter died in 1878 and two years later George Eliot married Cross. Their married life only lasted seven months and Cross was left a disconsolate widower, occupying his time in arranging materials for the biography of George Eliot and contributing occasional articles to the *Nineteenth Century* and *Blackwood* and other magazines. These and others that followed were republished in two volumes. Cross was an authority on finance and economics, though he wrote little on these subjects.

3. **Sir Percy Crosland Tempest, K.B.E., M.InstX.E.**, formerly joint general manager of the Southern Railway, was 63 years old. He was educated at Leeds Grammar School and University. After serving his

articles he joined the engineer's department of the South-Eastern Company, becoming assistant engineer in 1896 and chief engineer in 1899. In the following year he was appointed general manager and chief engineer of the S.E. & C.R., a post which he held until 1923 when he became joint manager of the Southern Railway. He was knighted in 1923.

4. **Gabriel Faure**, aged 79, was a distinguished French composer who was likewise the teacher of many present-day composers. His main work consisted of songs, pieces for the piano, and the incidental music to Maeterlinck's *Pelleas et Melisande*. He also wrote an opera, *Penelope*, a Requiem Mass, a cantata, etc. His work was largely influenced by the older generation of German composers. Faure was a member of the Institut de France and a Grand Croix of the Legion of Honour.

7. **Sir Thomas Graham Jackson, Bt., R.A.**, whose age was 88, was educated at Brighton College and Oxford. Obtaining a fellowship at Wadham he was able to study and travel until he entered the office of Sir G. G. Scott, the leading architect. Jackson did a great deal of work for all the public schools, but his best achievements are at Oxford and Cambridge. He likewise built many churches in the south of England and carried out restoration work at Oxford, Bath, and elsewhere. His fame brought him a commission to restore the campanile at Zara in Dalmatia. Jackson wrote voluminously and well on various aspects of the history of architecture. In 1892 he was elected an A.R.A., and four years later an R.A. He received the Royal Gold Medal for Architecture of the Royal Institute of British Architects, the D.C.L. of Oxford, and LL.D. of Cambridge as well as many foreign distinctions.

9. **Senator Henry Cabot Lodge**, whose age was 74, had for long been an outstanding figure in American politics. On graduating at Harvard he first travelled, then studied law whilst acting as assistant editor of the *North American Review*. His political career began in 1879 when he was elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives. From 1887 to 1893 he was a member of the United States House of Representatives, and since 1893 he represented Massachusetts in the Senate. Lodge was always an active member of the Republican Party, filled many posts with distinction, particularly as his country's representative on the Alaska Boundary Commission. He was an extreme advocate of the Monroe Doctrine, always tenacious of the claims of the United States in all foreign relations. Throughout his life he displayed a strong anti-British bias, and this prejudice was manifested frequently in the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. He was a bitter opponent of President Wilson and was largely instrumental in bringing about the rejection of the Treaty of Versailles, which was confirmed by the election of 1920.

— **Frederick Coate Wade**, Agent-General for British Columbia since 1918, was 64 years old. After graduating at Toronto University, he became a journalist, but later was admitted to the Manitoba Bar. Wade was the author of numerous works dealing with phases of Canadian history and exploration.

10. **Sir Archibald Geikie, O.M.**, the eminent geologist, was born in Edinburgh in 1835 and educated at the High School and the University of his native city. At the age of 20 he was appointed an assistant to the Geological Survey, and retained his connexion with it for forty-six years. From 1867-1881 he was Director of its special branch for Scotland and then became Director-General of the Geological Survey of the United Kingdom and Director of the Museum of Practical Geology. In 1871 he was appointed Murchison Professor of Geology and Mineralogy in the University of Edinburgh. In the positions he occupied Geikie was able to influence geological research in many directions. He particularly emphasised the importance of field work and microscopic investigation. He published numerous memoirs and maps, but his outstanding work

was the Geological Map of England and Wales, published in 1896. Sir Archibald also wrote voluminously and well on his special subject • his "Text-book of Geology" is perhaps the chief authority on this science in the English language. He was President of the Geological Society in 1891, 1892, and 1907, of the British Association in 1892, Foreign Secretary of the Royal Society from 1890-94, Secretary 1903-1908, and President 1908-13. Sir Archibald—he was knighted in 1891—held honorary degrees of ten British and four foreign universities. He was made a k.C.B. in 1907, and received the Order of Merit in 1914. In addition he held innumerable posts on various other scientific and public bodies both native and foreign.

12. **Edmund Dene Morel**, Labour M.P. for Dundee, aged 51, was of French descent. After some years in a Paris bank and with Elder, Dempster & Co., in Liverpool, he became interested in West Africa and took up journalism. In 1903 Morel founded the *African Mail* in which he advocated the rights of the natives. He founded the Congo Reform Association, taking a leading part in the controversy that arose over the alleged cruelty committed on the native-; in the Congo Free State. He attacked Belgian rule in that country in two books and received a testimonial of 4,000 guineas from his admirers. Morel then turned his attention to secret diplomacy. During the war he helped to form the Union of Democratic Control of which he became secretary. His attitude to the war led to his prosecution under the Defence of the Realm Act and he was sentenced to six months imprisonment. In 1918 he joined the I.L.P. and in 1922 was elected M.P. for Dundee. Morel possessed in an eminently high degree the capacity of generating enthusiasm for his causes.

15. The Rt. Hon. Edwin Samuel Montagu, aged 45, was the second son of the late Sir Samuel Montagu, first baron Swaythling, a prominent member of the Jewish community, and for many years Liberal M.P. for Whitechapel. He was educated at Clifton College, the City of London School, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was President of the Union. In 1903 he was elected M.P. for the Chesterton Division, becoming unpaid private secretary to Mr. Asquith until his appointment as Under Secretary for India in* 1910. His interest in the great Dependency was intense. He visited it in the winter of 1913-14 and on his return he became Financial Secretary to the Treasury. He originated the scheme for War Savings Certificates. The success of this scheme led to his entry into the Cabinet at the age of 35 as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, but on the formation of the Coalition Ministry, he returned to his former post at the Treasury where he rendered useful service. When in 1916 Mr. Lloyd George went to the War Office, Montagu succeeded him as Minister of Munitions with a seat on the War Committee of the Cabinet. Towards the end of 1916 when Mr. Asquith's Ministry fell, Montagu retired with him. However, a few months later he re-entered the Cabinet of Mr. Lloyd George as Secretary for India. His tenure of office was made memorable by the Montagu-Chelmsford report which introduced drastic reforms in the government of India. The Bill that followed was largely his work, but the speeches he delivered upon the Amritsar affair and the enforced retirement of General Dyer aroused great bitterness and resentment. Later his sympathy with Indian Moslems led him to oppose the Treaty with Turkey. A despatch which he published without the prior sanction of the Cabinet led to his dismissal from office in March 1922. In the election of that year Montagu was defeated, abandoned his political career, and entered the City as vice-chairman of De Beers. In the winter of 1923-24 he went to Brazil at the invitation of the Brazilian Government to report on financial reform contemplated by that State.

17. **Sir Maurice Fitzmaurice, C.M.G., F.R.S.**, the noted engineer, who was 63 years of age, was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. He soon

acquired a reputation as a sound engineer, being engaged on the construction of the Forth Bridge, railways and docks in Canada, and the Blackwall Tunnel. He then became chief engineer to the Egyptian Government in the building of the Assuan Dam. At the age of 40 he was appointed chief engineer to the London County Council, a post he held until 1912 when he was knighted. He then joined a firm of engineers that advised the Crown Agents for the Colonies. His chief work for London was the extension and duplication of the main drainage system, the Rotherhithe Tunnel, etc. During the war he was chairman of the Admiralty Advisory Committee on Naval Works, visited the Front in Flanders to advise on questions of drainage, as well as rendering numerous other services. Various professional and academic honours were conferred on him by learned societies, including the honorary LL.D. of Birmingham University.

18. The Rev. Stewart Duckworth Headlam, aged 77, was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. On being ordained he became a curate of St. Johns, Drury Lane, and at once became interested in social questions. However, owing to the "Church and Stage" controversy of the early eighties, Headlam abandoned active work in the Church and devoted himself to education, first on the School Board for London and then as a member of the L.C.C. He was especially interested in continuative education and was a warm friend of the Evening Institutes. Mr. Headlam was a "Progressive" in politics and a High Churchman ecclesiastically.

19. Michael, Cardinal Logue, Primate of All Ireland, whose age was 84, entered Maynooth College before he was 17. In 1866 he was appointed to the Chair of Theology and Belles Lettres at the Irish College in Paris. Returning in 1874 with the degree of D.D. he was S.O.R. after appointed Professor of Irish and of Moral Philosophy at Maynooth. He held these chairs until 1879 when he was consecrated Bishop of Kaphoe. In 1888 he was co-adjutor to Archbishop M'Gettigan, whom he succeeded a few months after as Archbishop of Armagh. Five years later he was made a Cardinal by Pope Leo XIII. During the Great War the Cardinal's attitude was loyal and correct, though he opposed conscription in Ireland. He was equally opposed to Sinn Fein and to Socialism. Cardinal Logue likewise denounced the campaign of murder which broke out in 1919, so that he welcomed the Peace Treaty. Though eschewing active participation in politics the Cardinal exercised great, and sometimes decisive, influence upon events in Ireland.

20. Sir Lee Oliver Fitzmaurice Stack, K.B.E., Sirdar of the Egyptian Army and Governor-General of the Sudan, who died of wounds inflicted by an attack upon him in the streets of Cairo, was aged 56. From Clifton College he passed into Sandhurst and obtained his first commission in the Border Regiment in 1888. In 1898, having attained the rank of Captain, he served in Crete, and thus acquired a taste for service in the East, so that he transferred to the Egyptian Army in 1899. Promotion came to him rapidly until he became Military and private Secretary to the then Sirdar, Sir Reginald Wingate. In 1910 he retired from the army to become, three years later, Civil Secretary to the Government of Sudan. Shortly after the outbreak of the Great War he succeeded his former chief as Sirdar and Governor-General, being promoted to the rank of Major-General. In this capacity he performed valuable service as administrator, stamping his personality upon the country. Sir Lee was made a C.M.G. in 1914, K.B.E. in 1918, and G.B.E. in 1923. He also held several Egyptian decorations.

26. Admiral Sir William Alison Dyke Acland, Bt., C.V.O., who was descended from an old Devonshire family, was born in 1847. After some years at private schools he joined the Royal Navy in 1861. Acland attained the rank of Commander by 1879, and he was ordered to Callao to

protect British interests in the Chile-Peru war in 1880. He then became Naval Attache; to the Chilean Headquarters Staff, and was present at some of the chief military engagements between the two armies. In 1883 he was in command of the *Miranda* on the Australian Station, serving as Deputy-Commissioner for the Western Pacific. Promoted Captain in 1885, he for a time retired from the Navy; he returned to the sea service in 1889 and was appointed A.D.C. to Queen Victoria in 1896, a post he retained until he was promoted Rear-Admiral in 1899. After some further service at Devonport, in the Channel Squadron, and as Admiral-Superintendent of Gibraltar Dockyard, he returned to England, in 1904; he became Admiral in 1908 and retired in 1911.

29. **Giacomo Puccini**, the famous opera composer, whose age was 66, came of a family of musicians and studied music at the Milan Conservatory. His first opera, *Le Villi*, was produced at Milan in 1884, and as it met with instant success it determined his career. After the failure of his second opera, *Edgar*, he wrote *Manon Lescau* (1893) and *La Boheme* (1896), *La Tosca* (1900), and *Madame Butterfly* (1904). For some years Puccini rested, then in 1911 he wrote *La Fanciulla del West*, which was first performed in America. This was his last complete opera. Almost his last works were three one-act operas that met with a certain success in England, America, and Italy.

DECEMBER.

3. **The Rt. Hon. William Drennan Andrews, L.C.D.**, aged 92, was educated at the Royal Belfast Academical Institution and Trinity College, Dublin. Andrews was called to the British Bar in 1855, took silk in 1872, and was appointed a Judge of the Exchequer Division of the High Court of Justice, which was afterwards merged in the King's Bench Division, a post he held for twenty-eight years. He was made a member of the Irish Privy Council in 1897.

4. **The Rt. Hon. Sir William Grey Ellison-Macartney, K.C.M.G.**, a former Governor of Tasmania and Western Australia, was 72 years old. Educated at Eton and Exeter College, Oxford, he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1878 and joined the South-Eastern Circuit. In 1885 he entered the House of Commons as Conservative M.P. for South Antrim, representing that constituency for eighteen years. Ten years later he was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty. In 1903, Macartney became Deputy-Master of the Mint; and in 1912 he was appointed Governor of Tasmania and created K.C. M.G. From Tasmania, Macartney was transferred to Western Australia where he remained until 1920.

5. **The Rev. Thomas Thompson Gray**, whose age was 91, was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he devoted himself to Classics and Mathematics. Graduating in 1855 he became a fellow twelve years later. Gray exercised a great influence over the students, both as junior fellow for thirty-six years and as senior fellow from 1898 onwards. From 1916, until a few weeks before his death, he was Vice-Provost of Trinity College.

— **Senor Cipriano Castro**, ex-Dictator of Venezuela, was born in or about 1858, but did not take part in public life until 1898 when he entered the Federal Senate. Some years later he rebelled against the Government, became President of his own State of El Tachira, and then began operations against the Central Government at Caracas. Within a few months he drove out President Andrade, and was himself elected to that office (1902). This was the year when the boundary dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain broke out which nearly brought about a war with the United States of America. During his term of office he obtained a complete ascendancy over Venezuela until disputes, first with

the United States and then with Holland, brought about his downfall in 1908. Since then he had been a wanderer, living mainly in Germany.

7. **Franz Xaver Scharwenka**, the German pianist and composer, studied at Kullak's Academy, Berlin. He began composing for the piano in 1877, and several times visited this country where he played his own compositions. He excelled as a player of Chopin. His opera, *Mataswintha*, was produced at Weimar in 1896, and in New York the following year.

— **Mrs. Gene Stratton-Porter**, the authoress, attained a world-wide popularity with her stories for children. She was likewise a keen student of natural history and contributed to various periodicals devoted to that branch of study. She was especially interested in birds, and wrote several popular works on bird life. Mrs. Porter was born in 1868, and married in 1886.

13. **Samuel Gompers**, the American Labour leader, whose age was 74, was born of Jewish parents in the East-End of London. At the age of 13 he emigrated to America. Here he worked as a cigar-maker, beginning his career as a Labour leader by organising the Cigarmakers' International Union. This brought him to the front of American Trade Unionism, so that within a year of the organisation of the American Federation of Labour in 1881 he became its President, an office he held for over forty years. His presidency was marked by the growth of the Federation until it became one of the richest and strongest of its kind. At the outbreak of the war, Gompers supported the policy of his country and when the United States joined the Allies, attempts were made to induce him to throw his influence against his country, but to no purpose. He stood by his friend, President Wilson, was a member of the Advisory Committee to the Council of National Defence, President of the International Legislation of the Paris Peace Conference. Later he was a member of the Advisory Committee to the American Delegates to the Disarmament Conference at Washington. A fluent speaker with a deep grasp of politics, his power was at its zenith at the time of his death.

14. **Martin H. Glynn**, a former Governor of New York State, was 53 years old. Becoming editor of the *Times-Union* of Albany, in 1895, he was elected to Congress in 1899, was Controller of New York State in 1901-1908, Lieut.-Governor of the State in 1912, and Governor in 1913-14. In 1921 he is described as having induced Mr. Lloyd George to meet De Valera "or any of the Irish leaders," thus setting on foot the negotiations that culminated in the Treaty for the establishment of the Irish Free State.

16. **Dr. William Blake Odgers, K.C., LL.D.**, whose age was 75, was educated at Bath Grammar School, University College, London, and Trinity Hall, Cambridge. Taking his degree in 1871 he was called to the Bar in 1873 by the Inner Temple and joined the Western Circuit. He took silk in 1893, being elected a Bencher of his Inn in 1900. He was made Recorder of Winchester in 1897, transferred to Plymouth in 1900, and then held the similar office at Bristol since 1912. As Director of Legal Studios in the Inns of Court since 1905, Dr. Blake Odgers befriended and guided many young aspirants at the Bar. He was a voluminous writer on legal subjects, his best known work being "The Law of Libel and Slander."

18. **Sir William Jones Ingram**, whose age was 77, was the son of the founder of the *Illustrated London News*. Educated at Winchester and Trinity College, Cambridge, he undertook the management of the paper shortly after leaving the University, and introduced many improvements in its production. From 1874 to 1886 and again from 1892 to 1895, he was Liberal M.P. for Bolton. In 1893 he was created a Baronet.

19. **Paul Waterhouse**, whose age was 63, was educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford. Entering the office of his father, Alfred Water-

house, R. A., who was a pioneer in architecture, Paul Waterhouse followed in his footsteps. His best-known buildings are the science laboratories at Oxford, Manchester, and Leeds Universities, and University College Hospital Medical School and Nurses' Home in London. He also did a great deal of work for insurance companies and banks. In 1921-23 he was president of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

20. **John Harvey Murphy, K.C.**, aged 62, belonged to a legal family. From the Benedictine School at Downside he went to Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and in due course was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple. After practising on the South-Eastern Circuit, Murphy became principal reporter to *The Times* in the Probate and Divorce Court, a post he held until 1909. In 1920 he took silk. Apart from law, Murphy was a keen student of the drama.

— **John William North**, hon. retired A.R.A., whose age was 83, was a landscape painter of singular charm, though little known to the general public. His earlier work consisted of woodcut illustrations to various journals and books, until he attracted the attention of Sir Hubert von Herkomer. In 1893 he was elected A.R.A. North's best-known works are "The Winter Sun," purchased by the Chantry Trustees, "Sweet Meadow Waters of the West," acquired by the City of Birmingham, the "Pear-Tree," and "A Gipsy Encampment" (Victoria and Albert Museum). North was deeply interested in legal and administrative matter-, especially land reform, game laws, and taxation. He was a member of the Royal Society in Water-Colours, of the Royal West of England Academy, and an hon. member of the Royal Scottish Society of Painters in Water-Colours.

— Sir George **William Buchanan, Bt.**, whose age was 70, was the son of Sir William Buchanan, a former British Minister and Ambassador. From Wellington College he entered the Diplomatic Service, becoming attaché in 1875. He served in that capacity at Vienna, Rome, Tokyo, and then was Second Secretary at Berne. In 1893 he was Charge d'Affaires at Darmstadt, then acted as British Agent to the Tribunal of Arbitration between Great Britain and the United States, in 1898, in reference to the Venezuela boundary. After a period as Secretary of Embassy at Rome and Berlin, he was appointed Agent and Consul-General in Bulgaria in 1903. The Balkans gave him his opportunity to show his ability, so that soon after the crisis provoked by the Turkish Revolution (1908), he was sent to the Hague, whence he was promoted Ambassador to Russia in 1910. His task here was no easy one even before the outbreak of the Great War, but during its progress it became increasingly difficult amidst the conflicting forces that struggled for mastery in the government of Russia. His failure to direct the Tsar into channels of reform hastened the tragedy of the revolution with all its dire consequences for Russia and the world. Within two months after Lenin had established the Bolshevik despotism, Sir George left Petrograd to be appointed in 1919 to Rome, but retired from the Service in the autumn of 1921. Sir George was a member of the Privy Council, a G.C.B., G.C.M.G., and G.C.V.O.

23. **Thomas William Hodgson Crosland**, aged 56, was a journalist and poet who quite frequently debased his undoubted talents by violence and impertinence. After contributing to various newspapers and magazines in Yorkshire and London, he became assistant editor of the *Outlook* from 1899 to 1902, editor of the *English Review* in 1905, and assistant editor of the *Academy* in 1908. Crosland's disposition brought him into conflict with many public men and involved him in a great deal of expensive and futile litigation.

26. **George Downing Liveing, Sc.D., F.R.S.**, aged 97, entered St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1847, and was 11th Wrangler in 1850,

He then read Natural Science and was first on the list in the first examination for this tripos. After a short period in Berlin, he became a Fellow of his College in 1853 and soon after also a lecturer in Natural Science, the first man to teach science experimentally in Cambridge. In 1860 he was appointed Professor of Chemistry at the Staff College and the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, but returned as Professor to Cambridge and began his long tenure—forty-seven years—of the Chair of Chemistry. Devoting himself zealously to his work, Liveing gradually built up a great school of chemistry, adding new laboratories, lecture rooms, etc. His own researches were mainly in spectroscopic analysis,, for the most part in conjunction with his colleague, Dewar, the Jacksonian Professor. Liveing resigned his Chair in 1908 at the age of 81. He was elected an F.R.S. in 1879, and in 1901 the Society awarded him the Davy Medal. For many years *Dr. Liveing* was President of St. John's College.

27. **Leon Bakst**, aged 58, Russian theatrical designer and colourist, attained an international reputation. He was of Jewish parentage, educated at St. Petersburg and Paris, and quickly came to the front in his profession. Bakst staged many plays, etc., in London, which were received with great enthusiasm.

— **William Archer**, dramatic critic, journalist, and author, was 68 years old. Graduating at Edinburgh University, he joined the staff of the *Edinburgh Evening News* as a leader writer. He then travelled for some time and finally settled in London as dramatic critic of the *World*, in 1884, a post he held for twenty years. His fame, however, rests upon his translations of Ibsen's plays which he began in 1880 and which influenced the development of the modern drama in England so profoundly. In addition to this Archer wrote "Masks and Faces," a study in the psychology of acting, a book on "Play-making," etc. His own plays, *War is War* and *The Great Goddess*, had but a moderate success. He utilised his keen analytical powers to investigate the events immediately before the outbreak of the war in a book entitled "The Thirteen Days."

29. **Carl Friedrich Georg Spitteler**, the Swiss poet, whose age was 79, studied law and theology at the University of Bale, but later turned his attention to literature. He finished his first great work whilst living as a tutor in Russia. This was an epic entitled "Prometheus," which won him no recognition. He then worked for some years as a journalist until he inherited a small independence which enabled him to live his own life. "Der Olympische Ertihling," another epic, was his next notable work. In 1919 he received the Nobel prize for literature. At the outbreak of the war, he publicly and outspokenly condemned Germany for her violation of Belgian neutrality.

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