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FOR THE YEAR

1936

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

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

MR. STANLEY BALDWIN'S THIRD ADMINISTRATION.

(TOOK OFFICE JUNE 8, 1935 : DURING 1936 IT WAS COMPOSED AS SHOWN
BELOW.)

CABINET MINISTERS.

PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY	Mr. Stanley Baldwin.
Lord President of the Council	Mr. Ramsay MacDonald.
Lord Chancellor	Lord Hailsham.
Lord Privy Seal	Viscount Halifax.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Mr. Neville Chamberlain.
Secretaries of State:—	
Home	Sir John Simon.
Foreign	Mr. Anthony Eden.
	Mr. J. H. Thomas (till May 22).
Colonies	Mr. W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore (from May 29).
Dominions	Mr. Malcolm MacDonald.
War	Mr. A. Duff Cooper.
India	Marquess of Zetland.
Air	Viscount Swinton.
	/Sir Godfrey Collins (till October 13).
Scotland	 Mr Walter Elho (from October 30).
Presidents:—	
Board of Trade	Mr. Walter Runciman.
Board of Education	Mr. Oliver Stanley.
First Lord of the Admiralty	fViscount Monsell (till June 5).
First Lord of the Admiralty	. viscount monsell (till june 5) Minister of Health... Sir Kingsley Wood
Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries	• (Mr. Walter Elliot (till October 30).
Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries	 Mr. walter Elhot (till october)
Minister of Labour	Mr. Ernest Brown.
first commissioner of worksr.	W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore (till May 29).
First Commissioner of Works	 Earl Stanhope) K.G. (from June 17)
Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence	* Sir Thomas Inskip (/row j, arc A i5).
Minister without Portfolio	. Lord Eustace Percy (till March 31).
Minister of Transport	f Mr. Leslie Hore-Belisha (Member of the Cabinet from October 30).

MINISTERS NOT IN THE CABINET.

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.	sir j.c.c. Davidson
Postmaster-General	Major G. C. Tryon.
Minister of Pensions	. Robert S. Hudson (till July 31).
Minister of Pensions	. Mr H Ramsbotham (from j ^ y 31)
Attorney-General	/Sir Thomas Inskip (till March 13).
Solicitor-General	 Sir D. B. Somervell (from March 19).
Paymaster-General	• Mr. T. J. O'Connor (from March 20).
Civil Lord of the Admiralty	Lord Hutcheson.
financial Secretary to the Treasury	Mr. Kenneth Lindsay.
	(Mr. W. S. Morrison (till October 30).
	. Mr Col D# j. ^ ^ ^ (from October 30).

xii MB. BALDWIN'S THIRD ADMINISTRATION.

<i>Financial Secretary to the War Office</i>	Sir Victor Warrender.
<i>Secretary for Mines</i>	. Captain H. F. C. Crookshank.
<i>Under-Secretaries of State:—</i>	
<i>Air</i>	. Sir Philip Sassoon.
<i>Colonies</i>	. Earl of Plymouth (<i>till July 31</i>).
<i>Dominion Affairs</i>	. Earl De La Warr (<i>from July 31</i>).
<i>Foreign</i>	. Mr. Douglas Hacking (<i>till March 5</i>).
<i>Home</i>	. Lord Hartington (<i>from March 5</i>).
<i>India</i>	. Viscount Cranborne.
<i>Scotland</i>	. 1 Earl Stanhope (<i>till June 17</i>).
<i>War</i>	. [Earl of Plymouth (<i>from July 31</i>).
<i>Parliamentary Secretaries:—</i>	. Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd.
<i>Admiralty</i>	. Mr. Richard Austen Butler.
<i>Agriculture and Fisheries</i>	. Lt.-Col. D. J. Colville (<i>till October 30</i>).
<i>Education</i>	. Mr. H. J. S. Wedderburn (<i>from October 30</i>).
<i>Health</i>	. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal.
<i>Labour</i>	
<i>Post Office</i>	Lord Stanley.
<i>Board of Trade</i>	Mr. H. Ramsbotham (<i>till July 31</i>).
<i>Overseas Trade</i>	Lord Feversham (<i>from July 31</i>).
<i>Transport</i>	Earl De La Warr (<i>till July 31</i>).
<i>Treasury</i>	. Mr. Geoffrey Shakespeare (<i>from July 31</i>).
	. Mr. Geoffrey Shakespeare (<i>till July 31</i>).
	. Mr. R. S. Hudson (<i>from July 31</i>).
	. Lt.-Col. A. J. Muirhead.
	. Sir W. J. Womersley.
	. Dr. Edward Leslie Burgin.
	. Captain David Euan Wallace.
	. Mr. Austin U. M. Hudson.
	. Mr. H. D. Margesson.
	SCOTLAND.
<i>Secretary of State</i>	Sir Godfrey Collins (<i>till October 13</i>).
<i>Under Secretary of State</i>	Mr. Walter Elliot (<i>from October 30</i>).
<i>Lord-Advocate</i>	Lt.-Col. D. J. Colville (<i>till October 30</i>).
<i>Solicitor-General</i>	Mr. H. J. S. Wedderburn (<i>from October 30</i>).
	Mr. T. M. Cooper.
	Mr. Albert Russell (<i>till June 26</i>).
	Mr. J. S. C. Reid (<i>from June 26</i>).

ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1936.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE NEW REIGN.

AT the beginning of the year political interest centred in the efforts of two Cabinet Ministers, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and his son Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, to win their way back to the House of Commons, from the membership of which they had been excluded at the General Election two months before. Without seats in Parliament they could not expect much longer to retain their Ministerial posts ; and their departure from the Cabinet would have greatly weakened the Prime Minister, who had lost much of the confidence of his own party by his recent sacrifice of Sir Samuel Hoare (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935, p. 109). Mr. MacDonald *pere* had already, in the teeth of considerable opposition, been selected as a candidate by the Conservative organisation of Glasgow University. Mr. MacDonald *filis* was still negotiating with the National Liberal organisation of the constituency of Ross and Cromarty, in the North of Scotland, and it was not till January 4 that he decided finally to accept their invitation. As was expected, his selection as the National Government candidate caused a split in the Conservative Party in the constituency, and an unofficial Conservative candidate was put up in the person of Mr. Randolph Churchill, son of Mr. Winston Churchill, who had played a similar role at Liverpool a year before (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935, p. 10). Labour, of course, ran a candidate, and the Liberals also, after many attempts, managed to secure one who was willing to go to the poll. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald also found himself involved in a three-cornered contest of which the issue was by no means certain. However, in the end the party machine triumphed in both cases

over all obstacles, and Mr. Baldwin found himself under no necessity of changing either his President of the Council or his Secretary for the Colonies.

The London Naval Conference, which had adjourned on December 20 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935, p. 112), resumed its sittings on January 6. Discussions were continued on the British plan that each Power should announce its proposed amount of new construction six years ahead. While this was still under consideration, the Japanese representative on January 8 insisted upon the question of quantitative limitation being discussed first of all, and declared that if the Japanese proposal for a common upper limit, which had already once been rejected by the conference, was not accepted, Japan would withdraw from the conference. Finding that he had no modification of importance to propose, the other delegates refused to reopen the question, and accordingly on January 15 the Japanese delegation left the conference. The other countries decided thereupon to carry on the conference without Japan, which, however, continued to be represented by an observer.

On January 8 a joint meeting was held of representatives of the coal-owners and miners for the purpose of averting if possible the strike which the men had determined to call if their demands were not satisfied (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935, p. 101). The owners in the meanwhile had obtained permission from several large consuming bodies, such as the gas companies, to raise prices in spite of forward contracts, and they therefore found themselves in a position to offer certain increases of wages. The men's representatives declared these to be unsatisfactory, but they consented to continue negotiations and to postpone the handing in of strike notices which had been fixed for the following week. As a result of further discussions, the coal-owners somewhat increased their wage offers—at the cost of the consumer—and expressed their willingness to establish a permanent joint consultative committee to discuss all matters of common interest, including general wage principles. At a Delegate Conference held on January 24, the miners accepted these offers "as an instalment," and the idea of a strike was definitely abandoned.

The year was not far advanced when His Majesty King George the Fifth passed from the scene. On January 17 a bulletin was issued from Sandringham stating that the King, who was suffering from bronchial catarrh, was showing signs of cardiac weakness which must be regarded with some disquiet. The illness rapidly grew worse, and on January 19, the King, as on the occasion of his serious illness in 1928, appointed a "Council of State," consisting of the Queen and his four sons. On the next day, shortly before midnight, "the King's life," as the official bulletin announced, "moved peacefully to its close," in the seventy-first year of his age and the twenty-sixth of his reign.

On the next day the Lords of the Privy Council met at St. James's Palace and proclaimed Prince Edward, who meanwhile had returned from Sandringham to London, as King with the title of King Edward the Eighth. On the same day members of both Houses of Parliament assembled in large numbers and took the oath of allegiance to the new Sovereign. King Edward replied to the Privy Council with a declaration in which, after referring to " the irreparable loss which the British Commonwealth had sustained " by the death of his father, he expressed his determination to follow in his father's footsteps as an upholder of constitutional government, and to work as he did throughout his life for the welfare and happiness of all classes of his subjects. He also sent messages to each of the three Services thanking them for the loyalty and devotion they had shown to his father.

On January 23 both Houses of Parliament met and passed resolutions expressing their " affectionate and grateful remembrance " of King George, their confidence that King Edward would " promote the happiness of all his people," and their condolence with Queen Mary. In the Commons the Address was moved by Mr. Baldwin, who emphasised the success of the late King in bringing to terms democracy and monarchy, and who was followed in a similar strain by Mr. Attlee and Sir Archibald Sinclair, the two Opposition Leaders. In the Upper House tributes to the late King's memory were paid by Lord Halifax, Lord Snell, Lord Mottistone (in the place of Lord Crewe, who was absent through illness), and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

On January 24 the body of King George was brought to Westminster Hall for the lying-in-state. The public now took the opportunity to give a demonstration of the same loyalty and affection which it had testified on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee in the previous year, but now as it were in a subdued tone and in a minor key suited to the occasion. During the whole of the four days that the body lay in state a constant stream of people paying their last homage passed by the catafalque, and the queues waiting for admission often extended for miles. By the time the Hall was finally closed to the public at 4 A.M. on January 29, it was estimated that half a million people had performed this pilgrimage.

The funeral took place on January 29. At ten o'clock the coffin, mounted on a gun-carriage and drawn by bluejackets, left Westminster Hall for Paddington station, and behind it followed on foot, first the new King and his brothers, and then distinguished representatives of nearly all countries, including many crowned heads. The route of the procession was lined with enormous crowds which observed a reverent and impressive silence. From Paddington the body was conveyed by train to Windsor, where it was laid to rest with simple but becoming ceremony in St. George's Chapel, the service being performed by the Archbishops of

Canterbury and York and the Bishop of Winchester. On the next day was published a message from Queen Mary in which she thanked the people of the nation and the Empire for the sympathy which they had manifested, and which showed that the passing of her husband " had brought a real sense of personal sorrow to all his subjects." The King also sent a message of thanks to the Police Force for the efficient and considerate manner in which they had carried out their duties during the past week, " assisted " —as he added—" by the reverent and thoughtful conduct of the crowds themselves."

King Edward issued his first broadcast message to the public on March 1, adapting to modern conditions an ancient tradition of the British monarchy that a new Sovereign should send a written message to his peoples. The greater part of the address was taken up with a tribute to the memory of his father King George and with an appreciation of the tokens of sympathy which the Royal family had received from every side. Speaking of himself, the King said that he was better known to most of his listeners as the Prince of Wales, as a man who, during the war and since, had had the opportunity of getting to know the people of nearly every country of the world, under all conditions and circumstances. He assured them that, though he now spoke as King, he was still the same man who had had that experience, and whose constant effort it would be to continue to promote the well-being of his fellow-men.

On January 30 the text was issued of the Government's anxiously awaited Education Bill, which had been given the first place in its programme for the session. The Bill (as regards England and Wales) provided for the raising of the school-leaving age from 14 to 15, and declared September 1, 1939, the appointed day by which all local authorities must have brought the change into operation, though they were at liberty to do so earlier if they desired. Exemption between the ages of 14 and 15 might be given if the local Education Authority was satisfied that employment was available which would be beneficial to the child. The Bill further authorised local authorities to give financial aid in certain circumstances for the enlarging and improvement of existing voluntary schools and the engaging of teachers of religion.

Parliament resumed its sittings on February 4, and in the House of Commons Mr. Runciman immediately moved the second reading of the Cotton Spinning Industry Bill. The purpose of this measure was to enable the Lancashire cotton industry to get rid of the redundant spindles—to the number, it was reckoned, of about 10,000,000—with which it found itself burdened, so as to eliminate price-cutting, which was one of the banes of the industry. The method proposed for accomplishing this was by means of a levy on the more profitable undertakings to create a fund of 2,500,000l, which should be used for buying up the idle

spindles at a fair price. In a ballot taken on this proposal in the previous year, 27,750,000 spindles had voted for the proposal and 8,750,000 against, while the owners of 8,000,000 had not voted at all. It was therefore obvious that the levy could not hope to succeed unless it were given statutory sanction, and for this reason Mr. Runciman had undertaken to introduce the Bill, though with obvious reluctance. The second reading was opposed by Mr. Clynes on behalf of the Labour Party on the ground that it dealt with only one section of the industry, and was likely to favour the employers at the expense of the workers. Members of the employers' class also opposed it as an attack on the principle of individualism, but in the end the second reading was carried by 237 votes to 149.

The next Government Bill to be taken was the one for insuring agricultural workers (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935, p. 111), the second reading of which was moved by the Minister of Labour on February 6. He informed the House that the finance of the scheme was based on the assumptions that about 750,000 persons would be included, of whom some 50,000 would be women and girls, that the average rate of unemployment would be 7·5 per cent., and that the number of persons on long hirings would be 15 per cent. of the total. The Exchequer contribution was estimated at 600,000*l.* a year. The Labour Party criticised strongly the great difference in the amounts of the Exchequer contributions to the insurance of agricultural and urban workers—4½*d.* for the one and 10*d.* for the other—but they did not press for a division.

In the House of Lords on February 4, Lord Sankey brought forward a motion condemning as archaic the system of trial of Peers by Peers. This practice, which was falling into desuetude, had been revived a short time previously in the trial of a Peer for some motoring offence, and public opinion had been somewhat scandalised by the fact that expenditure of about 700*l.* had been involved by a process which at the Old Bailey would have cost only 35*l.*, merely to preserve a class distinction to which no value was any more attached. Lord Sankey had no difficulty in showing that, whatever justification there might have been for the system in the past, it was in present-day conditions highly anomalous. Nevertheless, a number of noble Lords showed themselves averse to parting with their privilege, and the motion was only carried by 45 votes to 24.

On February 10 the Minister for Agriculture moved the second reading of the Sugar Industry Reorganisation Bill, the purpose of which was to mollify the opponents of the sugar-beet subsidy by introducing a number of economies into its administration. The effect of these, according to the Minister, would be to reduce the assistance per cwt. given to the industry from 5*s.* 8*d.* to 4*s.* 9*d.*, following on a reduction which had already taken place in the previous year from 1*s.* 3*d.* per cwt. The direct charge would be

thus reduced from 4,429,000l. in 1934-35 to 2,775,000l. in 1935-36. Mr. Elliot did not attempt to traverse the strictures passed by the Greene Committee upon the subsidy (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935, p. 53), but he pointed out that the Committee had looked at sugar alone, while he had to look at agriculture, and indeed, at employment as a whole. It was easy to say, as the Committee did, that the industry should be brought to an end and that those employed in it should turn to some alternative crop. But to what alternative crop, or indeed, to what alternative industry, could they turn? Every industry now required and obtained protection against world competition. Was it not the case that Great Britain was becoming not merely a great portion of the world market, but almost the whole of the world market? There was scarcely an agricultural product which was not sold more cheaply here than in its country of origin. But for this crop, agricultural eastern England would be another depressed area, and much of the rest of agriculture would be correspondingly depressed. Nor did the consumer suffer from the subsidy, for in no other country, with the exception of Denmark, was sugar so cheap as in England.

The rejection of the Bill was moved on behalf of the Labour Party by Mr. T. Williams, who said it ought to be called "The Sugar Industry Perpetual Subsidy and Monopoly Bill." A number of speakers, while admitting that it would be disastrous to discontinue the subsidy suddenly, held that it would be possible to build up alternatives to the sugar crop gradually. Nevertheless, the opposition to the Bill was less vehement than might have been expected from the outcry which followed the publication of the Greene report, and the second reading was carried by 224 votes to 117.

On February 13 the President of the Board of Education moved the second reading of the Education Bill (*vide* p. 4). The publication of the Bill had aroused great interest in the country, where it had been received with mixed feelings. The raising of the school-leaving age had been generally welcomed, but the provision of exemptions had been strongly condemned by most educationists as likely to nullify the effect of this regulation. In fact an attempt had been made on the previous day by the Labour Party by means of a private member's Bill to obviate the need for exemptions by providing maintenance grants for children over 14 attending school, but this had been defeated by 199 votes to 146. The Minister now sought to defend this part of the Bill by pointing out that each case would have to be treated individually and that local authorities would have complete discretion. He admitted that the introduction of exemptions made the Bill more complicated, but he claimed that it also made it more practical, as it would enable households and industries to accustom themselves to the change, give time to overcome the undoubted hostility of many parents, and allow resources to be

concentrated on organisation. The Labour Party was not satisfied with this defence, but its attempt to secure the rejection of the Bill was defeated by 282 votes to 152.

On February 17 the House of Commons heard with satisfaction from Mr. Hacking, the Under-Secretary for the Dominions, that further mitigations were to be introduced into the "trade war" between Great Britain and the Irish Free State. Not only was the arrangement made a year previously for the exchange of coal and cattle between the two countries on a l. for l. basis to be continued, but there was to be a mutual reduction of duties. Great Britain would reduce by 10 per cent, *ad valorem* the duties on live animals and meat (except pigs and pig meat), and allow a 10 per cent, increase in the imports of bacon and hams, while the Free State would reduce by 10 per cent, *ad valorem* the existing duties on United Kingdom goods, and reserve for the United Kingdom one-third of their imports of cement. It was stated that the imports of British coal into the Free State had been 1,000,000 tons greater in 1935 than in 1934.

On February 20 a Bill was brought forward to renew for another year the 2,000,000l. subsidy to tramp shipping. Mr. Runciman claimed that the subsidy had been fully justified by results, having sustained a vital industry which was exposed to subsidised foreign competition, while the conditions attached had led to an improvement in labour conditions. The subsidy was again opposed by the Labour Party, but the second reading of the Bill was carried by 234 votes to 126.

On the same day the House passed the second reading of a Bill prolonging to September, 1937, the temporary legislation passed two years before (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1934, p. 13) for the assistance of the milk industry, including the scheme for providing cheap milk for school children. The food reformers would have liked more than this; on March 18, in the House of Lords, the Bishop of Winchester called attention to a report which had been just issued by Sir J. Orr on behalf of the Ministry of Health, in which the conclusion was reached that the diet of 50 per cent, of the population was not adequate for health according to modern standards, and he asked the Government whether it would not be possible to remedy this state of things by a better utilisation of the surplus of liquid milk which was available. Viscount Gage in reply pointed out that the standard of living in England was high compared with that in other countries, and that steady improvement was in fact taking place in standards of health and nutrition. He admitted, however, that there was still much room for improvement. The Government, he said, were sympathetic with the idea of extending the consumption of milk, but he asked their Lordships to wait till the Re-organisation Commission's report had been received and decisions taken on their recommendations.

On February 25 Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, the Secretary for the Colonies, in accordance with the promise made by the Government at the end of the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935, p. 110), announced the constitution of an Oversea Settlement Board, consisting of three official and five unofficial members, with Mr. Douglas Hacking, the Under-Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, as Chairman. The functions of the Board were defined as being "to consider and advise the Secretary of State upon specific proposals for schemes of migration within the Empire and upon any matter relating to oversea settlement which might be referred to it by him." Whether the Board would find work of importance to do was still problematical, and accordingly it was decided to wait a little before setting up the Central Committee which was to promote co-operation between the Government and the voluntary organisations, and between the voluntary organisations themselves.

On February 27 the report was made public of the Royal Commission which, under the presidency of Sir J. Fischer Williams, had been examining the problem of tithe. The Commission recommended the complete abolition of the existing system of tithe rent-charge as being "urgently needed in the interests not only of persons directly concerned, whether tithe-payers or tithe-owners, but also of the country as a whole." The Government fully concurred with this view, and to give it effect adopted some far-reaching proposals which it published along with the report. As from an appointed day, the tithe-payer was to be granted a substantial reduction in the amount of his existing liability, which would be finally extinguished in sixty years. The tithe-owner would be compensated for his loss of income by having his future income guaranteed by the State, which would pledge its credit for the payment of the principal and interest of the new Tithe Redemption Stock, and assume the powers requisite for collecting the annuities payable under the new scheme. Thus the capital asset of the tithe-owner would become a gilt-edged security, and his connexion with the tithe-payer and his land would be finally terminated.

On February 13 the Commissioner for the Special Areas of England and Wales, Mr. P. Malcolm Stewart, issued a report covering the second half of 1935, in which he stated that his financial commitments now amounted to 3,443,000*l.* His chief object now, he said, was to establish in the Special Areas what he called "trading estates" for the purpose of attracting to these areas fresh industries, particularly of the lighter type. The legal difficulties had been overcome, and if the money required could not be raised without a Government guarantee, he urged that such a guarantee should not be withheld. He also had schemes for settling about 2,000 families from the Special Areas in grouped small-holdings by the summer of 1937, and for the afforestation of

some 200,000 acres in or within fifteen miles of the Special Areas, providing employment for an average of 2,000 manual workers yearly.

The report of the Commissioner was discussed in the House of Commons on March 2. Mr. Dalton, on behalf of the Labour Party, while praising the Commissioner for doing his best, protested that he was unduly confined by red-tape regulations and restrictions, and that consequently he had accomplished very little in comparison with what was required. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who replied for the Government, did not deny that the condition of the Special Areas was still deplorable, but he maintained that but for the activities of the Government it would have been much worse. The coal-fields, for instance, had certainly benefited by the trade agreements. The Government, he announced, would soon put another 3,000,000l. at the disposal of the Commissioner. While they had been unable to induce employers to start new industries in the Special Areas, or even to treat such a proposal with ordinary civility, they had persuaded some which were threatening to leave the districts to remain there, a notable case being that of the Ebbw Vale Ironworks in South Wales (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935, p. 98). The Government were very carefully considering the plan of a trading estate and would soon make an experiment on the North-East coast. They would also place important orders and plan new industries within the Special Areas in connexion with their re-armament scheme. In view of the present and prospective activities of the Government, Mr. MacDonald ventured to characterise as "absurd" a vote of censure moved by the Labour Party. Subsequent speakers even from the Ministerial side were not so positive that the Government were doing all that might be expected of them in the matter, but on a division the motion for censure was rejected by 357 votes to 154.

On March 4, in the House of Commons, Mr. Hore-Belisha, the Minister of Transport, surveyed the results to date of his efforts to reduce casualties due to motor traffic. He was able to claim for them a considerable measure of success, as in spite of a continuous growth in the number of motor vehicles on the roads, there had since the beginning of 1935 been a steady decline in the number of accidents, and so far the present year compared very favourably with the one before—not but what the number was still terribly high. The development of motor traffic, he said, had been so rapid that engineers and surveyors had been unable to keep pace with it; the Government, however, were doing their best to make the road system adequate for the traffic by means of a programme which represented the largest and most comprehensive effort ever made by any Government in this direction. Schemes submitted under the five-year programme were now of a gross value of 130,000,000l., and the works approved for

commencement during the current financial year were estimated to cost 22,500,000l., or three and a half times the figure at the corresponding period of the preceding year. The next great step contemplated by the Ministry of Transport was to make from next April an elaborate analysis covering about 200,000 cases of all road accidents involving death or injury, a similar study undertaken in London on a similar scale having yielded results which were distinctly valuable. The importance of the driving test had been proved by the fact that no fewer than 35,744 persons, or 15.2 per cent, of the applicants, had failed to satisfy the examiners.

While the Government was thus working through its programme, the interest of Parliament, and of the country as a whole, lay elsewhere—in the international situation and in the problem of defence created by it for Great Britain. On January 17 Mr. Eden, addressing his constituents at Warwick, and making his first public speech as Foreign Secretary, had once more committed the country to an anti-Italian policy. Aggression, he said, ought not to be allowed to succeed, and the members of the League, acting together, should be so strong and so united that they might bring it home to any aggressor, now or in the future, that peaceful negotiation and not aggression was not merely the best but the only successful way of removing discontent. Britain, he said, would always be found arrayed on the side of the collective system against any Government or people who sought by a return to power politics to break up the peace which by that system they were seeking to create. In view of the difficulties in which Italy at this time found herself in Abyssinia, Mr. Eden's defiant tone did not seem to involve any undue risk.

An alternative method of settling the problems of Europe was suggested by Mr. Lansbury in a motion which he brought forward in the House of Commons on February 5, urging the Government to make an effort for the summoning of a new international conference to deal with the economic factors which were responsible for much of the existing unrest in Europe. On the fact of that unrest and the danger that it might soon lead to a war there were no two opinions in the House, but Viscount Cranborne, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, answering for the Government, expressed doubt whether the time was ripe for a new economic conference. The Government, he said, were not shirking this issue, and the preliminary examination had already begun, but they could not fix the date, until circumstances permitted, for any further negotiation. The House eventually rejected Mr. Lansbury's motion, and adopted instead an amendment declaring its confidence that the Government would take all practicable steps to promote international prosperity and a better understanding between peoples.

On February 14 the Government received the report drawn

up by the Committee of Experts of the League of Nations on the possibility of imposing an embargo on the supply of oil to Italy. While it was still studying the document an attempt was made in the House of Lords to divert it from the policy of sanctions altogether. On February 18 Lord Phillimore raised the question of British policy in regard to the Abyssinian war, and after criticising the Government for having rejected the Hoare-Laval proposals, called on it to avoid the risks of war save where the immediate and direct interests of the British Empire were concerned. Lords Mottistone, Lloyd, and Ponsonby joined in his protests against the Government's policy, which, however, was warmly defended by Lord Cecil and Lord Strabolgi. Lord Stanhope in reply made it clear that the Government intended to remain faithful to the League of Nations. On the next day a less direct attack on the policy of sanctions was made in the House by Lord Rennell through a motion calling for a revision of the constitution and functions of the League of Nations ; and Lord Stanhope in his reply defined the Government's attitude a little more precisely by saying that it was prepared to play its part in collective action, but it was not prepared, now or in the future, to take action under the League which, while nominally collective, was in fact nothing of the kind.

A statement on British policy was made in the House of Commons by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs himself on February 24. Replying to Mr. Lees-Smith, who had urged Britain to propose an immediate oil embargo at Geneva, whether the United States co-operated or not, Mr. Eden said that sanctions were of two kinds, those which the League countries could control and those which they could not. The first kind had been applied within a few weeks of the outbreak of the war in Abyssinia ; the second kind, which included oil sanctions, must wait till it could be shown that they would be effective. The British Government, he said, were pressing for the experts' report to be discussed and a decision taken ; and the test would be whether an oil embargo would help to stop the war or not. Mr. Eden went on to declare that conciliation was as much the duty of the League as sanctions, but he gave no hint that the Government would press for another attempt on the part of the League to end the war. Having heard the Minister's statement, Mr. Attlee expressed his deep disappointment that the Government still seemed to be vacillating. The Labour Party, he said, did not want the Government to act alone, but it did want them to propose action ; and this they seemed to be shirking. Mr. Attlee's disappointment was shared by many supporters of the League in other parties, who had expected better things of the new Foreign Secretary.

At the meeting of the League Council which was held shortly afterwards, Mr. Eden adopted a much bolder tone. Not only, he said, were the British Government prepared to accept any decision to which the Committee of Eighteen might come, but

they were in favour of the imposition of an oil embargo by the members of the League, and were prepared to join in the application of such a sanction if the other supplying and transporting States who were members of the League of Nations were prepared to do likewise. This declaration was welcomed by his critics at home, and restored him to the favour which he had temporarily lost through his speech in Parliament.

Shortly before this, on February 17, Supplementary Estimates had been published from which the public at last learnt the cost of the naval and military movements made in the previous October in connexion with the war between Italy and Abyssinia (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935, p. 75). The expenditure incurred by the Fleet for this purpose was put at 4,392,000l., which over a period of seven months worked out at 20,000l. a day, by the Army at 1,518,000l., and by the Air Force at 1,007,000l. The new estimate brought the net estimated expenditure on the Navy for the current financial year to 64,900,000l., which was the highest since 1921-22.

A mild sensation was created in England by the publication in an Italian newspaper on February 18 of a State Paper belonging to the British Government and dealing with the Abyssinian question. The document in question was a report which had been drawn up in the previous May by a Departmental Committee of the Foreign Office in response to a request from the Cabinet for information as to the British position in relation to Abyssinia. The report, although confidential, contained no secrets, nor was its publication calculated to injure Great Britain—rather the contrary, as it confirmed the Government's contention, which had been received with such scepticism in Italy and other countries, that British interests were not directly affected by the Italian invasion of Abyssinia. Nevertheless, great annoyance was felt in England at the fact of the publication, and the Government promised the House of Commons to make every effort to discover how the leakage had occurred.

In view of the international situation, the Government had, since the beginning of the year, been devoting its chief attention to the subject of defence. Early in the year the special Cabinet Committee which had been examining the problem for some months made certain suggestions which were considered at the first Cabinet meeting of the year held on January 15. The Government, however, moved slowly, and much to the general disappointment had not yet formulated its programme when Parliament met at the beginning of February.

Members' anxieties on the subject found expression in a debate on February 14 on a motion brought forward by Admiral Sir M. Sueter urging the Government once more to create a Ministry of Defence to which all three fighting Services should be responsible. The motion was seconded by Mr. M. Lambert,

a former Civil Lord of the Admiralty. There was general agreement among the speakers who followed that in present conditions of warfare there was need for a much closer co-ordination between the three fighting Services than actually existed, but opinions differed as to the best way to secure it. Mr. Attlee, the Leader of the Labour Party, in a speech which won general commendation, was at one with supporters of the Government in insisting that if there was to be provision for national defence—which he did not question—it should be made as efficiently and economically as possible. Several speakers maintained that at present there was far too much friction between the three Services and between them and the Treasury. Opinions differed on the merits of the actual proposal made in the motion, which was eventually withdrawn.

The House of Lords discussed the question of defence on February 27. Lord Salisbury, who opened the debate, recalled that a Committee of which he had been Chairman had in 1924 recommended that the Committee of Imperial Defence should have a real, operative Chairman, but this advice had not been acted upon, and the chairmanship had been left in the hands of the Prime Minister, whose multifarious duties prevented him from devoting sufficient attention to the work of the Committee. One effect of this was that when about two years ago the country slipped out of the secure period which followed the war into one of comparative risk, the attention of the Government and the nation had not been sufficiently aroused. It was now common ground that the Committee of Imperial Defence should be rendered as efficient as possible, and for this purpose he thought that an operative Chairman was indispensable. This view was supported by Lord Trenchard, who for several years had been a member of the Chiefs of Staff Committee as head of the Air Force. Lord Swinton, on behalf of the Government, maintained that the Imperial Defence Committee had done very valuable work, but he admitted that a co-ordinating Minister was now necessary.

The Government by this time had decided on its policy in the matter, and the Prime Minister on the same day (February 27) announced it in the House of Commons. Mr. Baldwin said that in the course of a thorough examination of the whole problem it had become clear that, for the time being at any rate, the Prime Minister must have some special assistance in regard to defence matters. This did not mean that the Prime Minister could divest himself of the final responsibility for directing the co-ordination of defence, nor could there be any weakening of the responsibility of the individual Service Ministers. But it did entail certain changes in his relation to the Committee of Imperial Defence, which had long been and must still remain an essential link in **all** matters of defence. It had therefore been decided that, while the Prime Minister should retain the chairmanship of the

Committee of Imperial Defence, and also of the special Cabinet Committee on Defence Policy and Requirements which had been functioning since last July, a Minister should be appointed as Deputy Chairman of these Committees to whom the Prime Minister should delegate certain important duties. These were, first, the general day-to-day supervision of and control on the Prime Minister's behalf of the whole organisation and activity of the Committee of Imperial Defence, with all that this implied; secondly, in the Prime Minister's absence, taking the chair at the two Committees; thirdly, personal consultation with the Chiefs of Staff; and fourthly, the chairmanship of the Principal Supply Officers' Committee. The Chiefs of Staff Committee would still preserve unimpaired their right to submit confidential reports of their collective military view to the Chairman or Deputy Chairman of the Committee of Imperial Defence, nor was it proposed that the meetings of that body should normally take place under the presidency of the Deputy Chairman, who would supplement their activities and initiative by guidance and initiative of his own.

A few days later (March 3) the anxiously awaited White Paper containing the Government's re-armament programme was at last issued. It commenced with a kind of apologia addressed not so much to the British public as to the world at large. The interest of the British people in peace, which had been so strongly emphasised in the White Paper on Defence issued a year previously (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935, p. 24), was reaffirmed, and it was pointed out that the present programme of defence expenditure did not imply any reversal or qualification of British policy of support of the League of Nations, the promotion of collective security, and attempting to secure agreement on the reduction and limitation of armaments. But "in the present state of the world, they had really no alternative but to review their defences and to provide the necessary means both of safeguarding themselves against aggression and of playing their part in the enforcement by common action of international obligations." In proof of this it was mentioned that the concentration of ships and troops necessitated by the Italo-Abyssinian dispute had been accomplished only at the cost of denuding other areas, a course "which might have involved great risks". It was absolutely essential that the British armed forces should be brought more nearly on to a level with those of other great Powers.

For this purpose there was to be considerable expansion in all three Forces. In the Navy, on which would depend the supplies of sea-borne food and raw materials and the free passage of troops and supplies between the different parts of the Empire, two new capital ships would be laid down next year, when the London Naval Treaty expired, and in the meantime the modernisation of certain existing battleships would be continued. The number of cruisers would be increased to seventy. One new aircraft carrier

would be laid down, and there would be an addition of 6,000 to the man-power strength of the Navy during 1936. In the Army, four new infantry battalions would be created and existing Army formations would be equipped with modern armament and supplied with adequate reserves of ammunition and stores. In the Royal Air Force, 250 machines would be added to the previous programme of 1,500 first-line aircraft for home defence, while twelve more squadrons would be distributed at strategic points along the lines of communication to distant parts of the Empire, and there would be a substantial increase in the strength of the Fleet Air Arm.

To meet the increased demand for munitions which these changes would involve Government factories would be extended or duplicated. Further, steps would be taken at once for organising industry so that in case of need it could readily change over from commercial to war production, and for this purpose arrangements would be made for selected firms to lay down plant and machinery for a given output of selected articles, and they would be given sufficient peace-time orders to allow the requisite training in the work of production. Control of profits would be exercised by inspection of books, technical costings, audits by State auditors and arbitration in case of dispute.

The Prime Minister formally asked the House of Commons to approve the White Paper on March 9. He described the defence policy which it embodied as being the complement of the United Kingdom's foreign policy, the objective of which was the securing of peace for the peoples of the British Empire and for the nations of the world. The means of obtaining that objective were collective security and friendship, the former through the medium of the League of Nations. Now the chief purpose of collective action for security was not to stop war but to prevent war ; and the only way to prevent war being begun by some would-be aggressor was to make it clear to him beforehand that his entry into war would be met at once by powerful opposition. But a country that had made its preparations beforehand and had its stores of munitions and reserves was in an incomparably stronger position than one which was not ready and might have to improvise in a situation that might arise after the war. Hence they were brought to the " terrible conclusion " that if the countries in Europe desired to stop an aggressor by making him realise that his action would bring all the other members of the League upon him at once, they would have to be much more ready for war than they were to-day ; otherwise the aggressor would have his own way. In other words, to secure peace, and in the name of peace, they had to have increased armaments at hand and ready.

Dealing with the question why there was no mention of finance in the White Paper, Mr. Baldwin said the reason was because the scheme was meant to be flexible and capable of modification should circumstances require, whether because of an improvement

in the international situation or of new scientific inventions. The object of the Paper, he said, was to enable the House to discuss defence as a whole, and the vote at the end of the debate would not be a vote to authorise expenditure. If the House approved the general lines of the Government's proposals, every item of expenditure would have to come before it in due course on Estimates or Supplementary Estimates. Mr. Baldwin also gave an assurance that the supply side of the programme would not involve any interference with organised labour or with trade union standards.

On behalf of the Labour Party, Mr. Attlee moved the rejection of the White Paper, on the ground chiefly that the Government's foreign policy was "unworthy and ambiguous," and "had largely contributed to the present state of world unrest." Mr. Attlee severely criticised both the White Paper and Mr. Baldwin's speech as showing no conception of what was really meant by collective security and paying only lip service to the idea, and as dealing with the international situation in terms of purely national security. He also complained that no indication had been given to the House about the finance of the proposals, a complaint which was endorsed on behalf of the Liberals by Sir A. Sinclair. These criticisms found little echo in the Ministerial benches, where the chief faults of the White Paper were held to be that it showed a certain vagueness and lack of precision in detail. The policy of speedy re-armament found two powerful advocates in Sir S. Hoare and Mr. Winston Churchill, both of whom were suspected of speaking with an eye on the proposed new Defence post. After a debate lasting two days, the Labour amendment was defeated by 378 votes to 155, and the motion was carried by 371 votes to 153.

From the moment that the creation of the new post was announced, speculation had been rife as to its occupant, and many prominent names had been canvassed. In the general opinion both Sir S. Hoare and Mr. Churchill possessed excellent qualifications, but both suffered from serious drawbacks—the former because he had so recently been the object of public displeasure, the latter as being too strongly anti-German. The Prime Minister found it no easy matter to come to a decision, and kept the public long in suspense. When at length he made his choice—which was announced on March 13—it fell on a man who had never been thought of in connexion with the post—Sir Thomas Inskip, the Attorney-General. Sir Thomas's abilities had never been regarded as more than mediocre, nor could he lay claim to any great administrative experience; and his selection for so important a post when many stronger candidates were available could be explained by the public only on the supposition that the Prime Minister still desired to keep the chief authority in defence matters in his own hands. On March 19 Mr. Baldwin informed the House

of Commons that the official title of the new Minister would be "Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence," that he would have at his disposal the staff of the Committee of Imperial Defence as well as officials of his own, and that his salary would be 5,000l. a year.

In the House of Lords the approval of the White Paper was moved on March 17 by Lord Swinton, the Secretary of State for Air. Its rejection was moved by Lord Ponsonby, who, unlike Mr. Attlee in the other House, opposed re-armament for the purpose of collective security no less than for that of national defence. The discussion aroused great interest in the House, and was continued on March 19 and March 24. In the course of the debate Lord Salisbury criticised rather sharply the appointment of Sir T. Inskip, but it was defended by the Lord Chancellor on the ground that the new Minister was a man who by his tact, sound common sense, and sincerity was far more likely to make a success of the office than almost anyone else that that or the other House could produce. The motion was ultimately carried by 109 votes to 8.

As a pendant to the Government's defence programme it was announced on February 24 that a Civilian Anti-Gas School for training instructors would shortly be opened at Eastwood Park, Falfield, Gloucestershire, and that the first course would begin immediately after Easter. Each course would have about thirty students, the first five being for police and fire brigade instructors. The intention was in course of time to provide all local authorities with a sufficient number of trained instructors. At the same time local authorities were advised to organise rescue parties of six or eight men each for action after air attack, on the scale of three or four for every 100,000 inhabitants in thickly populated areas.

The Service Estimates published in the first week of March showed marked increases over those of the previous year in all three arms, independently of the defence programme outlined in the White Paper. The Navy Estimates amounted to 69,930,000l., an increase of 9,880,000l. over those of the previous year; the Army Estimates amounted to 49,281,000l., an increase of 5,731,000l.; and the Air Estimates amounted to 39,000,000l., an increase of 18,350,000l. The increased expenditure on the Navy was necessitated chiefly by an acceleration of the building programme already laid down, and by a rise in the outlay on the Fleet Air Arm from 1,873,000l. to 3,066,000l. In the Army the increase was to go chiefly to providing further mechanisation and better striking power. In the Air Force the increase was for an all-round expansion by which the first-line strength of the Home Defence Force would at the end of the year be brought up to 1,600 aircraft, with 270 first-line machines in units oversea and about 220 in the Fleet Air Arm. It was pointed out in the Minister's memorandum that this increase in first-line strength did

not reveal the whole of the advantage derived from the expansion, because the relative number of medium and heavy bombers possessing a greater range and load than the ordinary machines would be increased.

In presenting the Army Estimates on March 12, the Secretary of State for War, Mr. Duff Cooper, said that in spite of many changes in the realm of science and in the realm of politics, a British Army seemed to him to be required for the same purposes as those he had laid down two years before—to protect their naval bases, to police their Empire, to defend their shores, and to provide a force which in case of emergency might fight somewhere outside their Imperial boundaries. There was a school of thought, he said, which held that in any future European war their contribution should be limited to naval and air forces, but the Army Council and the Government had unanimously decided against this, not only for military but also for psychological reasons. He stated that recruiting was deplorable; this was due partly to better employment, but still more to a misplaced prejudice against the soldier's occupation, which he thought it was largely in the power of the Labour Party to remove. He announced that much greater attention would be paid to the Territorial Force, which was about 40,000 under strength—largely because of discouraging economies—and that steps would be taken to make it both more attractive and more efficient.

In presenting the Navy Estimates on March 16, Lord Stanley, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty, said that the acceleration which was to take place this year did not mean any increase in the programme as a whole, a circumstance which would bring a relief in subsequent years. The Admiralty Board, he said, still pinned their faith to the battleship as the most important element in the Fleet, and were confident that they could improve its defensive properties sufficiently to keep pace with new inventions in the sphere of attack. Mr. Alexander on behalf of the Labour Party decried the swollen expenditure on the Navy as due to panic, and Sir A. Sinclair complained that they seemed to be getting far less for their money than in pre-war days, but a motion that the House should not go into Committee of Supply was defeated by 217 votes to 106.

In presenting the Air Estimates on March 17, Sir Philip Sassoon, the Under-Secretary for Air, informed the House that the expansion of the Air Force was in fact proceeding very rapidly, in the creation both of fighting strength, of reserves, and of an efficient industry in the background. Out of 2,500 new pilots required, 1,700 had already been obtained. Training schools, both civil and military, had been greatly increased, and out of fifty new air stations, twenty-nine had already been acquired. They would take delivery during the next three years of more machines than the total for the past seventeen years, and their output in 1935

had already been equal to that of the United States. The equipment of the Air Force would be unrivalled, thanks to their designers and workmen, whose reputation was world-wide.

The expansion of the Air Force entailed the provision of additional sites for bombing practice, and the search for these brought the Air Ministry into conflict with various interests. In the previous summer loud protests had been raised against its choice of a site at Chenil, near Portland Bill on the South coast, on the ground that it would cause the break-up of a famous swannery in the neighbourhood. Later it chose another site at Druridge Bay in Northumberland. Being informed that the interests of fishermen in the neighbourhood would suffer, it chose an alternative though less suitable locality near Holy Island, a place with notable religious and historical associations and famous throughout Europe as a bird sanctuary. This brought the lovers of nature up in arms, and on February 17 an influential deputation, led by Sir Charles Trevelyan, the Lord-Lieutenant of Northumberland, expostulated with the Secretary of State for Air. After hearing their arguments, Lord Swinton declared that the case they had made out was convincing, and reverted to his original choice of Druridge Bay, promising to see what could be done on behalf of the local fishing industry.

The work of the Naval Conference was brought to a conclusion early in March. After the departure of the Japanese delegate (*vide* p. 2), the discussions of the conference proceeded much more smoothly. The remaining delegates found that there were a number of points on which they could agree, and succeeded before long in drafting a substantive treaty. At the last moment Italy declined to become a party to the treaty, nominally on account of "technical difficulties" and "difficulties of procedure," but really because she felt it incongruous that she should sign an amicable agreement with Powers with whom she was so seriously at variance. The treaty in its final form, which was to take the place of the Washington and London Naval Treaties when they expired at the end of the year, defined certain categories of ships, limited the tonnage of ships and size of guns in each category, stipulated a "zone of no construction," and provided for advance notification of building programmes. All the parties to the conference also announced their intention of signing, as soon as it should be ready, a protocol embodying the rules laid down in the London Treaty of 1930 for controlling the treatment of merchant ships by submarines in time of war.

The last plenary session of the conference took place on March 25, when the treaty was signed on behalf of Great Britain and other members of the British Commonwealth, the United States, and France. Lord Monsell, who presided in the unavoidable absence of Mr. Eden, paid a tribute to the broad-minded attitude assumed towards the problem of naval limitation

by the naval authorities of all the countries represented at the conference. Though each would have liked the treaty to be different in this or that particular, yet agreement had been reached, and they believed that if the principal Powers acceded to the treaty, competition in naval armaments would be eliminated for another period of years. Mr. Norman Davis deplored the failure to achieve quantitative limitation and M. Corbin the high figure retained for unit tonnage, but both found hopeful features in the treaty. Signor Grandi said that at the present time, in view of the concentration of navies in the Mediterranean, Italy could not agree to any limitation of her defences, but she hoped the situation would improve so that Italy would be able to resume participation in work for the security and peace of the world.

The Naval Conference did not represent the Government's only effort in the cause of disarmament. On March 6, just as the conference was bringing its labours to a close, Mr. Eden approached the German Ambassador in London and laid before him once more the proposal which the British Ambassador in Berlin had already made to the German Chancellor in December, that the Powers signatory to the Treaty of Locarno should proceed to the negotiation of an Air Pact. He reminded him of the hopes which Herr Hitler had himself expressed for the betterment of international relations in Western Europe, and said that it seemed to him that the time had now come when a real effort must be made to translate those hopes into facts, and to attempt to achieve a real improvement in the relations between Great Britain, France, and Germany. The conclusion of an Air Pact, he said, would constitute a stabilising element in their relations in the West, and he did not feel that it was impossible to negotiate such a pact even while the situation was complicated by the Italo-Abyssinian war.

In reply to this overture, the German Ambassador on the next day handed to Mr. Eden a memorandum which fell into two parts. The first part stated that in the opinion of the German Government, the now imminent conclusion by France of a pact with Soviet Russia had created an entirely new situation and destroyed the political system of the Locarno Treaty, which Germany consequently regarded as no longer binding on her. Taking advantage of this fact, the German Government had restored the full and unrestricted sovereignty of Germany over the demilitarised zone of the Rhineland; in token of which German troops had already been marched in large numbers into that district.

If this part of the Memorandum was a veritable bombshell, calculated to shake the political structure of Europe to its foundations, the other part was to all appearance a genuine effort to establish the international order on a new and firmer foundation. It contained proposals that a demilitarised zone should be created **on both** sides of the Franco-German and Belgian-German frontiers,

that Non-aggression Pacts for twenty-five years should be concluded between Germany and most of her neighbours, that these security arrangements should be supplemented by an Air Pact, and that Germany should rejoin the League of Nations.

Mr. Eden at once pointed out to the German Ambassador that the action taken by the German Government in respect of the demilitarised zone amounted to the unilateral repudiation of a treaty freely negotiated and freely signed, and expressed a fear that the effect of such a step on the British Government and people would be deplorable.

Mr. Eden reported to the House of Commons on March 9 his two interviews with the German Ambassador, and at the same time indicated the view taken by the Government of Germany's action. This action did not, in their opinion, imply any threat of hostilities. But it did both complicate and aggravate the international situation. It had profoundly shaken confidence in any engagement into which the Government of Germany might in future enter, and there could be no one in the House or in the country who could wish to condone or excuse such a step, which struck a severe blow at the principle of the sanctity of treaties underlying the whole structure of international relations. Whatever Germany might say, the British Government still considered the Locarno Treaty to be binding, and should there take place in the near future any attack on France or Belgium which would constitute a violation of the treaty, they would consider themselves in honour bound to come to the assistance of the country attacked.

Immediately after making his statement in the House of Commons, Mr. Eden, accompanied by Lord Halifax, the Lord Privy Seal, went to Paris to attend a meeting of the Locarno Powers other than Germany. He found, as was to be expected, that France was clamouring for much more drastic action against Germany than the Government was prepared to take, in spite of its condemnation of Herr Hitler's coup. Feeling that the atmosphere of Paris was not conducive to calm discussion, he proposed that the conversations should be continued in London and that the Council of the League of Nations should also meet there. This having been accepted, he and Lord Halifax returned to London on March 11, and at once gave the Cabinet a full report on the conversations which had taken place in Paris. They stated that they had found a very grave position there, and made it clear that French public opinion would insist on some binding assurance that Germany would honour her obligations.

Naturally the occupation of the Rhineland created a tremendous sensation in England, but the reaction to it of the public was not exactly what Mr. Eden had stated. From correspondence in the Press and other indications it was clear that the number of those who were ready to condone and even to commend Germany's

breach of her treaty obligations in this instance was very considerable. Even of those who condemned her action, the great majority were averse to taking any counter step which might involve a risk of war. Hence there could be no question of the Government joining in the imposition of financial and economic sanctions, much less in taking military measures against Germany. On the other hand, a very influential body of opinion, of which Sir Austen Chamberlain was the chief spokesman, emphatically held that France had made out a good case for a definite assurance from Germany that treaty obligations would in future be honoured—a view that was endorsed, though not unanimously, by meetings of the Foreign Affairs Committee of supporters of the Government in the House of Commons on March 16 and 17.

Anxious as it was to proceed to the consideration of Herr Hitler's peace proposals, the Government could not ignore the fact that there was a great deal of justification for the French attitude, and that the first problem before the Locarno Powers and the League of Nations was to procure if possible some reparation from Germany for the blow she had struck at international confidence. A bold attempt to effect this by means of a direct appeal was made by Mr. Eden on the very night of his return from Paris. He sent for Herr von Hoesch, the German Ambassador, and after telling him that it would be difficult to exaggerate how grave was the view which the British Government took of the present situation, he suggested that Herr Hitler should make at the earliest possible moment a spontaneous contribution which would help in securing a settlement. As an indication of the manner in which the German Government might prove its sincerity, he suggested that it should withdraw all but a symbolical number of troops from the Rhineland zone, not increase the number, and undertake not to fortify the zone at least for the period necessary for the pacts to be negotiated and for the international situation to be regularised.

The German reply was conveyed to Mr. Eden by the Ambassador on the next morning, before the meeting of the Locarno Powers. The German Government, it said, could not enter into a discussion with regard to a lasting or provisional limitation of the German sovereignty in the Rhineland territory. It had no intention, however, of increasing the strength of the troops which had been stationed in certain garrisons in the Rhineland on a peace-time basis, nor was it intended at present to station those troops nearer to the French or Belgian border. This restriction of the military occupation of the Rhineland would be observed for the duration of the pending negotiations, it being assumed that a similar attitude would be observed by France and Belgium.

On the same day (March 12) at 5 P.M. the delegates of the remaining signatories to the Treaty of Locarno—Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Italy—reassembled at the Foreign Office to

continue the conversations which had been begun at Paris two days before. The British delegates were Mr. Eden, who presided, Lord Halifax, and Sir Robert Vansittart, Permanent Secretary of the Foreign Office. The meeting found no difficulty in agreeing that the German reply to the British suggestions was entirely unsatisfactory. When it came, however, to considering the next step, the divergence between France and Britain again showed itself. Nevertheless, the atmosphere was less tense than it had been in Paris, and a certain approximation in views soon began to appear.

On March 14 the Council of the League of Nations met in London, and resolved to invite the attendance of a delegate from Germany. Herr Hitler accepted the invitation, and on March 18, Herr Ribbentrop arrived in London as his representative. The Council meeting, however, did no more than consider whether Germany by sending troops into the Rhineland had infringed the Treaties of Versailles and Locarno, a question which they had no hesitation in deciding in the affirmative, in spite of the specious pleadings of Herr Ribbentrop. They left it to the delegates of the Locarno Powers to find some way of giving practical effect to this condemnation.

After long and intensive discussion, the delegates at two o'clock on the morning of March 19 found themselves able to adopt the draft of a general agreement, subject to the reservation of certain items which required further examination. The agreement contained three main points : (1) that an appeal should be made to The Hague Court for a decision as to the compatibility of the Franco-Soviet Pact with the Locarno Treaty ; (2) that a demilitarised zone should be set up in the German zone, to be policed by international forces ; (3) that consultations should take place between the British and the French General Staffs for furnishing provisional British guarantees of security for France.

On the basis of this draft, a White Paper was issued on March 20 containing the final results of the delegates' deliberations. It fell into two parts. In the first, Germany was invited to submit her case against the Franco-Soviet Pact to The Hague Court and to agree to accept its decision as final. She was also invited, pending further negotiations, not to increase her troops or her paramilitary forces in the Rhineland zone, and not to build fortifications or lay out landing-grounds there. With regard to the suggested demilitarised zone in German territory, it was proposed that it should be 20 kilometres deep along both the French and Belgian frontiers, and that the international force should include both British and Italian detachments. Should Germany accept these proposals, she would be invited to take part in negotiations on the peace proposals made by her on March 7, on a revision of the status of the Rhineland, and on mutual assistance pacts to replace or reinforce those of Locarno. Should Germany refuse the proposals,

the British and Italian Governments undertook to carry out the steps entailed by their obligations under the Treaty of Locarno to France and Belgium, and in particular to establish or continue the contact between the General Staffs of the respective countries contemplated in that arrangement. The White Paper also contained a proposal that an international conference should be called by the League of Nations to examine a number of questions including the organisation of collective security, the limitation of armaments, the promotion of international commerce, and the German proposals for a return to the League.

On the same day Mr. Eden gave the House of Commons an account of the proceedings of the Locarno Powers meeting. He began by thanking all parties in the House for the forbearance which they had shown since he had made his last statement on March 9, and which he assured them had been a real help to them in their negotiations. The main objective of the Government, he said, had been to restore confidence in international law and create conditions in which an effort might be made to rebuild European stability. After outlining the proposals drawn up by the delegates, he announced that the Government were prepared to accept them "as not ill-designed to meet the present grave emergency," and expressed the hope that the German Government would see them in the same light.

The proposal that the League should use against a potential aggressor soldiers of the country which it had lately declared to be an actual aggressor gave rise to a good deal of sarcastic comment in England, nor was it expected there that the other proposals would prove acceptable to Germany. No surprise therefore was felt when on March 24 Herr Hitler sent a preliminary reply asking for further time to consider the proposals, but stating that he was already in a position to say that they would be rejected in all points which affected honour and equal rights. He promised, however, that this rejection would be brought into connexion with a new and detailed plan for the solution of the present crisis, which would be presented on March 31.

In the course of the next few days, Mr. Eden had some conversations with Herr von Ribbentrop, who was still in London, and, while expressing the hope that the German Government would accept the proposals, made it clear that they were not meant by the British Government to be in the nature of an ultimatum to be either taken or left, but that any alternative suggestions which the German Government might put forward would be carefully considered. At the same time he emphasised **the** importance of Germany's making some constructive contribution to improve the situation. Similar language was used by the British Ambassador in Berlin to the German Minister for Foreign Affairs.

On March 27 the Secretary for Foreign Affairs explained to

the House of Commons the considerations by which he and the Government had been guided in the recent international dealings. He began by paying once more a tribute to the restraint which had been exercised throughout a most anxious period by all parties in the House, by the Press, and by the people as a whole, a restraint all the more remarkable in that it was assumed and maintained on a purely voluntary basis.

Mr. Eden first set himself to controvert the idea, which was finding considerable support in England, that as the German Government had simply taken full possession of its own territory, Great Britain could view its action with equanimity. He pointed out that this view ignored the conditions under which the demilitarised zone was created and the purpose it was meant to serve. In view of the responsibilities undertaken by Great Britain under the Locarno Agreements, the least she could do was to deprecate the fact that, supposing Germany had a strong case, she had chosen to present it by force and not by reason. Equally false was the idea that Britain could act purely as an arbiter in the present crisis. They were not arbiters but guarantors, and as guarantors had certain definite commitments. The words of the Locarno Treaty were clear on the point, and he said in all bluntness that he was not prepared to be the first British Foreign Secretary to go back on a British signature. The treaty, however, equally bound them to work for peace and understanding, and this was the task to which they had set themselves. He did not pretend that the task would not have been easier had they been entirely free. But the fact was that they had entered upon it with the weight of their commitments heavy upon them.

These being the motives of the Government, they refused to accede to the request first made to them by Prance and Belgium, to put pressure on Germany by means of financial and economic sanctions. On the other hand, they could not overlook the fact that it was useless to begin negotiations until confidence had been restored ; and they therefore made it their first task to create an atmosphere of confidence. The proposals in the White Paper, whatever might be their faults, were the best means they could find to that end. The justification for them lay in the fact that at a moment of crisis they allayed the immediate prospect of steps being taken which might have led to war. They had earned them a breathing-space, and marked the conclusion of the first phase of their efforts to preserve peace in a situation of difficulty which they had done nothing themselves to create. The next stage was the opening of negotiations, but in order that this might be reached, it was necessary that there should be a contribution from the German Government. Whether such a contribution would be forthcoming seemed to Mr. Eden to be still doubtful, and he therefore could not describe the situation as other than extremely perplexing.

The debate which followed showed that the House was fully in accord with the Government in respect of the two main points of its policy—on the one hand, that Britain would on no account take part in imposing either military or economic sanctions on Germany, because of her occupation of the Rhineland ; on the other hand, that discussion of Herr Hitler's peace proposals could not commence until Germany had given some sign that in future she would pay proper respect to the sanctity of treaties and undertakings. The steps which the Government proposed to take in case Germany made no such sign did not command such general support. Mr. Lloyd George, showing not for the first time his pro-German sympathies, went so far as to denounce the proposed staff talks as being likely in themselves to lead to war. This idea was scouted by Mr. Neville Chamberlain, who replied on behalf of the Government, and the tone of the debate left little doubt that the Government had the House behind it on this point also.

At a meeting of Ministers held on March 30, some anxiety was expressed lest the scope of the proposed staff talks should either be drawn or become too wide. It was therefore decided to draft agenda to which the officers delegated by the Imperial General Staff would be strictly tied, and which they would be instructed not to exceed even in the first exploratory discussions. It was understood that the programme would have to comply with the condition laid down by Mr. Eden in his speech on March 27, when he said that the contact between the General Staffs would not imply any political undertaking or any obligation as regards defence organisation between the two parties. The same condition had actually been laid down in an agreement between France and Belgium, and consequently the French and Belgian Governments found no difficulty in agreeing to it, as also to the proposal that the conversations should be held in London.

The Cabinet also about the same time drew up a " letter of reassurance " specifying the action which Great Britain would be willing to take in case efforts to come to a peaceful agreement with Germany should fail. It bound itself at once to consider, in consultation with the French and Belgian Governments, the steps to be taken to meet the new situation thus created ; to come immediately to the assistance of the French (or Belgian) Government, in accordance with the Treaty of Locarno, in respect of any measures which should be jointly decided on ; in return for reciprocal assurances from the French or Belgian Government to take, in consultation with that Government, all practical measures available to it for ensuring the security of France or Belgium against unprovoked aggression ; and for this purpose to establish or continue the contact between the General Staffs. This letter and one giving the assent of the British Government to the immediate opening of staff talks were handed by Mr. Eden

on April 2—to the Ambassadors of France and Belgium, who replied immediately with a letter of acknowledgment and reciprocal reassurance.

Meanwhile, on March 31, Herr Ribbentrop returned to London bearing the German reply to the British request for some conciliatory gesture from the side of Germany. Herr Hitler's chief proposal in this direction was a four months' "standstill," to be observed by both sides and to be guaranteed by a neutral commission, along the western frontier. The German memorandum was first considered by the Cabinet on April 1. It was regarded as conciliatory in tone, but as contributing very little towards the restoration of confidence which was needed. On April 2 Mr. Eden saw Herr Ribbentrop and urged upon him the desirability of a German undertaking to refrain from fortifying the Rhineland zone during the proposed interim period of four months. He was unable to obtain any such assurance, but none the less, the Cabinet resolved that the German proposals should not be rejected out of hand, but that further time should be taken to consider them.

Mr. Eden reported these proceedings to the House of Commons on April 3. He said that some time might elapse yet before they could get into communication with other Governments on the subject of peace negotiations and receive their reply, but the Government thought that a pause at this juncture was most valuable. The statement was cordially received by the House; and Mr. Eden promised to consider sympathetically a suggestion made by Mr. Attlee that if possible all the members of the League should be brought into the negotiations and not merely the Locarno Powers.

While it could view with comparative calmness Germany's one-sided violation of treaties, British public opinion was violently agitated by Italy's methods of warfare in Abyssinia. The bombing of Red Cross units by Italian airmen created great indignation in England, especially when it was learnt that a British unit also had been treated in this way; on March 6 the British Ambassador in Rome was instructed to make strong representations on the subject. Feeling in England was still further inflamed by the bombing of open towns, and could hardly contain itself when the Italians were reported to be using poison gas against both soldiers and civilians. In the House of Lords on March 30, Lord Cecil, the Archbishop of Canterbury and other speakers voiced the general detestation of such practices, and called on the Government to investigate the charges and, if they proved true, to take appropriate measures. Lord Halifax replied that if the reports were true—as there was little reason to doubt—they had a gravity which no speech had exaggerated, whether in regard to the natural feelings they must arouse, or of their inevitable repercussions on the whole relations of the white and coloured races.

He promised that the Government would take up the matter with **the** Committee of Thirteen, or whatever might be the appropriate body in the League of Nations.

On March 5 attention was called in the House of Commons to the increasing frequency of attacks on Jews in certain parts of London by members of Fascist organisations. The Home Secretary took the opportunity to declare that Jew-baiting would on no account be tolerated in England. The Fascists could not be stopped from preaching their own doctrine, which seemed to include the hatred of Jews because they were Jews, but he warned them that assaults on peaceable citizens would be put down with a strong hand. Special precautions were in fact taken thenceforth to keep order in the districts affected.

Another complaint of which the Home Secretary did not dispose so satisfactorily was that the police frequently showed favouritism to the Fascists as against their opponents. This charge had been strenuously denied by Sir John Simon in the course of his speech, but the force of his denial was greatly weakened by an incident which took place a short time later. On March 22 Sir Oswald Mosley addressed a great Fascist gathering in the Albert Hall in London. As a result of elaborate police precautions, which included the forbidding of any Communist demonstrations in the neighbourhood of the hall, the meeting passed off without disorder, though a great many of those present had to be ejected. But the police broke up with some roughness an anti-Fascist meeting which was being held in Thurloe Square, half a mile away from the Albert Hall. Protests against the police action were raised in Parliament, and the Home Secretary defended it on the ground that the meeting had given provocation. This was strenuously denied by a number of eye-witnesses, and the Home Secretary's statement was in many quarters regarded as highly unsatisfactory.

On March 5 Lord Rankeillour in the House of Lords drew attention to the new Constitution for Palestine which had just been published, and complained that the Government were imposing it on the country without consulting Parliament. He admitted that they had a right to do so under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890, but he held that this was not the proper course to take in the present case, and implied that there was in fact much to criticise in the new Constitution itself—a view very widely and generally held by those interested in Palestine. A more direct attack on the proposed Constitution was made in the House of Commons on March 24 by Colonel Wedgwood and a number of other speakers. The Secretary for the Colonies could do little more than shelter himself behind the authority of the High Commissioner for Palestine, who was the chief instigator of the change, and his reply gave no satisfaction to his critics either **inside** or outside of the House.

On March 11 the Chancellor of the Exchequer read to the House of Commons a message from the King asking that renewed provision should be made for the Civil List. Under an Act passed at the accession of King George in 1910, the Civil List then adopted was to remain in force for six months after his demise, and a contingent annuity of 70,000l. was provided for Queen Mary during her widowhood. In accordance with precedent, a special Committee of twenty-one members with the Chancellor of the Exchequer as Chairman was appointed to consider the question.

On March 16 the report of the Committee appointed in 1935 to investigate the work of the British Broadcasting Corporation was published. The chief recommendation of the Committee was that the charter of the Corporation should be extended for a term of ten years from January 1, 1937, and that a senior Cabinet Minister should become responsible in the House of Commons for the B.B.C. and its activities. Another important recommendation was that a larger share (75 per cent.) of the net licence revenue should be made available to the Corporation. In respect of programmes, the Committee expressed approval in general of the policy already followed in the matter of news, music, controversial topics, and political broadcasts, and recommended that no departure should be made from the present policy in regard to advertisements.

On March 23 the *Queen Mary*, the giant liner which had been christened by the Queen a year before at her first laying down, left the basin in which she had been fitted out at Clydebank and made her way with some difficulty through the narrow river to the Firth of Clyde. Her progress was watched by huge concourses of people from the banks and other points of vantage. Once in deeper waters she behaved excellently, and gave promise of proving herself to be in almost every way the finest vessel afloat. Her successful launching was taken by the public as emblematic of the nation's return to prosperity, and had a psychological effect which was not without importance. Similar interest was shown in her first trip to America a couple of months later.

On March 25 the House of Commons, on a private member's motion, discussed the question of Ministerial salaries. The debate revealed a consensus of opinion that certain salaries, which had been fixed when conditions were very different from those now prevailing, were anomalous, and that the Prime Minister was grossly underpaid and the Law officers overpaid. The motion suggested that the salaries of all Cabinet Ministers with the exception of the Prime Minister should be pooled. The Labour Party moved an amendment that the total paid in Ministerial salaries **should** not be increased. This was rejected by 157 votes to **101**, **and** the motion was carried by 150 votes to 56. The Government promised to take note of the feeling of the House, and to introduce **legislation on the subject as soon as possible.**

In **the** course of his speech on the Air Estimates, Sir **Philip** Sassoon had referred to the gratifying progress which was **being** made by civil aviation in Great Britain, and mentioned that agreement had been reached with the Union of South Africa and **with** the Governments of most other African territories concerned regarding the African part of the new Empire Air Transport scheme which he had announced fifteen months before. Soon afterwards (March 30) the House of Commons gave a second reading to an Air Navigation Bill which was intended to facilitate progress in civil aviation. It authorised an increase in the subsidies for civil aviation; transferred in some measure the control of civil aviation from the Air Ministry to a new Air Registration Board; gave Metropolitan boroughs the power to acquire land for aerodromes; and instituted a system of compulsory insurance against third-party risks.

On March 31 Lord Eustace Percy resigned the office of Minister without Portfolio which he had held since the reconstitution of the National Government in June, 1935. Being in charge of no Department, he had been debarred from answering questions in Parliament, and as far as members had been able to discover he was as a member of the Government entirely supernumerary. Apparently he had come to the same conclusion himself, and in his letter of resignation he said that he felt it would be difficult to justify the continuance of his post into the next financial year. Rumours were circulated that he differed with the Government on its foreign policy, but these he denied emphatically.

The resignation of Lord Eustace Percy was symptomatic of a spirit of unrest and dissatisfaction with the Government which had for some time been manifest among its supporters in Parliament, and which was now to cause it no small embarrassment. On April 1 Mr. W. S. Morrison, the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, moved that the Speaker should leave the Chair in order that the House might go into Committee of Supply. Miss Wilkinson, a Labour member, moved an amendment that women Civil servants should be granted equal pay with men for equal work—an idea which was favoured by a large number of Ministerialists, though the Government were opposed to it. The motion that the Speaker should leave the Chair was taken first, and the House showed its displeasure with the Government by rejecting it by 156 votes to 148. Subsequently it rejected Miss Wilkinson's motion by 149 votes to 134, but this was small consolation to the Government, and Mr. Baldwin, mistrusting the temper of the House, consented to its adjournment for the time being.

The chief object of disaffection in the House was not the Government as a whole but the Prime Minister personally. **Throughout the** session Mr. Baldwin had been sinking in **the** estimation both of Parliament and of the country. He gave the impression of being without will power or settled purpose, and of

being content to drift with events rather than trying to direct them. In the debate on defence on February 14, Sir A. Chamberlain had gone out of his way to read the Prime Minister a lecture on his faults of commission and omission, and had pointedly declared that on certain important occasions recently the " thinking machine " of the Government had not been working. Since then, members had been waiting for Mr. Baldwin to show the qualities of leadership, but had so far waited in vain.

Feeling that something must be done to assert the authority of the Government, the Prime Minister on April 6, in moving again that the House should form itself into a Committee of Supply, took the drastic step of making the question one of confidence. In his speech on behalf of the motion he confined himself to a defence of the Government's refusal to grant equal pay to women. The discussion which followed, however, showed that the restiveness of the House was due to a much deeper cause, namely, the Government's handling of foreign affairs, and especially of problems arising out of the Italo-Abyssinian conflict. Recent Italian successes in Abyssinia had put an entirely new complexion on the situation in that country, and had caused people to ask whether the effect of British policy so far had not been merely to antagonise Italy without rendering any assistance to Abyssinia.

Criticism of the Government on this ground was expressed not only by the Opposition Leaders but also by two of its most prominent supporters, Mr. Churchill and Sir A. Chamberlain. Mr. Churchill said that if, as seemed likely, the Abyssinian resistance collapsed before the rains began, then Britain would be found to have fallen between two stools, and the responsibility for this must rest on the Government, and on the Prime Minister in particular, because they had been conducting their intervention in this matter without sufficient resolution to carry it through, and yet had not sufficient strength of character to face the criticism which they would have incurred by desisting. Sir Austen Chamberlain suggested that the Government had not thought out its position, and asked how far they were prepared to put a policy before the House either recognising the limitations of British action or accepting whole-heartedly the complete support of the League in all the decisions it might come to.

Mr. Eden in reply said that there were certain important lessons which could be learnt from the present situation. One was that the League of Nations, limited in membership, was strictly limited in effectiveness. Another was that financial and economic sanctions could not be immediately effective if membership of the League was not complete. In spite of what had happened, however, he did not agree with those who said that they should never have attempted to stop the war at all. It was quite impossible to establish international law by abetting breaches of international law. Mr. Eden was not confident about British

action being effective in this instance in combating aggression ; **but** he expressed a pious hope that it would be an inspiring example for the future.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain who followed, had no hesitation in throwing the whole blame on the League of Nations. He said that the discussion would have proved very useful in educating public opinion if it had once more brought out the difficulties and dangers which were inseparable from a policy of collective security for the purpose of obtaining collective action by States of unequal size, of different views and different degrees of armaments, and running very different risks. He twitted the Leaders of the Opposition with advocating a policy of bluff, with desiring to wave a pistol in the face of aggressors without making sure whether it was loaded or not. It was quite obvious from what had happened in the last twelve months that the League's weapons would not shoot. As practical people, the British had to recognise that collective security was a collective matter, that they must not allow themselves to take up the whole burden, and must satisfy themselves that others were not only willing but also able to play their part.

Whatever the House thought of the statements of Ministers, it was not prepared to take the risk of weakening the Government at this juncture, and it passed the vote of confidence by a majority of 216. The debate, however, did nothing to strengthen the position of Mr. Baldwin ; and the whole affair showed that he had made up none of the ground which he had lost in the estimation of Parliament through his tergiversation over the Hoare-Laval proposals three and a half months before (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935, p. 109).

On April 8, just before Parliament rose for the Easter recess, a final statement on the Government's foreign policy was made in the House of Lords by Lord Halifax, in reply to certain questions raised by Lord Snell on matters which, he said, were causing great anxiety among large numbers of people, notably the position in Abyssinia and German military measures. The Minister stated that in Abyssinia they would not go further than the League was willing, which meant that they would not take any step which might involve them in war with Italy. In Europe also peace was their one objective, and that was why they were most anxious to examine the German proposals. But there must be an interim period for the restoration of confidence, and as Germany had as yet made no real contribution to this end, they had had to reassure France and Belgium by means of staff talks. But if they undertook specific obligations in the West, this did not mean that they disinterested themselves from events and issues in the East. Peace might well prove to be indivisible, and wherever it was **broken**, they would fulfil their obligations. British policy was **in one** word to stand steadfastly by all who sought peace **and** to

oppose all who would betray the cause of peace. Up to what point that opposition would be carried the Minister did not indicate.

The accounts for the financial year published on March 31 showed that ordinary revenue (excluding the self-balancing funds) had amounted to 752,920,000l. This was 18,450,000l. more than the Budget Estimate of 1935 and 36,479,000l. more than the revenue obtained in 1934-35. Ordinary expenditure amounted to 737,513,000l., which was about 4,500,000l. more than the Estimate, and nearly 41,000,000l. more than in 1934-35. Out of the balance of 15,400,000l., a sum of 12,466,224l. was applied to redemption of the National Debt, leaving a realised surplus for the year of 2,941,702l., compared with an Estimate of 500,000l. The Supplementary Estimates presented during the year (apart from 2,250,000l. for the Post Office) had amounted to 29,750,000l., of which 13,100,000l. was for defence.

On April 6 the Income-tax Codification Committee, originally appointed by Mr. Winston Churchill when Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1927, presented its report and the draft of a Bill for regulating income-tax procedure in the future. The task of the Committee had proved if anything even more herculean than had been originally expected, and it had been found necessary to augment its numbers in 1932, when Lord Macmillan became its Chairman. The Committee had done its best to introduce order into the chaos of income-tax legislation consisting of nearly 800 distinct provisions embodied in nineteen different Acts of Parliament and interpreted by about 1,800 judicial decisions, often utterly irreconcilable with one another. The draft Bill submitted by it consisted of 417 clauses and eight schedules. For the existing income-tax schedules it substituted fifteen classes of income, drawing a clear distinction between United Kingdom and foreign income. Another great improvement effected by the Committee was to give precise definitions to important terms, such as "total income," "residence," "assessments," which were used vaguely or in different senses in the existing legislation. The Committee pointed out that income-tax legislation must by its nature be abstract and technical and could never be easy reading, but this was no excuse for perpetuating its present confused and illogical shape.

CHAPTER II.

THE FAILURE OF SANCTIONS.

BEFORE Parliament rose for the Easter recess, Mr. Eden had gone once more to Geneva to attend a meeting of the Committee of Thirteen which was dealing with the Italo-Abyssinian dispute. In a speech which he delivered on April 8 he protested against the delays of the Committee and strongly condemned the Italian use of poison gas. As a result of his remonstrances, the Committee somewhat hastened its procedure, and on April 18 finally decided that it was useless to pursue further for the present its efforts at conciliation. Signor Mussolini was as defiant as ever, and seemed confident of his ability to subjugate Abyssinia in spite of the sanctions so far imposed by the League.

On the same day (April 18) the Prime Minister, in an address which he gave to his constituents at Worcester, defined the attitude of Great Britain to the League of Nations and sanctions in the new situation which had arisen. One or two things, he said, seemed to have emerged clearly from their recent experience. One was that there did not seem to be as yet any effective machinery for stopping a war before it began if one party was determined to go to war and not to submit the differences in dispute to discussion and to arbitration. Another was that sanctions were, to a great extent, slow in action and lost a great deal of their force unless they could be supported by the ultimate sanction, which was blockade or force. It was, however, difficult to see how, under the existing membership of the League, blockade would be agreed to inside the League. So far as collective action could be secured, Britain would continue with it as she had done, neither going faster nor slower than other countries, but all together.

The course thus outlined by Mr. Baldwin was followed by Mr. Eden at the meeting of the League Council held two days later (April 20) to consider the report of the Committee of Thirteen. He declaimed vehemently against Italy and insisted that existing sanctions must be maintained, but he made no suggestion that they should be strengthened. In the absence of a lead from England, no other country would venture to put forward such a proposal, though it was by now the general opinion that the existing sanctions would not avail to save Abyssinia from the Italian clutches. Thus, after six months of struggle, there was an imminent prospect that the first attempt of the League of Nations to combat aggression by a great Power would end in failure.

Immediately after the Easter recess, on April 21, the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced the Budget. Referring

first to the surplus from the past year, he described it as a " gratifying demonstration of the buoyancy of British finances," and congratulated the country on having been able so far " to take comfortably in its stride the new and unexpected demands on its resources " which had arisen in the course of the year. Analysing the revenue for the past year, he stated that Customs and Excise had yielded a total of nearly 302,342,000l., which was 8,500,000 more than the Estimate and 13,750,000?. more than the yield of the year before. He attributed this partly to the stimulus of the Jubilee celebrations, but mainly to the general recovery of trade which had proceeded throughout Europe. Tariffs gave a surplus of 1,250,000l. on the duties under the Import Duties Act and 1,000,000l. on the Ottawa duties. Death duties yielded 88,000,000l., the highest sum ever obtained from them, and 8,000,000l. more than the Estimate. This was not due to exceptional receipts from very large estates but to the general rise in capital values, which was itself a result of the growth of confidence and the existence of cheap money. Income tax showed an excess of 5,500,000l., due to a larger collection of arrears than was anticipated, which again was to be ascribed to the general increase in the wealth of the public. The gross revenue of the Post Office was about 2,000,000?. more than the Estimate, but owing to the restoration of cuts and the provision of more working capital, the net receipt was slightly less.

Coming to the new financial year, the Chancellor stated that in addition to the Estimates already published, which amounted to 536,997,000?.—378,746,000l. for the Civil departments and 158,251,000?. for the Defence Services—he had to make provision for Supplementary Estimates under two heads. One was for the grants which would have to be paid to public assistance authorities until the second appointed day under the Unemployment Act of 1934, for which purpose he allowed 5,600,000?. The other was for defence requirements in accordance with the new programme. For this he was setting aside as a margin 20,000,000?., half for the Air Force and half for the Army and Navy. Along with 224,000,000?. for the fixed debt charge and 11,300,000l. for other Consolidated Fund charges, this brought the total estimated expenditure for the year up to 797,897,000?.

In budgeting for revenue, the Chancellor proceeded on the assumption that he could safely count on increased productivity in nearly all branches. The yield from Customs and Excise he estimated on the existing basis at 314,000,000?., an excess of 10,500,000?. over the actual amount collected in 1935. Income tax he put at 248,000,000?. or 10,000,000?. more than the amount collected in 1935, and surtax at 54,000,000?., or 3,500,000?. more. Even death duties he was sanguine enough to put at 89,000,000?., or 1,000,000?. more than the record yield of the previous year.

Altogether he reckoned Inland Revenue at 420,000,000l., which, with 42,606,000l. for miscellaneous items and the yield of Customs and Excise, gave him a total prospective revenue on the existing basis of 776,606,000l., which was 21,291,000l. less than the estimated expenditure.

To fill this gap he proposed in the first place to stop certain methods of tax-evasion which had recently become prevalent, such as the formation of so-called "educational trusts," by which parents escaped income tax on money spent on the education of their children. The loss to the Exchequer from these practices amounted to over 6,000,000l. a year, but as he intended to offset this gain by certain reliefs to income-tax payers with families, the net result of this and other minor changes that he intended to make would be to increase the revenue only by about 1,025,0002.

In ordinary times and in normal circumstances, continued Mr. Chamberlain, it would go without saying that the deficit of 20,000,0002. still left would be covered out of the revenue of the year. He did in fact propose to do so this year ; but in existing circumstances he felt that this course required some justification. The deficit was due to, the new defence programme which itself arose out of two causes—a gap which was left to them from the past, and the development of a new policy, the benefits of which they hoped would inure to posterity. Both of these circumstances were exceptional and, in his judgment, were such as to make it inequitable that the whole cost of this great programme should fall upon the revenue which had to be extracted from the people in the course of a single five-year period. He thought therefore that in future years a part of the emergency expenditure might properly be met out of loans. For the current year, however, he intended to finance his requirements out of revenue, which he would obtain, first by appropriating the sum of 5,250,0002. which stood to the credit of the Road Fund, and secondly by increasing the standard rate of income tax from 4s. 6d. to 4s. 9d., and the tax on tea by 2d. a pound. It was, he said, a great disappointment to him that instead of being able to give further relief to the taxpayer, as he had hoped, he had to ask him to make new sacrifices, moderate as they were. But safety was more to them than comfort, and he thought that the country, which had applauded and approved the precautions they were taking, would not grudge them the means of bringing them about in the shortest space of time that they could compass.

The income-tax reliefs and the precautions against tax evasion announced in the Budget met with general approval, but the proposed addition to the tax on tea and to the standard rate of income tax naturally gave rise to much grumbling, the former among the Labour Party, solicitous for the poor consumer, and the latter among a certain section of Conservatives who had

expected that the new defence programme would be financed wholly by means of loans. Mr. Churchill, while giving the Budget his cordial approval, pointed out somewhat regretfully that there was no sign in it of a return to the "orthodox" finance which had been abandoned in 1929. The whole Gladstonian structure and tradition of finance, he said, seemed to have gone by the board, for good or ill. An attempt was made by the Labour Party in the Report stage of the Budget resolutions to secure a reduction in the tea duty, but it was defeated by 227 votes to 11. Mr. Chamberlain in defending the increase pointed out that the burden of the whole tax represented only about 9s. a year on every household, and the alteration would not cost nearly as much to the consumer as changes of price due to market reasons. It was only right, too, that everybody should help to pay for the huge programme of Defence, which meant security for everybody.

In the course of the debate on the Budget resolutions, Sir A. Pownall, a member of an insurance firm, stated that there had been a sudden rush at Lloyd's on the morning of the Budget statement and the day before, to insure against an increase in income tax and in the tea tax, and suggested that it was due to a leakage of Budget secrets. The Chancellor of the Exchequer at once caused inquiries to be made, the result of which convinced him that there might have been a leakage. The House of Commons on being informed showed itself seriously concerned over the matter, and urged the Government to probe it to the bottom. The Government accordingly decided to hold a judicial inquiry into the allegations. The Labour Party would have preferred a Select Committee of the House, but the Government's proposal to appoint a judicial tribunal with full powers to take evidence, under the Inquiries Act of 1921, was carried by a large majority (May 4).

The report of the Select Committee appointed to consider the Civil List (*vide* p. 29) was issued on April 28. The total for the revised list was 410,000*l.* compared with 470,000*l.* fixed for the Civil List of King George V. in 1910. Out of this reduced sum also the King consented to waive 40,000*l.* so long as he was unmarried, as also the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, amounting to 79,000*l.* per annum, which were vested in the King so long as there was no Prince of Wales. On the other hand, certain items which were on the list of 1910 were now transferred to Parliament, so that the total net saving effected was for the time being 155,000*l.* per annum. The provision for other members of the Royal Family which in 1910 had been 146,000*l.* was now fixed at 194,000*l.* The new provision was fully approved on May 5 by all sections of the House of Commons with the exception of the Independent Labour group.

On April 30 the first Supplementary Estimate necessitated by the new Defence programme was published. It was for 10,300,000*l.* to be spent on the Navy, bringing the total of the Navy Estimates for the year to 80,230,000*l.* Of the sum demanded, 2,881,500*l.* was to be spent on the new construction programme, which included two capital ships, five cruisers, nine destroyers, one aircraft carrier, four submarines, and a number of small vessels ; 2,117,000*l.* was for the continuation of "special measures", and 5,371,100*l.* for other services.

In presenting the Estimate to the House of Commons on May 4, Lord Stanley, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty, stated that the proposed two new capital ships could not be laid down before 1937, under the terms of the Treaty of Washington, and their tonnage and armament would be announced later in accordance with the Naval Treaty which had lately been concluded. By that time the Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence which was considering the vulnerability of capital ships would have presented their report, and it could be discussed before the new battleships were laid down. Members found it very surprising that the battleships should be decided on first and their equitability considered afterwards, and Mr. Churchill among others urged the Government not to proceed with the building of capital ships until the Sub-Committee had reported. Lord Stanley replied that even if the Committee reported adversely, the Government would see that the money spent would not be wasted. A Labour motion to reduce the Vote was defeated by 272 votes to 107.

The rapid advance of the Italian armies in Abyssinia in the second half of April, culminating in the rout of the Emperor and the capture of his capital, threw the British public into the depths of despondency. A disaster to British arms could hardly have affected it more keenly. In vain Mr. Eden in a speech delivered at Leamington on May 3 hastened to declare that Britain had nothing to reproach herself with or apologise for in the part she had played in connexion with the war. The heart of the people told it otherwise, and the triumph of the aggressor over the British efforts to restrain him was regarded as a national humiliation. It also opened up disquieting questions for the future. Would the League of Nations survive the blow which had been inflicted upon it, and if not, what was to be the bulwark of peace-loving countries against aggression ?

Not expecting so sudden a collapse of the Abyssinian arms, the League of Nations Union in England had arranged to send a deputation to the Prime Minister on May 4 in order to urge the taking of extreme measures to save Abyssinia, even to the closing of the Suez Canal. As it was, the deputation, which was led by Lord Cecil and Professor Gilbert Murray, had to content

itself with assuring the Government that it would receive vigorous support in pursuing a courageous policy, and insisting that Italy should be prevented by the economic pressure of the League from enjoying the fruits of her unjust victory. In reply Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Eden stated that the Government would have to take stock of the League of Nations position in the light of the apparent failure of collective action and that the question of the reform of the Covenant would need very careful consideration.

On behalf of the Labour Party, Mr. Dalton, the party's chief expert on foreign affairs, in the House of Commons on May 6, delivered a violent indictment of the Government for their handling of relations with Italy and Abyssinia during the past eighteen months. They had, he said, neglected to take the steps which would have prevented the war between Italy and Abyssinia from breaking out and had failed to carry out their obligations under the Covenant of the League, notably under Article XVI. They had encouraged the Abyssinians to resist in the belief that the League would help them and then had left them to their fate. They had permitted oil to be supplied to the Italian forces, and had even made money out of this by reason of their own holdings in the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. They had discredited the League of Nations together with the whole idea of collective security, and had thus betrayed millions of electors who had been foolish enough to trust them.

Mr. Eden replied to this partisan attack with much spirit. It was absurd, he said, to assert that Britain had let the League down, because throughout she had taken the lead in all the activities of the League. If they did not propose sanctions beyond those originally imposed, it was because there was no real hope that the proposal would be accepted. As for closing the Suez Canal, that would have meant war, from which the members on the other side also shrank. Besides, they would have had to close it without obtaining the authority of the League, which would have meant breaking a treaty. The fact was that the Government had performed their obligations, but it was the League itself which had failed.

Coming to the future, Mr. Eden, speaking on behalf of the Government, said that it was clear that the League must go on, being absolutely indispensable to the organisation of international affairs in the modern world. It was also clear that there must be a stocktaking, which in the view of the Government should be undertaken by the League thoroughly, not hurriedly, each Government considering for itself the conclusions to be drawn from the experience of the last seven months. When the time came, the British Government also would be ready to state their views. As to the line which he would take up at the meeting

of the Council of the League of Nations on May 11, he refused to commit himself, and asked the House to leave it to his discretion, assuring it that Britain would play its part in collective action.

This request was not received with a very good grace by the House, which was expecting a more positive pronouncement, but it had perforce to remain satisfied. In the debate which followed, Sir A. Sinclair in the name of the Liberal Party called for the continuance of sanctions against Italy. The policy of dropping sanctions also found its exponent, surprisingly enough in the person of Sir A. Chamberlain, who five months before had led the opposition to the Hoare-Laval proposals. Now that sanctions, he said, had failed to prevent aggression succeeding, it would be both futile and dangerous to maintain them—futile because it could not alter Signor Mussolini's policy, and dangerous because it might provoke him to warlike action.

Sir A. Chamberlain's demand for the repeal of sanctions evoked from the Conservative benches a burst of applause which gave the impression that that party as a whole was strongly in favour of such a course. It soon appeared, however, that such a conclusion was at least premature. A meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee—the supporters of the Government which was held a few days later to consider the question of sanctions was attended by no more than a hundred members, and of these little more than half voted for Sir A. Chamberlain's proposal. It was obvious therefore that the bulk even of the Conservative members were waiting to see which way the wind was blowing in their constituencies.

Whatever pressure there was came from the other side, which strongly suspected that Sir Austen had said for the Government what it would have liked to say itself but did not dare. On May 8 a mass meeting organised by the League of Nations Union and attended by several thousands of people was held at the Albert Hall in London to affirm support of the League and protest against the invasion of Abyssinia. Lord Robert Cecil, who presided, said that though there had been a great triumph of evil, the end was not yet. The League had suffered a reverse, but was very far from being destroyed. He thought that Mr. Eden since becoming Foreign Minister had shown a genuine desire to act up to League principles, but even he could do nothing without the support of public opinion, and he therefore appealed to his audience to make clear to Members of Parliament what the people of the country wished. Mr. Attlee, the Leader of the Labour Party, moved a resolution affirming support of the League of Nations and the principles of collective security, and calling upon the Government to urge the maintenance of sanctions against Italy until she should be ready to accept terms of peace

approved by the Council of the League. The resolution was supported by Sir A. Sinclair, the Leader of the liberal Party, by Lord Lytton and by other speakers, and was carried by acclamation.

In the House of Lords on May 7, a debate on collective security and Britain's relation to the League of Nations was opened by Lord Ponsonby, who urged that Article XVI. should be removed from the Covenant of the League, and incidentally that sanctions should be called off. The debate evoked keen interest, and was continued on May 12 and 14. Most of the subsequent speakers showed themselves in favour of going as far as Lord Ponsonby, or even further, in limiting Great Britain's commitments under the League, the only thoroughgoing supporters of the League as it stood being Lord Cecil and Lord Snell. Earl Stanhope, in replying for the Government, said that the lessons of recent days were being carefully considered at the Foreign Office, but before they proposed that any change should be made in the Covenant they would consult the Dominions and see what were the ideas of other States. The Government would not try to dodge the thorny problems entailed in changing the Covenant, but neither were they going to be rushed into hasty decisions. The one thing that was fixed was that the League must go on.

In a speech delivered to a mass meeting of women Conservatives at the Albert Hall on May 14, the Prime Minister sought to define anew Great Britain's relation to the League of Nations in the light of recent experience. There could be no question, he said, but that the objects expressed in the opening words of the Covenant of the League were still the aim of British policy. The question was to determine the best practical means of achieving that aim. The crucial point was the feasibility of Article XVI., the sanctions article. He himself had always held that this was an experiment in international politics and that if it failed in its object it would have to be re-examined by all the Powers interested. But he had never held that a failure of the first experiment would mean the end of the League system. One lesson stood out from the present failure, namely, that economic and financial sanctions were not likely to succeed of themselves unless the countries concerned were prepared to run the risk of war; in fact, military sanctions were an essential part of collective security, and in the long run—and on occasion perhaps, the short run—could not be avoided. This being the position, the question arose whether what were called automatic sanctions were workable. And behind this lay the still more vital question whether the nations of Europe were ready to play their part in collective security, for one could not be a sleeping partner in collective security, nor on the other hand did it mean that all the work was to be done by the British Navy for nations

that did not look after themselves. The Government, said **Mr. Baldwin**, would try to discover where the scheme had gone wrong and how it could be rectified ; but he could not guarantee that success would attend their efforts.

The charge that British firms had supplied the Abyssinians with dum-dum bullets, which had already once been officially denied in February, was revived by the Italian Government and Press in April, and was now supported with the publication of a letter purporting to come from a Birmingham firm accepting such an order. This time the Foreign Secretary, " in the interests of British industry and of the good name of the country," dealt fully with the charge in a statement made to the House of Commons on May 18. While admitting that the Abyssinians might have had in their possession dum-dum bullets of British manufacture, originally sent out there for sporting purposes, he pointed out *the* they could only be exported with a Government licence, and tainly the Government had granted no such licence during the irse of the war. As for the letter of which so much was made in the Italian Press, this had been obtained by means of false representations by an unprincipled adventurer against whose activities the Government had warned the Italian Ambassador, but who nevertheless had been able to obtain the assistance of the Italian military attache, and he could describe its publication only as an attempt to fabricate evidence.

The new situation created by the Italian victory, while it largely diverted public attention from Germany's occupation of the Rhineland, did not for the present affect the Government's policy towards that country. After considering Herr Hitler's memorandum of March 31, in conjunction with those of March 24 and March 7, the Government came to the conclusion that before trying to make his peace proposals a basis of negotiation it might with advantage seek for an elucidation of certain points contained in or arising out of them. Accordingly it decided to prepare a questionnaire for the Reich Chancellor on the lines of certain questions already addressed to him by France, but quite independently. The questionnaire, which was drawn up with great care, was not ready till April 7, when it was forwarded with a covering letter to the British Ambassador in Berlin, to be laid by him before the Chancellor. The intention had been to keep the document private for the time being, but some information with regard to it having leaked out, it was published as a White Paper on April 8.

The chief points on which enlightenment was sought were as follows. Did Germany now regard herself as being in a position to conclude " genuine treaties " ? What view did the German Government take of the continued maintenance in force of the still operative clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, or any agreement arising out of it ? Did Germany recognise and intend to

respect the existing territorial and political status of Europe except in so far as it might be subsequently modified by free negotiation and agreement? Would Germany consent to accompany the Western Air Pact with a regional agreement for the limitation of air strengths? Would the non-aggression pacts proposed by Germany follow the general outline given to Sir John Simon by Baron Neurath on March 26, 1935? Would Germany be willing to conclude such pacts with the Soviet Union, Latvia, and Estonia? And finally, what was the meaning of the phrase "the separation of the Covenant of the League of Nations from its basis in the Treaty of Versailles setting"?

Among the points for discussion mentioned by Herr Hitler in his so-called "peace proposals" was the return to Germany of the colonies which she had lost after the war, or their equivalents. Twelve months before the then British Foreign Secretary had declared that the question of Britain ceding any of the territories or Mandates she had thus acquired was "not discussable." Now, however, the Government seemed willing to include it in the proposed negotiations. A number of members of Parliament from all parties took string exception to this attitude, and on April 21 sought to obtain a definite assurance from the Government that in no circumstances could a retrocession of territory to Germany be considered. Mr. Thomas in reply stated that Britain had no intention of returning any colonies to Germany, and that it would not discuss the return of Mandated territories till the demand had been put forward from some other quarter, but he declined to say that the question was definitely closed. The malcontents refused to accept this answer as final and continued to harry the Government, until on April 27, the Prime Minister went so far as to promise that the status of the territories would not be altered without Parliament having the fullest opportunity for discussion.

On April 28 Lord Sankey, in accordance with the views he had expressed a few weeks before (*vide* p. 5), brought forward a Bill for the abolition of trial by Peers. Lord Middleton moved the rejection of the Bill, though he admitted that the procedure of trial by Peers ought to be reformed. The Lord Chancellor said that if the procedure were merely a picturesque anachronism that would be no reason for abolishing it, but there was reason to think that it inflicted positive hardship in certain cases, and therefore the Government were in favour of the Bill, and, if it passed the Lords, would seek to introduce it into the other House. The second reading was eventually carried by 62 votes to 35.

On May 6 the text was published of a new Coal Mines Bill, the object of which was to quicken the process of amalgamation in the coal-mining industry. In this respect the Coal Mines Act of 1930 had proved a failure, the reason being that the powers conferred on the Reorganisation Commission had not been

sufficient to overcome the recalcitrance of the coal-owners. **The new Bill** aimed at making these powers much more effective. It authorised the Commission to define the scope of amalgamation schemes and after hearing objections to pass them on to the Board of Trade. The latter body, when satisfied that the proposals were "in the national interest with a view to facilitating the production, supply, and sale of coal by owners of coal-mines," would submit draft orders to Parliament which would take effect after twenty-one days unless Parliament determined otherwise ; **and** thereafter the only action open to the owners would be to appeal to the High Court against the terms of the amalgamation, **but** not against the amalgamation itself.

The new Coal Bill, as was natural, aroused a violent antipathy among the coal-owners, and they immediately called loudly for **its** withdrawal. The Labour Party also found in it elements to which they objected and announced their intention of opposing it. Fearing that the Bill would not command sufficient support **as** it stood, the Government decided at the last moment to introduce certain changes in order to placate the coal-owners. One was that compulsory powers should be postponed till July 1, 1938, so **as** to give a last chance for voluntary amalgamation. Another was to exempt from compulsory amalgamation any mine ancillary to another undertaking. A third was to provide an independent tribunal which should report to the Board of Trade on the schemes of the Reorganisation Commission.

On May 18 Mr. Runciman moved the second reading of the **Bill**, and after explaining and defending its provisions he informed the House of the changes which the Government had decided to make in the Bill and announced without further warning that he would move them subsequently as amendments. Loud protests against this procedure were immediately made by Opposition speakers, who pointed out that the proposed changes constituted practically a new Bill, and insisted that the Bill ought to be withdrawn and redrafted. To the great discomfiture of the Government, they were joined by a number of Ministerialist speakers, notably Mr. Churchill, who while not unfavourable to the changes in themselves found it repugnant that they should be settled outside the House after a Bill had been introduced. In vain Mr. Baldwin pleaded that the changes were not very drastic and that it was more honest to announce them on the second reading, and in the end he only pacified his recalcitrant followers by consenting to postpone the vote on the second reading to a future day, and in the meanwhile to produce a White Paper explaining the proposed amendments. This decision also, however, was not adhered to ; and on May 28 the **Prime Minister** announced that instead of a White Paper being **issued the Bill** would be redrafted, and that it would not be **presented** to Parliament again till after the Summer recess.

In fulfilment of the promise made by the Government in April (*vide* p. 9), Mr. Chamberlain on May 7 introduced a Bill authorising the Treasury to become guarantor for a Company with a capital of 1,000,000*l.* for financing small businesses in the Special Areas. The life of the Company was to be limited in the first instance to ten years, but if the experiment proved a success it could be extended. Mr. Chamberlain did not claim for the Bill more than that it was an attempt to solve a particular problem to which the attention of the Government had been drawn. As such it was welcomed by the House and passed without opposition.

When the Tithe Bill (*vide* p. 8) was presented for its second reading on April 13, Mr. Elliot explained that the present tithe-owners would be recompensed for the loss of their rights by a 3 per cent. Government stock amounting to 70,000,000*l.*, redeemable in 60 years, the rate being 9*l.* 11*s.* 2*d.* per 100*l.* of the tithe-rent-charge. Provision was also made for securing pensions, for the maintenance of cathedrals, and for mitigating the hardships that might be suffered by the poorer clergy. The Labour Party moved the rejection of the Bill on the ground that 60 years was too long a period for the extinguishment of an unfair and anomalous charge on agriculture. On the other hand, Lord Hugh Cecil, as a staunch Churchman, denounced the Bill as robbery of the tithe-owners. The Labour amendment was rejected by 258 votes to 132.

The Bill was vigorously contested in its later stages, and on some occasions the Government majority fell to a very low figure. On June 24 some 5,000 country folk marched into London to demonstrate against it in Hyde Park. The Government, however, remained firm, and eventually carried the Bill through both Houses without material alteration.

On March 12, at a meeting of national representatives called by the Lord Mayor of London, it had been decided on the proposal of the Archbishop of Canterbury that a national memorial should be instituted to King George V. in the form of a statue and some philanthropic scheme which would have appealed to the late monarch himself; and a Committee had been appointed to arrange the details. At a meeting of the Committee held on May 15, it was decided that for the philanthropic side of the memorial an appeal should be made for funds to provide " King George's National Playing Fields " all over the country, and that the proposed statue should be erected on the site of some old property in Abingdon St., close to the Houses of Parliament.

On May 19 the House of Commons by 259 votes to 122 passed a Money Resolution authorising the Government to dispose of a total sum of 1,500,000*l.* a year in subsidies for Air Transport until 1953. Criticism was levelled against the Government on the ground that hitherto in the granting of subsidies it had shown

favouritism to the Imperial Airways Company, but Sir Philip Sassoon, the Under-Secretary for Air, defended its action on the ground that this company had a better record for safety and for bulk of traffic than any comparable firm on the Continent, and that their cost to the public purse had been smaller. On the other hand, he did not think the time suitable for converting Imperial Airways into a publicly controlled body analogous to the B.B.C. He informed the House that the Government still adhered to the programme which he had announced eighteen months before, of a 2½ day schedule to East Africa and to India, a 4½ day schedule to South Africa and to Singapore, and a 6-7 day schedule to Australia, and were going on with their preparations.

The fight against the exemptions proposed in the Education Bill was carried on in the Committee stage with great vigour but with little success. Opponents of the Bill complained in vain that it was not genuinely fulfilling the Government's election pledge to raise the school-leaving age. The Minister of Education, denying the charge of bad faith, refused to make any concession of substance, and the debates on the final stages of the Bill became rather heated in consequence. On the other hand, the settlement of denominational difficulties contained in the Bill was welcomed on all sides. In the debate on the third reading, which was carried on May 27 by 256 votes to 128, Mr. Stanley charged his critics with losing sight of true educational values in their zeal for educational formalism. His own estimate, he said, was that the average school-leaving age would be raised to fourteen years and nine months, and it would still be open to local authorities to provide for their educational needs on the assumption that there would be no exemptions at all. The Lords, after subjecting the Bill to a good deal of criticism, gave it a second reading without a division on June 16.

When the Finance Bill came up for its second reading on May 20, the Labour Party moved its rejection on the ground that it did not make provision for meeting out of income the swollen expenditure on armaments, and at the same time raised general taxation to a level unprecedented in time of peace. In reply to the first charge, the Chancellor of the Exchequer pointed out that in fact he was placing on the taxpayer this year a burden of no less than 48,500,000*l.* for defence. He agreed that taxation was now standing at a very high and undesirable level, but he warned the House that this was likely to be an unavoidable evil for some time to come. He pointed out that the social services, the expenditure on which had increased so remarkably in the last ten or eleven years, had come to stay, and some of them would increase automatically for several years; thus the cost of old age pensions which in 1925 had been 28,000,000*l.* and was now 45,000,000*l.* was expected in thirty years to rise to 60,000,000*l.*,

and widows' pensions, which were now 15,000,000l., would in six years' time probably be 21,000,000l. Again, the rate of interest for short term money was abnormally low at present, and though there was no reason to expect that it would rise next year, it might soon be necessary to provide anything up to 10,000,000l. a year for the extra cost of money on Treasury Bills. On the other side they had to reckon with the possibility that trade activity might diminish and taxation become less productive. He therefore entered a caveat against the idea that social services could be increased irrespective of cost.

Meanwhile the Commission—consisting of Mr. Justice Porter and two other legal experts—which was inquiring into the leakage of Budget secrets had been prosecuting its labours. Even before it was appointed, the investigations of the Treasury had already disclosed that the heaviest insurances against Budget risks had been made by two close friends of Mr. J. H. Thomas, the Secretary for the Dominions. When questioned by the Commission, these gentlemen asserted that they had acted purely on their own judgment, and denied that they had received any information, from Mr. Thomas; and this was confirmed by Mr. Thomas himself, who also went into the witness box. The examination, however, elicited a number of facts about Mr. Thomas's financial transactions which exposed him to a good deal of criticism; and feeling that he had been brought into an untenable position, on May 22, without waiting for the report of the Commission, he resigned from the Government.

On May 21, after being nine weeks in office, Sir T. Inskip, the Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence, made his first report to the House of Commons on the country's military preparations. He confined himself entirely to the question of supply and business arrangements. The Committee of Imperial Defence, he said, had by no means been idle even before Parliament's approval of the White Paper, and the point which they had now reached was that they were ready to give experience of actual production of war material to firms that were at present engaged on ordinary peace-time activities. It was unfortunate that they had no supply in hand of gauges and machine tools without which the manufacture of war material proper, especially shells, could not proceed, and it might be some months before this deficiency could be made up. Nevertheless, the Government was for the present adhering to its decision not to create a Ministry of Supply, analogous to the Ministry of Munitions in the war, as they desired to interfere as little as possible with the course of normal trade. As it was, some interference would inevitably take place, " since out of patriotic motives firms would of their own volition give Government orders priority. For carrying out the Government Air Force programme, a great expansion of the aircraft industry was necessary, and the Government had therefore asked

a number of firms to build new premises or extensions at Government expense. Provision had been made against profiteering, and search was being made for reserves of skilled labour—men who had drifted out of their avocations but could resume them again if opportunity offered.

The Minister's speech left the House uncertain whether anything was really being done to bring about better co-operation between the Services, and on this ground Sir A. Sinclair moved a reduction in the Vote of 100Z. In the course of the debate, Mr. Churchill put the case for a Ministry of Supply so strongly that Sir T. Inskip, in spite of his previous remarks, promised that the Government would carefully consider the proposal. A number of speakers expressed misgivings whether the powers conferred on the new Minister were adequate for his task, but the motion to reduce the Vote was negatived by 270 votes to 115.

The idea of appointing a special Minister of Supply was again pressed on May 29, in the debate on the motion for the adjournment, by Sir E. Grigg and Sir R. Home. This time Sir T. Inskip rejected it uncompromisingly. He said that he would have no objection to a colleague if he thought that the national interest would be thus served, but of this he was more than doubtful. He pointed out that he was in fact doing precisely the things which would be expected from a Minister of Supply, namely, making the proper arrangements with industrial firms, and he could not see that production would be quickened if two were to look after it instead of one. Mr. Churchill commented on this statement with ill-concealed chagrin, though he declared that there was no truth in the opinion which was widely held that he was himself seeking the position.

In fulfilment of Britain's obligation under the London Naval Treaty of 1930, the Government about this time decided to scrap five cruisers which, though nineteen years old, were still serviceable. This decision was viewed with great misgiving in certain quarters, on account of the recent increase in Germany's naval construction, and the Government was criticised for not invoking the escalator clause of the London Treaty, which allowed it to maintain a higher tonnage than that laid down in the treaty in order to meet a menace from a Power outside of the treaty. In a debate on May 28 Lord Stanley, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty, pointed out that building subsequent to the treaty had not been of such a character as to affect the requirements of British naval security. Consequently, in the interests of strict observance of treaty obligations, and in order not to set a bad example, they did not think themselves justified in invoking the escalator clause in order to save these cruisers. Mr. Churchill was still not satisfied, pointing out that Japan also had tonnage in excess of what was allowed by the

treaty ; but his protest was ignored, and a Labour motion to reduce the Vote was also rejected by 182 votes to 85.

On May 28 the King, at a special meeting of the Privy Council held at Buckingham Palace, fixed May 12, 1937—the Wednesday before Whitsuntide—as the date for his Coronation. On the next day, the proclamation declaring His Majesty's Pleasure in the matter was made with time-honoured ceremonial by the Officers of Arms. In July a Commission containing representatives not only of the United Kingdom but also of the Dominions was appointed to consider those aspects of the arrangements for the Coronation which were of common concern.

The Tribunal which was inquiring into the leakage of information about the Budget issued its report on June 2. It stated categorically that there had been an unauthorised disclosure of such information by Mr. J. H. Thomas to his two friends, Mr. Bates and Sir A. Butt, M.P., both of whom had made use of it for the purpose of their private gain. The question whether the Crown should take action against these parties was submitted by the Government to the Attorney-General, Sir D. Somervell. On June 10 he replied that a prosecution was not advisable on various grounds—one that the disclosure of information had not been intentional, another that it was doubtful if there was sufficient evidence for a conviction before a court of law, and a third that it would be almost impossible to find jurymen who had not already prejudged the case.

As there was to be no prosecution, the way was left open for Parliament to discuss the matter. Accordingly on June 11 Mr. Thomas and Mr. Butt both made personal statements which were listened to sympathetically by a crowded House and in which both announced their intention of resigning their seats and not seeking re-election. The Prime Minister then asked the House formally to accept the report of the Tribunal. The House, he said, was always jealous of its reputation and of the conduct of its members, and where errors had been committed looked to see that expiation should be made. In his view, expiation had in fact been made in full by the two members concerned. The Leader of the Opposition concurred in this view, but both he and other speakers from the Labour Party expressed uneasiness at the gambling spirit which pervaded the chief financial institutions of the City of London, and which was ultimately responsible for the present unfortunate occurrence, and Mr. T. Johnson formally moved that the Government should make an exhaustive inquiry into the practices complained of. Lieutenant-Colonel Sandeman Allen made a vigorous defence of Lloyd's, showing that hardly any of its business could be described as dealing in gambling risks ; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that on his suggestion Lloyd's had undertaken in future to keep a " close period" for Budget insurances. In opposition to the Attorney-

General, Sir Stafford Cripps maintained that even after the Tribunal's report there was legally no bar whatever to a prosecution, and that proceedings ought to have been instituted. On a vote being taken, the Labour amendment was defeated by 227 votes to 135, and the Government motion was then accepted.

On June 5 Lord Monsell, the First Lord of the Admiralty, who from the first had joined the Government somewhat reluctantly, resigned. The Prime Minister took the opportunity to bring back to the Cabinet Sir S. Hoare, with whom he had parted much against his will six months before. By this step, besides strengthening the Cabinet on the personal side—for the new Minister's abilities were undisputed—he made his own position more secure. For some time past he had been subjected to persistent attack by a powerful cabal of which the chief members were Sir Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Churchill, Sir R. Home, and Earl Winterton, and which was credited with a desire to drive him out of office and replace him with Mr. Neville Chamberlain. These gentlemen had confidence in Sir S. Hoare, and now desisted from their attacks on the Premier. On the other hand, the appointment created a bad impression in those circles which had *nob* forgiven Sir S. Hoare for the part he had played in undermining the authority of the League of Nations six months before.

Shortly afterwards the post of Colonial Secretary left vacant by Mr. Thomas was filled by Mr. Ormsby-Gore, hitherto First Commissioner of Works, who was succeeded by Earl Stanhope. As both of these gentlemen were Conservatives, the Cabinet now consisted of 15 Conservatives, 4 Liberal National members, and 2 National Labour. The Under-Secretaryship for Foreign Affairs vacated by Earl Stanhope was left in abeyance.

On June 3 the Emperor of Ethiopia arrived in London and was given a warm popular welcome. On June 5 Mr. Eden paid him a visit, but did not discuss the situation with him. Addressing a Conservative gathering in Warwickshire on June 7, the Foreign Secretary spoke guardedly of the Government's policy. The Government, he said, were examining recent events, and attempting to remedy, in a spirit of candid realism, the defects which those events had laid bare. They still maintained their confidence in the League as the best instrument available to mankind for the preservation of international peace. They would endeavour to turn to good purpose the experience of the past few months, and would not, on account of the present setback, give way to despair. How the Government proposed to act in the present emergency, Mr. Eden did not indicate.

While the Government thus hesitated to commit itself, the return to the Cabinet of Sir S. Hoare was generally taken as a sign that it was preparing to make a deal with Italy and to abandon the policy of sanctions. This impression was strength-

ened by some outspoken remarks made by Mr. Chamberlain—the most influential member of the Cabinet next to the Prime Minister—at a dinner given in his honour by the 1900 Club on June 10. Mr. Chamberlain made no secret of his desire to see the end of sanctions, if not of the whole policy of collective security. It was, he said, no use denying the fact that in the past six months the policy of collective security had been tried out in the most favourable circumstances and had failed. It was time therefore that they should draw certain conclusions from what had happened. One was that the functions of the League in future should be limited so as to accord with its real powers. He described as "midsummer madness" the idea of continuing the policy of sanctions, and even intensifying it, as some people were urging, in order to preserve the independence of Abyssinia. Such a course would only lead to further misfortunes which would divert their minds as practical men, from seeking other and better solutions. If they had retained any vestige of common sense, he said, they must admit that they had tried to impose on the League a task which it was beyond its powers to fulfil.

The Chancellor's remarks naturally attracted much attention both at home and abroad, and great curiosity was evinced as to whether they represented the mind of the Government. On the next day Mr. Baldwin, in answer to questions in Parliament from the Opposition leaders, would say neither yes nor no. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, he declared, had been merely stating, "to a very exclusive and politically educated audience," provisional reflections which had occurred to him personally. The Government itself had not yet reached any conclusions on the matter.

The indecision of the Government, whether real or pretended, did not last much longer. Although no formal pronouncement was made, it became generally known in a day or two that the Government had resolved to take the lead at Geneva in proposing the abolition of sanctions against Italy. Mr. Chamberlain's speech had prepared the public for this development, but nevertheless it came as a shock to many, and the fact that Mr. Eden was associating himself with the Government's change of policy caused particularly bitter disappointment. An early opportunity was given to him to defend his action by a motion for reducing the Foreign Office Vote which the Labour Party put down for June 18, when a crowded House assembled in expectation of a debate of exceptional interest and importance.

Mr. Eden began by pointing out that Great Britain had consistently taken the lead in proposing action by the League of Nations on every occasion which had arisen in connexion with the Italian-Abyssinian dispute ever since the beginning of the previous year. It was therefore natural and proper that Great Britain should again take the lead at the next meeting of the

League Council when the question of continuing or dropping sanctions against Italy would be considered. In regard to this question the essential fact to be taken into account was that sanctions had definitely failed to achieve the object for which they had been imposed. They could no longer restore the position in Abyssinia which had been destroyed; to accomplish this military action would be necessary, and no member of the League was prepared to take military action for this purpose, certainly not Great Britain. On the other hand, an attempt to maintain sanctions without any definite purpose might react unfavourably on the League itself and cause a break in its still united front. For the sake therefore of the League and in the interest of collective action, Britain would at the next meeting of the Council propose the dropping of the existing sanctions against Italy. It would, however, loyally accept the decision of the League on the matter whatever it might be; and at some later date, probably in September, it would make proposals for revising the League Covenant in the light of recent experience and putting collective action upon a more satisfactory basis. Mr. Eden also informed the House that Britain would renew the assurances which she *had* given to certain States in the previous autumn of assisting them in case of an unprovoked attack on them by Italy, and that she would permanently strengthen her force in the Mediterranean.

The Foreign Secretary's statement of the Government's decision had been received with jeers by the Labour Party, and as soon as he had concluded Mr. Greenwood rose to express their indignation and contempt. No more deplorable speech, he said, had ever fallen from the lips of a British Foreign Secretary. There had been not one word of sympathy for a broken nation, and no word of condemnation for a Power which deliberately organised the use of poison gas in spite of its treaty obligations. It was a speech which meant truckling to a dictator and which would be heard with shame and consternation by millions in the land. He charged the Government with deliberate treachery to the League, and called on it to make way for one which would endeavour to honour its obligations.

A more restrained and therefore more effective attack on the Government was made by Mr. Lloyd George. If the policy of the Government, he said, was going to materialise, there was an end of the authority of the League of Nations. It was of no use for the Foreign Secretary to say that he was going to Geneva to reform the League. The League was sufficiently loose in its constitution to adapt itself to every contingency. What was needed was that once a line of action had been undertaken it should be carried through. The Foreign Secretary had spoken of the "well-ordered ranks of the League," but it was he who was **going** to Geneva to break them. In all his experience, said Mr.

Lloyd George, he had never heard a British Minister speaking on behalf of the Government come down to the House of Commons and say that Britain was beaten, that she could not go on. The danger of war was less now than when they entered into sanctions, and the Navy was better equipped. What was more, there was now a Government of a totally different character in France from what there had been six months before. It was not even true to say that sanctions had failed, since resistance was still being offered to the Italians in Abyssinia. The fact was that the Government had made what Mr. Neville Chamberlain had himself described as a cowardly surrender.

The immediate effect of Mr. George's speech—which was acclaimed throughout the country as a masterpiece—was to cause the Prime Minister, for the first time in six months, to intervene in a debate on foreign affairs. Even now he had very little to say. He gave it as his considered opinion that the system of collective security had failed, and he held out no prospect of making any endeavour to save it. The course they were taking would, he thought, be most conducive to peace, and on that ground he justified it. After hearing him, Mr. Attlee announced that the Labour Party would move a vote of censure on the Government for the whole course of their foreign policy.

On the same day the Parliamentary Labour Party issued a manifesto to the nation under the title of "The Great Betrayal." The League of Nations, it said, to which Great Britain was in honour and by deep conviction pledged, was now in great danger. After stating in its election manifesto that "the League of Nations would remain the keystone of British foreign policy," the Government was now preparing to abandon the whole system of collective security through the League, without which there was no sure foundation for the peace of the world. It was not yet too late, however, for the people to prevent the impending catastrophe as they had prevented the consummation of the Hoare-Laval proposals a few months before, and the party therefore called upon it to make its voice heard again as it had done on that occasion.

On June 23 Mr. Attlee moved in the House of Commons a vote of censure on the Government for having, by their lack of a resolute and straightforward foreign policy, lowered the prestige of the country, weakened the League of Nations, and imperilled peace. The substance of the motion, he maintained, commanded wide support in the country. By betraying the people of Abyssinia who trusted them, the Government had made Britain's name a byword throughout the world, as they could see from the Press of the world. It was idle for the Prime Minister to say that they would try to make the League more effective in the future, because there would be no League. The Government had thrown away a chance of uniting all the people of the country behind a

policy of collective action for security, and they seemed to have no other policy to put in its place ; they were drifting to anarchy and war.

The defence of the Government on this occasion was entrusted to Sir John Simon, who by common consent acquitted himself rather better than his predecessors in the previous debate. He began by admitting that the situation in which the League of Nations found itself was one of deep distress and concern to all supporters of the League. But he would not allow that the British Government was responsible for the setback which the League had received. The Government had throughout pressed for the severest sanctions which the League was capable of enforcing. It was quite right and proper that these should have been tried ; but the fact had now to be faced that they had proved ineffective, and that nothing less than military action would deprive the aggressor of his prey. He believed that no member of the League was prepared to take such a course, nor would this country invite them ; with Europe in its present situation and with the great dangers surrounding them, they were not prepared to see a single ship sunk in a successful battle in the cause of Abyssinian independence. Sanctions were causing a loss of trade to Great Britain for which there was no longer any justification, and therefore they should be removed.

Sir Archibald Sinclair, speaking for the Liberals, refused to accept the Home Secretary's picture of the situation. For one thing, the struggle was still going on in Abyssinia. For another thing, Italy was feeling severely the effect of sanctions, and the right course was to intensify them. The Government, however, had lost its nerve, and Mr. Eden was going to Geneva to break the sanctions front.

After the debate had been continued for some time by " back-benchers," the Prime Minister, in response to repeated calls from Opposition speakers, vouchsafed the House a little information on the Government's policy for the future. They had no intention, he said, at the forthcoming meeting of the League, to propose or assent to the recognition of Italy's annexation of Abyssinia. Nor would they encourage the issuing of loans to Italy in the present circumstances. For the rest Mr. Baldwin was very vague. Their policy was still based, like that of many countries in Europe, on the League of Nations. They had to decide, in view of the lessons they had learnt from recent events, what steps would have to be taken at the September meeting of the League, and they had already been considering the matter for a considerable time, in consultation with the Dominions and other members of the League.

Previously to the debate there had been mutterings of discontent in the Ministerialist ranks. Fortunately for the Government, just before the debate, news reached London that the

French Premier had declared the retention of sanctions to be only a symbolic gesture without practical significance. This somewhat took the wind out of the Opposition's sails, and, combined with the strong pressure put by the Government Whips on their supporters and the able defence of the Government made by the Home Secretary, secured for the Government a decisive victory by 384 votes to 170.

Mr. Baldwin made a fuller defence of the Government's policy in a speech which he delivered a couple of days later to a Conservative gathering in Scotland. He pointed out that at the time of the General Election and after he had always envisaged the possibility of the League of Nations failing to check the Italian designs on Abyssinia, and had declared that this would not necessarily mean the end of the League. If it had failed now, the reason was that no country—certainly not England—was prepared to go to war with the aggressor. That was why collective action had broken down in the present instance ; and if it was to be more successful in the future, then every nation taking part in it must be prepared to take warlike measures if the need arose. The Government still stood by the principle of collective security, in spite of the risks it involved, but his own great object had been and would be to keep the country out of war. Whether there was any way of reconciling these—on his own showing—somewhat contradictory policies, Mr. Baldwin did not discuss.

On June 13 the National Liberal Party held its first representative conference, with the object chiefly of asserting that it was still Liberal and intended to remain such. Sir John Simon and Mr. Runciman insisted that they were remaining true to Liberal principles while supporting the National Government, and in fact were influencing the policy of the country in a Liberal direction. Whatever measure of truth there may have been in that statement, there could be no doubt that the Liberal National Ministers acquiesced in many things that were quite contrary to the spirit of Liberalism ; and their protestations could hardly undo the effect of a remark which Mr. Baldwin had unkindly let drop shortly before the conference, that the Liberal Nationals would inevitably be drawn into the Tory Party in course of time.

A week later the Opposition Liberals held a convention at which some important changes in organisation were adopted. The National Liberal Federation was merged in a Liberal Assembly which was to be more representative of the rank and file, and it was decided to raise a reorganisation fund of at least 50,000/. a year until the constituencies were put on their feet. The difference in outlook between the Liberals and the Liberal Nationals was clearly shown by the fact that the convention interrupted its business to pass a strong resolution condemning the abandonment of sanctions against Italy, whereas a few days

later Sir John Simon became **the** Government's apologist for this **step in** Parliament. The convention did not institute a "heresy **hunt**" against the Liberal Nationals, but it kept them at arm's **length** by laying down that if an association supporting a Liberal National candidate affiliated with the Liberal National Association, it should not be entitled also to affiliate with the Liberal Party organisation.

On June 18 an interesting debate took place in the House of Lords on a motion brought forward by the Earl of Crawford deprecating the growing practice of reading speeches "as alien to the custom of the House and injurious to the traditional conduct of its debates." That the practice was growing was asserted by a number of speakers and denied by one only. It was also agreed that debates would probably be livelier if speeches were not read, though Labour members maintained that the chief reason why the House seemed such a dull place was because the Opposition were so hopelessly outnumbered. It was generally agreed that the best speeches were made more or less extempore by speakers who were "soaked" in their subject; and the House made it clear that it would be better pleased if Ministers did not so often read their speeches, although it was admitted that the practice was excusable in view of their heavy departmental duties.

On June 19 the House of Commons discussed the disturbances which had been taking place in Palestine during the previous two months. The new Secretary of State for the Colonies informed the House of the measures which the High Commissioner was taking to deal with the situation and which, he stated, to have the full support of the Government. As soon as order was restored, he said, but not before, a Royal Commission would be appointed to visit Palestine and carry out a full and searching investigation into the causes of the unrest. The Government, he added, could contemplate no change of policy whatever until they had received the Commission's report. The Government wanted Jews and Arabs to realise that both had an assured future in Palestine, and that the whole object of British Government in Palestine was that both should be able to live together in peace and amity in a land holy to the three great faiths throughout the civilised world. The Minister's statement that there could be no parleying with the forces of disorder met with general approval in the House, as also the Government's determination to administer the country faithfully in accordance with the terms of the Mandate. The appointment of a Commission with Lord Peel as Chairman was announced on July 30.

While the Government was still waiting for Herr Hitler's answer to the questions which it had addressed to him on May 7, **and** members of Parliament were showing their impatience at his delay by asking questions in the House of Commons, the

Secretary of State for War, Mr. Duff Cooper, on June 26 made a speech at a semi-public gathering in Paris in which he emphasised the identity of French and British interests in respect of Germany. The friendship between Great Britain and France, he said, was not a question of sentiment or even of choice, but a sheer necessity—a matter of life and death for both countries. The two countries had a common civilisation and common ideals which were threatened by a detestable propaganda, and they must therefore remain solidly united; the Covenant of the *Entente Cordiale*, though only a verbal covenant, was sealed with the blood of the youth of France and Britain.

The speech naturally made a sensation in England, though it was not yet known whether it represented the policy of the Government. Information on the subject was sought in the House of Commons by Labour members on June 29, and Sir John Simon stated that while it was not an official declaration of policy, a draft of it had been submitted to the Foreign Office and had been approved with some alterations. The Labour Party, instead of welcoming the speech for its anti-Fascist sentiments, chose to fall foul of it for its attacks on Germany, and later in the evening Mr. Attlee moved the adjournment of the House to call attention to the action of the Secretary for War in making in a foreign country, immediately prior to the assembly of the League of Nations, a public pronouncement which conflicted with the declared foreign policy of the Government and the country's treaty obligations. In supporting his motion, Mr. Attlee tried to make out that the Secretary of State for War in speaking of Anglo-French relations had used expressions which were not warranted by the declarations of policy made in the House of Commons. The charge was supported by Sir A. Sinclair, but the Government found a strong, if somewhat unusual defender in Mr. Churchill, who held that Mr. Duff Cooper's statement lay "within the broad ambit of the policy which the Government had declared." This view was confirmed by the Home Secretary and endorsed by the House, which defeated the motion by 284 votes to 136.

The Secretary for War's speech was also discussed by the House of Lords on July 1. Lord Rennell, Lord Arnold and others complained strongly that the speech was likely to make a bad impression in Germany and to interfere with the declared policy of the Prime Minister to bring about a better understanding between Britain, France, and Germany. Lord Halifax in reply maintained that if the speech was read in its entirety it would be found to be free from the objections which had been raised against it and that the sentiments which it expressed were natural to the occasion on which it was delivered. He also defended, against the strictures of some speakers, the right of Ministers other than the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary to

make pronouncements on foreign affairs, provided they **had** been approved by the Foreign Secretary.

While in Parliament criticism was levelled chiefly at the matter of the speech, outside Parliament it was the Prime Minister himself who was criticised for allowing his subordinates to compromise the Government and not keeping them under proper control. At the same time too a blow was struck at Mr. Baldwin's reputation from another quarter. Speaking at a Conservative meeting at Newcastle on June 26, Lord Londonderry referred to a statement on air defence made by Mr. Baldwin in the House of Commons in 1934, at a time when he (Lord Londonderry) had been Air Minister, to the effect that he had been misled by his colleague with regard to the pace of German re-armament in the air. Lord Londonderry now asserted that Mr. Baldwin never had been misled, and had in fact been constantly informed not only of German re-armament but also of its approximate rate.

While the Prime Minister was thus being criticised in Parliament and outside, he himself was resting at Chequers and leaving his defence to be made by his lieutenants. This fact gave rise to an abundant crop of rumours, to the effect that he was contemplating an early retirement, possibly before the summer vacation and certainly in the autumn. He soon showed, however, that he was not yet at the end of his resources. On July 2 he returned to London in order to be entertained at dinner by the City Conservative Association, and put in an unexpected appearance in Parliament, where he received a great ovation. Being at once questioned with regard to Lord Londonderry's statement, he explained that all that he had meant was that the acceleration of Germany's air armament had exceeded even expert air estimates. There was no foundation for any supposition that he had disregarded warnings given by his advisers in 1934, but on the other hand in saying that the Government was misled he had not intended to cast any reflection upon any Department or individual. This explanation was accepted by Lord Londonderry as satisfactory.

In his speech at the dinner, Mr. Baldwin first of all disposed of the rumours to which his absence from Parliament had given rise. Feeling rather tired, he said, and not sleeping too well, he had, for the first time during his many years of office, taken the liberty of absenting himself for a few days. But there was no truth in the report that he was feeling unequal to the strain or that his retirement was imminent. With respect to the charge—which was the ultimate cause of the rumours about his resignation—that he had no policy, Mr. Baldwin was less definite. Sanctions, he said, had to be raised because if persisted in they might lead to war, and he was determined by every means in his power to keep the country out of war, nor did he mind

being called a coward for his pains. Beyond this Mr. Baldwin was vague, and he gave no indication at all how he intended to approach the problems connected with the League of Nations and collective security.

Mr. Eden duly stated the policy of the British Government at the meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations on July 1. Since sanctions, he said, were incapable of reversing the order of events in Abyssinia, the Government, "with infinite regret," considered that their maintenance would serve no useful purpose. They did not, however, think that the Assembly should recognise Italy's conquest of Abyssinia, nor did they modify the view expressed by them in company with fifty other members of the League last autumn. He endorsed the remarks of the French delegate about rebuilding the authority of the League, and said that British policy would still be based on the principles for which the League stood.

As soon as Mr. Eden returned to England it was decided by the Privy Council that "sanctions" against Italy should be officially raised on July 15. Soon after (July 9) the First Lord of the Admiralty announced in the House of Commons that the naval units temporarily sent into the Mediterranean from the home station and from other stations abroad in the previous autumn would be released at an early date. Great Britain, however, would still maintain in the Mediterranean a defensive position stronger than that which had existed prior to the Italo-Abyssinian dispute.

In the first half of July, three by-elections took place which afforded an opportunity of testing the effect on the electorate of recent political developments. In all three the Ministerialist vote fell precipitously—by a third or more. In one—at Derby—the Opposition vote increased by a couple of thousand—sufficient to transfer the seat formerly held by Mr. J. H. Thomas to the Opposition. In the other two the Labour vote remained stationary or fell. The inference to be drawn was that the country had lost confidence in the National Government, but it was by no means disposed to put a Labour Government in its place.

On June 7 British delegates went to Montreux to take part in the Conference for determining the status of the straits leading into the Black Sea. Britain did not oppose Turkey's claim to resume full sovereignty over the straits, but she came into conflict with Russia over the question of allowing ingress and egress to and from the Black Sea in time of war. After a period of some tension, Britain finally conceded the Russian demand and signed the new Convention which was drawn up on July 20. Shortly afterwards an understanding was reached with Russia which could serve as a basis for a naval agreement between the two countries on the lines of the new London Naval Treaty.

The Finance Bill was given a third reading in the House of Commons on July 3 without a division. Controversy on its details had been almost confined to the regulations for checking tax evasion, which had been attacked not so much for themselves as for the extraordinarily intricate language in which they were couched. Mr. Morrison, the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, now explained that this was due to an endeavour to make them scrupulously fair and to avoid striking at legitimate trade, financial or family interests. Mr. Chamberlain in winding up the debate warned the House that a deficit was almost certain in the coming year on account of the increased expenditure on armaments. They had much leeway to make up, and for a time they must expect "exceptional, abnormal, and phenomenal" expenditure, which fortunately they were better able to face than in 1931, and which, spread over all classes, had been so far accepted with resignation if not with enthusiasm.

Scarcely had the Chancellor given this warning when large Supplementary Estimates were issued for all three of the Fighting Services (July 9). The sums assigned were 11,700,000*l.* for the Air Services, mostly for aircraft and aerodromes for subsequent years, 6,600,000*l.* for the Army, mostly for warlike stores to place the field force on an adequate basis for any emergency, and 1,059,000*l.* for the Navy, bringing the total estimated expenditure for that arm for the year to 81,289,000*l.*

Another object for which Parliament was asked to vote a considerable sum at this time was the safeguarding of the live-stock industry. On July 6 the Minister of Agriculture informed the House of Commons that the Government had come to the conclusion that if adequate provision was to be made in one form or another for the needs of the United Kingdom cattle industry, the aggregate financial assistance now given to it must be increased until such time as the conditions prevailing in the industry improved. They proposed therefore to ask Parliament to make annually provision for a sum not exceeding 5,000,000*l.* for this purpose. Part of this sum would be raised by the imposition of import duties on chilled, frozen, and other descriptions of beef and veal from foreign countries, but not from the Empire, and not on mutton and lamb. The existing cattle subsidy arrangements would be continued, if necessary, to July 1, 1937.

In asking the House of Commons to sanction the subsidy on July 18, Mr. Ramsbotham, who was now Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture, said that this was to be the last of a series of interim measures begun in 1934 when it became obvious that special steps would have to be taken to save the cattle industry. A subsidy for as long as the situation might require it was, he said, an essential feature of the Government's policy, and would be of the permanent policy, which he promised would be in operation before another year had passed.

The Bill was opposed by Mr. Williams, on behalf of the Labour Party, on the ground that the Government were tackling the agricultural problem in a piecemeal and inadequate way. Several Conservative speakers also expressed disappointment at the delay in framing a permanent policy, but the second reading was passed by 162 votes to 69.

On July 9 the question of the country's food supply was discussed in the House of Lords, and Lord Phillimore and a number of other speakers urged the Government to make better provision for storing food and other necessities in case of war. The Lord Chancellor in reply stated that the problem was receiving the careful attention of the Government, and in the matter of food supply in time of war the country was now in a much better position than it had been twenty years ago. He pointed out that they could never hope to store up sufficient food to maintain them if they lost command of the sea. But he thought that they had enough to keep them going for the contingency of a short period during which their command of the sea might be in danger. Shortly afterwards, a special commission was appointed to study the subject.

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Another aspect of the country's food supply had been dealt with on the previous day (July 8) in the House of Commons. Mr. T. Johnson, a Labour member, moved that "the House has noted with concern the convincing evidence of widespread malnutrition, and regrets the failure of the Government to take effective steps to deal with the problem of hunger and want in the midst of plenty." The allegations contained in the motion, which were supported with some random figures by Mr. Johnson, brought forth a spirited reply from Sir Kingsley Wood, the Minister of Health. He pointed out that the word "malnutrition" was ambiguous, being used to mean both actual insufficiency of food and merely qualitative defects of diet. In the latter sense he admitted that there was much malnutrition in the country, but he maintained that the amount of actual want and hunger was greatly exaggerated by the Labour Party for propaganda purposes. Proof that things were not nearly so bad as they stated was furnished by the fact that in the last twenty years some seven years had been added to the expectation of life, and the infantile mortality rate had been reduced from 100 to 57 per 1,000 births. The death-rate from tuberculosis was only half the rate in the first decade of the century, and the number of deaths from rickets half of what it had been five years ago. There was evidence that both the boys and girls of the present generation were heavier and taller than those of the previous one. The argument based on the large number of rejections for the Army was not a sound one, as these rejections were in many cases due to special defects which did not affect the general health. The Government, said the Minister, were

doing their best to combat malnutrition by providing cheap supplies of milk, and they were prepared to do more. The Minister of Agriculture also emphasised the interest taken by the Government in the problem of nutrition. The motion was eventually defeated by 359 votes to 139, and a Unionist amendment approving the Government's efforts to promote better health and social conditions was earned by 350 votes to 141.

Further details of these efforts were furnished by the Minister of Health in presenting the Estimates for his Department on July 16. He stated that during the current year the expenditure on all social services, including the amount raised by local rates, would reach the figure of 420,000,000*l.*, and some 30,000,000 men, women, and children would benefit from one or more such services. No country, he said, was making such provision for its social services, and the population was reaping the fruit of better sanitation and better housing, and improvement in the methods of prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of disease, and especially the diffusion of knowledge and interest in the principles of health. \

On June 29 a White Paper was issued containing the Government's decisions with regard to the future of the British Broadcasting Corporation. These followed in the main the recommendations of the Ullswater Committee, notably in the matter of extending the charter of the B.B.C. for a term of ten years from December 31, 1936, and increasing the number of governors to seven and raising the salaries of the governors other than the Chairman and Vice-Chairman from 750*l.* to 1,000*l.* A somewhat larger proportion of licence revenue was also assigned to the B.B.C. The Government, however, did not accept the recommendation of the Committee that "responsibility for the cultural side of broadcasting should be transferred to a Cabinet Minister," on the ground that this "might be inconsistent with the preservation of independent management by the Corporation, and such a Minister as the Committee proposed might find himself more and more obliged to exercise actual control," and it therefore decided to continue the existing functions of the Postmaster-General.

In a debate on the Post Office Vote on July 6, the B.B.C. came in for criticism for what was called its despotic treatment of its officials, chiefly in the senior branches, and chiefly on this ground the Labour Party moved a reduction in the Vote. The Government was also criticised by many speakers for not taking over the relay exchanges at once, although the Postmaster-General had already explained that the transfer would involve financial and technical questions which the Government desired time to consider. No one, however, contested the Minister's statement that British broadcasting compared most favourably with that of any other country, and the motion to reduce the Vote was rejected by 216 votes to 123.

On July 13 the Postmaster-General announced in the House of Commons that from October ordinary householders with their own telephone line would be allowed to make 50 local calls a quarter free of charge, and that the rentals of ordinary business lines would be reduced by 10s. a quarter. These reductions he said, had been made possible because the annual rate of increase in telephones was now twice as great as it had been before the policy of reducing charges was begun in October, 1934, the potential customers being most numerous among the "little men," i.e., small shopkeepers and owners of one-man businesses. The concessions recently made would, he said, cost the Post Office 1,500,000l. a year, but it would be well worth the increased facilities offered for business and social communications—a sentiment with which the House showed its hearty agreement.

On June 30 the House of Commons heard with great regret from the President of the Board of Trade of the failure of a scheme which had been on foot for some time to establish a great steel works at Jarrow-on-Tyne, one of the worst sufferers from the industrial depression. The success of the scheme seemed assured when, contrary to expectation, the Federation of Iron and Steel Industries refused its support, preferring instead to enlarge existing plant at Middlesbrough on the Tees. Without this support the syndicate which was promoting the steel works did not venture to proceed. The action of the Federation was declared in many quarters to be unpatriotic and due to motives of trade rivalry, and the Government was urged in both Houses of Parliament not to let slip such an opportunity of bringing new life into a distressed area.

On July 14 a deputation led by Miss Ellen Wilkinson, a member of Parliament from the district, waited on the President of the Board of Trade and urged him to re-examine the project. The subject was also discussed again in the House of Commons on the next day. Mr. Runciman in reply denied that the Federation had been actuated by motives of trade rivalry and declined to interfere with their decision in the present instance. He considered, however, that there was ground for a wider inquiry into the lines upon which any further extension of plant in the iron and steel industry should take place, embracing the social implications of any proposal as well as the industrial. The Government therefore had asked the Import Duties Advisory Committee to examine all the data now available and to report upon the present position of the industry and in so far as was practicable the general lines of its future development. The representatives of Jarrow found this cold comfort, but in spite of strenuous efforts were unable to obtain more solid help.

On July 15 the President of the Board of Trade gave in the House of Commons his annual survey of trade and industry. The past year, he said, had again been one of marked progress

in nearly all the principal industries of the United Kingdom, with two notable exceptions, coal and cotton, the latter of which, however, was still holding its own. The improvement was illustrated by the fact that the number of insured persons in employment in the last month was over 440,000 more than in June, 1933, and the number of unemployed was nearly 300,000 less. In all industries supplying the home market progress had been remarkable ; in the export trade it had been slower, partly on account of the cessation for a time of all exports to Italy, which were 4,000,000l. less than in the first half of last year. Imports had gone up much more than exports, but he thought that the country was able to pay for the excess with her invisible earnings. Mr. Runciman reiterated his adherence to the policy of bilateral trade agreements, and mentioned as a proof of their success that out of an increase of 68,000,000l. in exports since 1932, countries with which agreements had been made (including the Ottawa Agreements) had taken 55,000,000l. The four factors on which the revival of British industry was based—confidence, low tariffs', trade agreements, and cheap money—were still operating, and progress, he thought, would continue, provided there were no major developments of a disturbing character abroad and industrial peace continued at home.

On July 13 a deputation consisting of about 150 members of both Houses of Parliament, and headed by Lord Salisbury, waited on the Prime Minister to impress on him once more the importance of reforming the House of Lords during the lifetime of the present Parliament. Mr. Baldwin replied that owing to the grave problems which now occupied the whole attention of the Government, the pressure on Parliamentary time, and the lack of agreement on the subject among the various sections of the National Government's supporters, he could not at present in any way promise that the Government would initiate any legislation on the subject.

On July 16 an alarming incident created a momentary panic throughout the country. As the King was returning to Buckingham Palace from Hyde Park, where he had been presenting new colours to some battalions of Guards, a man pushed his way to the front of the crowd in Constitution Hill and pointed a loaded revolver at the King. He was promptly arrested, and the King, who had seen the incident, rode on unperturbed. On being interrogated, the prisoner, a journalist named George Macmahon, said that he had had no intention of shooting, but merely desired to call attention to a grievance which he had against the Home Office on the ground of false imprisonment which he had suffered. He was committed for trial, and was eventually found guilty of attempting to frighten the King and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment.

On July 20 Sir T. Inskip, for the third time in eight weeks,

in response to a demand from the Opposition, made a statement on the Government's defence programme. As before, he confined himself to the question of supply. He adduced a number of facts and figures which he held to show that progress in the fulfilment of the programme was on the whole quite satisfactory. There was no difficulty, he informed the House, in finding labour for the Government's requirements ; he only wished it were as easy to find recruits to use the new equipment which was being provided. It had been found possible, without any dislocation of industry, to expand production very materially ; thus, the delivery of aeroplanes in April, May, and June of the current year had been three times as great as in the corresponding period of the preceding year, which had itself been one of expansion. This, too, was in spite of the fact that the determination of the Government to prevent profiteering had caused some slowing down of output.

On behalf of the Labour Party, Mr. Lees-Smith moved a reduction in the Vote on the ground that the Minister had not said one word about the co-ordination of the Services which was supposed to be his proper function. Sir A. Sinclair also complained that no indication had been given of the dangers which the Government's plans were designed to meet. Mr. Churchill enlarged on this point, and asked whether it would not be possible for the House of Commons to have a secret session at which it could be discussed more freely, or, failing that, whether the Prime Minister would consent to discuss the matter confidentially with himself and some of his friends. Mr. Chamberlain on behalf of the Government deprecated the idea of a secret session as likely to give rise to alarmist rumours, and told Mr. Churchill that, while he was at liberty to take a deputation to the Prime Minister, he could not expect to be given by him confidential information which would be withheld from the rest of the House. The motion to reduce the Vote was eventually defeated by 320 votes to 155.

A deputation of some eighteen members of both Houses of Parliament specially interested in the problem of defence was duly received by the Prime Minister on July 28 and 29. No report was issued of the proceedings, but it was understood that the deputation came away satisfied that the Government intended to deal with the problem effectively. Two announcements which were made before Parliament rose seemed to furnish an earnest of this intention. One was that it was proposed to create a new infantry section of the Supplementary Reserve with an initial establishment of 17,000 men which would be open to men between the ages of 17 and 25; the other was that the King had approved the creation of a new Reserve called the Royal Air Force Reserve, which would be open only to men in civil life and which would aim among other things at enrolling 800 pilots a year.

On July 10 Mr. D. N. Pritt, K.C., a Labour member, moved a reduction in the Vote for the Metropolitan police administration on the ground that the police in London (and elsewhere) in their handling of public meetings showed distinct partiality to Fascists and hostility to Communists and Socialists. He asserted that Lord Trenchard, when head of the Metropolitan police force, had without legal authority placed a ban on the holding of meetings near Labour exchanges, and that Socialists were frequently debarred by the police from holding public meetings on the flimsiest pretexts, whereas all facilities were given to the Fascists, and those who interrupted them were immediately warned by the police. Complaints were made from all sides of the House that the Fascists were grossly abusing the right of free speech, especially by their vile language about the Jews, which many speakers held amounted to a direct incitement to violence. The Home Secretary in reply denied that the police used any discrimination. He admitted, however, that the Fascists were giving a great deal of trouble and were not being kept properly in check. Nevertheless he maintained that the police were trying to perform their duty in very difficult circumstances, and he asked members to put out of their heads the idea that there was a conspiracy at Scotland Yard to make the police favourable to one particular party. He assured the House that the Commissioner and the police as a whole were increasing their efforts to deal with the question in every way they could. The Minister's defence did not carry complete conviction to the House, but the motion to reduce the Vote was negatived by 148 votes to 76.

With the session drawing to its close, the main task which confronted the Government in the sphere of home affairs—to draw up new regulations for unemployment assistance to take the place of the Standstill Act passed in February, 1935—had still to be performed. Members of Parliament, especially on the Labour benches, had long been chafing at the delay, and had frequently plied the Government with questions in the House. The Minister of Labour replied on May 29 by pleading that eighteen months was not too long a period for devising a satisfactory national system which would possess the local variations required by traditional local practices. In the middle of May the Unemployment Assistance Board which had been set up under the Unemployment Act of 1934 had issued a report on the working of the Standstill Act, which stated that its effect had been to set up "a complicated double standard whose results were often not intelligible to the applicants," and to accentuate rather than remove the anomalies which had existed under the former system. This result had been more or less foreseen, but the publicity now given to it made it imperative for the Government to produce an alternative system without delay.

Anxious at all costs to avoid a repetition of the experience of February, 1935, the members of the Cabinet now began, both collectively and individually, to devote much labour to the consideration of the thorny problem of the means test. The Minister of Labour, in particular, spared no efforts to make himself master of the problem, inspecting many area offices up and down the country and visiting many applicants in their homes. The Unemployment Assistance Board at once tackled the problem in earnest, and on June 30 the Minister announced that the new regulations would be published on July 14. The Labour Party were again dissatisfied, this time on the ground that if the regulations were to be discussed in Parliament before the summer vacation there would not be sufficient time for studying them properly before the debate. Mr. Churchill joined them in calling for an earlier publication, but the Government did not see its way to assent.

The Government was somewhat better than its word, and a draft of the new regulations was actually issued on July 9, along with the memoranda of the Minister of Labour and the Unemployment Assistance Board. The basic rates of relief for an ordinary householder were not altered, but more liberal provision was made for the recipients of assistance in two directions—by increasing the allowance on account of rent where this was a quarter or more of the scale rates of the household, and by putting at a lower figure the contributions to be expected from members of the household earning money, especially sons and daughters of marriageable age. The rates for female householders and for adolescents between 16 and 18 were increased. On the other hand provision was made for reduction of excessive allowances and of the allowances for many persons under 25. It was proposed that the regulations should become effective on November 16, when the existing Standstill would be brought to an end. It was estimated that about 200,000 of the existing applicants for assistance would receive increases within four or five weeks of that date; the number who would suffer reductions would be far smaller, and the reductions would be introduced much more gradually.

On July 21 Mr. Brown, the Minister of Labour, asked the House of Commons to approve the draft regulations. He commenced by pointing out that the principles of the Act of 1934 and of the suspended regulations still stood—that rates and conditions of relief could not be the same as those of insurance benefit, as that would wreck the contributory system, and that in justice to the taxpayer and to the employed there must be a test of need. His personal investigations, he said, had convinced him that the officers of the Board were administering the Act with great skill and care, and that, whatever applicants might think of the law itself, they believed they were being fairly

treated under it. But that the law itself caused hardships could not be denied, chiefly as a result of the impact of a uniform system on the varying practice of over two hundred public assistance authorities. The object of the new draft, therefore, was to make the law more elastic, especially in the matter of allowances for rent. After explaining and defending the changes now introduced, Mr. Brown said that, as far as they could estimate, the annual expenditure under the new regulations, exclusive of the cost of administration, would exceed by about 750,000l. the 38,000,000l. now being paid under the Standstill. Coming on the top of an increase of 7,500,000l. for the same number of weekly payments which had taken place in the last four and a half years, this was a complete refutation of the charge that the Government were cheeseparing at the expense of the unemployed.

On behalf of the Labour Party, Mr. Greenwood moved the rejection of the draft on the ground that the new regulations would be altogether inadequate to ensure the maintenance of unemployed persons and their dependents in health and physical efficiency, and would unjustly penalise other persons who happened to reside with them. He belittled the concessions made to the unemployed, suggesting that their inadequacy was due to the action of the Treasury. But this was not his main objection. The Labour Party, he said, would never support any regulations, however generous they might appear on the surface, so long as the means test stood as part of the law of the land; they would always oppose this enforced association of the unemployed with poor law. The Liberal Party considered the new regulations a considerable improvement on the old, and did not even object to the means test, but they were strongly opposed to the retention of the household means test, which they thought was liable to cause a good deal of friction in families if not even to break up family life, and they therefore announced their intention of voting against the regulations.

The Labour Party kept up the attack vigorously for the whole of the three days allotted to the debate. Indeed, so many of its members were anxious to express their protest against the new regulations that on the second day the eleven o'clock rule was suspended, and the discussion went on without intermission throughout the night and till the close of the debate on the third day, this being the longest continuous sitting of the House since 1881. Many of the Labour speakers did little more than inveigh against the means test, and used this debate as a means of relieving their feelings on this to them very sore point. On the third day, Sir John Simon, reviewing the debate up to that point, remarked that after all the means test would be applied to less than one-third of the applicants, and the fact that the Opposition were concentrating their attack on this feature of the Bill seemed to show that they could find little fault with the

scales themselves. In the course of his remarks, a "scene" was created by the extremists in the Labour Party, and three members of the Independent Labour group were suspended. Apart from this exhibition, of which the bulk of the Labour Party disapproved, the debate, in spite of the feeling which it aroused, was conducted without disorder. The regulations were ultimately approved by 357 votes to 155.

At the meeting of the League Assembly in June, it was provisionally arranged between the representatives of Belgium, France, and Great Britain that a meeting representing these three countries as signatories to the Locarno Treaties should be held in the near future in Brussels, in order to deal with the situation created by Germany's continued failure to reply to the British questionnaire sent in April. On second thoughts, the British Government began to doubt the wisdom of this course, as it might seem to be closing the door in the face of Germany and so rendering European appeasement even more difficult. The French on their side were insistent, and for some time there was a certain friction between the two Governments. At length a compromise was reached by which Britain consented to the holding of the conference, not in Brussels but in London, while France and Belgium consented to treat this meeting as purely preparatory to a full Locarno meeting, including Italy and Germany, and to accept in advance a programme of agreed terms for giving it this character.

The meeting duly took place on July 2. France and Belgium were both represented by their respective Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers, and Great Britain by Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Eden, and Lord Halifax. The proceedings were cordial in the extreme, and lasted not more than four and a half hours, during which the only differences of opinion that arose were over questions of style and wording. The conclusions reached by this brief but highly important conference were declared in a *communique* to be as follows :—

(1) The main purpose to which the efforts of all European nations must be directed is to consolidate peace by means of a general settlement.

(2) Such a settlement can only be achieved by the free co-operation of **all** the Powers concerned, and nothing would be more fatal to the hopes of such a settlement than the division, apparent or real, of Europe into opposing *blocs*.

(3) The three Governments accordingly consider that steps should be taken to arrange a meeting of the five Locarno Powers as soon as possible, its first business being to negotiate a new agreement to take the place of the Rhine Pact of Locarno, and to resolve the situation created by the German initiative of March 7.

(4) The three Governments accordingly propose to enter into communication with the German and Italian Governments with a view to obtaining their participation in the meeting thus proposed.

(5) If progress can be made at this meeting, it would be natural to look forward to the widening of the area of the discussion in such a manner as to facilitate the settlement of those problems the solution of which is essential to **the** peace of Europe.

On July 27 the House of Commons, at the instigation of **the Liberal Party, again discussed foreign affairs, and Mr. Eden surveyed the whole field of** international policy. First and most pressing was of course the problem created by the German occupation of the Rhineland in March. Since that time, he said, it **had** been the consistent object of the Government to set on foot negotiations in order to restore the situation. It was in that spirit that they had addressed certain questions to the German Government which were neither inquisitive nor acrimonious. It was with that object, too, that they had arranged a meeting of three Locarno Powers in the previous week, and the *communiqué* issued at the end of their deliberations showed that they were looking definitely to the future and did not confine themselves to the past. The next step was now with the Governments of Germany and Italy. But even if they should accept the invitation to attend a new conference, many obstacles remained which could be surmounted only if a real spirit of collaboration existed among all concerned.

Dealing with the Montreux Conference, Mr. Eden declared that the Government regarded its results as highly satisfactory. For one thing, it had furnished a valuable example to Europe of how peaceful and legal methods of treaty revision could lead to a settlement more favourable to all concerned than the method of repudiation or modification of treaty engagements by unilateral action. From the particular point of view, too, it was satisfactory that the general principles of freedom of passage through the straits in time of peace and of the free and international character of the Black Sea had been reasserted and maintained. They were especially grateful to the Turkish Government for undertaking to take care of the British war graves in Gallipoli, and the effect of the conference had been to strengthen the ties of friendship between Britain and Turkey. Mr. Eden was also able to record another improvement in the situation in the Mediterranean. Italy in the previous month had made a spontaneous declaration to Yugoslavia, Greece, and Turkey that she was contemplating no aggressive action against them in retaliation for their sanctionist policy. In consequence, the British Government considered itself justified in withdrawing the assurances which it had given to these countries when sanctions were first imposed, and so removing one source of friction between Great Britain and Italy.

After touching on British negotiations with Egypt and the situation in Spain and Danzig, Mr. Eden came to the subject on which the House was most anxiously awaiting a statement from the Government—the future relations of Britain to the League of Nations. They were, he said, at present considering with all due care and **a full** sense of responsibility the answer which they **should send to** the invitation **of** the Assembly to give their views

on the question of reform of the League. Opinions on this matter differed very widely. At one extreme were those who would like to see the Covenant shorn of its coercive or repressive provisions, and at the other those who would like the obligation to render military assistance to a victim of aggression to be made universal and automatic. He assured the House that the Government were not in favour of either of these extreme courses, but, much to the disappointment of many members, he said it would be premature to give a more detailed statement.

Mr. Eden closed his speech with an appeal to the Labour Party not to oppose the Government's plan of re-armament, which, he said, was undoubtedly welcomed by all the remaining democratic countries of the world. Non-Parliamentary countries, he pointed out, would not understand the distinction drawn by the Labour Party between re-armament for a policy which they could support and for one of which they did not approve, and would think that there was a deep division in the country on the question whether they should arm even to defend themselves—a question on which certainly there was unanimity. He assured them once more that British armaments were not to be used for any purpose inconsistent with the Covenant and the Pact of Paris.

On behalf of the Liberal Party, Sir A. Sinclair gave the Foreign Minister's speech a cautious welcome, as showing that he was at least on the right lines. He expressed his regret, however, that he had not been able to give in general terms an indication that the Government would give support to the League as it was understood at present, that is, with a Covenant containing Articles X. and XVI., for nothing would be better calculated to promote national unity than a clear declaration that the Government stood by the Covenant. Mr. Pethick-Lawrence, on behalf of the Labour Party, rejected Mr. Eden's appeal to them to support the Government's re-armament policy. Mr. Eden, in replying to the debate, was a little more communicative on the Government's intentions with regard to League reform. They were, he said, willing to take the lead in the matter, and all they asked was that they should be allowed to choose their own time for doing so. They did not intend to propose any drastic change in the main structure of the Covenant, and would seek to maintain certain elements in the Covenant which they considered essential for the collective organisation of peace. The motion to reduce the Foreign Office Vote was defeated by 290 votes to 143.

The question of League reform was also debated by the House of Lords on July 29. Lord Ponsonby, who opened the discussion, advocated the elimination from the Covenant of all the Articles which made provision for the use of force. Lord Allen, on the other hand, urged that the Covenant should be made into a more

effective instrument for organising steady collective resistance against all acts of unprovoked aggression, a view which was supported by Lord Cecil and—with some reserve—by Lord Crewe. Lord Halifax, replying for the Government, repeated Mr. Eden's statement that there was probably no chance of securing agreement either in Britain itself or at Geneva on either of the extreme courses proposed—on the system of automatic and universal coercion, or on such an evisceration of the Covenant as to leave it merely a body for consultation or conciliation. Several middle courses had been proposed, but many obstacles would have to be overcome before any of them could be generally accepted. It would therefore be the duty of Great Britain in the forthcoming discussions to use all its influence for the reconciliation of sharply opposed opinions, bearing in mind always certain principles which they wished to serve. The first of these was that there must be a collective plan. The second was that in any such system the purpose must be the prevention of war and the deterrence of aggression. The third was that means should be devised by which the potential causes of war might be freely brought into the arena of discussion and the pressure of world opinion directed to their remedy.

The Opposition found the speeches of Mr. Eden and Lord Halifax satisfactory as far as they went, but they were still uneasy as to the precise intentions of the Government on many points, and in the debate on the adjournment on August 1 sought for further assurances. Lord Cranborne in reply stated categorically that Britain would not during the vacation recognise Italy's conquest of Abyssinia, but on other points he added nothing to what had already been stated by his chief. In answer to Conservative speakers who raised the question of Mandated territories, he said that the Government were not considering the question of the transfer of any of them, but again refused to assert categorically that the question could not be discussed.

On July 29 a gathering took place in Westminster Hall of several thousand Canadian men and women who had just returned from a pilgrimage to Vimy Ridge to witness the unveiling by the King of a national War Memorial to their fallen countrymen. They were welcomed by the Prime Minister, who in touching words gave expression to the emotions of all present. They then marched to the Cenotaph, where a service was conducted by the Bishop of London. In the afternoon they were received in the grounds of Buckingham Palace by the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester and were welcomed by the King in a brief address.

On July 31 a report was published containing the results of the overcrowding survey undertaken by local authorities in accordance with the Housing Act of 1935. The number of dwellings inspected was 8,924,523—equal to the total number of houses

existing in 1931—and it was found that according to the standard laid down in the Act of 1935, 341,554 (or 3·8 per cent, of these) were overcrowded. In addition, 380,000 families—or 4·4 per cent, of the present uncrowded families—were so near the border line of overcrowding that a small variation of the present standard would bring them in. The worst overcrowding was stated to be for the most part *in* the East End of London and on the North-East coast, the County of London and the Counties of Durham and Northumberland containing between them about 40 per cent, of all the overcrowded families in the country, though only 16 per cent, of the total population. The worst single city was Sunderland. The report stated that with very few exceptions all the local authorities should be able to complete their slum-clearing programmes within a few years.

Just before the session closed, it was announced that the Export Credits Guarantee Department had agreed to provide guarantees in connexion with orders to be placed by Soviet import organisations up to a total of 10,000,000l., for goods manufactured in the United Kingdom. On the other hand, the raising of sanctions against Italy had by no means restored normal trading relations between Great Britain and that country. Mr. Runciman stated in the House of Commons on July 30 that the Government regarded it as essential that the trading arrangements to be made with Italy should provide for a settlement of outstanding trade debts, but the Italian Government, he regretted to say, were not willing to accept any arrangement which the British Government could regard as adequate. Severe restrictions were meanwhile being imposed on British imports into Italy, and Britain was importing nothing from that country save fruit and vegetables.

A number of changes were made at this time in the junior posts of the Ministry, but without any alteration of personnel, save that a newcomer was introduced in the person of Lord Feversham. Room was found for him by reviving the Under-Secretaryship of State for Foreign Affairs which had been left vacant when Lord Stanhope was promoted to the Cabinet as First Commissioner of Works a month earlier, the post now being taken by Lord Plymouth. Complaints had been made in the interval that neither the Foreign Office nor the Ministry of Agriculture was directly represented in the House of Lords; and this omission was now remedied.

Parliament rose for the summer vacation on July 31. The programme of legislation outlined for the session had been completed, but, as in the previous year, Parliament was technically only "adjourned" and not prorogued, the reason again being to enable the Government to convene the House of Commons at any moment in case of emergency. The ground of this precaution was again the condition of foreign affairs. The answers

of Germany and Italy to the invitation sent on July 24 to a new "Locarno" Conference were still being awaited, and meanwhile Germany had given new cause of alarm by fortifying Heligoland, in defiance of treaty provisions. And though on July 31 both Powers replied in the affirmative and so allayed apprehensions on this score, in the meanwhile a new source of anxiety had arisen. The civil war which had just broken out in Spain strongly engaged the sympathies of the French Government and of the Italian and German Governments on opposite sides and so involved the potentialities of a European embroilment, to an even greater extent than the Italo-Abyssinian conflict of a year before. Feeling that at any moment his presence might be required in the capital, the Prime Minister, instead of going abroad for his holiday, as was his custom, remained in England, an example which was followed by most of the other Ministers. The King also, in order not to embarrass the French Government, cancelled his projected holiday on the Riviera and instead took a cruise in the Adriatic.

CHAPTER III.

BRITAIN AND THE CONFLICT IN SPAIN.

THE fear expressed by the British Government lest the conflict in Spain should lead to a general European war was fully shared by responsible quarters in Paris ; and it was the French Government which, being nearer to the scene of events, took the initiative in an attempt to prevent other Powers from becoming involved. On August 2 it sent to Great Britain " a pressing appeal for the rapid adoption and rigid observance of an agreed arrangement for non-intervention in Spain." On August 4 the British Government replied that they would welcome a scheme of non-intervention, but would like it to be between all the Powers which might be likely to send arms to the Spanish continent, specifying Germany, Italy, and Portugal. Further inquiries showed that it would be advisable to widen the scope of the proposal, and Britain gave its full support to the French Government in submitting to all the European Powers the text of a Convention laying down definite rules for the effective application of common undertakings for non-intervention.

For a large—perhaps the larger—section of the British public this was hardly enough. The whole of the Labour and Liberal Parties, and a considerable number of Conservatives, saw in the conflict a struggle of the Spanish Government to uphold the cause of democracy against a Fascist attack, and would have been glad for the British Government to intervene actively on

its behalf, especially after it was learnt that the Italian and German Governments were almost openly assisting the insurgents. In view of the unconcealed sympathy of the bulk of the Tory Party for the insurgents, they suspected the Government of leaning in the same direction. A number of meetings were held by the party leaders, but they were unable to decide on any definite plan of action.

After some difficult diplomatic negotiations, the British and French Governments on August 15 exchanged Notes laying down that the non-intervention arrangement was to come into force the moment the German, Italian, and Portuguese Governments and the Government of Soviet Russia had agreed. The British Government on its side declared that it would take every measure open to it to prevent the supply of civil aircraft. At the same time the Foreign Office issued a statement warning British subjects that if they assisted either side in Spain by land, sea, or air, they were not only running grave risks for themselves but were rendering it more difficult to arrive at the proposed agreement between the Powers, and that they could not expect to receive any assistance or support if they met with difficulties during such enterprises.

This pronouncement did something to allay the suspicions of the Labour leaders, but as time went on and the proposed agreement failed to materialise, chiefly owing to the obstruction of Germany, they again became restive. On August 26 they sent a deputation to Mr. Eden and Lord Halifax at the Foreign Office to discuss the situation. To the general surprise, the members of the deputation declared on coming away that they had received full satisfaction from the Ministers, and had no criticism to make of the Government's policy. On the next day the Foreign Secretary sent to the British Ambassador to Spain, then at Hendaye in France, a telegram supporting the proposal put forward by certain Powers that an appeal should be made to the contending forces in Spain to mitigate as far as possible, on humanitarian grounds, the horrors of civil war.

On the next day (August 28) a conference was held of the Parliamentary Labour Party, the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, and the National Executive of the Labour Party to receive the report of the deputation which had visited the Foreign Office two days before. A statement issued by the conference paid homage to the steadfast courage and sacrifice of the Spanish people in cementing with their blood the foundations of liberty and democracy, and condemned the breach of international law committed by the Italian, German, and Portuguese Governments in supplying arms to the rebels. The conference expressed regret that it should have been thought expedient, on the ground of the dangers inherent in the situation, to conclude agreements among the European Powers laying an embargo on the supply of arms and munitions of war to Spain, by which the

rebel forces and the legitimate Government of Spain were placed on the same footing. It admitted, however, that such agreements might lessen international tension, provided they were applied immediately and loyally observed. For this the utmost vigilance would be required, and the conference therefore instructed the National Council of Labour to maintain a close watch on events, in consultation with the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International and the representatives of their Spanish comrades.

For some time it was doubtful whether the non-intervention agreement would be accepted by a sufficient number of Powers, but at length, on Germany's signifying her acceptance on August 27, it was decided to set up a committee with headquarters in London to give effect to the non-intervention policy. At the first meeting held on September 9, all the European Powers were represented with the exception of Portugal, which joined shortly afterwards in consequence of British pressure.

On August 8 a report was issued by the Committee which had been set up in March by the Board of Trade to inquire into the subject of so-called fixed trusts, which had sprung up in the last few years. The importance of the subject was shown by the fact that since April, 1931, when the movement was initiated, some fifty such trusts had been formed, and probably more than 50,000,000*l.* invested in them by the public, 25,000,000*l.*, it was estimated, during the last year alone. Doubts had been expressed in financial circles whether the movement was a sound one, and whether in the interest of investors it should not be prohibited. The conclusion of the Committee was that it should be controlled, but not prohibited; and a number of recommendations were made with the object of giving holders of the securities bought by the Trusts the same general protection which they would receive under company law if they were the direct holders of the underlying securities. At the same time it was admitted that there were certain dangers incident to the fixed trust which could not be eliminated by legislation, just as there were dangers in dealing in stocks and shares, notwithstanding the drastic provisions of company law.

On August 26 the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance which had been initialled in Alexandria a fortnight before was signed in London, Great Britain being represented by Mr. Eden, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Lord Halifax, Sir John Simon, and Sir Miles Lampson, the High Commissioner to Egypt. Mr. Eden, in addressing the delegates, described the treaty as the successful conclusion of the efforts of the last sixteen years to reach a satisfactory solution of the problems inherent in Anglo-Egyptian relations. The fact that they had been able to reach this happy conclusion was due to the growing conviction in both countries that their interests were inseparably linked—a conviction that

had been strengthened by recent events and by the realisation that in a singularly troubled world it would be of great and general advantage to find means of collaborating more closely for the maintenance of good relations and for the protection of their common interests. These sentiments were cordially endorsed by Nahas Pasha, the head of the Egyptian delegation.

While British relations with Egypt were thus being put on a satisfactory footing, the situation in Palestine continued to be a source of ever-growing anxiety to the Home Government. The reinforcements sent out from England seemed unable to restore order in the country, and the efforts at mediation made by Moslem potentates had been unavailing to bring to an end the political strike. In August, considerable pressure was brought to bear on the British Government from various quarters to make some concession to the Arabs, and it was rumoured at one time that the Government actually contemplated suspending Jewish immigration. In the end, however, Britain stood by its declared policy. At a Cabinet meeting held on September 2, it was decided to take more vigorous action against the Arab extremists, and to send to Palestine a force which would be adequate for this purpose. A *communique* was issued justifying this step, on the ground that the situation which had been created was a direct challenge to the authority of the British Government in Palestine, and stating once more that the Royal Commission which had been appointed to inquire into the working of the Mandate would commence its duties only after order had been restored.

On August 10 it was announced that the first of the trading estates situate in the Special Areas, to which the Minister of Labour had referred at the end of the Parliamentary session, would be in the Team valley, near Gateshead-on-Tyne, where a site of about 700 acres had been chosen. The reasons for the choice of this site were stated to be its size, its attractive surroundings, its possibilities of industrial development, its location as a centre for local and national distribution, and its suitability for housing development for the needs of factory employees.

The sixty-eighth Congress of the Trade Unions was opened at Plymouth on September 7. Since the last Congress the affiliated membership had increased by about 200,000 and was now nearly 3,600,000. In his opening address, the President, Mr. A. H. Findlay, of the United Pattern Makers' Association, observed that they met once more under conditions of grave difficulty and danger for the causes they served. He referred especially to the attack made on constitutional government and liberty in Spain and the open sympathy with it shown in certain quarters in England. At his suggestion, the delegates stood **for a moment** in silence to pay tribute to the sacrifices of "**the soldiers of freedom**" in Spain. Reviewing the events of the past year, Mr. Findlay admitted that the economic outlook **in England**

was **brighter** than it had been twelve months **before**, but he **complained** bitterly that by far the greater part of the benefit went **to the** employers and not to the workers. After deploring the recent barbarous execution of Soviet leaders in Russia, at a moment when that country seemed to be entering on the path of democratic progress, he said that the best guarantee of peace in Europe would be a pact of non-aggression and mutual assistance between the Soviet Union, France, and Great Britain, based on the League Covenant and open to all, and that British labour would never acquiesce in, but would fight strenuously, any policy of securing temporary peace in Western Europe by giving Herr Hitler a free hand in Eastern Europe and against the Soviet Union. He referred to the formation of "Popular Fronts" in France and Spain as a development of capital importance, but while recognising the need for union between all the forces that were opposed to Fascism and dictatorship, he deprecated a similar arrangement in Great Britain.

The first act of the Congress after the President's address was to send a telegram to the new Prime Minister of Spain giving its warmest fraternal greetings to their "respected comrade and trade union colleague, Largo Caballero," and pledging afresh its utmost support to the Spanish people. Lest this resolution might be thought to have committed the Congress to a policy of active intervention in the Spanish struggle, the General Council, on the third day of the Congress, submitted an emergency resolution in support of the policy of non-intervention, at the same time laying stress on the need of a vigilant execution of the international agreement, and urging the British Government to use their influence with Portugal to bring that country into line. Sir Walter Citrine defended the resolution with the argument that the opposite policy would have provided no guarantee that the democratic countries would have rushed to supply the Spanish Government with arms, and the outcome of such a policy might have been a European war. Inquiries made in Paris, he said, had convinced the General Council that the French Popular Front Government had the strongest reasons for abiding by the policy of non-intervention. After some debate the motion was approved on a card vote by 3,029,000 to 51,000.

On the next day (September 11) the Congress endorsed the view expressed by the President with regard to the formation of a "united front" with the Communists. In the course of the year the National Council of Labour had issued a statement describing in detail the manoeuvres practised by the Communists **for** nearly twenty years to subvert the British Labour movement, **and** pointed out that, though they had changed their tactics **during** the past year and pretended to desire nothing more than collaboration, their aims remained the same. Sir Walter Citrine, **in moving the adoption of the section of the Report of the General**

Council dealing with the matter, made a vehement attack on the Communists, who, he asserted, still took their orders from Moscow, and warned the Congress against having anything to do with them. A few speakers protested against this attitude, but the resolution was carried by a large majority.

On the second day of the Congress a proposal was made by delegates from Durham and South Wales that some drastic industrial action should be taken to force the Government to withdraw the household means test, and it was even suggested that the Coronation should be boycotted. Sir Walter Citrine, however, while expressing sympathy with the feelings of resentment which had prompted such proposals, convinced the Congress by a closely reasoned speech that it would be wiser to follow the official policy of the General Council, which was that opposition to the new Regulations should be confined to efforts to rouse public opinion against them.

On September 18 the British Government issued invitations to France, Germany, Italy, and Belgium to a conference which should endeavour to frame a new agreement to take the place of the Locarno treaties. The Note of invitation recapitulated the principles laid down in the joint statement issued after the conference of Great Britain, France, and Belgium held in London on July 2 (*vide* p. 69), laying particular stress on the danger of a division of Europe into opposing *blocs*, and also made some practical suggestions. On September 20 Mr. Eden went to Paris, and had a private interview with M. Blum, the French Premier, in which he discussed this and other questions of international policy.

From Paris Mr. Eden went on to Geneva to represent Great Britain at the Assembly of the League of Nations. Up to this point the Government had given no inkling of the line which it intended to take up on the question of League reform—or indeed of having given any thought at all to the matter—and its apparent supineness was the subject of bitter and sarcastic comment in pro-League circles. Their worst suspicions were confirmed when Mr. Eden became a party to what they described as a shady manoeuvre, or worse, to exclude the Abyssinian representative from the Assembly, and they made no secret of their delight at his eventual discomfiture.

The attitude of the Government was, however, placed in a new and—from the League point of view—a much more favourable light by the speech which Mr. Eden made before the Assembly on September 25. Observing that the world needed an international order to supersede the arbitration of conflict between States, he affirmed that the League was the best method which had been devised for that purpose, and stated that the British Government's policy would continue to be based on membership of the League. Dealing with the question of League reform, he

said that there was nothing essentially wrong with the League and that its general principles were right; if there had been failures recently, they were due to the League's lack of universality and to its failure to play a more energetic part in the earlier stages of the crisis. At present there were two main objections brought against the League. One was that the Covenant invited signatories to assume obligations which not all Governments were ready to accept; the other was that the League stood for the maintenance of an order of things with which some Governments were not content. To meet these objections some changes might be necessary, and he therefore suggested that all nations should examine their commitments and the possibilities of making them more applicable to realities, and that machinery should be devised which would facilitate the effective intervention of the League earlier than was now to be expected. He also expressed the approval of the British Government for regional pacts within the Covenant, and for separating the Covenant from the peace treaties and making it into a self-contained convention.

While thus supporting the League, the Government was actively promoting international co-operation in another field also. When M. Blum, the French Premier, visited London in July, he had had an interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It now transpired that he had sought and obtained from him a promise that, if France devalued her currency, Britain would assist her to prevent any general derangement of currencies following such a step. This promise was fulfilled towards the end of September, when France announced her intention of " readjusting " the franc. On September 26 an official statement was issued from the Treasury that the Government welcomed the decision which the French Government had just taken, and, along with the Governments of France and the United States, declared its intention to continue to use the appropriate available resources so as to avoid as far as possible any disturbance of the basis of international exchanges resulting from the proposed readjustment. The conviction was expressed that the success of the new policy was linked with the development of international trade, and that it was important that action should be taken without delay to relax progressively the present system of quota and exchange controls, with a view to their abolition ; and other nations were invited to help in realising the policy laid down in the declaration, and especially not to attempt to obtain an unreasonable competitive advantage by manipulating their currencies.

The statement of the Treasury was amplified and reinforced by a speech made by Mr. W. S. Morrison before the Economic and Financial Committee of the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva on October 4. When the currencies of the restricting countries were better adjusted, he said, and the reasons for quotas **and** exchange controls had disappeared, then one might reasonably

expect that the quotas or exchange control would disappear also. The present situation appeared to offer a signal opportunity for clearing away obstacles to international trade. He warned the Governments of the devaluing currencies that there would be the strongest pressure on the part of particular interests in England to take measures to counteract the intensified competition which they would have to meet, and that pressure might well become irresistible if those Governments on their part were not seen to be acting on the urgent advice of the Economic Committee and withdrawing their exceptional restrictions. Once the ice had been broken, the way might be clear to action of a more widespread and general scope for the lowering of trade barriers.

The reception accorded by the City to the Treasury statement was highly favourable and augured well for the success of the new experiment. Speaking at a Lord Mayor's dinner on October 6, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that he had been agreeably surprised at the quickness with which the world seemed to have grasped the implications of the declarations made by the British, French, and American Governments. These "did not, he said, mean that there had been any change in the general monetary policy of the country. Sterling was still free, unlinked to gold or any other currency, and there was no alteration in the Government's credit policy. But they did mean that there was a community of views between the three Governments as to the need for a revival of international trade and as to the nature of the first step necessary.

The Conservative Party held its sixty-third annual Conference at Margate on October 1 and 2. A motion was passed with acclamation pledging the conference to give its whole-hearted support to the National Government in its efforts "to safeguard and protect our growing prosperity," but, as usual, complaints were made that the protection given to agriculture was insufficient. In spite of some demur from Sir S. Hoare, the conference insisted on passing a motion calling on the Government to re-affirm the Ministerial declaration made eighteen months previously, that the question of ceding any British Mandated territory was "not discussable."

The principal resolution before the conference was one repudiating one-sided disarmament and condemning the efforts made in certain quarters in the name of peace to hinder normal recruiting and to prevent the restoration of the Defence Forces to a reasonable level of strength. This was supported by the First Lord of the Admiralty, who said that in view of the international situation the Government had no alternative but to carry through with the least possible delay their programme of re-armament, much of which was absolute and not relative, and intended to safeguard the essentials of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

While the conference was being held, Mr. Baldwin was still

in the country recuperating from the fatigues of the previous session. The address to the mass meeting held after the conference was consequently on this occasion delivered by Mr. Chamberlain, his acknowledged second in command. Like Sir S. Hoare, Mr. Chamberlain declared himself an out-and-out advocate of a re-armament programme on a large scale. As Chancellor of the Exchequer, he said, he should be the last Minister to consent to the provision of larger defences than were necessary, but the state of the world had rendered it essential to embark on the largest programme of expenditure on defence that the country had ever undertaken in times of peace. The programme, he said, would not be regarded as completed until they had once more a Navy adequate to protect their vital lines of communication, an Army small in numbers it might be as compared with those of the Continent but equipped with the most modern weapons and mechanical devices, and an Air Force which in the speed, range and power of its machines and in the quality of its personnel would be second to none, and which when fully developed would be the most formidable deterrent to war which could be devised.

The question of re-armament was also the chief preoccupation of the Labour Party's annual Conference which opened at Edinburgh on October 5, under the presidency of Mrs. J. L. Adamson. But what had been to the Conservatives a rallying cry and a bond of union was to the Labour Party a baffling problem and a bone of contention. On the question whether and how far the re-armament programme of the Government should be supported there were marked differences of opinion among the Executive Council, which consequently had found great difficulty in agreeing on a policy to lay before the conference. The resolution which was ultimately drafted and which was proposed to the conference on October 6 by Mr. Hugh Dalton, M.P., bore obvious marks of being a compromise between opposing views. It declared that the armed strength of countries loyal to the League of Nations must be conditioned by the armed strength of the potential aggressors, and reaffirmed the policy of the Labour Party to maintain such defence forces as were compatible with the country's responsibilities as a member of the League of Nations, the preservation of the people's rights and liberties, the continuance of democratic institutions, and the observance of international law. It reserved to the party full liberty to criticise the re-armament programme of the Government, and ended by pledging the Labour Party to unceasing efforts to secure the return of a Labour Government to power.

The subsequent discussion, which was long and animated, showed the party to be hopelessly divided on the issue. Mr. Dalton dwelt on the necessity of turning the Government out. Mr. Lansbury expressed the extreme pacifist view that Britain should disarm unilaterally. Mr. H. Morrison advocated support-

ing the Government on armaments but opposing its foreign policy. Sir S. Cripps was in favour of re-arming by a Labour but not by a Conservative Government. Mr. Bevin, expressing the Trade Union view, was in favour of supporting the Government and trusting to it not to abuse its power. Mr. Attlee, in summing up the debate, completely confused the delegates by stating that if the motion were carried there could still be no question of the Labour Party supporting the Government's re-armament policy. The resolution was finally carried on a card vote by 1,738,000 votes to 657,000.

Next to re-armament, the matter in which the conference showed the greatest concern was the situation in Spain. By this time it had become doubtful whether the Government party in that country would be able to hold its own against the insurgent forces without external assistance, and some of the delegates were therefore of opinion that the policy of non-intervention should now be abandoned. This, however, was not the view of the Executive, in spite of the fact that the insurgents were still notoriously receiving help from the Fascist Powers. On October 6 an emergency resolution was submitted by the Executive declaring that the violation of a new international undertaking by Germany and Italy must inevitably lead to a reconsideration of the situation by other Powers, and after some debate this was carried by 1,836,000 votes to 519,000.

This, however, was not quite the end of the matter as far as the conference was concerned. On October 8 the Leader and Deputy Leader of the Opposition paid a lightning visit to London and had an interview with Mr. Chamberlain. As a result of the information and the assurances they received there, Mr. Attlee, on October 9, submitted to the conference a statement declaring that the Fascist Powers had broken their pledges of non-intervention and calling for immediate investigation of the alleged breaches of the agreement, and demanding that, if it should be found that the agreement was either ineffective or had been definitely violated, the French and British Governments should take steps forthwith to restore to the Spanish Government the right to purchase arms. This was unanimously approved by the delegates.

On October 6 the conference endorsed by a large majority—1,728,000 to 592,000—the rejection by the Executive Committee of the application of the Communist Party for affiliation with the Labour Party. It also approved the action of the Executive in disbanding the League of Socialist Youth, an affiliated society which had shown Communistic tendencies. The thorny question of the relations of the Labour Party with the Co-operative movement, which was claiming preferential treatment within the party, was discussed at a private session, but no decision was reached. On the last day of the conference a resolution

advocating the formation of a "united front" of all **working-class** parties was defeated by 1,805,000 votes to 435,000.

The Fascist movement in Britain, which a few years before had been regarded by the Labour leaders as a serious menace, was this year not thought worthy to be mentioned in the Executive's report. But it forced itself on the attention of the conference through a back door, as it were. For some time past, Sir Oswald Mosley, adopting a technique which was obviously derived from Nazi sources, had made the vilification of Jews and Communists the main item of Fascist propaganda, and had organised a campaign of deliberate provocation and intimidation directed against these elements of the population. The campaign reached a climax with a plan for a march of Blackshirts through the Jewish quarter of the East End of London on Sunday, October 4. The announcement of the march threw the whole of the East End into a ferment, and appeals were made to the Home Secretary by the civic authorities of East London and by Mr. Lansbury to ban the procession, but without success. On the appointed day, huge crowds assembled along the route of the march, and before it had started, numerous scuffles arose between Fascists and anti-fascists, and a number of arrests were made by the police. The temper of the crowd was so ugly that when Sir Oswald Mosley marshalled his followers on Tower Hill, the Chief Commissioner of Police forbade the proposed march to take place, to the great jubilation of the Communists, who regarded the failure of the demonstration as a triumph for themselves.

Immediately after the opening address of the President at the Labour Party Conference on the next day, Mr. Herbert Morrison moved a resolution expressing grave concern at these events, and condemning the Government's unwillingness to ban the Fascist march and the provocative tactics of the Fascists. The conference was asked to express the view that, while freedom of speech must be preserved, the encouragement of civil disorder and racial strife, the parading of force and militarised politics, and the use of political uniforms should be forbidden, and the Government was asked to institute an immediate inquiry into the recent disturbances and into the activities and finances of the Fascist organisations. Mr. Morrison stigmatised the conduct of the Home Secretary as weak and cowardly, but congratulated the Commissioner of Police on the courage and decision he had shown. The motion was carried unanimously.

In a speech which he made to his constituents on October 7, **Sir J. Simon** defended himself against Mr. Morrison's attack. **The Home Secretary**, he pointed out, was not a dictator with power **to** allow or prohibit processions as he thought fit. There had, **he** said, been no divergence of views between himself and the **Commissioner of Police, and Sir Oswald Mosley had been in-**

formed beforehand that the police reserved the right of requiring that his projected meeting should be held elsewhere or abandoned, should circumstances necessitate. If anyone wanted the Executive to have power to ban demonstrations in advance, the law must be altered ; but the alteration would have to apply to one side just as much as to the other.

While the Home Secretary was explaining the legal limitations on his powers, the tension in the East End of London was growing worse, and the Jewish population of Bethnal Green and Stepney was reduced to a state bordering on panic. Matters came to a head on the evening of October 12, when a band of young hooligans, taking advantage of the withdrawal of the police to keep order at a Communist gathering, burst into Mile End Road and did considerable damage to Jewish shops and property before the police could arrive on the scene. Mr. Herbert Morrison, on behalf of the London Labour Party and many prominent Labour men connected with the East End, on October 16 wrote a letter to the Home Secretary insisting at there was an urgent and direct responsibility on the Government to take effective action. A few days later a deputa -? headed by Mr. Morrison waited on the Home Secretary to pres on him the same request. The Minister informed them that the Government was giving the matter its earnest consideration, and a few days later Mr. Lloyd, the Under-Secretary for the Home Office, stated in Parliament that as a result of special measures taken by the police there had been a definite reduction in the grosser forms of -anti-Semitic activity in the East End, although, as he added, the Fascists had not relaxed their efforts to arouse anti-Jewish feeling by innuendo and veiled abuse.

Early in October allegations were made by the Spanish Government that, in spite of the existence of the International Committee, breaches of the non-intervention agreement were still being committed by Italy, Germany, and Portugal. These allegations were brought to the notice of the Committee in a somewhat flamboyant fashion by the Russian representative on October 9, and the Committee undertook to investigate them. The Labour Party was anxious that more vigorous action should be taken, and on October 19 Mr. Attlee wrote a letter to the Prime Minister in which he stated that, although the allegations of the Spanish Government had not been definitely proved, there were strong grounds for the belief that the policy of non-intervention had been deliberately violated, and it was to be feared that the interval required for the investigation would be still further abused in order to aid the rebels. In view therefore of the increasing gravity of the situation, he asked the Prime Minister that Parliament should be summoned at once in order that the full position might be made public and the House of Commons might consider how best to deal with it. The Prime Minister in

reply said that he **did** not see how the work of the Committee **could** be materially assisted, or the main object which the Government had in view—the limitation of the conflict to Spain—vitally affected, by summoning Parliament four or five days earlier than it was due to meet. He promised, however, to arrange for a debate on Spain on the day on which Parliament reassembled, namely, October 29.

On the same day (October 22) the National Council of Labour had a long discussion on the Spanish situation. It was unanimously of opinion that one-sided observance of the non-intervention agreement was inflicting serious injury on the constitutional Government of Spain. It recognised, however, that it would be impossible for Britain to take unilateral action, and therefore decided to ask for a special joint meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International to ascertain how far there was hope of securing common action.

In accordance with this decision, British representatives attended a joint meeting of the Bureau of the Labour and Socialist International and the Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions in Paris on October 26. Two days later the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party, the Executive of the Parliamentary Labour Party, and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress met in London, and, having considered the report of their delegates, passed a resolution declaring that the right of the constitutionally elected Government of Spain to secure the means necessary to uphold its authority must be re-established, and calling on the British Government to take steps for restoring to democratic Spain full commercial rights, including the right of purchasing munitions.

On October 20 the Foreign Secretary sent telegrams to the British Embassy at Madrid and the British Ambassador at Hendaye, asking them, on purely humanitarian grounds, to suggest to the authorities on both sides to come to an agreement for the exchange of hostages, particularly women, and offering the services of the British Navy in any cases where transport might be required. The suggestion was coldly received by the Spanish Government, which denied that it had any hostages, nor did it make any better impression on the Labour Party in England, which saw in it only an attempt on the part of the Government to cover up treachery with hypocrisy.

When Parliament met on October 29 to wind up the session, Mr. Eden made a long speech explaining and defending the Government's non-intervention policy. He began by paying a tribute to the relief work which had been performed in Spain by the Royal Navy and the British Consular officers—work which **had** won the warm appreciation of a number of Governments. He went on to describe as a pure fabrication a rumour which had

obtained some currency, that France had taken her initiative on behalf of non-intervention under strong British pressure. The truth was that France, like Britain, had realised the supreme necessity of preventing the state of affairs in Spain from spreading to other nations, and that the policy of non-intervention was the one most likely to preserve peace in Europe. Nor was it by any means certain, as critics of the Government asserted, that if both sides were permitted to purchase arms, the result would be advantageous to the Spanish Government. Mr. Eden went on to refute charges brought against the Committee of not doing its best to prevent intervention ; and he maintained that in any case the agreement was still workable. He informed the House that this was the view of the French Government also, and in fact of the Committee as a whole. There was no alternative policy except to allow the free export of arms to either side ; and in that way lay confusion, international recrimination, and perhaps war. Therefore the Government would adhere to their policy.

Mr. Greenwood, who followed, explained the reasons which had led the Labour Party to abandon its support of the policy of non-intervention. The party, he said, had ever agreed with that policy, and still believed that if the right to purchase arms had been accorded to the Spanish Government from the first, the situation would not be so grave as it had become. They said, however, that if such a policy were nevertheless adopted, it must be made effective to have any value. Non-intervention had not in fact meant keeping the ring nor the application of the British principle of fair play. Further, a rebel victory in Spain might well lead to a similar situation arising in other countries. 'In these circumstances, was it not best for Great Britain to recover its self-respect and follow a policy for the fulfilment of international law ? The Opposition were as gravely concerned for the peace of Europe as were any other members of the House, but they were also concerned with the fate of a democratic people.

Sir A. Sinclair, on behalf of the Liberal Party, said that the policy of non-intervention had so far not fulfilled their expectations, but they did not think that it should therefore be abandoned. Mr. Baldwin, in closing the debate, maintained that even if there had been breaches of the agreement they had not been of such importance as to warrant its being swept away. He declared himself as well satisfied with the temper in which the debate had been conducted, but expressed regret that the Opposition were threatening to pursue a course which would render it impossible for Great Britain to present a united front and speak with one voice on this question. The Government, he said in conclusion, would adhere to their present policy as the best way to keep the country out of war and to make their influence as strong as possible for peace.

On October 13 the death took place of Sir G. Collins, the

Secretary of State for Scotland [see under Obituaries]. A number of changes were in consequence made in the Government on October 29. Mr. Walter Elliot took the place of Sir G. Collins, and was succeeded as Minister of Agriculture by Mr. W. S. Morrison, the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, whose place was taken by Lieutenant-Colonel J. Colville. At the same time Mr. Hore-Belisha, the Minister of Transport, who like the late Sir G. Collins was a National Liberal, was given a seat in the Cabinet.

Shortly before the end of the session statements appeared in the Press that for some time past there had been differences of opinion between the Air Ministry and Lord Nuffield, the proprietor of one of the largest aero-engine works in the country, as a result of which the latter had withdrawn from the scheme adopted earlier in the year for creating a "shadow" industry capable of producing additional aero-engines in time of war. The precise point at issue was whether the whole of the engines should be made in one factory, or whether separate parts should be made in different works and then assembled. Lord Nuffield insisted that the former course was the only sound one; the Air Ministry, acting—not with too misgivings—on the advice of its experts, decided for the latter. The news that a factory so well equipped as Lord Nuffield's was not being turned to account for national purposes came as an unpleasant surprise to the public; and its apprehensions were heightened by a statement made to the Press by Lord Nuffield on October 22, which conveyed the impression that the work of supplying munitions was not being managed as efficiently as it should be—an impression which was by no means removed by a White Paper on the production of aero-engines issued by the Government on October 28. When Parliament met on the next day, Lord Snell raised the question in the House of Lords. Lord Swinton, the Minister for Air, assured the House that the Government would certainly find means of utilising the services of Lord Nuffield, and promised that an opportunity would be given early in the next session for discussing the whole question of the supply of munitions.

Parliament was prorogued on October 30. The King's Speech stated that the negotiations for a meeting between the five Locarno Powers were still continuing, though naturally it made no mention of the fact that, in consequence of events on the Continent, the prospects of its taking place were becoming ever less hopeful. There had, it said, been a further marked increase in trade and employment during the year; unemployment was still diminishing and employment had reached the highest level ever recorded. Good progress had been made with the clearance and replacement of slums, the surveys of overcrowding required under the Housing Acts of 1935 had been completed, and the work of providing new accommodation had been begun, while the high rate of house production in general had been well maintained.

On October 31 the report was issued of the Royal Commission which had been appointed some months before to examine the question of the private manufacture of and trading in arms. The Committee came unanimously to the conclusion that the abolition of the private industry in the United Kingdom and the substitution for it of a system of State monopoly might be practicable, but it was undesirable, the principal reason being that the necessities of Imperial defence could not be effectively met in existing conditions except by the maintenance in peace time of a system of collaboration between the Government and the private industry of the country in the supply of arms and munitions. A great deal of the report was taken up with a defence of private industry against some of the worst charges levelled at it. While admitting, for instance, that the part played by armaments in the recent history of war was beyond dispute, the Commission found it difficult to believe that the method of manufacture could have had any large influence on the result, at any rate as far as the leading Powers were concerned. Also while condemning the frivolous and cynical language which some heads of armament firms had used at shareholders' meetings, the Commission were not persuaded on the evidence given before them that British armament firms had been active in fomenting war scares or in persuading the country to adopt war-like policies and increase its armaments. Nor did the Commission hold that the removal of the profit motive from private industry was either necessary or desirable. It was, however, of opinion that the profits from the armament industry should be severely restricted.

For this and for other reasons it recommended that the Government should assume complete responsibility for the arms industry in the United Kingdom, and should organise and regulate the necessary collaboration between the Government and private industry; that this responsibility should be exercised through a controlling body, presided over by a Minister responsible to Parliament, having executive powers in peace time and war time over all matters relating to the supply and manufacture of arms and munitions, costings, and the authorisation of orders from abroad. Measures should be taken to restrict the profits of armaments firms in peace time to a reasonable scale of remuneration, designed not only to prevent excessive profits but to satisfy the public that they did so. For restricting profits in war time, the conscription of industry was declared to be the remedy.

With regard to the trade in arms, the Commission recommended that the administration of the system of licensing exports should be governed by an outlook different from and more positive in character than that at present prevailing. Licences should be granted only to such firms as had been authorised to accept orders by a special controlling body, and should be restricted to orders by foreign Governments. The practice of issuing

general licences should be discontinued, and in particular a rigid **control should be** exercised over all exports of aircraft, whether **classified** as military or civil. There should also be a complete cessation of the private export trade in surplus and second-hand **arms** and munitions of war.

On November 4 the Lord Mayor of London issued a statement announcing that the success of his appeal for a national memorial **fund** in honour of King George V. was practically assured. Final arrangements had been made for acquiring a site opposite the Palace of Westminster on which to erect a statue of his late Majesty, at a cost for the site and memorial of not more than 125,000l. For the second form of the memorial—the provision **of** playing fields throughout the country—a sum of 200,000l. was already assured, which it was hoped would still be substantially augmented.

CHAPTER IV.

ABDICATION OF EDWARD VIII.

ON November 3 Parliament met for a new session. It was opened by the King in person, who now made before it the statutory declaration of the Protestant faith. The King's Speech stated that the policy of the Government continued to be based on membership of the League of Nations, and that they would co-operate with other Governments in examining proposals for improving the League. They would also persist in their efforts to bring about a meeting between the Locarno Powers, and in their determination to support the agreement for non-intervention in Spain. Re-armament was declared to be essential, at any rate till international relations improved. The general trade and industrial outlook was stated to be still favourable, with prospects of further improvement. The legislative programme announced for the session included measures for maintaining an adequate mercantile marine, for the unification of coal royalties under national control, for curbing the Fascist and Communist menace to public order, for bringing up to date the Factory Act of 1901, for assisting the live-stock industry, for transferring to the Ministry of Transport the chief trunk roads of the country, for readjusting Ministerial salaries, and for promoting physical culture among the younger generation. The Speech also contained the announcement that the King intended to visit India after his coronation.

On this occasion the motion for the Address was for the first **time** moved by a woman—Miss Horsburgh, member for Dundee. In **the** debate which followed, Mr. Attlee sought to belittle the prosperity which, according to the Government, the country was supposed to be enjoying. Mr. Baldwin in reply pointed to the

steady increase of imports and exports which had taken place under the National Government, the expansion of industrial production, the improvement in retail trade, and the increase in the number of insured workers. He admitted, however, that their prosperity rested entirely on the somewhat narrow basis of the home trade, and that it could not reach its full measure until there was a really substantial improvement in their overseas trade, which could come only when the international situation would allow it.

The chief feature of the debate on the Address was a speech on November 5 by the Foreign Secretary, defining anew British foreign policy in the existing situation. The first object of the Government was to strengthen the authority of the League of Nations, and for that purpose they had at Geneva proposed amendments of Articles XI. and XIX. of the Covenant. Parallel with that endeavour were the efforts to secure a meeting of the Five Power Conference. The exchanges of Notes up to date with the other Powers had, he said, revealed certain important divergences of opinion, but these, though formidable, were not necessarily insuperable. Meanwhile their relations with France were both close and cordial—indeed, it would be difficult to recall a time when they were better. There was, however, nothing exclusive in that friendship, and both had made it clear that they were not only willing but desirous to secure the co-operation of others. Britain reciprocated the desire which had been repeatedly expressed in Germany for close Anglo-German friendship, but on two conditions—that such friendship could not be exclusive, and that it could not be directed against anyone else. Nor could Britain for a moment admit the charge, which was now being brought against her in Germany, that she was responsible for that country's economic difficulties. On the contrary, Britain had made many efforts to co-operate with Germany in the economic and financial spheres since the war, and would be only too glad if Germany saw fit now to take her part in the programme of the recent Three Power Currency Declaration. Similarly they had no desire to injure Italian interests in the Mediterranean, and were anxious that the friendly relations which had existed in the past should continue in the future.

Mr. Eden summed up his review with the statement that in his belief the future peace of Europe very largely depended on the part that would be played by Great Britain. A German newspaper had interpreted the King's Speech as indicating a resolve on Great Britain's part once more to take the lead ; and that was precisely their intention. A European settlement firmly and securely based was a vital British interest; but to obtain it they must possess strength both of purpose and of arms.

Mr. Eden's speech made an excellent impression on all sections of the House of Commons and on the public outside. The

Government was strongly urged by subsequent speakers, notably Mr. Dalton and Mr. Winston Churchill, to go on boldly in the path which it had marked out for itself. But the Opposition could not help remembering—and saying—that they had heard such speeches from the Government on previous occasions, and before giving their full approval they resolved to wait and see whether the actions of the Government would be in harmony with its words.

The Labour amendment to the motion for the Address, which was moved by Mr. Greenwood on November 6, did little more than advocate the creation of the Socialist Commonwealth, and the only part of it which was taken seriously by the Government was a statement that the physical condition of the nation was deteriorating—an assertion which was stoutly denied by the Minister of Health. The Liberal amendment, which was moved by Mr. K. Griffith on November 10, was more business-like, expressing regret that no legislation was foreshadowed in the King's Speech to implement the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the manufacture of and trade in arms. Sir Thomas Inskip in reply pointed out that there was a great deal of obscurity in the central recommendation of the Commission, that the Government should assume complete responsibility for the arms manufacturing capacity of the nation. There were various ways in which this could be done, and the Government therefore required time to consider this, as also other suggestions of the Commission. The amendment was ultimately negatived by 337 votes to 131.

The discussion had ranged over the whole field of the Government's re-armament policy, and Sir T. Inskip devoted the greater part of his speech to his usual theme—the progress which had been made and was being made in the work of re-armament. He maintained that the Government programme of defence was adequate, and that it was actually being carried out. The only weak spot in their preparations was the shortage of recruits for the Army ; this, he thought, must be due to some special conditions of Army service, as the supply of recruits for the Navy, and still more for the Air Force, was ample. He therefore could still see no ground for the creation of a special Ministry of Supply or Munitions, with the inevitable dislocation of industry which it would involve; as it was, Government demands were undoubtedly interfering with those of civil industry.

The defence of the Minister did not carry conviction to the House, and his assertions were called into question by speakers from all parts of the House. The weightiest and most comprehensive attack on the Government was made by Mr. Churchill, who once again assumed the role of alarmist and urged the House to shake off its complacency. Taking it for granted that Germany was the potential enemy, he asserted that that country had

a marked superiority over Britain in first-line bombing aeroplanes, and that its lead was likely to increase rather than diminish unless England made greater efforts. They had been promised a total of 71 new squadrons, making a total of 124 squadrons in the home defence by March, 1937, but they still had only 80. They would therefore have to add two new squadrons a week for the rest of the financial year, though the present rate was under one a week. He declared that in view of this and similar facts which he cited the House should demand a Parliamentary inquiry in order to find out the truth for itself; otherwise it "would have committed an act of abdication of duty without parallel in its history."

Mr. Baldwin in reply to Mr. Churchill's strictures went over the same ground as Sir T. Inskip, corroborating his statements and coming to the conclusion that the defence programmes were launched, well launched, and making on the whole good progress. He admitted that they had been late in starting, and for this he gave a remarkable and characteristic excuse. In the years 1933 and 1934, he said, when he and his friends began to grow very uneasy over what was happening in Europe, there was probably a stronger pacifist feeling running through the country than at any time since the war, as indicated by the result of the election at Fulham in the autumn of 1933. As Leader of the Conservative Party he asked himself what chance there was in the next year or two of that feeling being so changed that the country would give a mandate for re-armament, and he came to the conclusion that if he had gone to the country and said that Germany was re-arming and therefore they must re-arm, he would have lost the election. By waiting till the proper moment they got from the country a mandate, with a large majority, for doing a thing that twelve months before no one would have believed possible. It was in the nature of democracies to be a couple of years behind dictatorships in preparing for war, but when they did commence they could act with at least equal vigour. Accustomed as the country was to Mr. Baldwin's "thinking aloud," it received this frank disclosure with not a little raising of eyebrows.

Mr. Baldwin explained in detail the Government's reasons for not appointing a Minister of Supply. The real competition for supplies, he said, was not between the three Services, as had been suggested, but between the Services on the one hand and private industry on the other. A Ministry of Supply or of Munitions was needed chiefly to see that the demands of the Services obtained priority. But obviously, for financial and economic reasons, the supply of private industry should not be hampered unless a state of emergency existed; and in the opinion of the Government such a state of emergency did not yet exist. Mr. Churchill's estimate of Germany's air strength, declared Mr. Baldwin, was certainly too high; but if at any time he and

his colleagues should feel that sterner steps were necessary to complete the programme they had in view, they would not hesitate to ask for all the powers they needed.

In making—for the eighth time in his career—the chief Ministerial speech at the Lord Mayor's Guildhall banquet on November 9, Mr. Baldwin, after surveying the international situation, was moved to exclaim at the inconceivable folly of the whole of Europe in arming while they were still finding and burying the bodies of men who fell in the war. What good, he asked, could come of it? He made no exception of himself, since he too was prepared to devote the whole of the country's efforts, whatever it might cost in men and money, to do what was necessary for their defences. But he was conscious all the time of the folly of all of them. The Government, he concluded, were ready and anxious to embrace any opportunity to stop the growth of arms.

On November 18, 19, and 20, the House of Lords, on a motion of Lord Strabolgi, discussed fully the re-armament programme of the Government and the policy on which it was based. On the need for strengthening the country's defences no two opinions were expressed among the speakers, but there were some who were not satisfied that the pace was rapid enough. Lord Swinton was able to point out that in the air at any rate expansion was proceeding with great rapidity. Thus in 1932 the Air Force had accepted only 347 pilots for the regular service, whereas in 1935 they had accepted and put into training 1300, and this year they had set themselves the task of accepting 1512, of whom they had already obtained 1462. The weak spot in the programme, to which more than one speaker called attention, was the shortage of recruits for the regular Army. Earl Stanhope stated that although 35,300 recruits were required in 1936-37, at the present rate the War Office expected to get no more than 21,500. He felt bound to admit that under present conditions of service the voluntary system of enlistment was in great danger. The country, he thought, had not realised that voluntary service was a luxury, and therefore bound to be expensive. To get young men to join the Army they had either to make the Service much more attractive than it was at present, or to make service in the Forces a stepping-stone to good and permanent positions in civil life—a task in which the trade unions could assist materially.

The question of policy was dealt with by Lord Halifax in closing the debate. There was, he said, and there always would be a firm determination on the part of Great Britain not to be dragged automatically into participation in any war where the vital interests of the country were not involved. The Covenant of the League contained no automatic military sanctions. So long as their signature to the League stood he hoped they should continue to honour the obligations which it entailed. It was

exactly the desire to be loyal to the League that led the Foreign Secretary to make proposals at Geneva for improving the working of the Covenant. The Government, he said, were not by any means blind to the dangers of the world, especially those arising from the clash of conflicting ideologies in Europe. They did not, however, believe that any country was prepared to take the responsibility of letting loose a war that might spread through Europe and beyond. At the same time they could not close their eyes to possible dangers, from whatever quarter they might arise. So far as Britain was concerned they meant what they said when they declared that they wished to be friends with all nations, and they believed that other nations sincerely desired to establish friendly relations with themselves.

In spite of the declarations of Ministers in both Houses and elsewhere, there was still a widespread demand in the country for a clearer statement of the purposes for which Britain was re-arming. Mr. Eden went some way to meeting this in a speech at Leamington on November 20. Their arms, he said, would never be used in a war of aggression, or for a purpose inconsistent with the Covenant of the League or the Pact of Paris. They might, and if the occasion arose, they would be used in their own defence and in defence of the territories of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and in defence of France and Belgium against unprovoked aggression, in accordance with existing treaty obligations. Also they might, and, if a new Western European settlement could be reached, they would be used in defence of Germany, were she the victim of unprovoked aggression by any of the other signatories of such a settlement. In addition, their armaments might be used in bringing help to a victim of aggression in any case where, in their judgment, it would be proper under the provisions of the Covenant to do so.

A few days later (November 27) Mr. Eden clinched this statement with some remarks at a luncheon given to M. Van Zeeland, the Belgium Prime Minister, when on a visit to London. Declaring that clarity on Britain's part might be all-important, he affirmed once more that the independence and integrity of Belgium were a vital interest for the British nation, and that Belgium could count upon their help were she ever to be the victim of unprovoked aggression. He used those words deliberately, he said, because he was confident that they represented the will of the British people, and that to make this plain was a contribution to peace.

On November 5 a report was issued by the Committee which had been considering the question of the vulnerability of capital ships to air attack (*vide* p. 38). The Committee stated that it was plain to them that capital ships could not be constructed so as to be indestructible by bombing from the air. This, however, did not mean that the day of the capital ship was over;

on the contrary, to assume this, and to cease to build them, would lead to grave risk of disaster, since there was no evidence for affirming that aircraft could perform the role of capital ships by holding in check and if possible destroying enemy capital ships. The Committee stated further that the experiments already carried out by the Admiralty and the Air Ministry had furnished information which enabled the design of capital ships to be adapted in such a way as to offer far greater resistance to attack from the air, and that further experimentation was necessary.

On November 10 the text was issued of the Government's Public Order Bill for dealing with the various problems raised by the recent activities of Sir Oswald Mosley and his followers. The object of the Bill was described as being twofold : on the one hand, " to prohibit the wearing of uniforms in connexion with political objects and the maintenance by private persons of associations of military or similar character " ; on the other hand, to strengthen the provisions of the existing law for preserving order at public processions and meetings and in public places. For these purposes the Bill made it an offence to wear in any public place or at any public meeting a uniform signifying association with a political organisation or with the promotion of any political object; also to take part in organising, training or equipping any persons for the purpose of forming a private bodyguard or for using or displaying physical force in promoting any political object. For the better preservation of public order, powers were conferred on the police to change the route of processions in case of need, and on local authorities to declare certain districts closed to processions for definite periods. It was further made an offence for any person to carry an offensive weapon at any public meeting or procession, or in any public place or at any public meeting to use threatening, abusive or insulting words or behaviour with intent to provoke a breach of the peace. Finally, policemen were now authorised to demand the name and address of any persons acting in a disorderly manner at a public meeting.

As a means of combating the particular evil against which it was aimed, the Bill received general commendation, but many regretted that it had not confined itself within these limits. The Home Secretary lost no time in bringing it before the House of Commons (November 16), not, as he said, because it was a major issue, but because it dealt with a situation which might rapidly grow worse if it were not dealt with at once. The evil in question was virtually the importation into England of methods of controversy which were alien to British spirit and practice and inconsistent with the preservation of peace and order, and he therefore invited the whole House to co-operate with the Government in passing the Bill into law without delay.

The Bill passed its second reading without difficulty, but in the Committee stage a number of its provisions, especially those

conferring new powers on the police, were subjected to searching criticism, chiefly by Opposition speakers, who contended that they were unnecessary for the specific purposes of the measure, and feared that they might be used by a reactionary Government for the suppression of the legitimate exercise of civil rights. The Home Secretary met them to a certain extent, and though their scruples were not entirely removed, the Bill as finally passed might be regarded as one which had the assent of all parties. When it came before the House of Lords towards the end of the session, it was still further modified in the same sense.

On November 14 Mr. Malcolm Stewart, the Commissioner for the Special Areas of England and Wales, resigned his post on grounds of health, after a tenure of two years. A report published by him a few days before stated that the undertakings in which he had assisted included the creation of trading estates, land cultivation schemes, afforestation plans, measures of social improvement, assistance to hospitals, and housing, and that commitments in respect of the areas had now reached a total of 7,200,000l., of which up to the present Parliament had voted 5,000,000l. He was of opinion that most of the major measures possible under the Act had by now been inaugurated.

The report made it clear that the problem of the Special Areas had by no means been solved and was not yet even on the way to solution. Industry, said Mr. Stewart, was not seeking the Special Areas, and it would not do so unless new and perhaps highly unconventional methods were used to bring it there. With this end in view he made a number of recommendations based on his experience during his term of office. He was against compelling industries to locate themselves in the Special Areas, as such an interference with private enterprise might have untoward results, but he suggested that the Government might take steps to divert industry from London, the growth of which was from many points of view becoming a national danger. Further steps would then be necessary to overcome the aversion of industrialists for the Special Areas—based largely on fear of the conditions prevailing there—by offering special inducements in the way of relief from income tax and rates and so forth. Only by some such bold and unconventional methods could the Special Areas be set on their feet again.

Mr. Stewart made particular mention of the town of Jarrow, strongly criticising the Iron and Steel Federation for having opposed the erection of a new works there. Since the summer there had been some improvement in local conditions, but the inhabitants still felt that they were not receiving fair treatment, and in the middle of October some two hundred of them set out on a "march" to London in order to lay their case personally before the Prime Minister and Parliament. They were received everywhere on their route with marked demonstrations of

sympathy, and their arrival in London was made the signal for a big Labour demonstration, while their petition was duly presented in Parliament on November 4. Their request, however, to be received by the Prime Minister or to appear at the bar of the House of Commons was firmly refused by the Government.

Both Labour and Liberal members urged the Premier to reconsider his decision, but he would not yield, on the ground that the marchers could not add anything to the information already in possession of the House, and to allow their request would appear like an admission of the inadequacy of Parliamentary representation. Mr. Attlee thereupon asked and obtained leave to move the adjournment of the House in order to press the marchers' claim. Mr. Baldwin in defending his action said that since the war the question of marches had been a difficult one which had faced all Governments, and all in succession had taken the course which he was adopting on the present occasion, and he was unwilling to take the responsibility of breaking that precedent and leaving a position which might contain grave difficulties for whoever might succeed him. He pointed out that once the door was opened to this kind of pressure, there was no telling to what lengths it might be carried, and that by resisting he was acting in the best interests of all Governments, including Labour, that might succeed him.

In the discussion which followed, a number of Liberal and Labour speakers pleaded with the Prime Minister to make an exception in this instance, but without effect, and the motion for the adjournment was negatived by 237 votes to 119.

Having, however, established its principle, the Government permitted itself to unbend somewhat, and on the next day the Minister of Labour received a deputation of members of Parliament drawn from the Special Areas accompanied by some of the marchers. The latter were allowed to state their case, and a sympathetic reception lessened if it did not remove their sense of grievance.

The Government at first were inclined to pay no great attention to Mr. Stewart's report. Although it had been in their hands since July, the King's Speech contained only a perfunctory reference to the Special Areas, and when the petitions from Jarrow were presented to Parliament, Mr. Runciman had nothing to say but that that much-suffering town should wait for better times. In the opinion of the Government, the Special Areas were already receiving all the consideration which they could reasonably expect, and accordingly it did not feel called upon to do more for them than to ask Parliament to renew the Bill making special provision for them which was due to expire in March.

This display of complacency shocked not only the Opposition, but also a considerable section of the Ministerialists. Some forty of the younger Conservatives, led by Viscount Wolmer, threatened

to revolt unless the problem of the Special Areas were tackled more energetically. The Government thereupon changed its tone, and when the second reading of the Expiring Laws Continuance Act, in which the Special Areas Act was included, came before the House of Commons on November 17, Mr. Chamberlain, while refusing to withdraw the Act altogether, as the Labour Party had demanded, promised, before it should expire, to bring forward an amending Act which should embody such of Mr. Stewart's recommendations as the Government found acceptable. This had a mollifying effect on the malcontents, and though the debate was carried on throughout the night, and hard things continued to be said about the Government even from the Ministerialist benches, a split in the Conservative ranks was avoided for the time being.

In the Report stage of the Expiring Laws Continuance Act, on December 8, a Labour member moved that the Special Areas Act of 1934 should be removed from its operation, on the ground that it had proved a failure and brought only disappointment in its train. The Minister denied this, but he consented to accept an amendment moved by Lord Wolmer, limiting the continuance of the Special Areas Act to May 31, 1937, by which time he hoped to have ready a new Bill to take its place. Lord Percy tried to obtain from the Government an assurance that the new Bill would deal not only with the Special Areas but with all the matters that had been raised in the debate, but the Minister would not go so far as this.

On November 18 an attempt was made by a Labour member to give more immediate effect to one of Mr. Stewart's recommendations by means of a motion urging the Government to take steps at once to prevent further industrial concentration round London and in the South. Mr. Runciman in reply said that it was not always easy to persuade the great captains of industry and planners of commercial development to take the advice of the Government on subjects of this kind. As a matter of fact, he pointed out, the increase of the industrial population in the South recently was due much less to the opening of new factories there than to the growth of those already existing. The Government, he said, could not consent to any system which would result in the compulsion of business men to plant factories in places where it might not be possible for them to make ends meet. All they could do was to give them the necessary information and to provide them with the inducements which might possibly attract them into those areas. Still he was willing to accept the motion in the sense that it expressed the general hopes and aspirations of the House ; and on this understanding it was agreed to without dissent.

On November 17 the King left London, accompanied by the Minister of Labour and the Minister of Health, to make a two

days' tour of the Special Area of South Wales and see for himself the conditions that prevailed there. He was accorded a most loyal welcome by the mass of the population, to whom his words of sympathy and encouragement brought a new feeling of hope. The fact too that he invited Mr. Malcolm Stewart to travel with him and discuss the situation was taken as a sign of his personal interest in the matter and as an earnest that help would actually be forthcoming. On his return to London he sent a message to South Wales expressing his admiration for the spirit in which the people were facing the ordeal of prolonged unemployment, and for the efforts, both governmental and voluntary, which were being made to help them.

On November 19 the Minister of Transport moved the second reading of the Trunk Roads Bill, the object of which was to transfer from the County Councils to the Ministry of Transport, as highway authority, full responsibility for the maintenance and improvement of some 4,500 miles of the more important routes used largely by through traffic and commonly known as trunk roads. He pointed out that with modern developments in means of conveyance and the progressive growth in the volume and range of traffic, it had not been within the capacity of all highway authorities, even with the aid of liberal subventions from the Exchequer, to make these roads meet the demands placed ever more insistently upon them. The shortcomings arose not only because some authorities were poor while others were rich, or because varying degrees of foresight and enterprise were shown in different places and at different times, but also because the multiplicity of authorities controlling contiguous stretches of what might be really the same line of communication was in itself an obstacle in the way of uniformity. Discrepancies of practice were well-known causes of inconvenience, irritation, and even danger, and therefore the time had come to break with the custom long rooted in the past, by which the administration of the King's highways had always been a local function. However, while the Government would henceforth bear the full responsibility and expense for these roads, they intended to do most of the work required through the agency of the Councils whose skill and experience were already available.

The reform proposed by the Minister was generally regarded as being long overdue, and the chief complaint brought against the measure in the debate was that it did not go far enough, and that it ought to have included a far greater mileage of roads. Labour speakers also expressed suspicions that some strategic purpose underlay the Bill. In reply it was stated that, if quick results were desired, there must be a limit to the amount of road the Ministry should take under its care, and 4,500 miles would be enough for it to tackle at first. That the roads concerned had not been chosen as strategic roads was proved by the fact

that the network was worked out before the armaments programme came before the House.

On November 17 the Government received from the Administration set up by the Spanish insurgents at Burgos a communication stating that it was their intention to bombard Barcelona, and warning all foreign ships in that harbour to abandon it with all speed. The Government thereupon instructed the British Ambassador at Hendaye to request the Burgos authorities to guarantee to British shipping security in certain recommended anchorages at Barcelona, as had already been done at other ports in Spain. A somewhat evasive answer was sent from Burgos, and the Cabinet thereupon took the unusual step of meeting on a Sunday—November 22—to consider whether it would not be best to accord belligerent rights to both sides in the Spanish struggle. On the next day Mr. Eden stated in Parliament that it had been decided for the present not to accord such rights, and it followed therefore that the Navy would, if necessary, protect British merchant ships from interference by either side on the high seas, *i.e.*, outside the three-mile limit. At the same time, he said, it was not their intention to allow British ships to carry war material from any foreign port to any Spanish port, and they were therefore going at once to introduce a Bill to make the carrying of arms illegal.

In accordance with this decision, the text was issued on November 27 of a Merchant Shipping Bill which declared that no munition of war should be discharged by any British ship at any port or place in Spanish territory, including the Spanish zone of Morocco, or within the adjacent territorial waters, nor trans-shipped on the high seas into any vessel bound for such port or place. Any officer who had reason to believe that a ship was contravening or had contravened the law would have power to search it and order it into port. The measure was to continue in force until it should be abrogated by an Order in Council.

The Government had hoped that the Bill would be accepted by all parties in the House, as it seemed to them to follow logically on their decision not to accord belligerent rights to either side in Spain. The Opposition, however, took a different view. The Labour Party opposed the Bill on the ground that it would work out to the still further disadvantage of the Spanish Government; the Liberals, on the ground that it would not fulfil its purpose unless other Powers also took a similar step. However, the second reading was eventually passed (December 2) by 239 votes to 132, and the remaining stages were immediately rushed through both Houses. On the same day, at a meeting of the international Non-intervention Committee, Lord Plymouth stated that the British Government were not satisfied with the working of the non-intervention agreement, and suggested that other

Governments should consider the question of taking action similar to that of the British Government.

In the House of Lords on November 26, Lord Snell expressed the view of the Labour Party that the so-called policy of non-intervention was in reality prejudicial to the interests of the Government in Spain, which in their opinion was being shabbily treated by the Powers. On the other hand, Lord Rankeillour vigorously defended the attitude of those who sympathised with the Spanish insurgents—or "Nationalists," as he called them—on the ground that they were resisting an attempt instigated by Russia to turn the country into a Communist state. Lord Plymouth in reply stated that the Government did not share the view that the carrying out of the policy of non-intervention had operated against the Spanish Government and in favour of General Franco. They were, he said, endeavouring to do everything in their power to make that policy effective, and they proposed to continue it, because they believed that it had been successful not only in stopping war material and arms from going to Spain but also in preventing an enlargement of the conflict beyond the Spanish borders, in spite of the recent recognition of General Franco by Germany and Italy.

While the Government was seeking to grapple with the war danger by means of the Non-intervention Committee, there were many in the country who saw in the League of Nations a more efficacious instrument for this purpose. Expression was given to this point of view by a mass meeting organised by the League of Nations Union on December 3 at the Albert Hall "in defence of freedom and peace," which was attended by prominent representatives of nearly all parties; it was, in fact, notable as being the nearest approach which had yet been seen to the "united front" of progressive elements of which there had been much talk for some months past. The chair was taken by Sir W. Citrine, and the principal speaker was Mr. Winston Churchill, who painted in vivid colours the danger to freedom from Fascist aggression, and declared that the only way to prevent a general war was for the great nations, all as well armed as possible, to gather together under the Covenant of the League and in accordance with the principles of the League.

On November 20 the House of Commons, by 78 votes to 12, gave a second reading to a Bill, sponsored by private members of all parties, for facilitating divorce, a reform which had long been urged both by religious and legal authorities. The moving spirit behind the Bill was Mr. A. P. Herbert, the independent member for Oxford University, who had long carried on a campaign against the abuses of the existing law on divorce. The **Bill** added to the present grounds of divorce desertion for three years, cruelty and habitual drunkenness, and incurable insanity of five years' duration. It also provided that applications for divorce

should be heard in the first instance by selected magistrates in Courts with elaborate conciliation machinery, instead of going straight to the Assizes or the High Court.

On November 26 the Commission which had been inquiring into the milk trade issued its report. While recognising that the existing schemes had been of great value to milk producers and to agriculture as a whole, the Commission emphasised the need for central machinery for the development and control of a national milk policy. It therefore recommended that a permanent milk commission should be established, that the English Milk Marketing Board should be retained in much the same form as at present, with corresponding bodies in Scotland and Northern Ireland, that producers' prices and buying prices prescribed by the boards should be determined by the Commission, and that retail prices should cease to be regulated by the terms of the producers' contracts and should be left to be fixed by competition.

The treaty with Egypt which had been concluded earlier in the year (*vide* p. 76) was approved by the House of Commons on November 24 and by the House of Lords on the next day. Mr. Eden said that the treaty put an end to the somewhat anomalous position which had been created by the arrangement of 1922, and substituted for it "a voluntary partnership of confidence and goodwill." The treaty was very cordially welcomed by the Opposition parties, Mr. Dalton claiming that the way for it had been paved by Mr. Arthur Henderson when Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the Labour Government seven years before. The Conservative Party also, though they had opposed Mr. Henderson, now offered no objection, their conversion being ascribed by Labour speakers to the changed position in Abyssinia. The one dissentient voice was raised by Lord Lloyd, who, while approving certain features in the treaty, described others as representing a "stampede" from British rights and claims.

In the midst of their preoccupations with problems of the utmost gravity, both at home and abroad, the Cabinet at this juncture found themselves faced with the danger of a serious dispute with the King. For some months past, American papers of a certain type had been full of circumstantial accounts of His Majesty's undue familiarity with a Mrs. Simpson, an American married woman who ten years before had been divorced from her first husband and in October obtained a decree *nisi* against the second. The King's infatuation for Mrs. Simpson had by this time become a matter of common knowledge and common talk in England also, though the Press had hitherto been extremely reticent on the subject. In the middle of October, the Prime Minister took it upon himself to call His Majesty's attention to the gossip and scandal to which his association with Mrs. Simpson was giving rise, and to warn him of the serious consequences which might follow a decision on his part to marry her. The King in

reply declared that sooner than give up Mrs. Simpson he was **prepared** to abdicate. Events were soon to show that this was **no idle** threat.

In the middle of November the King sent for Mr. Baldwin and asked him whether a special Act of Parliament could be passed to enable him to contract a kind of morganatic marriage with Mrs. Simpson. The Premier laid the question before a meeting of Ministers on November 27, and in the course of the next few days consulted the Opposition leaders and also the Dominion representatives. He found opinion practically unanimous that such legislation as the King desired was out of the question ; and so he informed His Majesty on December 2.

Rumours at once arose that a serious dispute had broken out between the King and his Ministers, and that the latter were trying to force his hand. On the next day (December 3), when asked in Parliament whether any constitutional difficulty had arisen, Mr. Baldwin refused to make a statement, but on the day after he informed the House that the King required no consent from any other authority to make his marriage legal, and that the lady whom he married would *ipso facto* become queen with all the rights and privileges attaching to that position, and the only possible way in which this could be avoided would be by legislation dealing with a particular case. The Government, he added, were not prepared to introduce such legislation ; and the applause with which this statement was greeted showed that the House was behind him in this decision. One or two members—notably Mr. Wedgwood and Mr. Churchill—struck a dissentient note, but they found little sympathy in the House.

The King was now torn by a grievous conflict between duty and inclination. A certain section of the Press and the public, it is true, maintained that the King's marriage was his own private affair, and that the Government had no business to place obstacles in his way. But he could not be unaware that, for all the romantic appeal of his love affair, this was not the genuine voice of public opinion ; that, on the contrary, by marrying Mrs. Simpson he would not only throw the country into confusion, since he would with difficulty find any body of Ministers to work with him, but also strike a shrewd blow at the unity of the Empire, since the Dominion Governments were even more inflexibly opposed than the British to seeing Mrs. Simpson on the Throne of England. And indeed, in spite of some encouragement from his entourage, he seems never seriously to have entertained this idea. He was therefore left with two alternatives : either to renounce Mrs. Simpson, which was the course obviously dictated by his duty to the throne and the country, or to abdicate in order to render himself free to marry the lady of his choice. It was urgent that he should decide quickly, since preparations for the coronation, which were already being actively made, were meanwhile being held up, to the great detriment of business and employment.

The country now went through a period of strain and agitation similar in many ways to that of the great banking crisis in 1931. There was the same coming and going among Ministers and persons in high position, the same nervous tension among the public at large. The general expectation that a week-end would suffice for the King to come to a decision was disappointed ; and for several more days the public was kept in suspense while His Majesty had frequent consultations with the other members of the Royal family and with the Prime Minister. On December 8 the situation was temporarily eased by the publication of a message from Mrs. Simpson—who had meanwhile gone to Cannes—declaring that she was willing to part from the King, if he so desired ; but when the hours passed and the King failed to respond to this offer, the tension returned. The interval thus allowed for reflection was, however, not without its uses for the general public. At first, such was the popularity of the King that the idea of his abdicating had seemed almost intolerable to large masses of his subjects. Gradually, however, they came to see the situation in a truer light, and when his decision was finally cast for abdication, they were able to bear it with comparative equanimity.

On December 9 Mr. Baldwin informed the House of Commons, to its immense relief, that he would at length have a definite statement to make to them the next day, and on December 10 a document, signed by the King's own hand, was handed by him to the Speaker, who read to a crowded and expectant House the following historic message :—

After long and anxious consideration, I have determined to renounce the Throne to which I succeeded on the death of My father, and I am now communicating this, My final and irrevocable decision. Realising as I do the gravity of this step, I can only hope that I shall have the understanding of My peoples in the decision I have taken and the reasons which have led Me to take it. I will not enter now into My private feelings, but I would beg that it should be remembered that the burden which constantly rests upon the shoulders of a Sovereign is so heavy that it can only be borne in circumstances different from those in which I now find Myself. I conceive that I am not overlooking the duty that rests on Me to place in the forefront the public interest, when I declare that I am conscious that I can no longer discharge this heavy task with efficiency or with satisfaction to Myself.

I have accordingly this morning executed an Instrument of Abdication in the terms following :—

" I, Edward VIII., of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Emperor of India, do hereby declare My irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for Myself and for My descendants, and My desire that effect should be given to this Instrument of Abdication immediately.

" In token whereof I have hereunto set My hand this tenth day of December, nineteen hundred and thirty-six, in the presence of the witnesses whose signatures are subscribed.

" (Signed) EDWARD R.I."

My execution of this Instrument has been witnessed by My three brothers, Their Royal Highnesses the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester and the Duke of Kent.

I deeply appreciate the spirit which has actuated the appeals which have been made to Me to take a different decision, and I have, before reaching My final determination, most fully pondered over them. But My mind is made up. Moreover, further delay cannot but be most injurious to the peoples whom I have tried to serve as Prince of Wales and as King and whose future happiness and prosperity are the constant wish of My heart.

I take My leave of them in the confident hope that the course which I have thought it right to follow is that which is best for the stability of the Throne and Empire and the happiness of My peoples. I am deeply sensible of the consideration which they have always extended to Me both before and after My accession to the Throne and which I know they will extend in full measure to My successor.

I am most anxious that there should be no delay of any kind in giving effect to the Instrument which I have executed and that all necessary steps should be taken immediately to secure that My lawful successor, My brother, His Royal Highness the Duke of York, should ascend the Throne.

EDWARD R.I.

As soon as the Speaker had concluded his reading, Mr. Baldwin moved that the message should be considered, and in doing so took the opportunity to lift the veil partially from his discussions with the King on the matter. The story commenced, he said, in the middle of October, when, on returning to his ministerial work after his long period of recuperation in the summer, he found a mass of correspondence—largely from British subjects in America—calling attention to the statements which were being made in the American Press about the relations of the King with Mrs. Simpson. He knew also that Mrs. Simpson's divorce case was shortly to come off, and he therefore thought it his duty both as Prime Minister and as a close personal friend of the King to warn him, in an interview which he was granted on October 20, that the gossip and scandal to which he was giving occasion was undermining the respect entertained for the British Throne. At a subsequent interview on November 16, after Mrs. Simpson had obtained her decree *nisi*, he told the King that if he were to marry Mrs. Simpson, he would seriously offend public opinion and compromise the dignity and prestige of the Crown. It was then that the King told him that if necessary he was prepared to abdicate in order to marry Mrs. Simpson. It was at the next interview on November 25 that the question of a morganatic marriage was broached, with the results which were already known. Mr. Baldwin then related to the House the efforts which he had made to dissuade the King from his intention of abdicating, and had no difficulty in convincing it that where he had failed, no one else would have been likely to succeed.

In the debate which followed, regret for the King's abdication was expressed by the Leaders of the Labour and Liberal parties, while Mr. Churchill gracefully bowed to the inevitable. A different note was struck by speakers from the extreme Left, who

roundly denounced the tributes paid to the King as hypocrisy, and belittled the whole institution of monarchy. In this, however, they were certainly not representative even of the working class, which, besides having no aversion to monarchy as such, cherished a genuine regard for King Edward, as one who had on many occasions shown himself to take a real and warm-hearted interest in the welfare of the common man, whether soldier or civilian.

Being aware throughout the crisis that abdication was always a possibility, the Cabinet had taken the precaution to draft a Bill to give proper effect to such a step and to arrange for the succession to the Throne. The Prime Minister now laid this measure without delay before the House of Commons. It was in the following terms :—

WHEREAS His Majesty by His Royal Message of the tenth day of December in this present year has been pleased to declare that He is irrevocably determined to renounce the Throne for Himself and His descendants, and has for that purpose executed the Instrument of Abdication set out in the Schedule to this Act and has signified His desire that effect thereto should be given immediately :

And whereas, following upon the communication to His Majesty's said declaration and desire, the Dominion of Canada pursuant to the provisions of section four of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, has requested and consented to the enactment of this Act, and the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa have assented thereto:

Be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows :—

(1) Immediately upon the Royal Assent being signified to this Act the Instrument of Abdication executed by His present Majesty on the tenth day of December, nineteen hundred and thirty-six, set out in the Schedule to this Act, shall have effect, and thereupon His Majesty shall cease to be King and there shall be a demise of the Crown, and accordingly the member of the Royal Family then next in succession to the Throne shall succeed thereto and to all the rights, privileges, and dignities thereunto belonging.

(2) His Majesty, His issue, if any, and the descendants of that issue, shall not after His Majesty's abdication have any right, title, or interest in or to the succession to the Throne, and section one of the Act of Settlement shall be construed accordingly.

(3) The Royal Marriages Act, 1772, shall not apply to His Majesty after His abdication nor to the issue, if any, of His Majesty or the descendants of that issue.

The Act was to be cited as "His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication 1936."

The members of the extreme Left took the opportunity which this proposal afforded them of airing their republican views, and Mr. Maxton moved an amendment calling attention to the danger to Britain and the British Commonwealth inherent in an hereditary monarchy at a time when the peace and prosperity of the people required a more stable and efficient form of government of a republican kind, in closer contact with and more responsive to the will of the mass of the people. He described the monarchy

as the outstanding symbol, the very head and front of a class society, and something therefore to which his party was naturally opposed. He admitted that during three reigns constitutional monarchy had worked reasonably well, but he affirmed that its prestige had now received a shock from which it would not recover, and that therefore this was an opportunity which should not be missed of replacing it with a republican form of government. To this Sir John Simon replied that the shock which recent events had given the British people itself demonstrated how deeply the conception of constitutional kingship was embedded in their hearts ; and the House showed its concurrence in this sentiment by passing the Bill by 403 votes to 5.

One of the first acts of the new king was to create the ex-King Duke of Windsor. The latter on the night of his abdication broadcast a message from Windsor Castle in which, after declaring his allegiance to the new King, he said that he had found it impossible to carry the heavy burden of responsibility and to discharge his duties as he would wish without the help and support of the woman he loved. He declared that he had always been treated with full consideration by the Ministers, and in particular by Mr. Baldwin, and that there had never been any constitutional difference between himself and them or between himself and Parliament. Immediately afterwards he left for the Continent.

On the next day (December 12) the Accession Council, consisting of the Privy Council and other prominent personages, met at St. James's and gave orders for proclaiming as King the next heir to the Throne, Prince Albert Frederick Arthur George, with the title of George VI. His Majesty in reply declared his strict adherence to constitutional government, and his resolve to work before all for the welfare of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Later in the day the proclamation was duly made in London amid scenes of great enthusiasm. Two days later both Houses of Parliament met and, after receiving a message from the King in which he announced that he was "resolved to do his duty," adopted loyal Addresses, while speakers of nearly all parties took occasion to express heartfelt confidence in the new reign. The nation then returned to its composure after a week of tension which it had borne with exemplary self-control; and the change of regime was accepted without demur by the whole population save some members of the British Union of Fascists who, taking upon themselves to be *plus royalistes que le roi*, created a street disturbance on the night of the abdication.

The new King, who celebrated his forty-first birthday on December 14, had been trained in the Army. Though he had not taken so active a part in public life nor travelled so extensively as the ex-King, he was by no means without experience, having particularly interested himself in Boys' Clubs. He had the advantage over his brother of being happily married to a lady

of great charm and popularity, who had borne him two daughters, and he bade fair to restore to the Court the domestic character which it had possessed in the reign of George V., a prospect for which the more sober part of the nation, and particularly the clergy, were profoundly thankful.

The monarchical crisis being past, the Government was again able to devote the whole of its attention to the foreign situation, which was constantly growing worse. Breaches of the non-intervention agreement were becoming more and more flagrant, and the British and French Governments were at their wits' end to secure its better observance. On December 4 they addressed a request to the Governments of Germany, Portugal, Italy, and Russia that they would co-operate first in putting an end to foreign intervention and, when this had been accomplished, in mediating between the warring parties in Spain. They obtained only evasive replies, and foreign men and material continued to pour into Spain. The worst offender was Germany, and Mr. Eden, in a speech at Bradford on December 14, addressed to that country a strongly worded admonishment on her general behaviour in international affairs. He reminded her that observance of treaties and willingness to resort to free negotiation in case of disagreement constituted together the only true basis of international confidence, and declared that there must be a limit to the unilateral denunciations if they were not to reach a point where force alone would be the sole arbiter of international relations and no treaty would be worth the paper on which it was written. Britain had no desire to encircle Germany, but she could not disinterest herself from certain parts of the world in the comfortable idea that she could live secure in "a Western European glasshouse"; nothing short of a comprehensive settlement would give her the peace and confidence she desired. Lastly, with an oblique reference to Germany's demands for colonies, Mr. Eden said that it was never wholly convincing to be told by any nation, "We are poorer than we should be," when it was straining and twisting its national economy for the purposes of re-armament. With regard to Spain, Mr. Eden now for the first time took note of the reported designs of Italy and Germany on the territory of that country, and declared that Britain was deeply interested in maintaining the integrity of Spain and Spanish possessions.

In the debate on the adjournment of the House of Commons, on December 18, Mr. Eden declared once more that the faithful pursuit of the policy of non-intervention, although so far it had not at all fulfilled their expectations, was the wisest course both for Britain and for Europe, and indeed a duty which Europe **owed** to Spain at that time. Britain **and** Prance, he said, intended to persist in their efforts at mediation, perhaps using **slightly different methods of approach. Dangerous as was the**

international situation, he did not despair of the maintenance of peace, since both Britain and France had made it clear that their object was to secure a European settlement, and the relations between them were at present extremely cordial.

As German "volunteers" continued to flock into Spain, Mr. Eden, in the course of the next few days, following the example of the French Government, addressed some rather sharp remonstrances to the German authorities, and both Governments shortly afterwards asked the other Powers whether they would be willing to forbid their subjects joining as volunteers to Spain. Italy meanwhile showed signs of becoming somewhat cooler in her support of General Franco, and the British Government seized the opportunity which this afforded of making an effort to improve their relations with that country. On December 21 an announcement was made that the British Legation at Addis Ababa would be withdrawn and replaced by a Consulate-General. This act was greatly appreciated at Rome, though in England there were many who viewed it with suspicion as a first step to the recognition of the Italia conquest of Abyssinia. Negotiations were also carried on by the British Ambassador at Rome for establishing a *modus vivendi* between Great Britain and Italy in the Mediterranean, and it was known at the end of the year that these were on the eve of a successful conclusion. Thus at the close of the year the one disquieting feature in the international situation was the possibility that Germany might plunge more deeply into her Spanish adventure—a possibility, unfortunately, which could not be ignored and the gravity of which could hardly be overestimated.

At the end of November a new Trade Agreement was concluded with the Argentine Republic by which that country consented to the imposition of taxes of $\frac{3}{4}d.$ and $\frac{2}{3}d.$ per pound on her exports of chilled and frozen beef to Great Britain. On December 15 resolutions were laid before the House of Commons for the imposition of these and other duties on all imports of chilled and frozen meat and veal from foreign countries but not from the Dominions. It was stated that these resolutions were to be followed by a more comprehensive Bill dealing with the beef subsidy immediately after the Christmas recess. The resolutions were criticised by Labour speakers as penalising the poor consumer and by agriculturists as being inadequate for protecting the live-stock industry, but were ultimately passed by 213 votes to 123.

On December 9 a Unionist member brought forward a motion urging the Government to take steps to make the Army more attractive to recruits, and to ensure that the Regular forces offered opportunities for careers, both during service and afterwards, comparable with the opportunities in civil life. **The appeal** was supported by Opposition as well as Unionist **speakers**.

The Minister for War assured them that they were pushing an open door, and that all their suggestions, along with others that the War Office was receiving, would be very carefully considered.

On December 15 the House of Lords followed the example of the Commons in urging the Government to deal more boldly with the problem of the Special Areas. The Archbishop of Canterbury declared that he was tired of promises "which had the uniform character of a gramophone record," but naturally he could get nothing better. Meanwhile, private generosity stepped into the breach in a striking fashion. On December 21 it was announced that Lord Nuffield, the motor magnate, who had just astonished the country by presenting £2,000,000 to Oxford University for the promotion of medical research, had now placed a similar sum at the disposal of three trustees, well-known social workers, "for the initiation or support of measures likely to give employment to those living in the Special Areas, as well as of measures designed for the social betterment of those Areas." Lord Nuffield's munificence brought new hope to the distressed areas, and was acclaimed as an example both to the Government and to employers of labour.

Before separating for the Christmas recess, the House of Commons discussed the internal management of the British Broadcasting Company, which had recently been brought into somewhat unpleasant prominence in the Law Courts. In an action for libel brought against a third party by a high official of the Company, and in which he was awarded substantial damages, it transpired that he had been subjected to strong pressure from the Governors of the B.B.C. not to bring the action. This high-handed proceeding caused a public outcry, in response to which the Government instituted an inquiry into the affair. The investigating Committee found that the heads of the B.B.C. had acted without malice, but without due consideration for their official. Mr. Lees-Smith, a former Postmaster-General, now drew attention to the report in the House, and strongly animadverted on the "paternalism" which pervaded the B.B.C. administration, and which he declared to be the nearest approach in England to Nazi government. His complaints were echoed by other speakers, and the Postmaster-General in reply was constrained to admit that if the staff had been organised more on Civil Service lines the scandal might never have occurred. In the course of the debate compliments were again paid to the general management of the B.B.C., and no opposition was offered to the extension of its charter for ten years, as recommended by the Ullswater Commission.

On December 20 the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' Associations agreed to raise the wages of some 100,000 operatives by about 1s. 1½d. in the pound, thus averting a serious strike. Economically, the year had in general been one of progress.

By the end of November increases of full-time rates of pay in various industries had, it was calculated, amounted to over 21,000,0002. a year. Throughout 1936 the average number of insured persons in employment had been 519,000 more than in 1935, the increase having again been mainly in the South, which now had 53 per cent, of the total number of workers, compared with 47 per cent, thirteen years before. In preparation for Christmas, the Bank of England issued a record note circulation, and shopping was brisk. There were at the end of the year little more than 1,600,000 registered unemployed, the reduction during the year having been about 250,000. Record progress had again been made in housing, 339,538 houses having been built in the year ended September 30. The number of houses demolished under the Slum Clearance Act of 1930 was 45,148, compared with 30,890 in the previous year. Imports for the year amounted to 848,936,000l., an increase of 92,895,000l. (12.3 per cent.) over the previous year; exports of British goods to 440,719,000l., an increase of 14,885,0002. (35 per cent.), and re-exports to 60, an increase of 5,113,0002. (9.2 per cent.).

According to a return issued by the Ministry of Transport, in the 52 weeks ended December 26, 6,489 persons were killed and 225,689 injured through road accidents, being a decrease of 33 in the number of deaths and an increase of 6,891 in the number of injured as compared with the previous year. Commenting on these figures, appalling enough in themselves, the Minister of Transport managed to find in them some gleams of comfort. They showed, he said, that accidents were less severe, owing probably to the greater caution displayed by drivers and the existence of a speed limit in built-up areas. The increase in the number of accidents might also be assigned to the inclusion of minor injuries which were not previously recorded. Even so, the increase in injuries was a little over 3 per cent, while the increase in motor vehicles had been about 6 per cent., so that the ratio of injuries to motor vehicles had declined for the second year running. Casualties to pedestrians had declined, which seemed to show the service rendered by pedestrian crossings.

IMPERIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

IRELAND.

NORTHERN IRELAND.

THE year in Northern Ireland was one of peaceful progress in industry and improvement in the financial position of the State. It was the fifteenth year of the Premiership Lord Craigavon who continued to receive the support of practically the entire Unionist community in the six Counties.

The Nationalist opposition continued their agitation for the setting up of a Commission of Inquiry into thesectarian riots of 1935 and persisted in charging the Government with responsibility for them. The Government strongly repudiated these charges and refused to set up a Commission of Inquiry which they maintained was wholly unnecessary.

The Nationalists approached the British Prime Minister on the subject, but Mr. Baldwin told a deputation that the matter was one entirely for the Government of Northern Ireland.

Happily there was no recurrence of disorder during the annual July celebrations which were on a bigger scale than ever.

The Minister of Finance introduced his fifteenth Budget on May 14 and was not only able to balance it but announced that at the close of the financial year the surplus available for Imperial contribution would be larger than in recent years.

Several factors contributed to this result. The estimated revenue from income tax and surtax was expected to be 445,000l. greater, due to the increase in the tax, improving trade, and the higher yield from property in Northern Ireland consequent upon revaluation. The Education Levy upon local authorities also increased the surplus revenue and the savings due to reductions in de-rating grants. The Minister estimated the total revenue for the year at 13,250,000l. and expenditure at 12,824,000l., leaving a balance of 456,000l., which is increased to 550,000l. by retaining in the Exchequer a sum of 94,000l. interest of Capital Funds, which were being accumulated to pay off the old debt on the Unemployment Fund.

This, he explained, was not now required owing to the terms

of the new re-insurance agreement in regard to unemployment entered into between the Imperial Exchequer and the Exchequer of Northern Ireland.

In view of the heavy expenditure upon re-armament, the Northern Ireland Cabinet was gratified that it could increase the contribution for Imperial services to nearly half a million sterling.

The number of unemployed in Northern Ireland at the end of the year was 70,343 which was slightly less than at the end of 1935. The area had still a higher rate of unemployment in relation to the insured population than Great Britain. The rate was only exceeded by the distressed area of South Wales. This heavy rate of unemployment would have placed an undue strain upon the finances of Northern Ireland had it not been for the new re-insurance agreement with Great Britain. This was in the nature of a mutual insurance against an unemployment excess in either area. The agreement will keep the Unemployment Funds in Youth areas in a state of parity by means of additional Exchequer grants to the poorer funds. The net effect was that for the current year the contribution required from the Exchequer of the United Kingdom was estimated at 722,000l. as compared with an amount 275,000l. which would have been required under the old basis. The agreement also provided for the extension of unemployment benefit to agricultural workers in Northern Ireland as in Great Britain; an extension which it would have been virtually impossible to make had the re-insurance agreement not been in existence.

Towards the end of the year the new regulations for unemployment assistance came into operation. These regulations were the subject of lively controversy, particularly as they continued the "Family Means Test." Labour members of the Northern Ireland Parliament protested against the test and inquired why there should be a "Means Test" for unemployment assistance when none was required for Unemployment Insurance benefit.

The Minister of Labour (Mr. J. M. Andrews), in the House of Commons, pointed out that the Unemployment Insurance scheme, like the National Health Insurance scheme and Contributory Pensions scheme, were based on the principle of insurance. The Unemployment Assistance scheme was not based upon contributions, but was devised to assist those able-bodied unemployed within the industrial field who were outside the scope of Unemployment Insurance.

The three main industries of Northern Ireland, linen manufacturing, agriculture, and shipbuilding had a satisfactory year.

Shipbuilding did not advance during 1936 as the other two, and the new tonnage launched did not reach the high figure of 1935 when Messrs. Harland & Wolff secured the Blue Riband

for the highest tonnage output for the year of any firm not only in Great Britain but in the world. Nevertheless the outlook for the shipbuilding industry in 1937 was distinctly promising.

The other industries showed steady progress. This applied particularly to tobacco manufacturing, rope and twine-making, shirt and collar-making, engineering, and clothing manufacturing.

Republican activities in Northern Ireland continued to occupy the attention of the police authorities, and on July 22 thirteen men were given heavy sentences under the Treason Felony Act.

On December 4 a man named Daniel Turley, aged 50, was shot dead in a street in Belfast under mysterious circumstances. Up to the end of the year no arrest had been made,

THE IRISH FREE STATE.

Important political events marked the year in the Irish Free State, the most far-reaching being the changes made in the Constitution following the abdication of King Edward VIII. in December. These measures, which formed part of the new Constitution foreshadowed by Mr. de Valera earlier in the year, were passed at a special session of the Dail. The Government had planned to introduce the new Constitution at a much later date and to make it an issue at the next General Election, but the abdication made it necessary immediately to define the relations of the Free State to the Crown.

Mr. de Valera introduced two measures, one called the Constitution (Amendment) Bill and the other the Executive Authority (External Relations) Bill. The former removed the King from the Oireachtas (Parliament) and deprived the Governor-General of certain functions which he had previously discharged in the name of the King, such as the signing of Bills passed by the Legislature, the summoning and dissolving of Parliament, the appointment of judges and of members of the Military Tribunal. The Bill, however, retained the King for the purpose of external relations as heretofore—for the making of treaties and diplomatic and consular appointments.

The Executive Authority Bill gave legislative effect to the abdication of King Edward and his successor was designated thus—"the King for these purposes shall henceforth be the person who, if his said Majesty (Edward VIII.) had died on the 10th Day of December, 1936, unmarried, would for the time being be his successor under the law of Saorstát Éireann." The discussion of the two Bills occupied two days, namely Friday and Saturday, December 11 and 12. They were passed by large majorities, only the Labour members voting against them.

In the course of the debates Mr. de Valera emphasised that the purpose of the Bills was to remove from all internal affairs in the Free State any function of the King.

Mr. William Norton, Leader of the Labour Party, said no previous Government had formally "appointed" a British King to be King of Saorstát Éireann.

Mr. de Valera replied that it was necessary to regularise the position or to declare a republic for twenty-six Counties. The Fianna Fáil party, he said, had come into office with a certain policy and were pursuing that policy honestly. He was anxious to see a condition established in which the Irish people could be on friendly terms with the people of Great Britain. He had, he continued, to balance two things; first, the sentiment of a certain minority in the North which had caused them to adopt a certain position, and the sentiment of the majority in the rest of Ireland who wanted a different position. Was there any point at which they could reach something to satisfy both? There was, as far as he could see, no further internal function left for the King. The present legislation had made the King's external function dear and set out the conditions under which the successor to King Edward would exercise those functions.

Mr. Cosgrave and other members of the Opposition stressed the advantages which had been secured for the country from their association with the other members of the Commonwealth, and they expressed the fear that the steps now being taken and the manner in which these things were being done would jeopardise the Free State's position at the next Imperial Conference, and would embarrass the representatives of the other States of the Commonwealth. The Free State delegates in the past, it was pointed out, had been responsible for many of the principles upon which the Imperial Conference operated, and it was through the efforts of men like the late Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, Mr. P. McGilligan and Mr. J. A. Costello that steps were taken which ultimately brought about the Statute of Westminster.

The new legislation may be regarded as another step in the direction of Mr. de Valera's declared objective—an independent republic for the whole of Ireland in "external association" with the British Commonwealth of Nations, the King to be recognised as Head of the Associated States.

Under the altered Constitution Acts of the Oireachtas will in future be signed by the speaker of the Dáil. *Irish Official Gazette* (the official Gazette) of December 15 announced that the Bill which removed from the Governor-General (Mr. Donal Buckley) almost all his functions was signed by him, while the Executive Authority Bill was signed by Mr. Frank Fahy, Chairman (or Speaker) of the Dáil. In future, too, the Dáil will be dissolved and summoned by the Chairman of the Dáil on the advice of the Executive Council. The Governor-General will have no

function henceforth in connection with the appointment of the President or of Ministers. The accession of King George VI. was not proclaimed in the Free State.

On January 24 the Government removed the irritating tax on British coal and on February 17 the continuance of the Coal-Cattle Pact for a further year was announced. Once again during the negotiations preliminary to the renewal of the pact hopes were expressed that efforts would be made to terminate the deadlock between the two countries, but again there was disappointment and the position remained unchanged throughout the year.

On February 5 the Dail passed a vote of sympathy with King Edward VIII., his family, and the people of Great Britain on the death of King George V. Flags were flown at half-mast on Government buildings and at Leinster House, where Parliament sits, and a message of sympathy was sent to the Queen, to which a reply was received and published a few days later. The Free State was represented at the funeral of the King by Mr. Dulanty, High Commissioner for the Irish Free State in London, but the Government took no part in any of the events in connexion with the Accession of King Edward VIII., nor was the new King proclaimed in any part of the Free State.

There was no re-swearing of Deputies (the Oath of Allegiance having been abolished) and the Governor-General was not re-sworn.

On March 24 Vice-Admiral Henry Boyle Somerville (retired), a respected member of a well-known Irish family, was shot dead at his home, Castletownshend, Co. Cork, by an unknown man. The Government and the public were profoundly shocked. The false pretext given for this murder was that Vice-Admiral Somerville was encouraging recruitment for the Navy.

Little more than a month later, on April 26, a young man named John Egan was shot dead by unknown men near his home in Dungarvan, Co. Waterford, and evidence pointed to a connexion between the two occurrences. Public feeling was deeply stirred and the Government were urged to take the sternest measures against the organisation held to be responsible. A man was arrested in connexion with the death of Egan and was sentenced to imprisonment for life. On June 19 the Irish Republican Army was proclaimed an illegal organisation, and a parade which it had arranged for a few days later at Bodenstown, Co. Dublin, was prohibited by the Government.

The first indication of the Government's intention to declare the I.R.A. illegal was given by Mr. Gerald Boland, who was acting for Mr. Rutledge, Minister for Justice, when, on the estimate for the Department of Justice in the Dail on June 17, he warned everybody concerned that the Government would not stand for any "truckling with murder."

Arising out of the agitation in connexion with the treatment of prisoners under sentence by the Military Tribunal, a body **called** the Republican Prisoners' Commission was set up and had arranged to meet in the Mansion House, Dublin, to take evidence **for** the purpose of submitting it to the Government. The first sitting was to be held on July 11, but on the same day the Executive Council issued an order suppressing the Commission as an illegal association.

The principal event in domestic politics was the abolition of the Senate, which became effective on May 28. The Senate had held its final meeting on May 19 when a resolution was passed committing the casket presented to the Senate by the late Mrs. Alice Stopford Green, who had been a Senator, to the custody of the Royal Irish Academy. Many of the members had served in the House since 1922 and their valedictory speeches eulogised the services rendered to the State by the second Chamber.

Shortly after the disbandment of the Senate Mr. de Valera invited Mr. Cosgrave, Leader of the Opposition Party, to appoint representatives of his party on a Commission which it was proposed to set up to report on the best means of selecting an alternative body to the Senate, and the powers which should be given to such a body if the Government should decide upon such a scheme.

Mr. Cosgrave declined to co-operate pointing out that his party was satisfied with the second Chamber which had been abolished and for that reason considered the proposed Commission a waste of time. The Government proceeded with the Commission, which was composed of twenty-three members, with the Chief Justice, Mr. Hugh Kennedy, as Chairman.

The members included a number of Independent and Fianna Fail deputies, representatives of the Labour Party and the trades unions, legal experts from the two universities and a few ex-Senators. The Commission produced a majority and a minority report, and in November Mr. de Valera announced at a convention of the Fianna Fail Party that the Government had decided that there should be a second Chamber based on the recommendations contained in the minority report. This report favoured a House partly elected and partly nominated, the candidates to be placed on a panel selected from persons representative of various classes in the community, partly vocational and partly otherwise. Mr. de Valera made it clear that the new body would be mainly advisory and would not be given powers which would enable it to delay or destroy legislation sent to it by the Dail.

The personnel of the Dail lost three members by death during the year. It also lost Mr. Conor Maguire, the Attorney-General, on his appointment to be a High Court Judge.

Mr. Patrick Hogan, Minister for Agriculture in the Cosgrave

Government, was killed in a motor accident near his home in Co. Galway. The others who died were Sir Osmond Grattan Esmonde (Wexford) and Mr. James M. Burke (West Cork).

In each case the deputies were members of the United Ireland Party (Mr. Cosgraves' Party). By-elections were held in Galway and Wexford and in both cases the Fianna Fail candidates were successful. The new deputies were Mr. M. Niland (Galway) and Mr. D. Allen (Wexford). These Government successes came as a surprise, for they were gained shortly after a set-back for the Fianna Fail party in the Dublin Municipal Elections on July 2. Fianna Fail endeavoured to oust Alderman Alfred Byrne, an Independent member of the Dail, from the Lord Mayoralty, but Alderman Byrne was re-elected by a big majority.

On July 30 an agreement was announced in the Dail between the United Kingdom, Irish Free State, Canadian and Newfoundland Governments, by which the North Atlantic air route (between the Free State and Newfoundland) is to be kept exclusively in the hands of those countries, in association with the United States Government.

Several Ministerial changes took place during the year. Early in June ex-Senator Joseph Connolly, who held the portfolio of Minister for Lands, was appointed Chairman of the Commissioners of Public Works. Mr. Frank Aiken, Minister for Defence, was appointed to succeed him, at the same time retaining the Ministry for Defence, with Mr. Oscar Traynor as Parliamentary Secretary for the latter Department. In November, after the recess, further changes were announced. Mr. Aiken reverted to his original office of Minister for Defence, Mr. Gerald Boland, who was Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, being given the Ministry for Lands, and Mr. Traynor becoming Minister for Posts and Telegraphs. Mr. Sean O'Grady was made Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Defence, while retaining his post as Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Lands.

In September further trouble arose in the United Ireland Party in connexion with the League of Youth, or Blueshirt organisation, which was understood to be an integral part of the party. During the ensuing weeks other developments took place, and on October 15 the Standing Committee terminated the membership of the party of Mr. E. J. Cronin, former Director of the League. Mr. Cronin intimated his intention to carry on the work of the League as a separate organisation.

The Fianna Fail Party lost one of its Parliamentary supporters on June 28 when it was announced that Mr. T. Hales, Deputy for West Cork, had decided to leave the party but would continue to sit as an Independent Republican.

In spite of the economic "war" with Great Britain the financial and economic position of the Free State showed improvement during the year. Mr. MacEntee, Minister for Finance,

in his Budget statement in May, was able to report an increase in revenue. The Budget made little change in taxation and did not excite much criticism. The collection of rates in all the counties of the Free State showed improvement and higher prices ruled for agricultural produce. The newly-established factories continued to give increased employment, but the number of workless at the end of the year, while showing a slight decline, exceeded 98,000.

Emigration to Great Britain during the year was estimated at 17,000 to 20,000.

External trade expanded during the year, imports showing an increase of about 2,000,000l and exports of 2,500,000l. The figures for the year were : Exports, 22,523,365l ; imports, 39,915,652l. The adverse balance at 17,392,287l showed a reduction of 35,511l. Great Britain continued to be the Free State's best customer.

CHAPTER II.

CANADA.

THE year 1936 was an easier and more equable one for Canada than 1935.

The drastic changes in the political scene following the Conservative debacle at the General Election of the previous October and the arrival in one of the Prairie Provinces of a Government pledged to " Social Credit " had aroused Dominion-wide interest, but the critical symptoms of the economic depression, some of which had lingered longer in Canada than in other Dominions, had begun to disappear in the face of the Canadian people's own efforts as well as in the course of general recovery. The Liberal Government of Mr. Mackenzie King was able to embark fully on its work at the New Year in the assurance that most of the problems ahead had lost much of their immediate urgency.

The first session of the Eighteenth Parliament was opened at Ottawa by the new Governor-General, Lord Tweedsmuir, on February 6, the customary ceremonial being modified by Court Mourning for the late King George V., whose death had caused deep and genuine sorrow throughout the Dominion. In his Speech from the Throne, delivered, according to custom in both French and English, Lord Tweedsmuir referred to the loss which Canada, in common with all parts of the Empire, had sustained in the death of King George V. and extended sympathy to King Edward VIII., Queen Mary and all the members of the Royal Family.

Towards the new Kang there **already** existed, on the **part** of the people of **Canada**, a feeling of personal affection occasioned by His Majesty's visits as Prince of Wales. The seriousness of the international situation had contributed to the world's anxieties. His Ministers were confident that they expressed the conviction of the people in adhering to the aims of the League of Nations and in seeking, in unison with members of the League as well as with other nations, to support by all practical means the maintenance of peace and the establishment of a world order based on justice and equity. Unemployment continued to be Canada's most urgent national problem. While there was an increase in the number of persons employed, the number of those on relief showed no abatement. They would be asked, with the approval of the Government of the Provinces, to make provision for the establishment of a representative national commission which would co-operate with the Provinces and Municipalities to provide work for the unemployed, and supervision of relief. It would aim at effecting nation-wide co-operative effort towards increasing opportunities for gainful employment. Transfer of the camps for the care of single homeless men from the Department of National Defence to that of Labour was being effected, and every effort would be made to close the camps at as early a date as expanding employment permitted. Industries should recognise an obligation to co-operate in providing employment, and labour and consumers had a right to have their voice heard in the control of industrial policy. Where these ends could not be effected through voluntary co-operation, there were the strongest reasons for State intervention. With a view to safeguarding the interests of consumers a full inquiry would be instituted into representations which continued to be made respecting monopolistic control of the importation and distribution of anthracite coal. In order to determine their validity, reference had been made to the Supreme Court of a number of Measures enacted last Session

A Trade Agreement with the United States had been concluded, and the trade dispute with Japan was adjusted before the end of the year (1935). The United States Agreement would mark a great improvement in Canada's international economic relations, and the principles embodied would contribute to the reversal of the trend towards extreme economic nationalism, which had been undermining standards of living and embittering relations between countries all over the world. The policy of the Wheat Board in selling wheat at competitive prices was bringing satisfactory results. A Conference between the Dominion Government and the Governments of the Provinces had been held at Ottawa. Among matters arising therefrom, which would be submitted for their consideration, would be a proposal for amending the British North America Act, in order to provide for certain financial arrangements between the Provinces and the Dominion. A Committee was engaged in the consideration of a method for effecting constitutional amendments. It was proposed to restore to Parliament control over taxation and expenditure by ending all measures which had deprived Members of this control. Every effort would be made to substitute stability for uncertainty in the administration of Customs laws. The control of credit and the issue of currency, being public matters of direct concern to the citizen, it was intended to ask Parliament to make such changes in the ownership and control of the Bank of Canada as might be necessary to give the Government a predominant interest in the ownership as well as effective control of the Bank.

The speech also foreshadowed amendments to legislation respecting the National Railways which would afford a greater measure of Governmental authority; an inquiry into radio broadcasting; the reorganisation of Government services; the reduction from 21 to 16 in the number of Ministers, and the creation of Parliamentary Under-Secretaryships.

During the debate on the Speech from the Throne, the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) and the Leader of the Opposition

(Mr. R. B. Bennett) spoke of Canada's appreciation of the late **King's** appointment of **Lord Tweedsmuir** as **Governor-General** who could "look forward to five years of the most pleasant association with the Canadian people."

Prolonged discussion took place during the early part of the Session on the Canada-United States Trade Agreement which had come into operation on January 1. Mr. Bennett criticised the new agreement on the general ground that the price paid was too high. The Canadian door, he complained, was open for many United States commodities, whereas several important Canadian products were excluded, such an arrangement being "unfair and improvident". Mr. King maintained that, taking the large view, it was an arrangement of mutual advantage. In the negotiations neither country had tried to get the better of the other. The result was a pact which he felt confident would stimulate trade on a mutually beneficial basis. He reviewed its main features, and showed by statistics how Canadian exports Valued on the basis of 1929 prices at 325,000,000 dollars would be helped by freer access to the American market, while the concession of the intermediate tariff to the United States still left th(vCanadian industries with adequate protection. Scrupulous care had been taken to safeguard the terms of the Ottawa Agreements. It was true that owing to the restrictions on the treaty-making powers of President Roosevelt there was a time-limit of three years attached to the Agreement, but it could be extended indefinitely if both countries were agreeable, and he believed its scope would eventually be enlarged and the benefit of the concession to Canada of most-favoured-nation privileges would be increasingly felt as the United States negotiated more Trade Agreements. Concluding, he said the Agreement represented an effort to break the hard crust of economic nationalism which was oppressing the whole world, and would open the way to an enlargement of trade which would redound to the benefit of producers, consumers, and railways in Canada, increase purchasing power and help to lift the Dominion out of the slough of depression.

Conservative members emphasised the superiority of the Ottawa Agreements and the marked improvement in Canadian export trade which had resulted from them. Liberal members, without minimising the Empire benefits, repeatedly referred to the basis of the Empire Agreements in caustic terms. Mr. Thorson (Liberal Progressive, Selkirk) denounced the Ottawa Agreements as a supreme example of economic nationalism, while Mr. Glenn (Liberal, Marquette) called the arrangement a "savage bargain." Ultimately, sanction to the Canada-United States Agreement was secured by a majority of 136 votes.

Mr. Norman Rogers, Minister of Labour, announced in the **House** (February 26) that the relief camps, then containing about

20,000 single homeless men would, as then organised, be disbanded during the year. Arrangements had been made with the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific Railways for the absorption of 10,000 of these men on deferred maintenance work on their tracks during the summer. It was hoped that the remainder would find employment in schemes for land settlement, afforestation and other projects for which the co-operation of the Provinces was being sought, and it was intended to close all the relief camps by July 1. Meanwhile, from March 1 the allowance of 20 cents a day for the inmates of the camp was to be increased to 15 dollars a month.

On March 23, following the Rhineland episode, a debate took place on a motion urging fulfilment of Canada's obligation to the League of Nations. Mr. Mackenzie King quoted as a precedent the British Foreign Secretary's request that the Government should not be pressed for information in the course of negotiations. Replying to Mr. Woodsworth (Leader, Co-operative Commonwealth Federation) who had urged a statement of Canada's attitude, the Premier said: "The attitude of the Government is to do nothing itself and if possible to prevent anything occurring which will precipitate one additional factor into the all-important discussions which are now taking place in Europe. I believe that Canada's first duty to the League and to the British Empire, with respect to all the great issues that come up, is, if possible, to keep this country united. I believe that can be more effectively accomplished at this stage if we wait until we are a little more fully informed than we are at the moment, with respect to all the considerations of which we should have knowledge before attempting to pronounce too definitely upon the position which we are taking or shall take with regard to European affairs."

The problem of Provincial debts and finances to which reference had been made in the Speech from the Throne came to a head at the end of March when the Social Credit Ministry of Alberta, under Mr. W. Aberhart, sought help from the Federal Government in meeting a bond issue of 3,200,000 dollars maturing on April 1. Mr. Dunning, Federal Minister of Finance, with the approval of the Cabinet, insisted that as a condition precedent to any further help the Alberta Government must agree to conform to the Loan Council Scheme. After due deliberation Mr. Aberhart announced that he could not accept the Federal Government's conditions, and Alberta thus defaulted upon its financial obligations. Mr. Dunning, however, had made it clear that his imposition of stern conditions was not dictated by any desire to frustrate the experiment in Social Credit, and he laid down the same conditions to Mr. Patullo, Liberal Premier of British Columbia, when he made a similar request for help towards the end of April.

On April 26 the Government announced the sale of the Canadian Government Merchant Marine fleet, consisting of 11 vessels, the last of 63 originally commissioned. The vessels were acquired by British steamship companies operating in the Australian services, and in return for the scrap value of the ships the companies undertook to provide faster vessels on the Australasian services for a period of five years without subsidy and also to take over the staff ashore and afloat.

Mr. Dunning introduced his Budget on May 1. Canada's economic improvement, he said, had been "real and steady" and the general undertone had been one of "definite strength."

The Budget showed that revenues and ordinary expenditures were practically balanced, but the overall deficit for the past fiscal year was 162,000,000 dollars, the total revenues being 372,000,000 dollars and the expenditures for all purposes 534,000,000 dollars. The total revenues were over 10,000,000 dollars better than the previous year, but the total ordinary expenditures were 374,000,000 dollars, an increase of 14,000,000 dollars over last year, while the extraordinary expenditures, such as relief and Canadian National Railways' deficits, brought the total to 534,000,000 dollars.

Mr. Dunning said that there would be no change in the individual income tax, but announced increases in the Corporation Income Taxes and Sales Tax.

The Government, said Mr. Dunning, had decided to proceed with the Loan Council legislation with modifications. The proposed amendment would make it possible for a Province which had submitted a borrowing proposal to the Loan Council, and which had not obtained the Council's approval, to make such offerings on its own credit in the domestic market. The approval of the Loan Council was, however, mandatory for all external issues, and also for domestic issues in those cases where the outstanding debt of the Province was refunded under a Dominion guarantee.

While the trade in 24 leading countries had increased by 4.1 per cent., Canada's trade had increased by 11.3 per cent. The imports for the fiscal year were 562,803,000 dollars against 522,416,000 dollars for the previous year, while the domestic exports, excluding coin and bullion, were 765,615,000 dollars compared with 659,899,000 dollars. The surplus of exports, including re-exports, over imports was 216,000,000 dollars. In addition, gold exports amounted to 119,000,000 dollars, and there was an estimated favourable balance from the tourist trade of 110,000,000 dollars, bringing the total surplus to 445,000,000 dollars.

Attention was now being given, the Minister stated, to the trade relations with the United Kingdom, and he was happy to say that discussions would take place shortly between the

representatives of the two Governments. Detailing the steps taken to expand trade, such as the Canada-United States Agreement and the adjustment of difference with Japan, he said that it was proposed in the near future to open active negotiations with several countries for bilateral agreements and the removal of hindrances now hampering international trade. During the eleven months ended February, 1936, the British Empire purchased from Canada to the value of 362,170,000 dollars compared with 313,666,000 dollars in 1935. Imports from the British Empire were 163,429,000 dollars compared with 143,989,000 dollars. Exports to the United Kingdom increased 15.6 per cent., to Australia 35.1 per cent., to New Zealand 28.7 per cent., and to South Africa, 7.1 per cent., while exports to India were down to 17.2 per cent. Imports from the United Kingdom rose 5.4 per cent., from Australia 16 per cent., from British India 13.4 per cent., from New Zealand 21.7 per cent., and from South Africa 41.3 per cent.

Commenting on the concessions to Empire countries, the Minister said that the reduction of duties under the British preference included many of outstanding importance to United Kingdom producers and Canadian consumers "Where items show reductions both under the British preference and under the Intermediate Tariff, United Kingdom producers will in most instances be given a better trading position in Canadian markets." Mr. Dunning stated that close on 740 items, practically half the entire schedules, were now free under the British preference.

The Supreme Court of Canada delivered its judgment on June 17 on the validity under the British North America Act of eight major enactments of the late Conservative Government's "New Deal." It invalidated two important measures, reached a divided (3-3) verdict on three others, declared two valid, and one partly valid. The measures that it found *ultra vires* were the Natural Products Marketing Act and the Employment and Social Insurance Act. The Acts on which its vote was evenly divided were the Limitation of Hours of Work Act, the Minimum Wage Act, and the Weekly Day of Rest clause in the Industrial Undertakings Act. The Court found that the Farmers' Creditors Arrangement Act and the revision of that section of the Criminal Code designed to eliminate undesirable business practices, were valid. The appointment of a Dominion Trade and Industry Commission was ruled to be partly valid, but the Commission had, in any case, already been discontinued.

Foreign policy again came before Parliament in June arising from the Government's decision to follow Great Britain's lead in raising economic sanctions against Italy. Mr. Bennett said that while he regretted acquiescing in Italy's defiance of the League concerning Abyssinia, and still more that South Africa was being left to act alone, he was not prepared to oppose the

Government's action. After a review of the international situation Mr. Mackenzie King declared that it was clearly impossible for a country like Canada to make binding commitments to use economic force or military force, and concluded by stressing Canada's need to work earnestly towards the ideal of world peace through the League of Nations.

Objections to the proposed amendments to the British North America Act, providing closer co-operation between the Dominion and the Provinces, were discussed in the Senate during the session. The attitude of the Senate was that widening of power of the Provincial Legislatures in respect of taxation would enable them to erect the equivalent of tariffs between Provinces and would be a handicap to recovery. Against the Federal guarantee of Provincial debts, the Senate criticism was that a newly elected local administration might renounce it after it had been arranged, leaving the Dominion Government with sole responsibility. Further, if the collective credit of the Dominion were extended to a Province the Dominion had every right to impose condition proportionate to the liability assumed. As a result the taxation provision was defeated and the provision for debt guarantees by Loan Councils held in abeyance. Other Government measures challenged by the Senate were those for reconstructing the Canadian National Railway management and for reforming the administration of Port authorities under a National Harbours Board.

Parliament was prorogued by the Governor-General on June 23. The legislation of the session covered an extensive series of enactments, including approval of the U.S.A.-Canada Trade Agreement, ratification of the settlement of the trade dispute with Japan, reductions in the rate of duty on implements of agriculture and of basic industries, unemployment measures, including a more complete supervision of relief expenditure and the appointment of a National Employment Commission, re-establishment of Canadian fisheries for expanding the sale of fishery products, revision of the Bank Act of Canada to give the Government effective control of the Central Bank as well as a predominant interest in its ownership, the appointment of a new Board of Directors of the Canadian National Railways to give a greater measure of Governmental authority and responsibility to Parliament, the provision of a National Broadcasting Service under a corporation having complete control over all forms of broadcasting whether public or private, and a large number of amending Acts relating to Shipping, Dairy Industry, War Veterans, Judges, Dominion Franchise, Customs, and the Criminal Code.

The Royal Commission to inquire into the Textile Industry continued its investigations, and a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the importation and distribution of

anthracite coal. A Commission to inquire into the penitentiary system was also appointed.

Shortly after Prorogation Mr. Charles Dunning, Minister of Finance, Mr. J. G. Gardiner, Minister of Agriculture, and Mr. W. D. Euler, Minister of Trade and Commerce, left for England to discuss trade matters. They were preceded by experts who made preliminary investigations in London in connexion with the impending revision of the Ottawa Agreements and other commercial problems. Mr. Euler extended his tour to Germany, Poland, Holland, and Russia on a mission of international trade. Later in the year Mr. R. B. Bennett, Leader of the Opposition, visited Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, returning to Canada *via* England.

During July Sir Herbert Marler, Canadian Minister to Japan, and his successor Mr. Randolph Bruce conferred with the Prime Minister on the subject of Canada's relations with the Orient. Sir Herbert Marler (who succeeded Mr. W. D. Herridge during the year as Canadian Minister at Washington) expressed confidence in a continued opportunity of increased trade with Japan following the adjustment of the difference between Japan and the Dominion.

Three members of the Government, Mr. Ian Mackenzie, Minister of National Defence, Major C. G. Power, Minister of Pensions and National Health, and Mr. E. Lapointe, Minister of Justice, left Canada to attend the ceremony of the Unveiling of Canada's War Memorial at Vimy Ridge by King Edward VIII. on July 26. Five liners conveyed 6,000 Canadian ex-Service men and their relatives to Europe to attend this ceremony, at which the President of the French Republic, the British War Minister, and representatives of many Empire and ex-Service organisations were also present. The proceedings were broadcast and the scene was one of memorable brilliance. After the ceremony the Vimy Pilgrims visited London where they were received by the British Premier and were entertained at Buckingham Palace Garden Party, and later a number of the Pilgrims were the guests of the Government of France in a week's tour of the battle-fields and cities of France.

On July 31 President Roosevelt arrived at Quebec on a brief visit to Canada, and was cordially received by the Governor-General, the Prime Minister, the Premier of Quebec and other national representatives. Lord Tweedsmuir received the President, and in an address of welcome Mr. Mackenzie King referred to the visit as another symbol of international peace and goodwill—the non-fortified frontier between the two countries signified a "message of understanding and friendship between men and nations which the new world sent to the old." President Roosevelt, expressing thanks, also referred to the undefended boundary, and spoke of the bonds of sympathy existing between the peoples of the United States and the British Empire.

On the return to the United States of the President the Governor-General and Lady Tweedsmuir left for their first official tour of the West and were cordially received in the principal cities.

Considerable publicity was given to certain comments on Canada's air defences made publicly by Lord Elibank during his visit in August. The Minister of Defence, replying to Lord Elibank's remarks on Canada's vulnerability to air attack and the measures taken for air expansion in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, declared that he resented the idea of outside dictation on questions of Dominion policies ; Canada was no longer a Colony but was well equipped to arrive at her own conclusions respecting all Government matters. Speaking at Victoria some weeks later, the Defence Minister again referred to Canada's defences, acknowledging Canada's responsibilities as the maintenance of international security, the preservation of strict neutrality, law, and order within her own territorial waters in time of peace and the protection of her coasts and sea-borne traffic in time of war. "Canada," he said, was now "defence conscious," but the nature and extent of the programme necessary for defence were questions for the Government, upon the advice of its experts, and the question of new tax burdens one for Parliament and the people of Canada.

The development of civil air services received marked attention during the year, much interest being shown in plans to co-ordinate the trans-Canada airway with British aviation lines. Landing fields, aerodromes, radio beacons and other equipment were established, and the Government took active part in plans to launch a semi-public Airways Company to operate the main air-line service across the Dominion. Increases were also made in the equipment of the Royal Canadian Air Force, including a number of Shark bombing planes from England, the first heavy war machines bought by Canada since the war.

On September 12 the Canadian Premier, accompanied by Mr. Norman Rogers, Minister of Labour, and Dr. O. D. Skelton, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, left Canada direct for Geneva to attend the Assembly of the League of Nations where, on September 29, he fully outlined Canada's attitude to the international problems before the League. On leaving Geneva, Mr. Mackenzie King and his advisers paid a short visit to London to confer with the British Ministers, and arrived back in Canada on November 6.

As a result of the trade negotiations carried out by Mr. Euler in the summer, a Trade Agreement with Germany was announced by the Minister at Ottawa on October 22. The Minister had previously announced that as a result of his visit to Russia the embargoes placed by each country in 1931 against imports from the other were removed and further steps taken to accelerate the exchange of goods between the two nations.

Early in November the British West Indies were placed, by Order in Council, on a most-favoured-nation basis, thus bringing these Islands into line with Australia and other parts of the Empire in their trade with Canada.

The formation of the new Department of Transport, amalgamating the former Departments of Railways and Canals, Marine and Civil Aviation, was announced in November by Mr. C. D. Howe, the first Minister of Transport. The change was in pursuance of the Government's policy to reduce the number of Government Departments and to eliminate overlapping of national transportation services.

The British constitutional crisis, culminating in the abdication of Edward VIII. in December, was followed with close attention and keen anxiety throughout the Dominion.

Speaking at Ottawa on December 4 Mr. Mackenzie King said :
It is quite wrong to allege that in the existing situation any proceeding or course of action in Great Britain has been at the instance of or upon the insistence of the Dominions, and of Canada in particular, as distinguished from the United Kingdom. I can, of course, speak with knowledge only as 'as as Canada is concerned, but I believe that what I am saying will be found equally true of all the self-governing Dominions. There is, and has been, on the part of the Prime Minister and the Government of the United Kingdom full recognition of the fact that the several Dominions are vitally interested in all that pertains to the Crown. As a consequence there is, and has been, consultation between the several Governments. The initiative has necessarily been with the British Government. It has been taken, however, with due regard to the collective concern and responsibility of the several Governments of the British Commonwealth.

By Order in Council passed on December 10 the Dominion Cabinet approved the Governor-General's authorising the British Government to include Canada in the Act of acceptance of the King's abdication.

The proclamation of King George VI. at St. James's Palace was heard clearly by radio throughout Canada. The broadcast was followed by the reading of the proclamation in English by the Prime Minister, and then in French by Mr. Lapointe, Minister of Justice, from the Prime Minister's Office in Parliament Buildings, Ottawa. A gun salute from Parliament Hill synchronised with the salute from Hyde Park, and the National Anthem was played by the carillon from the Peace Tower. Messages of loyalty to the new sovereign were sent from the Governor-General, the Prime Minister, the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, and Cardinal Villeneuve (Archbishop of Quebec). December 14 was observed as a public holiday throughout Canada as the birthday of the reigning monarch.

Two Provincial General Elections were held during the year. In Manitoba on July 26 the election resulted in the return of the Liberal-Progressive Government under Mr. John Bracken with a reduced majority, the final returns being: Liberal-Progressives 24, Conservatives 15, Labour 7, Independent 3,

Social Credit group 5, Communist 1. Mr. Bracken's manifesto advocated a better deal for agriculture, greater help from the Dominion Government for the Province and Municipalities, adjustment of municipal debts, and aid for drought areas. The soundness of Manitoba's financial position and the high standing of the Province's credit were strong factors in Mr. Bracken's favour.

In Quebec a tempestuous contest held on August 17 resulted in the complete overthrow of the Liberals under Mr. Albert Godbout who, earlier in the year, had succeeded Mr. Taschereau in the leadership of a reorganised party. Ably led by Mr. Maurice Duplessis, the Union Nationale Party, with a predominantly Conservative following, gained 75 of the 90 seats. Economic depression, hydroelectric contracts, drastic fiscal reform, and the betterment of labour conditions were outstanding features in this election.

In Alberta, Social Credit continued to dominate public interest. All adults in the Province wishing to support the Government's scheme were asked to sign a registration form on August 15 for the payment of the Government's "Basic dividend" of 25 dollars a month, and a new medium of currency, known as "Prosperity Scrip," was introduced. A special Session of the Legislature met in August for further action along the lines of Social Credit principles and for combating a calamitous drought which had brought distressing conditions.

In British Columbia an outstanding event of the year was the Vancouver Golden Jubilee Celebration held during August, in which Sir Percy Vincent, Lord Mayor of London, accompanied by a number of Sheriffs and Civic officials of the City of London, participated.

CHAPTER III.

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

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

DR. MALAN'S Nationalist Party, which is composed of the racial extremists of the House, was early the cause of dissension when Parliament assembled in January.

On the last day of the month Dr. Malan moved that the House should express itself against any steps, including military or economic sanctions, which might tend towards extending the sphere of operations in the Italo-Abyssinian war, and should record its conviction that except in the case of its being attacked,

South Africa should strictly refrain from taking part in any war between two nations.

Thus by oblique argument did Dr. Malan make manifest the fundamental objection of his coterie to the principles of the League of Nations.

The reply of the Prime Minister was dignified and devastating. "The South African Government," said General Hertzog, "stands at the head of a State which has solemnly pledged itself to certain obligations by its membership, unless Parliament decides that South Africa should break away from the League." He explained that the Government was compelled to support a policy of peace which might involve sanctions, not only because adherence to the League was one of South Africa's best safeguards, but because the League's action in the Italo-Abyssinian dispute was "one of the greatest actions taken during the past fifty years to safeguard South African independence."

The Prime Minister proceeded to explain that Italy's excuses for attacking Abyssinia were a real danger to South Africa. Italy stated quite frankly that she needed land and would take it. "What," asked the Prime Minister, "would be the ultimate outcome if other countries adopted the same attitude?" South Africa had many tempting uninhabited spaces. Might not Italy's action be an encouragement to other nations to say "We have a surplus population, let us take land here"?

It was obvious when the Prime Minister moved that the House express full approval of the Government's action regarding sanctions that he had an overwhelming majority of approval. But the subsequent debate was interesting and illuminating.

Colonel Stallard, whose leadership of the ultra-Imperialists of his Dominion Party has frequently brought him into conflict with the Malanites, swung the pendulum to the other extreme. He argued that the Government should continue to support the League—which Dr. Malan had described as "only a rubber-stamp for Great Britain and France"—in the present crisis. But he then expressed the thought that the Empire should afterwards consider whether it was wise to retain membership of the League.

A debate offering such opportunities for the display of forensic eloquence would not have been complete without a speech by that warrior of debate, General Smuts. Dr. Malan had visualised a conflagration of the universe in which the Union might be consumed. "This war talk," said General Smuts, "is mostly bluff, and to some extent it has been successful bluff. We have had lots of bluff in the matter already—people who were going to leave the League if sanctions were applied. But as the League proved more effective they thought again and have not yet left the League. . . . It has been an immense game of bluff, and the only answer to bluff is to be strong and stand fast. That is the proper answer to this bluff and this war talk—for the League

calmly and quietly to do its duty and to carry on the task to which it is pledged."

Dr. Malan's motion was rejected by 98 votes to 14.

Rather more acrimonious, because it sprang from a purely domestic question, was the debate a few days later on the subject of chairmen of committee. Mr. C. R. Swart, a Nationalist, had moved that bilinguists only should be appointed to such positions. The racial issue had been raised on countless occasions, but never before at the expense of a particular individual member of the House, and this motion was generally regarded as having been aimed against Mr. P. V. Pocock. General Hertzog immediately voiced the astonishment of the House. He was utterly surprised, he said, that such a request should have been placed before it. One of the most penetrating of his arguments was the assertion that had this principle been applied in the past it would have debarred Afrikaans-speaking members from assuming the chairmanship of committee. He deprecated the intolerance of the motion, and asked how far it was inspired by the Broederbund—an alleged secret society aiming at an independent Afrikaans form of government—of which Dr. Malan, Mr. Swart, and other extreme Nationalists were said to be members.

Here the Speaker intervened, and asked the Prime Minister if that had anything to do with the debate.

General Hertzog supported his affirmative reply by proceeding to explain that the Broederbund had tried to compel members to vote according to its dictates: The Prime Minister was so strongly opposed to the policy of this extreme movement that he said he was prepared to move the appointment of a Select Committee to investigate the matter.

Eventually the motion was defeated by 79 votes to 18.

Dr. Malan's republican extremists and Colonel Stallard's Dominionists who had been in conflict over the Question of the right of appeal to the Privy Council, drew from General Smuts, as Minister of Justice, a week later, a reasoned summary of the Government's policy. The Nationalists argued that appeals to the Privy Council constituted a derogation of South African independence. The Dominion Party feared that the abolition of the right to appeal to the Privy Council would "cut another link with the Empire."

General Smuts's explanation of the position was made in reply to a Nationalist questioner who had asked whether the Government intended to introduce legislation to abolish the right of such appeals. The question, said the Minister, was not a constitutional one. The Government had always accepted the position which to-day was nowhere challenged, that it was one for South Africa alone to deal with. The question was therefore simply one affecting the administration of justice in South Africa, and the retention or abolition of the right of appeal to the Privy Council should be

considered solely on the consideration of the value to South Africa of the Privy Council as a final court of appeal. As the Privy Council was unversed in Roman-Dutch law, and there was the possibility of the infliction of hardship on poor persons by wealthy litigants using the right of appeal, the Government considered that the disadvantages of retention clearly outweighed the advantages. However, he continued, although the real issue was perfectly clear to anyone viewing it dispassionately, it was in fact being exploited from two sides as an alleged constitutional issue, and used as a means to divide people on sentimental lines. Until the bulk of the people came to view the matter in its correct perspective, the Government would not be a party to a fruitless constitutional wrangle over it.

AN eleventh-hour compromise on the Native Representation Bill (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935, p. 136) removed some of the grounds of objection and ensured for it a larger measure of support both inside and outside Parliament.

In the Bill as originally drafted the right of registering as voters—which they had had for over eighty years—was taken away from the natives of the Cape, although those who were already registered would retain their votes. Just before the joint meeting of both Houses of Parliament, on February 13, it was learned that a compromise suggested by certain Eastern Province members was being favourably regarded by the Prime Minister. This proposal was that the natives should retain their right to register as voters, but that they should be on a separate electoral roll. The Cape Province would then be divided into three electoral divisions, each of which would return one member—a European—to represent the natives in Parliament.

Many of the more influential natives favoured this compromise, and their decision was supported by moderate European opinion because it had already become apparent that the Malanites as well as most of the members from the Transvaal and Free State, and even some Cape United Party members, were strongly opposed to the retention to the native franchise in any form.

On the other hand, the Executive of the All-African Congress was lukewarm, being swayed by the opposition of Sir James Rose-Innes, who had expressed serious doubts about the value of the compromise.

The first reading of the Bill was taken on February 14, when the Prime Minister signified his assent to the amendment outlined above; but even then the fate of the measure remained doubtful, because the All-Africa Convention had in the meantime made up its mind to decline the proposed compromise. Mr. Pirow, Minister of Defence and Railways, attempted to clear the issue of prejudice and misunderstanding when he asserted at Bredasdorp a few days later that the coloured vote, as distinct from the native vote, would not be touched. The political future

of the coloured people, he said, would be the same as the political future of the whites.

Two days later the Prime Minister announced that the Natives Representation Bill would be withdrawn in order to introduce a new measure embodying the compromise proposals. This he introduced on February 19 at a joint sitting of both Houses. The first reading was taken on February 24, and the Prime Minister opened the debate on the following day when he replied to the widespread protests which the Bill had evoked. Allegations of injustice to the natives had even been voiced in the House of Commons.

General Hertzog said that the white people of South Africa were haunted by a double fear—fear of miscegenation and fear of black domination. The whites had avoided miscegenation, but if the natives had political equality, if they voted at the same polls and for the same candidates, it would lead to social equality and miscegenation. The Bill was a serious attempt to place the natives in a position where their grievances would be brought before both Houses of Parliament and where Europeans would be able to carry out to an extent never before possible their great duty of trusteeship over the natives of South Africa.

The Prime Minister went on to explain that although in the past the whites had felt it their duty to advance the interests of the natives, they had held back because they had felt that every forward step of the natives was another threat to white superiority. Consequently the whites had never been quite honest with the natives. They were never dishonest purposely, but they were compelled to be dishonest. If the Bill were passed white supremacy would be secured and the whites could encourage native development without fear. He preferred the Bill in its original form (in which the Cape natives franchise was abolished altogether), but he thought that the measure now before the House was the best possible in the circumstances. They were there, he said, not to deal with visions but with facts, and it was a joy to him to think that, after all these years of endeavour and anxiety for the white man, he was called upon to introduce this Bill, which had the almost unanimous approval of the House.

Dr. Malan, Leader of the Nationalist Party, promptly moved the rejection of the Bill and the substitution of the former measure. The present Bill would not only mean a continuance of the conflict between north and south, but would increase the gravity of the native problem.

Colonel Stallard, Leader of the Dominion Party, also opposed the Bill. He believed the representation of the natives would be very much better entrusted to the Grand Committee of the Senate.

Mr. Madeley, Leader of the microscopic Labour Party, moved the discharge of the Bill and the introduction of a new one

providing for a complete separation, socially, territorially, politically, and economically of natives and Europeans.

General Smuts made a valuable contribution to the debate. He laid great emphasis on the value of the Natives Representative Council, and said he regarded it as the most important proposal in the Bill. He had felt for years that the Union must provide a constitutional platform for native opinion. He did not think it was wise at this stage to give the Council full legislative powers, but if it turned out as they hoped they might go to the full length of the scheme in General Hertzog's Bill of 1926, in which was provided a Council with full legislative powers in native affairs. General Smuts believed that the Council system was the best means of settling the native problem. The native councils already established had been very valuable. The power of the chiefs was waning and the Councils had taken their place. The Representative Council in the Bill would be the "Crown Council" of them all. It might, he thought, become the model for other African states.

General Smuts confessed that he was never wedded to the Cape natives franchise, but he had always felt if it were taken away it must only be for the gravest reasons and a fair *quid pro quo* must be given. The franchise had been in grave danger. It had only been saved by the compromise Bill. General Smuts concluded by saying that "although the Bill is not an ideal measure, it contains all the elements of justice and fair play to everybody concerned."

The second reading was carried at the joint sitting of both Houses by 132 votes to 11. An important feature of the final day of the third reading on April 6 was a speech by Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, Minister of the Interior, a nephew of the famous upholder of Cape Liberal traditions, "Onze Jan," who declared that whatever might be the political consequences to himself he could not support the Bill. He said he would have opposed the second reading had he not been prevented by illness. He attacked the measure on ethical grounds, saying that there was no justice in taking away the right of franchise enjoyed without abuse for 80 years by the Cape natives. He believed that the present Bill might lay the foundations of a severe racial conflict in the future, and he argued that it was less liberal than either of the Bills introduced by General Hertzog in 1926 and 1929.

Half an hour after midnight on April 7 the joint session of both Houses passed the third reading of the Bill by 169 votes to 11. Amazing scenes of enthusiasm greeted the announcement of the Government's overwhelming majority. After the Prime Minister had been heartily cheered, Parliament adjourned until April 20.

The Native Land and Trust Bill, which aims at establishing a trust in which will be invested all Crown land reserved for

natives, the money provided by the Government to be used to purchase more land for allocation to the natives, was read a second time on April 4, as was also the measure creating an African Broadcasting Corporation on lines suggested by Sir John Reith after his recent tour of the Union. Both measures were read for the third time a month later.

On June 8 Mr. Pirow, Minister of Defence and Minister of Railways and Harbours, arrived in London. The object of his visit was to discuss with the British Government South Africa's defence and transport.

It was announced in November that His Majesty the King, on the recommendation of General the Hon. J. M. B. Hertzog, the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, had appointed the Hon. Patrick Duncan, C.M.G., K.C, to the Office of Governor-General of the Union of South Africa, in succession to the Right Hon. the Earl of Clarendon, G.C.M.G., whose extended period of office will expire next March. At the time of the announcement Mr. Duncan was a member of the Union Government as Minister of Mines.

SOUTH-WEST PROTECTORATE.

During the year South African opinion became considerably perturbed by reports of Nazi activities in the Protectorate, particularly of recruiting. In June the question was raised in the House of Assembly, when the Prime Minister was asked if the people alleged to have been recruited were British subjects. General Hertzog replied that he had no information on the point other than that there were a number of children of automatically naturalised British subjects among the recipients of notices calling them up for medical examination. The South African Government did not approve of the procedure in so far as Union nationals were affected. The Administration of South-West Africa had been asked to report to the Union Government. A few days later the German Consul at Windhoek, the capital of the Protectorate, informed the Administrator for South-West Africa, Dr. Conradie, that he was discontinuing the registration for military service in the German Army of those people having "dual nationality." Dr. Conradie pointed out that there was no such thing in South-West Africa as "dual nationality." He was of opinion that the German Consul was within his rights in registering Germans who were not naturalised, but that if he had been registering British subjects he had transgressed the law.

The report of the South-West Commission (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935, p. 137) was presented on June 12, a few days before the fourth session of the seventh Parliament of the Union came to an end. It found that the present form of Government of the Territory was a failure and should be abolished, and that

there is no legal obstacle to the government of the Mandated Territory as a province of the Union subject to the Mandate. The chief reason for the breakdown of the Legislative Assembly system was stated to be the "Nazification" of all Germans in the Territory. The report gave ten pages of a review of the evidence of Nazi activities, showing, with extracts from Nazi documents, that the Germans were united in a solid block, that "there has been continual interference from the Auslands organisation (in Germany) in the affairs of the Territory, and that, as a result, freedom of speech, of political association, and even of personal conduct has ceased to exist in the Territory for large numbers of Germans who are Union subjects and who are entitled to the protection of the Mandatory against such infringements of their rights."

The Commission was unable to agree on what should take the place of the Legislative Assembly which had failed. Mr. Justice van Zyl, President of the Supreme Court in the Cape Province, recommended that the Territory should be administered as a fifth province of the Union, with direct representation in the Union Parliament. Mr. Justice van den Heeler, Judge of the High Court of South-West Africa, recommended government by Commissioners on the pattern contemplated for native territories in the schedule of the Act of Union. Mr. J. E. Holloway, formerly Director of Census and Statistics in the Union, recommended government by an Administrator assisted by a nominated Advisory Council.

SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN RHODESIA.

Sir Herbert Stanley, the Governor of Southern Rhodesia, opened the second session of the fourth Parliament at Salisbury in March, when brief reference was made to the proposed amendments in the Colony's Constitution. In June the Prime Minister, Mr. G. M. Huggins, tabled a White Paper consisting of a despatch from the Governor to the Dominions Secretary, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, and draft legislation incidental to the amendments.

The proposed changes included (1) the elimination of the powers of the High Commissioner from the Constitution Letters Patent and from all Southern Rhodesian legislation which had conferred powers on him, and the transfer of similar powers to the Secretary of State where this was regarded necessary; (2) the vesting of the Native Reserves, which are now vested in the High Commissioner, in a board of trustees consisting of a chairman, to be appointed by the Secretary of State, the Chief Justice, and the Native Commissioner. It was provided, however, that the Governor would furnish to the High Commissioner information relating to native affairs likely to be helpful to him in the discharge of his duties; (3) certain functions have been eliminated. It

will no longer be necessary to consult with the Imperial Government before Bills passed by the Southern Rhodesian Parliament dealing with divorce or with differential duties receive assent and are brought into operation. In native affairs consultation with the Secretary of State before differential conditions or restrictions are imposed cannot be waived. There is to be a native department, and at its head a Chief Native Commissioner, who in view of his very important responsibilities may not be removed without the Secretary of State's consent.

Later in the year the Governor was informed by the Secretary of State that he did not feel any useful purpose would be served by a conference to discuss the amalgamation of Southern and Northern Rhodesia as there had not been any material change since 1931, when the question was previously raised.

When the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Sir Hubert Young, informed the Legislative Council of the Secretary of State's decision, there were threats of resignation. Disappointment was general. The Governor of Southern Rhodesia thought that the only way to settle the question of amalgamation was to ascertain what conditions would satisfy the Imperial Government and then hold a referendum.

CHAPTER IV.

AUSTBALASIA.

AUSTRALIA.

THE significance of the Crown among the links which bind Australia to the mother-country was made plain during 1936. The passing of George V. left the people of the Commonwealth with a sense of personal loss, and the accession of King Edward VIII. aroused an enthusiasm which heartened all who regarded the Empire as the surest guarantee for peace left in a troubled world. Ten months later the affection and trust which had been given to Edward VIII. in such ungrudging fashion was transferred to George VI., who rallied to his family the fullest sympathy and support of Australia. The attitude of the Commonwealth was that the office of imperial kingship was more enduring than the man who held it.

The burial day of King George aroused demonstrations of affection and regard only less memorable than those in London and Windsor. In Melbourne, fifty thousand mourners gathered in front of the State Parliament House to pay their homage. The ceremony included a two minutes' silence, the singing of hymns and the playing of Chopin's Funeral March. At the

close of the day, seventy guns, one for each year of the King's life, were fired at intervals of a minute from a battery in the Melbourne Domain, the last shot booming over the sorrowing capital at sunset. There were similar tributes to the dead King in Sydney, where great congregations gathered in the cathedrals and churches. In St. Andrew's Cathedral no fewer than thirteen soldiers who had won the Victoria Cross were present. Other Australian capitals were described as cities draped in black and purple.

The events leading to the abdication of Edward VIII. followed the course set by Mr. Baldwin in Great Britain. Throughout the Australian Government was advised of the Home Government's intentions and accepted them. The official resolution approving Britain's legislation in connexion with the abdication was carried in the House of Representatives and in the Senate at Canberra on December 11. Next day King George VI.'s Accession was proclaimed in the presence of Lord Gowrie, the Governor-General, and Mr. Lyons, the Prime Minister. The ceremony took place at the foot of the statue of George V., in the King's Hall, Parliament House, Canberra. In broadcasting the fact of King Edward's abdication to the Australian public, Mr. Lyons expressed his profound regret that the late King had stepped from the Throne of a mighty Empire, against the expressed wish of the representatives of all his people. "We all wish most heartily that he had acted otherwise. With deepest sadness in our hearts, we bid farewell to King Edward and turn our thoughts to the new King, who is also a man we know and love, and who takes with him to the Throne a wife we also know and love, from their visit ten years ago, when they opened this Parliament."

Led by Mr. Curtin, the majority of the Australian Labour Party endorsed the action of the Federal Cabinet in connexion with the abdication of King Edward and the Accession of King George. On December 14, the new King's birthday, Mr. Lyons sent a message to King George, through the Governor-General: "The Prime Minister, with his humble duty, desires to present to his lawful Sovereign the loyal congratulations of His Majesty's Ministers in the Commonwealth of Australia on the occasion of His Majesty's Accession to the Throne as King George VI. The Government and people of the Commonwealth fervently pray that His Majesty's reign, and that of her most gracious Majesty the Queen, may be long, happy and prosperous and marked by peace among the nations of the world."

There were similar demonstrations when the Accession of George VI. was proclaimed in the State capitals. In Melbourne Lord Huntingfield read the proclamation, with the aid of amplifiers, to a huge gathering of Victorians outside Parliament House, while Rear-Admiral Lane Poole read the King's message to the Fleet to the men of the Royal Australian Navy, then visiting

Port Melbourne. In Sydney, Sir Philip Street read the proclamation from the veranda of Parliament House. The day being King George's birthday, it was observed as a public holiday throughout the State.

In connexion with the personnel of Federal politics, the chief event was the return of Mr. W. M. Hughes to active political life. He left the Lyons Ministry in the previous year (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935, p. 141) and rejoined on February 6, 1936. Mr. Hughes, in a letter to Mr. Lyons, outlined his attitude towards the League of Nations, and it was judged by the Federal Cabinet to be fully satisfactory. The general position of Australia in its relation to the League was debated in the House of Representatives at Canberra on September 29, when the Government's policy was outlined by Mr. Menzies. The Government had put forward several proposals for the reform of the League, following upon the Abyssinia debacle. In particular, it considered that, in future, certain sanctions should be automatic, among them the prohibition of the export of arms and munitions and the prohibition of all exports and imports to and from the aggressor State.

The Federal Treasurer, Mr. Casey, delivered his Budget speech to the House of Representatives at Canberra on September 10. The Budget contained proposals for the remission of income tax, sales tax and primage, the restoration of Parliamentary and public service salaries, increases in pensions, and greater spending upon defence. Mr. Casey was also able to announce that in 1935-36 there had been a record surplus of 3,562,000l. Receipts were 82,200,000l. and expenditure 78,640,000l., including 12,800,000l. for old age and invalid pensions. During 1936-37 a total revenue of 81,550,000l. was expected, after allowing for remissions of taxation. War and repatriation services accounted for 18,665,000l., and Defence, excluding New Works, 5,713,000l. The remissions of taxation included Sales Tax, 3,000,000l., and Income Tax, 2,100,000l.

In regard to Commonwealth and State finance, Mr. Casey estimated the net increase in the public debt of Australia in four years at 67,954,000l. State debts had increased by 75,799,000l., while the Commonwealth debt had decreased by 7,845,000l. The Loan Council on May 19 agreed to a loan programme for 1936-37 totalling 19,910,000l., compared with the loan programme for 1935-36, which reached a total of 26,690,000l. The Commonwealth Bank agreed to underwrite a 9,000,000l. loan at 982. 10s., bearing interest at $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent, and maturing in fifteen years, this being the first instalment of the loan programme. Of the 19,910,000l., 17,560,000l. will be spent upon public works, and 2,350,000l. will be used to finance deficits in Victoria, Queensland, and Tasmania. The other States achieved balanced Budgets in 1936-37.

Defence problems were publicly discussed on four occasions ;

first by Sir Archdale Parkhill on July 1, in an address to the Young Nationalists Association, when the Minister for Defence emphasised the importance of the British Navy in any co-ordinated scheme for Australian defence. Later in the month, Sir Archdale outlined his proposals for attracting recruits to the Australian Army, including increases in pay, better uniforms and increased allowances for social activities. The Australian Defence Council discussed other plans for bringing Australian defences to a point concomitant with the re-armament policy of Great Britain on August 24, and, on September 11, Sir Archdale Parkhill put the full details of the Government defence proposals before the House of Representatives at Canberra. These included modernising the armaments of the 8-inch gun cruisers, and the increase of the permanent military forces to 23,000. Plans for expanding the Air Force involved an expenditure of 1,443,000*l.* and provided three squadrons for co-operation with the Field Army, instead of one, and also a squadron, instead of a flight, for naval co-operation, and five squadrons for co-operation with the fixed defences. Land aeroplanes would be substituted for flying-boats, enabling more aircraft to be purchased. The Air Force personnel would be increased to 2,263, making an increase of 1,373 since 1934. On June 19 Mr. Lyons announced that certain companies, including the Broken Hill Proprietary and General Motors-Holdens Limited, had been invited to establish works in Australia for the manufacture of aircraft and aeroplane engines. The decision was due to the difficulty experienced in obtaining reasonably prompt delivery of aircraft ordered from Great Britain for the Royal Australian Air Force.

Far-reaching changes in the overseas trade policy of the Commonwealth were announced by the Minister in Charge of Trade Treaties, Sir Harry Gullett, on May 23. Simultaneously, a new tariff schedule was tabled by the Minister for Customs, Lieutenant-Colonel White. By prohibiting the importation of a number of goods, except by licence, and by the imposition of higher duties, the Federal Ministry hoped to stimulate trade with Britain and other countries which were good customers of Australia. Japan was the chief country affected by the higher duties, as her exports of textiles were penalised. The United States was also affected, as the Government desired to establish the motor chassis manufacturing industry in Australia and proposed to use the tariff measures to this end. The trade diversion policy produced repercussions in Australia's relations with outside Powers which continued through the year. Though it was supported by Ministerialists, the policy was sharply criticised by the Labour Opposition, particularly in a debate in the House of Representatives at Canberra. Mr. Curtin, Leader of the Labour Opposition, described the Ministerial policy as dominated by sectional interests and said that it introduced a discriminatory and provocative tariff. Mr. Curtin said;—

The Labour Party will always give effective protection to Australian industries against cheap goods from foreign countries, and also against goods from Britain. It will continue to give (as it has in the past) preference to British goods as against foreign, but it will not adopt a discriminatory policy, as has been adopted by the Government.

After seven months' intensive negotiation between Sir Harry Gullett and the Japanese trade delegation, a settlement in the dispute was reached on December 27. It was arranged that for eighteen months Japan should be allowed to import 103,500,000 square yards of piece-goods a year into Australia, equally divided between rayon and cotton, this being exclusive of calico for bag making. Roughly, the agreement meant that Japan would be permitted to import the quantity she sent to the Commonwealth in 1934. In exchange, Japan allowed Australian wool to enter Japan at the rate of 533,000 bales a year, and each country agreed to remove the special prohibitions against the exports of the other. Sir Harry Gullett paid a tribute to the patience and courtesy of the Japanese negotiators.

On October 29 Sir Harry Gullett introduced Bills ratifying trade treaties with Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and South Africa. The Minister assured the House of Representatives that the Australian concessions would not hinder the expansion of home industries or reduce preferences under the Ottawa Agreement, except in a few minor cases, which had the concurrence of Great Britain. In November an unofficial Note reached the Government of Australia from the United States. It suggested that the time had come to remove the discrimination in the Australian tariff upon certain American goods, particularly motor-cars, refrigerators, and machinery. The so-called discrimination had been in operation for about six months, and, in the view of the United States Government, the financial crisis which allegedly made the licence system necessary was passing, and relative stability was in sight. Earlier in 1936 there were rumours that Germany was desirous of opening up trade on a basis of bartering Australian wool for German goods. Sir Harry Gullett, on February 5, made it plain that the Federal Cabinet was opposed to any such arrangement, and had informed Germany of the fact.

The Australian Government's proposals for the reform of the League of Nations were put **before** the House of Representatives at Canberra on September 29, **when** Mr. Menzies outlined them on behalf of Mr. Lyons. With respect to financial and economic sanctions, the Federal Governments considered that Article X V I. should be amended, so that the sanctions became automatic. With respect to military sanctions, the Government felt that **no** amendment of the Covenant was necessary, as these were **not automatic and were subject to the final decision of individual Governments.**

Apart from the Japanese trading problem, the outstanding political difficulty in Australia during 1936 concerned the control

of trade as between the Commonwealth and the States, and arose from an unexpected legal decision. On July 17 the Privy Council in London announced the final decision in what was known as the Dried Fruit Marketing Case. The Court upheld the appeal of Mr. F. A. James, of Adelaide, against the validity of the Commonwealth Dried Fruits Act. This practically entailed the collapse of the whole fabric of Australian regulated marketing for primary produce. The legislation affected was that designed to maintain a home consumption price for primary products, and thus compensate for low export prices. It had previously been established that, while an Australian State might control the price and condition of sale of a commodity produced within its own borders, it could not regulate for products imported from another Australian State. The Federal Government sought to make good this deficiency in jurisdiction by legislation complementary to State marketing legislation. The Privy Council decision involved the collapse of the power upon which the Federal legislation was based. It thus enabled products to be sent from one State to another at prices below the home consumption price for the industry, and so destroyed the protection which the home consumption price was designed to give.

The Commonwealth had initiated the marketing schemes in the belief that it was not bound by Section 92 of the Constitution, which provides for absolute freedom of trade between the States. The only possible remedy was to amend Section 92. When the Federal Parliament met on September 10, after a four months' recess, Mr. Lyons announced that the necessary referendum would be held to amend the Federal Constitution. Mr. Lyons explained that it would be disastrous if the orderly marketing of important primary products lapsed into chaos because there was no power in any Parliament, Commonwealth, or State to provide the proper control. Mr. R. G. Menzies, the Attorney-General, duly introduced the Bill amending the Constitution by adding a sub-section to clause 92, reading :—

The provisions of the last preceding section shall not apply to laws in respect of marketing made by Parliament in the exercise of any powers vested in Parliament in this Constitution.

The debate upon the Bill opened on October 14. In supporting the Government proposals, Mr. Menzies explained that the powers of the Commonwealth would not be extended. The people would simply be asked to restore to the Commonwealth, the powers which they assumed they possessed in passing legislation controlling the three great primary industries of wheat-growing, dairying, and dried fruits. The proposed referendum did not meet with unqualified approval, and Mr. Butler, the South Australian Premier, voiced a good deal of political opinion in the States when he spoke at the Liberal Conference at Adelaide September 10. Mr. Butler said that the objective of the

referendum was to create such trade monopolies, by the establishment of compulsory pools, that the Marketing Boards would become merchants, doing work which the co-operative societies and private enterprise had previously performed.

On November 10 the Australian High Court gave a decision of almost equal importance, when it declared the Commonwealth's Air Navigation Act unconstitutional, because it exceeded the authority vested in the Federal Parliament. The only remedy was yet another proposed revision of the Constitution, after a referendum. The necessary Bill was debated at Canberra on November 12, when the Labour Opposition proposed that " trade and commerce, industrial matters, and broadcasting and television " should be added to Commonwealth powers. Mr. Menzies, on behalf of the Lyons Government, declined to accept this far-reaching proposal. The Government would merely extend the coming referendum on Commonwealth marketing to include a proposal for giving the Commonwealth complete control of aviation. Meanwhile the aviation companies continued to honour the invalidated regulations.

The Australia Federal Labour Conference was held at Adelaide at the end of July, under the presidency of Mr. Kenneally. The report of the Executive Committee submitted plans which involved the nationalisation of Australian banks, and reductions of interest to relieve primary and secondary industries. The banking policy of the party was elaborated by Mr. Curtin, Leader of the Labour Opposition in the Federal Parliament. He intimated that though the policy of the Executive would be advocated during the coming Federal elections, there was an alternative policy in the expansion of the powers of the Commonwealth Bank. Mr. Curtin's banking and monetary policy was adopted by the Conference on July 30.

The problem of peopling the empty spaces of Australia with British stock was under discussion more than once, following upon a speech by Mr. Menzies, after his tour in Great Britain in the early months of 1936. Addressing the Victorian Chamber of Manufacturers on August 13, Mr. Menzies said Australians were making fools of themselves in the eyes of the world by attempting to hold a Continent with under 7,000,000 people. If Australia had 20,000,000 she might view the world's major problems more philosophically. Newspaper comment showed that Mr. Menzies' appeal had not fallen on unresponsive ears and, in October, Mr. Lyons submitted a series of proposals on the question of immigration to the Australian States. The proposals included assisted passages for relatives of Australian residents, and for British subjects having a minimum capital of 300l. The third proposal was that any citizen of the United Kingdom, in sound health, and possessing a valid passport, would be eligible as an immigrant, provided it was considered unlikely that he would

not become a charge on the State. All the States approved the partial resumption of immigration in general terms, with the exception of Mr. Willcock, Premier of Western Australia, who regretted that the economic position of his State did not permit the resumption of immigration. Group settlement has already cost Western Australia 8,000,000l., and if the cost of railways, roads, and public works were added the total would be about 10,000,000l.

The financial relations between Commonwealth and States were under discussion continually in the State Parliaments, and at a full Premiers' Conference, held in Adelaide towards the end of August. This was attended by more than a hundred Ministers and departmental officers of the Commonwealth and States. Mr. Lyons refused to surrender the field of taxation which certain representatives of the States had suggested might enable the States to secure their financial positions. The Federal Prime Minister, however, assured the States that, if they were able to put forward a proposal for the readjustment of financial relations between Commonwealth and States, which would leave the Federal Ministry unfettered in its national responsibilities, the proposal would receive sympathetic consideration.} Mr. Dunstan, Premier of Victoria, reporting to the State Assembly on September 8, described the financial position of the States as that of "beggars at the rich man's table." "The States were forced to adopt a starvation policy, while the Commonwealth lived in magnificent affluence. Many State assets had been purchased with loans which would soon need renewal, and this could be effected only by further borrowing, the continuance of which must end disastrously. The States could not adequately meet the demands of unemployment relief, soldier settlement, and the social services."

The New South Wales Budget, introduced on October 27, revealed a State surplus, in happy contrast to the deficit of the State in 1931-32, when it reached 14,000,000l. Mr. Stevens, the Treasurer, estimated the revenue for 1936-37 at 49,000,000l. and the expenditure at 5,000/. less! In connexion with the business undertakings of the State, there was a profit of 7,000,000l., apart from the interest upon the capital involved. New South Wales railways accounted for 6,000,000l. of the profit. The Victorian Budget, introduced by Mr. Dunstan, the Treasurer, on August 4, also disclosed a welcome improvement in State finance, which made possible full restoration of the salary cuts to Crown employees and State pensioners. Similarly, the Tasmanian Treasurer, Mr. Dwyer-Gray, speaking at Hobart on October 27, revealed a small Budget surplus, the first Tasmania had had for many years. The cuts of salaries of State employees were removed and the tax upon wages up to 3l. 10s. a week were repealed. Mr. Troy, as Acting Treasurer, introduced the West Australian

State Budget on September 8. The estimated revenue was 10,159,000l. and the expenditure 10,153,000l.

South Australia celebrated the centenary of its foundation during 1936. The central feature was the Exhibition at Adelaide, which was opened by the Governor, Sir Winston Dugan, on March 20. A message from King Edward VIII. was read amid general applause. The Exhibition covered 21 acres and included a remarkable streamlined locomotive, designed and built in the Government workshops and capable of 70 to 80 miles per hour.

Mr. Collier, the Western Australian Premier, resigned on August 18, owing to ill-health, and was succeeded by Mr. J. C. Willcock. The new Labour Ministry included the following :—

Mr. J. C. WILLCOCK	-	-	-	-	-	Premier and Treasurer.
Mr. M. F. TROY	-	-	-	-	-	Lands and Immigration.
Mr. S. W. MUNSIB	-	-	-	-	-	Mines.
Mr. H. MILLINGTON	-	-	-	-	-	Works.
Mr. F. J. S. WISE	-	-	-	-	-	Agriculture.
Mr. A. R. G. HAWKE	-	-	-	-	-	Employment.
Mr. W. H. KIRSON	-	-	-	-	-	Chief Secretary.
Mr. F. C. L. SMITH	-	-	-	-	-	Justice and Railways.
Mr. E. H. GRA	-	-	-	-	-	Honorary Minister.

Lord Gowra, the Governor-General, opened the Hume Reservoir on the Murray River on November 22, seventeen years after the works were inaugurated by Lord Novar. The reservoir is the eighth largest in the world, and will irrigate a wide area in New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia. It covers 33,000 acres and will increase irrigable land by a million acres, assuring ample water for the Mildura and Renmark fruit-growing districts. Ten million pounds, out of a total proposed expenditure of 15,000,000l., have now been spent upon Murray River irrigation.

In the field of Australian exploration, Mr. E. A. Colson crossed the Simpson Desert in Central Australia, being the first white man to carry through the difficult task. The desert extends over 43,000 square miles to the north of Lake Eyre, and the expedition passed eleven lakes, mostly dry and salty, during the sixteen days' march. Far from being desolate, the area was found to contain great areas of grass and herbage, and Mr. Colson came to the conclusion that artesian wells or water borings would convert the Simpson Desert into land suitable for pasture. The Commonwealth also proclaimed its control over all Antarctic territory south of the 60th parallel between 160 degrees and 45 degrees East. This is the area explored by the Mawson Expedition between 1929 and 1931. Adelie Land has been claimed by France, by right of discovery, and was excepted from the claim. The area taken over by Australia is almost as large as the island continent itself.

NEW ZEALAND.

At the end of 1935 a Labour Government was returned to power in New Zealand and Mr. Savage's Ministry continued in office through 1936, with a majority of about twenty-five over all other parties in the House of Representatives. Thirty years earlier, under Mr. Seddon, New Zealand had been the experimental laboratory of the world, so far as social legislation was concerned, and was the first political community to introduce compulsory arbitration courts, non-contributory old age pensions and similar schemes, which to-day represent something like old-fashioned legislation. The Savage Ministry carried State Socialism still further during its first year of power, basing its policy upon the State control of currency and credit, "in order to give every man, woman, and child the opportunity to live an abundant, creative, and individual life," as a New Zealand Labour member put it.

As in Australia, the death of King George aroused the deepest regret. At 11 A.M. on the following day every activity ceased. Trains, trams and all vehicles in the streets stopped during the Silence, as well as all factory machinery. In the afternoon, warships and land batteries fired seventy minute guns. The proclamation of King Edward's Accession was read by Lord Galway at Parliament House on January 23, as well as by the mayors in the larger towns. The broadcasts of the proclamation ceremonies in London aroused only less interest, as did those when George VI. succeeded his brother eleven months later. When the news of King Edward's abdication was received at 4.30 A.M. on December 11, the Cabinet was in conference, having waited up through the night. Mr. Savage issued a statement to the public in these terms :—

This is one of the saddest days in the history of the British people. The abdication of King Edward VIII. will cause profound sorrow to his millions of subjects throughout the Empire. Those in close touch with the situation during these sad days have been aware of the fact that no effort had been spared in an endeavour to find a solution of the problem suitable to His Majesty and acceptable to the people of the British Commonwealth of Nations. That the effort to this end made in Great Britain and in the Dominions was unsuccessful is a matter that occasions profound and universal regret. I have no hesitation in saying that the loyalty of this Dominion to the Crown is as strong and enduring as ever it was and that the people of New Zealand will honour and serve the new King with all their traditional affection and sincerity.

George VI. was proclaimed during the afternoon of the Monday following his Accession. An eclipse of the sun made an early ceremony undesirable. Lord Galway, addressing a great gathering of cheering New Zealanders, recalled the affection aroused when the Duke and Duchess of York had visited the Dominion in 1927.

The Parliamentary session opened on March 26 and the Governor-General and Mr. Savage paid further tributes to the memory of George V. Mr. Savage said that the British Commonwealth of Nations had lost not only a beloved monarch but also a dear friend. He was a friend because he stood four-square for the right of the people to govern, and in these turbulent days that right was sacred. As King, his readiness to adapt himself generally to a changing world had been outstanding, and kindness and impartiality had been the keynote of his actions in every sphere.

Lord Galway's Speech from the Throne indicated that his Ministers were firmly attached to the principles of the League of Nations and the collective system of maintaining the peace of the world. Recent developments in Europe had still further shaken world confidence, and Ministers were anxiously considering the situation. Members had up to the present endorsed the policy of the British Government. Lord Galway also indicated that legislation would be introduced to alleviate unemployment and the condition of the more unfortunate people by increasing wages and shortening hours in industry; an expansion of industries; a system of guaranteed prices to farmers, with a view to restoring the standard of living of farmers and agricultural workers; State control of currency and credit; reciprocal trade agreements with Great Britain and other members of the British Commonwealth; and protection of British shipping.

In pursuance of this policy the hours of public works employees were reduced from 47 to 40 hours a week, made up of five eight-hour days. This would be without reduction of pay. It was also agreed that Maoris should receive the same pay as Europeans, and that holidays should be granted with full pay, those with two years' service receiving 10 days holiday a year. Mr. Semple, the Minister, added that he was satisfied that the shortening of hours would not lead to a reduction in output. A Primary Products Marketing Bill was introduced in the House of Representatives on April 28, following upon an announcement by Mr. D. G. Sullivan, Minister of Industries and Commerce, on February 9, which set out the Labour Government's policy of guaranteed prices, wherever possible. Mr. Sullivan foreshadowed a scheme for the control of wheat prices by a Wheat Committee, on which wheat-growers, millers, and bakers would be represented, and which would involve the abolition of the distributors' company which had been concerned with the sale of flour. Under the scheme it was hoped that New Zealand wheat-growers would receive 4s. 4½d. a bushel for the 1936 crop. The basic price of flour would be fixed at 13l. 8s. 7d. a ton delivered at the bakehouse. On this basis the retail price of bread depended, and it had been fixed at 10d. the 4-lb. loaf over the counter. The Primary Products Marketing Bill, however,

applied only to dairy produce, and necessitated all produce exported becoming the property of the Government, which sold it and returned a fixed price to producers, based upon prices ruling in the eight to ten year period, which ended July 31, 1935. Mr. J. G. Coates, Deputy Leader of the Opposition, on April 29 vigorously opposed the measure, describing it as "political piracy." The Government might have a mandate for paying a guaranteed price, but not for acquiring the ownership of produce at a price fixed by the Government. The Bill was a step towards the socialisation of the whole production of New Zealand. It would generate the antipathy of the British farmer, who was opposed to the subsidising of exports. Mr. Savage, replying, said that the Bill applied modern methods to modern conditions. It was designed to assure the farmer of a fair share of the total production of the country. By improving buying power, it would improve trade with Great Britain.

The Bill was duly passed, and on August 1 the New Zealand dairying industry entered upon its experiment./ To finance the plan, a dairy account was opened with the Reserve Bank. Into this account will be paid sums received from London for the butter and cheese sold, and from it payment will be made to the New Zealand factories. When the prices guaranteed for the season ending July 31, 1937, were announced, they were somewhat below expectation. They were 117s. 3d. per cwt. for butter and 63s. 7d. per cwt. for cheese ; equal to about 1s. 1d. per lb. and 1s. 2½d. per lb. butter-fat respectively. The extra payment for cheese was intended to offset the advantage butter producers had in rearing pigs.

After sitting for eleven weeks the New Zealand Parliament adjourned on June 11 until July 21. Apart from the dairying scheme, the Government measures passed included the conversion of the Reserve Bank to complete State ownership, including provision for State control of credit and exchange and the financing of the guaranteed prices policy. In connexion with the Government's determination to control currency and credit, a Reserve Bank Amendment Bill was passed by 51 votes to 16 on April 8, after the Speaker of the House of Representatives had ruled that it was a Money Bill, and therefore incapable of being amended by the Legislative Council. Opposition leaders challenged several clauses in the Bill, particularly as it was common knowledge that the Governor of the Reserve Bank, Mr. Leslie Lefeaux, formerly of the Bank of England, did not approve of the measure.

Mr. Nash, Minister of Finance, explained that it was not intended to take any action regarding the London credits of trading banks, but in the last resort it would be wise that the Reserve Bank should control all exchange acquired by the sale of New Zealand produce oversea. When that was done, the exchange

would be made available to trading banks and others for legitimate purposes. Power to suspend absolutely or conditionally the duty imposed on the Bank to exchange its notes for sterling would be placed at the disposal of the Reserve Bank, but, if the directors were able to show convincing reasons why the policy could not be operated, the Government would consider those reasons, though if there were a difference of opinion the Government had to be in control.

Replying to Opposition criticisms, Mr. Savage gave an assurance that it was not the intention of the Government merely to turn the handle of the printing press. The Prime Minister argued that questions of finance were entirely for domestic consideration. New Zealand had surplus labour and surplus raw materials, and it was ridiculous to suggest that for the employment of labour and materials any Government should have to go overseas for the necessary money. Further explaining the Government's intentions, Mr. Nash, speaking on April 5, said that the Government wanted to be able to control the transfer of money from the Dominion to other countries, to control credits built up overseas, and to ensure that all exchange produced by the sale of commodities in New Zealand for export went through the Reserve Bank. Having done that the Government would make exchange available to the trading banks in the quantity that is necessary to enable them to do the work the Government had set out to achieve. Treasury Bills could be discounted to the extent of 25,000,000*l.*, if the necessity arose. "We propose to save a lot of money that has been wasted in the past in connexion with the underwriting of loans overseas," Mr. Nash added. "This has been a heavy load on the community and we want to get rid of it at the earliest possible moment."

Other financial measures were a Mortgages and Lessees Rehabilitation Bill, providing for the reduction of farmers', homeowners', and other mortgage liabilities. Applications for reduction will be handled by Adjustment Commissioners, with a right of appeal to a Court of Review. This Bill was introduced on August 25. A few days earlier the House of Representatives considered a measure fixing a minimum wage for agricultural labourers, guaranteeing adult males 2*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* a week. An Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Amendment Bill, introduced by the Minister of Labour, Mr. Armstrong, on April 2, instructed the Arbitration Court to fix basic wage rates for all adult male and female workers, "having regard to general economic and financial conditions affecting the industry and also the cost of living." For adult males it was ordained that the wage should permit the maintenance of a wife and two children in a reasonable standard of comfort. On the application of any trade union the Court might include in the award a clause making membership of the union compulsory. The Court was further

required to fix the maximum weekly hours of work at 40 under new and existing awards, except where it is satisfied that it would be impracticable to operate the industry efficiently with a 40-hour week. Where practicable Saturday work was to be eliminated under the 40-hour week.

Seldom, if ever, has such a transformation of existing institutions and economic method been achieved in so short a period of parliamentary time. The general impression upon the New Zealand public was that a "New Deal" of the Roosevelt type was being carried into effect. The legislation of the Savage Ministry made no direct attack upon capitalism and therefore cannot be described as pure Socialism or Communism.

Happily for the Dominion, the big increases in expenditure which these economic and social reforms necessitated coincided with a period of growing trade, expanding revenue, and increasing employment. The first Budget of the Savage Ministry was presented to the House of Representatives on August 4. An increased expenditure of 5,000,000*l.* was met, in part, by an increase of 20 per cent, on the existing rate of individual and company income tax and by the reinstitution of a graduated land tax. Revenue for 1936-37 was estimated at 31,067,000*l.* against 26,172,000*l.* in the previous financial year, and expenditure at 31,054,000*l.* against 25,890,000*l.* The expenditure included 1,710,000*l.* for raising the old-age pension to 1*l.* a week; for establishing an invalid pension of 12*s.* a week, with 10*s.* for a wife and each dependent child; and for the improvement of other pensions.

Mr. Semple, the Minister of Public Works, made his annual statement on September 16, and explained how 8,540,000*l.* of public money would be expended upon development schemes. Of this 5,600,000*l.* was for railways, highways, roads, harbours, and aerodromes; 959,000*l.* for land development, including settlement of unemployed workers; and 1,215,000*l.* for the erection of public buildings. The Government proposed to improve and wholly maintain 4,000 miles of arterial roads. Mr. Semple added that the Government hydro-electric enterprises in 1935-36 earned 6.55 per cent, on the working capital, after paying running expenses. Earlier, Mr. Semple announced that a three years' public works plan was in preparation, involving the expenditure of 17,500,000*l.*

Another interesting piece of legislation was the passage of a measure empowering the Government to reserve the shipping between New Zealand and Australia to British vessels, following upon intense American maritime competition in the Pacific. The Bill was welcomed in London shipping circles. It was pointed out that trade between the United States and its possessions in the Pacific had long been reserved to American vessels.

In November Mr. Walter Nash, Minister of Finance and

Marketing, visited Britain in connexion with what he described as the "regulated expansion" of New Zealand trade and production. His desire was to secure a long-term agreement for the marketing of Dominion produce in Britain. At present New Zealand's productive capacity is far greater than her assured markets. Recent agreements between the British and Dominion Governments, based on the principle of quantitative regulation of supplies, raised the price of meat, but New Zealand believes the principle of reciprocal trade agreements between different parts of the Empire should be more fully explored.

British and New Zealand trading relations, and the Ottawa Agreements associated with them, were also under discussion at a Congress of the British Empire Chambers of Commerce, held in Wellington on October 5. British delegates expressed the view that certain Dominions did not give an adequate return to the mother-country for the free market which they enjoyed under the Ottawa Agreements. They suggested that the Dominion markets should be free to Britain. A resolution was passed by the Congress in favour of overlaying the Ottawa Agreements with supplementary bilateral agreements, ensuring specific tariff treatment for elected commodities. It was felt this special treatment would be more effective than merely enunciating general principles. When certain tariff concessions to Belgium were negotiated during the year, the New Zealand Government simultaneously removed the primage duty upon electrical and industrial machinery, machine tools, and other metal goods, in order to maintain the then existing 20 per cent. British preferential margin. In the Government's view this decision went a considerable distance towards carrying out the undertaking given at the Ottawa Conference to remove the primage duty upon British imports directly New Zealand financial conditions permitted.

In connexion with foreign affairs, apart from a passage in Lord Galway's Speech from the Throne, the New Zealand House of Representatives on May 27 approved the sanctions imposed by the League of Nations upon Italy. Later, the New Zealand Government forwarded its comments upon the existing Covenant, with a view to its amendment. It expressed the opinion that sanctions, to be effective, should be immediate and automatic and should form a complete economic boycott. New Zealand also favoured an international force under the control of the League composed of a definite proportion of the armed forces of its members. While an incomplete collective peace system was better than none, New Zealand was of opinion that no system could be entirely satisfactory that was not universal.

In Samoa, New Zealand made a step in the direction of allaying existing unrest by sending a deputation of inquiry under Mr. Langstone, the Minister of Lands. As a result it was announced

that all the restrictive laws passed since 1930 would be repealed, and Samoan agitators, who had worked in favour of Home Rule for Samoa, would be allowed to return to the mandated territory.

CHAPTER V.

INDIA.

THE distinguishing features of the year 1936 were quiet preparation under a new Viceroy for the great constitutional changes ordained by the Government of India Act, 1935, and the corresponding Burma Act; a political repose such as the country had not known since the Great War; steady economic improvement, and quickening of attention to the needs of the rural masses.

This general progress was the more notable from the adjustments needed to the dramatic course of events whereby three King-Emperors held sway within the twelve months. The genuine devotion of the Indian public to the British Crown was shown not only by the spontaneous and widespread manifestations of grief in January at the passing of George V. but also by the dignity and restraint of Press comments, vernacular as well as English, when the crisis arose in December which led to the abdication of Edward VIII. Even the poorer and less reputable Indian papers did not call attention to the stories in circulation in America and elsewhere until the storm broke in Britain. The decision of King Edward VIII. in all the circumstances was generally accepted. There was a deep sense of relief at the termination of the crisis, although sincere regret was felt at the loss of a popular monarch.

Internally the coming of a new Viceroy in the spring was the most conspicuous event. Lord Willingdon (on whom a marquise was conferred) left India on April 18 in far better circumstances than those obtaining when he took office in 1931. He had made great contributions to the improvement by his personal charm and consistent application of three guiding principles (also followed when he was Governor first of Bombay and then of Madras)—British and Indian equality in social life, progress toward Indian self-government, and the maintenance of law and order.

The Marquis of Linlithgow also had the advantage of prior knowledge of India from having presided over the Royal Commission on Agriculture (1926-28) and the Joint Select Committee of Parliament on Indian Reforms (1933-34). He made the new departure of a broadcast address to the Indian people immediately after being sworn in at New Delhi on April 18, and soon struck out on his own lines. His speeches showed a gift of fundamental thinking. He saw that the time was favourable for renewed

efforts to overcome the poverty and insanitation of the half million villages of a sub-continent so predominantly agricultural. He began at once to give effect to his declared intention to do everything in his power to improve the lot of the Indian peasant in field and home. By the end of the year it was evident that he had appealed to the imagination of the public by the promotion of general health and welfare activities, and he had become known as "The People's Viceroy."

The hour as well as the man had arrived for persistent and co-ordinated ameliorative effort. On the one hand, a vague awareness of economic inequality had spread among the masses as a result of the ill-effects of world conditions, year after year, on the primary producer, and stimulated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's semi-Communitistic campaigns in rural areas. On the other hand, trade revival, especially in exports, and the tendency for prices to rise, improved the economic outlook and made possible substantial grants from Central revenues for rural welfare. Except for certain areas in the Bombay Presidency the monsoon yielded ample and well-distributed rainfall. In presenting his Budget statement on February 28 the Finance Member, Sir James Grigg, declared that India's economic and political barometers were both rising. He had much larger surpluses both for 1934-35 and 1935-36 than had been estimated, and they were mainly devoted to grants to the Provinces for economic development and improvement in rural areas, and agricultural research. The estimated surplus for 1936-37 permitted of both income-tax and postal concessions.

This better outlook was duly weighed by Sir Otto Niemeyer, who went out to India in January to examine the finances of the proposed new Constitution. His report, published on May 1, made detailed proposals as to the assistance required by certain Provinces if, at the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy, they are to enjoy a reasonable prospect of maintaining financial equilibrium ; and discussed the prospects of the transfer of additional resources to all the Provinces from income-tax receipts. Sir Otto held that, from the financial point of view, there was no reason why Provincial Autonomy should not be introduced on April 1, 1937, and that "the budgetary prospects of India, given prudent management of her finances, justify the view that adequate arrangements can be made, step by step, to meet the financial implications of the new Constitution."

Almost without exception each Provincial administration asked for more help and suggested that other Provinces had been treated too well. But Parliament, on the advice of the Secretary of State for India, accepted with little variation the expert advice of Sir Otto Niemeyer, and Orders in Council were accordingly issued naming April 1, 1937, as the date for Provincial Autonomy in the eleven British Indian Provinces, for the separation of

Burma, and for Aden to cease to be part of British India and become a Colony.

Numerous other preparatory steps were taken. The new Provinces of Sind (separated from Bombay) and Orissa (separated chiefly from Bihar) came into existence on April 1 under the Governorships respectively of Sir Lancelot Graham and Sir John Hubback, who were assisted by Advisory Councils, pending the coming of Provincial Autonomy. Commander the Hon. Sir Archibald Cochrane, late R.N., took charge of the Governorship of Burma in succession to Sir Hugh Stephenson early in May. In a farewell address to the Legislature Sir Hugh was able to say that while three years previously the economic position of Burma had seemed hopeless, she had risen to the occasion, made sacrifices, adapted herself to altered conditions and had won through.

The report of Sir Laurie Hammond's Indian Delimitation Committee was issued on March 3, with a separate report by the Chairman for Burma. The final list of constituencies for the Provincial Legislatures of British India and for the Council of State for the Centre reached a total of nearly 2,000. The recommendations were duly incorporated in Orders in Council approved by Parliament, and nominations for the elections were almost completed at the end of the year. An Order in Council was also issued for delimitation of the excluded and partially excluded areas, namely, those not fitted for representative institutions and therefore to be administered under the direct authority of the Provincial Governors. A further Order approved by Parliament in November provided for the establishment of the Federal Court on October 1, 1937, and Sir Maurice Gwyer, first Parliamentary Counsel to the Treasury, was selected to be the first Chief Justice of the Court. By way of preparation for the setting up of the Federal Railway Board and restoring the solvency of the State lines, a Committee of three British experts, under the chairmanship of Sir Ralph Wedgwood, went out in the autumn to examine the details of their working.

While no date could be finally chosen for the establishment of Federation, it was known that Lord Linlithgow desired that the transitional period provided for in the Act and beginning on April 1, 1937, should be reduced to the minimum. A revised draft Instrument of Accession to be executed at the option of each individual Ruler was published on August 15, and was subjected to critical examination in Bombay by the Hydari Committee of States Ministers (so named after its chairman) and also by Ministers of Indian Rulers who have retained their association with the Chamber of Princes. The Maharaja of Patiala resigned the Chancellorship of the Chamber in March, and since no meeting was called to elect a successor, his place was taken automatically by the Maharajrana of Dholpur, the pro-Vice-Chancellor. Mr. Walter Monckton, K.C., went out as Counsel

for Hyderabad and other States, and Mr. J. H. Morgan, K.C., to advise the Chamber of Princes. In the autumn the Viceroy sent three emissaries from the Political Department (Sir Courtenay Latimer, Mr. A. C. Lothian, and Mr. F. V. Wylie) to represent him in discussions with individual Rulers on matters affecting their accession to the Federal scheme.

One of the most important obstacles to Federation was removed by the Berar Agreement between the King-Emperor and the Nizam of Hyderabad, published on November 14. While on the one hand His Majesty reaffirmed and recognised in practical ways the sovereignty of His Exalted Highness over Berar, on the other hand the Nizam agreed to the maintenance of the *status quo* whereby this portion of his dominions and the Central Provinces of British India are administered together as if they were one Province. The title of H.E.H. is now Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar, and the Heir Apparent has the title of Prince of Berar. The Agreement had further historic importance as constituting, though for Berar alone, the first Instrument of Accession to Federation executed by an Indian Ruler and accepted by the King-Emperor. ' Moreover, in the words of *The Times*, it brought "to a welcome end a controversy which has persisted intermittently for three-quarters of a century."

Other events in the States were the Baroda celebrations in January amidst great rejoicing of the diamond jubilee of the rule of the Maharaja Gaekwar ; and the investiture in November with full ruling powers of the young Maharaja Sindhia of Gwalior. The venerated Maharaja of Mysore (" the Model Indian State ") paid his first visit to Europe in the late summer, accompanied by Sir Mirza Ismail, his Dewan ; and at the Dasara festivities in October His Highness made the significant innovation of permitting members of the depressed classes to take part in the elaborate ceremonials. On November 12 the young Maharaja of Travancore—a State where caste restrictions are deeply entrenched—promulgated a decree giving outcastes the right of temple entry. It prohibited restrictions on any Hindu by birth or religion "entering or worshipping at the temples controlled by us and our Government."

Hostility to the States as a conserving influence figured in the anti-Imperialist presidential address of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the fiftieth session of the Indian National Congress held in the last week of the year at the Mahratta village of Faizpur, near Bhusawal, East Khandesh. As in a like allocution at the postponed forty-ninth session at Lucknow in April, the Pandit showed his contempt for the whole policy of co-operation with the Legislatures adopted by the party in 1934. Though at Faizpur he repeated his objections to the acceptance of office where Congress candidates obtained a majority, the resolution passed left the matter to be decided after the Provincial elections. The Congress

declared for entire rejection of the Reforms, and the convening of a constituent assembly elected by adult suffrage to draw up a new constitution. Nevertheless some 1,200 candidates were nominated on the Congress ticket for the General Election for the enlarged Provincial Legislatures. This fact goes to show that though from indecision and vagueness (designed to prevent desertion on a widespread scale) the Congress was enfeebled throughout the year, it also remained the only party with both an all-India organisation and drive. It was also one of many indications of "the drift towards Constitutionalism" reported by the Delhi correspondent of *The Times*, though Mr. Gandhi, breaking a political silence of two years at the Faizpur session, made brief oracular remarks favouring non-violent resistance to Government.

The Congress and allied elements in the moribund Legislative Assembly at the Centre gave many exhibitions of irresponsibility, though the two sessions of the year passed off with a surprising amount of cordiality. The *variance* Act was passed on March 31 by the certification of the Viceroy (Lord Willingdon) owing to three amendments of substance being carried against Government. In the same month the Assembly by 70 votes to 65 recommended the termination of the 1932 Ottawa Trade Agreement with Britain, and investigation of the possibilities of entering into bilateral trade treaties with other countries. The agreement was accordingly due to expire at the end of November, but was continued temporarily in force pending the result of negotiations for a new treaty. In these non-official Indian advisers are taking part.

The special Tariff Board, under the chairmanship of Sir Alexander Murray, to review the duties on British textiles for three years from December 31 signed a report at the end of March, and it was published on June 24. The recommendations, accepted by Government, further widened the gap between the preferential rates on British cotton piece-goods and those levied on competing foreign manufactures.

For the second year in succession the North-West Frontier was the scene of military operations. The Faqir of Ipi fomented trouble in Waziristan. By way of non-punitive demonstration two columns of troops, one from the north and the other from the west, moved into the Khaisora Valley. Opposition developed, and in an attack on November 25 two British majors, a British soldier and 14 Indians were killed, with 12 British and 66 Indians wounded. The troops were temporarily withdrawn, and on December 5 operations were undertaken to march into the valley, make a permanent road fit for motor transport and exact penalties from the guilty sections of the tribes. More or less desultory opposition was offered, and there were further casualties on December 22. Following on a *jirga* (tribal council) addressed by

British officers on December 28, a week's **truce** was **allowed to enable** the tribesmen to have further consultations **on submission** to the Government terms.

Internally the year was peaceful. There was little communal trouble giving rise to serious disorder. The main exception was in Bombay City where Hindu-Moslem rioting broke out in October on account of steps being taken to erect a Hindu temple in Byculla close to a mosque. The situation was well handled by Lord Brabourne, the Governor, but sporadic trouble continued for some time, and there were in all 830 casualties, including 86 deaths.

Meanwhile Bengal profited from the policy of firmness and amelioration pursued by Sir John Anderson who released, after nine months of intensive industrial training, 57 detainees. With the maintenance of special police measures, overt terrorist crime further declined almost to vanishing point. In the neighbouring Province of Bihar on December 18 the greatest disaster in the history of Indian mining occurred on the Jharia coal-field at the Poidih Colliery. No less than 208 workers, including 63 women and the English manager, were killed by entombment from an explosion.

Efforts under the leadership of Mr. Hugh Rutledge to scale Everest were defeated in May by bad weather. But the highest mountain in British India, Nanda Devi (25,660 ft.) in the Gharwal Himalayas, was conquered, after repeated failures to get through all the great barriers of guarding heights 70 miles in circumference. Two members of a small Anglo-American expedition, led by Professor Graham Brown, reached the summit on August 29 after incredible difficulties. Mr. N. E. Odell and Mr. H. W. Tilman, both Englishmen, were the fortunate pair, but all members of the party share the credit of the greatest feat of Himalayan mountaineering ever accomplished.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

INTERNATIONAL events, moving rapidly during 1936, brought the affairs of the League of Nations to the gravest crisis in its history. Substantially the main problems which confronted the League were the same as, or arose out of, those with which Geneva had wrestled in the previous year. Of these the war between Italy and Abyssinia, which had assumed the proportions of a test case for the whole system of collective security, exercised a dominating influence over the League's fortunes. Whilst the most important repercussions were experienced in Europe, every other Continent watched developments with the closest interest and anxiety. Thus, when it became clear that the energy and determination of one strong-minded aggressor had proved more than a match for the half-hearted efforts of fifty nations to uphold the Covenant, the resultant fall in the League's stock was virtually world-wide.

Throughout Africa, Abyssinia's fate produced an atmosphere of gloomy misgiving, and there were ominous rumbles in the Far East. Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Honduras—three of a regional group of nations whose ties with the League had always been weak—gave notice of their impending withdrawal. In Europe the outspoken statement of Leopold, King of the Belgians, voiced the fears of many of the smaller nations which had expected so much from the League. Though, in spite of persistent rumours of war, a precarious peace was maintained, re-armament was pressed forward on all sides with an intensity which had never before been known.

Italy and Abyssinia.—Hopes that the League had fully recovered from the shock administered to its system the previous December, by the Hoare-Laval peace proposals were not destined to be realised. For some six months a fayade of resistance to Italian aggression was put up at Geneva; but it soon became clear that much of the earlier enthusiasm of the League members had evaporated and that the edifice of sanctions might collapse at the slightest breath of adversity,

As early as January, it is true, the Committee of Thirteen felt able to report to the Council that the measures agreed upon to help towards a speedy restoration of peace were being applied by the "vast majority" of League members. Within a few weeks this broad opinion was endorsed by the Expert Committee which had been appointed to study the state of trade between the countries applying sanctions and Italy. It was shown that 52 Governments were applying the arms embargo, 52 the financial measures, 50 the refusal to take imports from Italy, and 51 the embargo on the export of certain key-materials to Italy. Further, 46 countries had definitely come into the scheme for mutual assistance to lessen the loss incurred by participating League members, and three others had accepted it in principle.

Another Expert Committee was set up by the Committee of Eighteen to conduct a technical examination of the conditions governing the trade in and the transport of petroleum. In February the verdict was reached that the so-called oil embargo, if applied by all the States represented on the Co-ordination Committee, would be effective provided that the United States of America restricted their sales to Italy to the normal level of exports prior to 1935. Otherwise, the embargo would render Italy's supplies dearer and more difficult to obtain.

At its January session the Council had before it Notes from both Abyssinia and Italy on alleged violations of the laws of war. It was decided that there was no possibility of acceding to the Ethiopian Government's request for financial assistance, in view of the fact that the Convention on the subject had not yet come into force. The Government of the United Kingdom informed the League that, as a result of conversations with the French, Greek, Turkish, and Yugoslav Governments, agreement had been reached for joint action in the event of the application of sanctions leading to an outbreak of hostilities in the Mediterranean.

Meanwhile the war continued. Alarmed by the increasing ferocity of the conflict, the Committee of Thirteen on March 3 urged both belligerents to open negotiations with the object of securing a prompt cessation of hostilities. Abyssinia accepted without hesitation but Italy, using guarded language, "agreed in principle." However, the replies were thought sufficiently encouraging for the Committee to instruct its Chairman, M. Madariaga, to get into touch with the parties. It was eventually decided that conversations should begin in Geneva immediately after Easter, which fell on April 12. Pending fresh developments, both Governments were urgently requested to prevent the use of methods of warfare contrary to the principles of international law.

As soon as the conversations opened, Italy stipulated that negotiations could not be based on any situation other than that

actually existing after six months of military operations. Moreover, the only method suitable to the position was that of direct negotiations. Ouchy might be chosen as the venue, and means could be devised to keep the League informed of progress. Abyssinia immediately objected that these proposals were tantamount to "asking that the Ethiopian people be abandoned to its aggressor," and insisted upon negotiations within the framework of the Covenant. After fruitless attempts to bridge the gulf, the Committee of Thirteen was compelled to announce, on April 17, that "hopes must for the moment be abandoned."

At its extraordinary session three days later, the Council addressed to Italy a "supreme appeal" that she should bring to the settlement of the dispute that spirit which the League was entitled to expect from one of its original members and a permanent member of the Council. On May 5 consternation was caused in League circles by the Italian occupation of Addis Ababa. Subsequently the Emperor, in a telegraph from Jerusalem, informed the League that, "in order to avoid the extermination of the Ethiopian people," he had decided to put an end to the war by leaving his own country. Writing to the Secretary-General, he urged the League to continue its efforts to ensure the respect of the Covenant and not to recognise the exercise of "an alleged sovereignty."

Baron Aloisi, the Italian representative, added to the already grave anxieties of the Council by objecting to the presence of "the so-called Ethiopian delegate" and withdrawing from the Council chamber on May 11. More time, it was felt, was needed to consider the new steps taken by the Italian Government, so further discussion was postponed until June 16. Chile, with an alacrity which seemed to many almost indecent, lost no time in suggesting that sanctions should be discontinued.

In the event, the Council's plans for the future were modified by the Argentine proposal that the League Assembly was the proper body to deal with the new situation which had been created. When the Assembly resumed its 16th ordinary session on June 30, 50 out of the 59 Member States were represented. M. Van Zeeland, the Prime Minister of Belgium, was elected President in succession to Dr. Benes for the remainder of the session.

A feature of the general discussion was an eloquent appeal from H.M. Haile Selassie that the League should not abandon its attempt to restrain the aggressor. Other notable speeches were delivered by M. Blum (France), Mr. Eden (the United Kingdom) and M. Litvinoff (U.S.S.R.). The strongest opposition to the proposal to lift sanctions came from Mr. Te Water, the South African delegate. On July 4 a resolution was adopted to the effect that "various circumstances" had prevented the full application of the Covenant. The Co-ordination Committee was

recommended to make proposals to the Governments for bringing to an end the measures taken by them under Article 16 of the Covenant. Within two days this task had been discharged, and sanctions came to an end on July 15.

To enable the lesson taught by the experimental application of sanctions to be turned to account in the future, it was decided to complete the documentation and to entrust the study of the mass of material available to a committee of experts.

So low had the League's self-esteem and its prestige in the eyes of the world fallen that serious doubts were voiced at Geneva as to the advisability of holding the annual Assembly in September. More than one threat to peace in the past, it was recollected, had come to a head while the Assembly was in session, and the League might not be able to withstand a further blow at this time. Fortunately, wiser counsels prevailed and the 17th ordinary session of the Assembly opened at Geneva on September 21—only a fortnight later than the normal date.

All the delegates were conscious of the unhappy legacy which they had inherited from the previous session in June and July. First of all, they had to make a decision of principle. M. Avenol, the Secretary-General, had just returned from a visit to Rome, at which Signor Mussolini had made it clear that Italy would resume co-operation with the League on condition that the Ethiopian delegates were excluded from the Assembly. Certain of the Great Powers were believed to favour a policy of expediency, and it was generally assumed that the Credentials Committee would report against the admission of the accredited representatives of the Negus.

When the Assembly opened, however, no great enthusiasm to serve on the "firing squad"—as Geneva termed the Credentials Committee—was revealed. Ultimately its membership included a number of States who were known to be favourable to Abyssinia. After three days of secret discussions M. Politis of Greece reported, to a crowded meeting of the Assembly, that the Committee was in favour of the admission of the Ethiopian delegates to the current session, but that this decision should not prejudice the future. The Assembly accepted this compromise by 37 votes to 4, with 6 abstentions. Throughout the remainder of the Assembly, nothing more was heard about the necessity for Italian collaboration.

The Reform of the League.—The disasters which had overtaken the League in its handling of the Italo-Abyssinian dispute were directly responsible for the movement in the direction of "League Reform". At the end of June the Council, at the instance of the Chilean representative, held a preliminary discussion on the subject. The Assembly on July 4, at the same time as it decided that sanctions should be lifted, asserted that it "remained firmly attached to the principle of the Covenant." Being desirous of

strengthening the League's authority, it recommended that the Council should invite League members to send to the Secretary-General proposals for improving the application of the principles of the Covenant.

By the beginning of the 17th Assembly in September, eighteen replies to this invitation had been received. Many other countries made known their views in the course of the general debate, which was concentrated almost entirely on the subject of League reform. Mr. Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Secretary, opened the discussion with a detailed expression of the opinions of his Government. Of the two essential elements in the problem, the machinery and the will to work that machinery, the second was infinitely the more important. He proposed that, in order to enable the League to intervene more effectively in the early stages of a dispute, the Council should have the power under Article 11 of the Covenant to make recommendations without the consent of the parties. His Government was in favour of regional pacts provided that they were consistent with the terms of the Covenant. Referring to Article 19, Mr. Eden suggested that a frank discussion of grievances might go some way towards removing misconceptions.

As the debate continued, an encouraging amount of agreement on certain points was revealed. After reflection, the large majority of States had reached the conclusion that drastic alterations of the Covenant would not strengthen the League. There was general agreement that the unanimity rule should not apply to Article 11. Many nations stressed the need for universality, though M. Litvinoff uttered a warning against sacrificing League principles in pursuit of this goal. Certain Latin-American States thought that universality might be achieved by regionalising sanctions commitments. Only a few countries held that sanctions should have no place in the Covenant, though Canada advocated that their application should be a matter of discretion for each State when the time came. The so-called "neutral" States of Europe wanted sanctions to be linked with disarmament, and also urged that the League should be used as an instrument for "peaceful change."

After a much more homogeneous debate than is customary in the Assembly Hall, it was decided to set up a committee to study all the material collected. To ensure the adequate representation of as many different viewpoints as possible without sacrificing efficiency, this body was to consist of the 15 members of the Council and 13 other Members of the League. A proposal by Chile that, in the interests of the League's universality, the Assembly should ascertain the views of non-Member States was held to be premature.

The Committee of Twenty-Eight held its first meeting on December 14, by which time 42 States had submitted proposals

as a basis for its discussions. Rapporteurs were appointed to make a preliminary investigation into the more important questions.

Other Political Questions.—Almost exactly a year after the German Government's promulgation of its military laws of 1935, the League Council was called upon to pass judgment on another breach of Germany's treaty obligations. On March 7 Germany denounced the Treaty of Locarno and sent forces into the demilitarised zone of the Rhineland. France and Belgium immediately sent telegrams to the Secretary-General, in response to which Mr. Bruce as President summoned the Council for Friday, March 13. At the joint request of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium, the meeting was held in St. James's Palace, London. Germany was invited to send a representative and agreed to take part in the deliberations on equal terms.

M. Flandin pointed out, at the outset, that the Locarno Treaty authorised France to take strong and decisive measures forthwith. His country had refrained from doing so because she preferred to ask the Council to establish the fact of a breach of the Treaty and to recommend such steps as might be desirable.

After a reference to the sanctity of treaties, Mr. Eden stated that the United Kingdom was prepared to contribute to the necessary work of reconstruction, especially as regards the organisation of security in Western Europe.

In the course of his reply, Herr von Ribbentrop said that, now that equality of rights had been secured, the German people henceforth desired to co-operate in building up a real European solidarity.

The resolution adopted by the Council, on the proposal of France and Belgium, found that the German Government had committed a breach of Article 43 of the Treaty of Versailles. Further action was suspended owing to the conversations which were taking place between the signatories of the Locarno Treaties.

At its January session the Council exercised its moderating influence in a dispute which had arisen between the U.S.S.R. and Uruguay resulting in an interruption of diplomatic relations. On this occasion the Brazilian Government, a non-Member of the League, sent a message of congratulation to the President of the Council on the distinguished manner in which the traditions of the League had been upheld.

The Council continued to watch the progress of the peace negotiations in the Chaco dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay. On January 21 the Protocol concerning the reciprocal and integral return of prisoners was signed, and on August 22 the Secretary-General was informed that diplomatic relations had been resumed and that the differences between the two countries might therefore be regarded as at an end.

Turkey's request for a peaceful revision of the Convention

relating to the regime of the Straits was brought to the notice of the League on April 10. The sequel was the conference which opened at Montreux on June 22, and this successful application of one of the fundamental principles of the League was one reassuring feature of the year.

Further action by the Council in the frontier dispute between Iraq and Iran proved unnecessary, as conversations were still proceeding with the object of reaching direct agreement.

It was not until the end of 1936 that the Council was called upon to take action in connexion with the civil war in Spain. At the September Assembly M. Del Vayo, the Spanish Foreign Minister, had contented himself with denouncing "the armed intervention of Germany and Italy in favour of the rebels." A definite appeal, under Article 11 of the Covenant, reached the Secretary-General on November 27. Scarcely a Foreign Minister attended the extraordinary session of the Council which opened on December 10, but nevertheless the meeting ployed far more useful than had been expected. In addition to, a strong recommendation that the non-intervention undertakings should be rendered as stringent as possible, attention was paid to the question of providing technical assistance for the relief of suffering inflicted upon the Spanish people by the civil war. Medical experts were, in fact, appointed by the League before the close of the year.

The further question of the dispute between Turkey and France with regard to the Sanjak of Alexandretta was raised at the December session, with the result that the situation became distinctly easier. Three observers of Norwegian, Dutch, and Swiss nationality were sent to the spot to inform the Council of the position there.

Throughout the year, in the Free City of Danzig, clashes occurred between the League High Commissioner and the Nazi Senate. In October Poland accepted an invitation to negotiate with the Danzig authorities on the question of safeguarding the guaranteed Constitution.

The Permanent Court.—Important changes in connexion with the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague occurred during 1936. On February 1 the amendments to the Statute, under the Protocol of September 14, 1929, came into force. The Assembly decided that States which are not Members of the League but parties to the Statute of the Court should be allowed to take part in the Assembly elections for the appointment of judges, and that provisionally Germany, Brazil, and Japan should be authorised to vote also in the Council at these elections.

Mr. Manley O. Hudson (U.S.A.), M. Hammarskjöld (Sweden), and Dr. Cheng Tien-Hsi (China) were elected to the vacant seats on the bench during the annual Assembly. M. Lopez Olivan was

subsequently appointed Registrar of the Court in succession to M. Hammarskjöld.

Five cases were referred to the Court in the course of the year. In the "Losinger & Co." case, brought by Switzerland against Yugoslavia, prolonged negotiations resulted in a compromise between the parties, so that on November 25 the Court was asked to record the conclusion of a settlement.

Yugoslavia was also the defendant in the Pajzs, Czaky, and Esterhazy case, brought by Hungary, in which the Permanent Court had to fulfil the functions of an international Court of Appeal. The dispute arose out of the ambitious scheme of agrarian reform on which the new Yugoslav state embarked after the Great War. Certain Hungarian landowners with large estates in Yugoslavia had their grievances raised before the Hungaro-Yugoslav Mixed Arbitral Tribunal which dismissed the petitioners' claims. The suit brought before the Permanent Court took the form of an appeal from the judgments of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal. Oral proceedings opened at The Hague on October 26 and concluded in November 13. Judgment was rendered, by 8 votes to 6, in-favour of the Yugoslav Government.

Only the preliminary steps were taken in the three other suits. On March 30 Italy instituted proceedings against the French Government under the "Optional Clause," by which both countries had accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court. It was alleged that the working of phosphates in Morocco by the French administration was contrary to the terms of relevant international agreements. The Netherlands Government, on August 1, filed an application against the Belgian Government relating to the water of the Meuse. Finally, on October 27, the French and Greek Governments agreed to request the Court to give its decision in a case concerning the lighthouses in Crete and Samos, considered as accessory to the previous "lighthouses" case.

Other League Activities.—Fifty-two States-Members of the League were represented at the 17th ordinary session of the Assembly, which met at Geneva from September 21 to October 10. Three Prime Ministers and 26 Foreign Ministers led the delegations of their respective countries. M. Saavedra Lamas (Argentine Republic) was elected President of the Assembly.

In addition to approaching the subject of "League reform," the Assembly reviewed the work done by the League during the preceding year and outlined a heavy programme for the future. On the economic and financial side, the currency agreement between France, Great Britain, and the United States of America gave a fillip to the Assembly. It was a source of satisfaction that the Governments concerned had apparently acted upon the recent recommendations of the League's Economic Committee. The Assembly resolutions gave hope that further steps would

soon be taken to reduce excessive obstacles to international trade. It was also decided to set up a committee to study the question of access to raw materials.

For the first time since 1932 the Assembly appointed its Third (Disarmament) Committee. Plans were made for summoning the Bureau of the Disarmament Conference at an early date.

Bolivia, New Zealand, and Sweden were elected non-permanent Members of the Council. Two new seats were provisionally created for a period of three years, and these were allotted to China and Latvia.

The Assembly decided that, in spite of the great value of the League's work on behalf of refugees, the Nansen International Office and the High Commissariat for Refugees from Germany must be liquidated by the end of 1938, and made the necessary arrangements.

Satisfactory arrangements for the settlement of the Assyrians of Iraq in territory under French Mandate seemed in 1935 to have been made, but unexpected difficulties compelled the French Government to withdraw its offer. The League decided to continue its efforts to find land for settlement elsewhere.

Two Mandated territories claimed public attention during 1936. At the request of the British Government, the Permanent Mandates Commission deferred a complete examination of the situation in Palestine until after the Commission of Enquiry had drawn up its report on the recent disturbances. In the case of Syria, the Franco-Syrian treaty foreshadowed a new regime of independence and sovereignty for that Mandated territory.

Thirty-seven countries sent plenipotentiaries to a Conference on the use of broadcasting in the cause of peace, held at Geneva from September 17 to 23. The final convention, based on the draft prepared by the International Institute of International Co-operation, was immediately signed by 22 States.

With none of the technical activities of the League was greater progress registered than with the inquiry into Nutrition. Thanks to energetic team-work by the Health Organisation, the Economic and Financial Organisation and the International Labour Office, the Council's Mixed Committee was able to produce four volumes of an illuminating report on this subject.

In connexion with the Health Organisation's inquiry into urban and rural housing, National Committees were set up in a number of countries including Great Britain, France, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. A Health Conference was organised at Johannesburg to study questions of social medicine directly connected with better living conditions for the native populations.

A conference for the suppression of the illicit traffic in dangerous drugs met at Geneva from June 8 to 26, the object being to adopt a new convention which had been drafted in the light of practical experience. Nearly thirty countries signed

this agreement without delay. The Opium Committee came to the conclusion that the time was ripe for the League to attack the root of the drug evil, the raw material; and it was decided to conduct investigations into the cultivation of the opium poppy.

International Labour Organisation.—A year which began with a regional conference at Santiago de Chile and ended with preparations for a meeting to be held in Washington, at the special invitation of President Roosevelt, was full of incident for the International Labour Organisation of the League of Nations.

Perhaps the outstanding achievement was the successful outcome of the International Maritime Conference, which took place at Geneva from October 6 to 24. Of the 33 States represented, 29 were maritime countries with an aggregate of 51 million tons of merchant shipping (84 per cent, of the total tonnage of the world). Six conventions were adopted dealing with hours of work on board ship, manning, holidays with pay, protection in case of sickness, seamen's welfare in ports, and the professional capacity of ships' officers. These will come into force when ratified by five of the principal maritime Powers. They were justly described by Mr. Harold Butler, the Director of the International Labour Office, as " something in the nature of a Seaman's Charter."

Previously the 20th session of the International Labour Conference (June 4 to 24), at which 50 States were represented, had adopted draft conventions on holidays with pay, the recruiting of native workers in colonial territories, and the 40-hour week in public works financed or subsidised by central Governments. Egypt accepted a unanimous invitation to join the International Labour Organisation.

Fifty-three more ratifications of International Labour Conventions brought the grand total of ratifications to 732 by the end of the year.

With enthusiastic leadership from the United States of America, the International Labour Organisation came very near to that universality which had eluded the League itself. Political turmoil passed it by, and it was gratifying to be able to point to one of the great " wings " of the League system which in 1936 consolidated its influence and reputation.

CHAPTER II.

FRANCE AND ITALY.

FRANCE.

AT the end of 1935 M. Laval, the Prime Minister, had been subjected to an ordeal of questions in Parliament on the legislation by decree, on the position of the Leagues, and on the Italo-

Ethiopian conflict, and had emerged successful every time. But his policy towards England and Italy had driven from his side two of his colleagues in the Ministry—M. Herriot and M. Flandin. M. Herriot had in the Chamber put forth a view of the obligations of the League Covenant more rigorous than that of M. Laval, and he considered that the benevolent attitude of the latter towards Signor Mussolini was compromising the moral position of France at Geneva, where hitherto she had always stood forth as the defender of the principle of collective security. For some months, however, she had seemed to be manoeuvring there, and that too when Great Britain was rallying to a conception of the Covenant of which she had previously fought shy. M. Herriot informed the Executive Committee of the Radical Party that he desired to leave the Government, and maintained that it was best to allow him to resign alone. But the parliamentary group congratulated M. Herriot on his stand, and instructed the other Ministers of the party to follow suit. Thus, before the departure of M. Laval for Geneva, a crisis seemed inevitable. It actually took place on his return, and the Laval Ministry resigned on January 23. M. Albert Sarraut rapidly solved the crisis by forming a Ministry inclining more definitely to the Left. He himself took the Ministry of the Interior, entrusting Foreign Affairs to M. Flandin, Justice to M. Delbos, and Finance to M. Marcel Regnier.

On February 11 the Chamber began the discussion of the ratification of the Franco-Soviet Pact (concluded on May 2, 1935, by MM. Laval and Potemkin). The ratification met with strong opposition from the Right, but being backed by the Government was adopted by a large majority.

Two days after this debate, M. Leon Blum, Leader of the Socialists, was the victim of a brutal attack during the funeral of a writer of the *Action française*, Jacques Bainville. The Government thereupon ordered the dissolution of the *Ligue de l'Action française*, and of the *Camelots du Roi*, etc. Another leader of the *Action française*, M. Charles Maurras, was prosecuted for inciting to murder. This outrage, it may be mentioned, was connected with the campaign conducted in the *Action française* against the Franco-Soviet Pact.

In the meanwhile the Berlin Cabinet had, since the beginning of February, engaged in a violent campaign against this pact, alleging that it violated the arrangements of Locarno. Diplomatic conversations were conducted at Paris almost without interruption from the 1st to the 25th of February. The Powers which took part in these conversations were Rumania, Russia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Turkey, and Austria, represented by their sovereigns (on their way back from the obsequies of the King of England) or by their most highly placed representatives; also Czechoslovakia and Belgium.

In spite of all this, the Reich, on March 7, denounced the Treaty of Locarno. At ten o'clock in the morning, the four Ambassadors of France, England, Belgium, and Italy at Berlin received an identical memorandum in which Herr Hitler maintained that the Franco-Soviet Pact nullified the stipulations of Locarno, and, among other proposals, suggested an examination of the colonial problem. At the same time detachments of the German Army penetrated into the towns of the Rhineland. After its usual custom, the Government of the Reich presented the other Governments with a *fait accompli*. This was essentially contrary to Art. 4 of the Rhineland Agreement, which empowered France to bring the matter before the Council of the League of Nations. At the close of the afternoon of March 7 M. Flandin did in fact inform the Press that France would appeal to the League of Nations. On Sunday, the 8th, the Ministerial Council heard from M. Albert Sarraut a violent denunciation of the violation of the pact committed by Germany.

The conference held at Paris on March 10 by the Locarno Powers (France, England, Belgium, and Italy) was only a prelude to the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations, which, instead of being held at Geneva, was transferred for this occasion to London, on the request of England. For while Russia, the Little Entente, and even the Balkan Entente ranged themselves on the side of international law, England was anxious to effect a compromise. Hence an agreement between the Locarno Powers, before the London meeting, was extremely difficult to bring about.

Meanwhile Herr Hitler was making speech after speech containing violent attacks on Russia. At London three declarations were made—by England, France, and Belgium—calling for a strong moral condemnation of the Reich. A new turn was given to the situation when, at the instigation of England, the Council invited the Reich to send a representative to London. At length on March 19 the Council recorded its view that the treaties had been broken. A few days later M. Flandin, on his return to Paris, was able to make in the Chamber a statement on the same lines as that of Mr. Eden in the House of Commons and M. Van Zeeland in the Belgian Parliament,

In home affairs, during the critical years 1932-36, two great tendencies had been crystallising themselves, so that the country was now divided into "Whites" and "Reds." After the events of February 6, 1934, the country had had to fall back on the Union Nationale; but this body had itself abdicated a part of its prerogatives in favour of M. Laval. When at the beginning of 1936 M. Albert Sarraut came into power, he had to rely on the support of the Left, including the Communists.

With the General Election only ninety days away, it was obvious that there was not on the Right any party properly organised,

whereas on the Left a new programme had been adopted—that of popular union (*rassemblement populaire*), based on an agreement in essential matters between (1) the Radical-Socialist party; (2) the Socialist party (S.F.L.O.); (3) the Communist party; (4) the Trade Union movement (C.G.T. réunifié). The nationalisation of war industries and of the Bank of France, measures to check inheritances and incomes above 75,000 francs, and a forty-hour week—such were the leading items in the programme of the Popular Front.

The final polls on May 3 confirmed the victory of the parties of the union, or the Popular Front, which could command in the new Chamber 387 votes out of 618. The majority was made up of 72 Communists, 146 Socialists, and 116 Radicals, besides about 50 dissident Communists and independent Socialists. The success of the Left surpassed all expectations. It can be put down to the legislation by decree, to the attempts to economise, to the stagnation of French trade and industry, and to the discontent of the masses. The most striking feature of the election was the set-back given to the Centre parties and the Radical-Socialist Party. The new Chamber was not only the most progressive which the Republic had ever known, but for the first time the Socialists formed the largest group in it. This meant that France during the coming months would enter on a socialising and possibly a definitely Socialist policy. Immediately the Socialist Party accepted the responsibility for forming a Government and designated M. Leon Blum as the future Prime Minister, on the expiry of the existing legislature.

M. Leon Blum approached the Communist Party with a request to participate in the Government, but it refused, in order to preserve its liberty of action and to prepare for the Soviet revolution. Faced with a similar request, the Trade Union Movement took refuge behind its statutes.

On the morrow of the election the first reaction to be observed was a flight of gold, and an influx of orders to sell on the Bourse. M. Leon Blum, however, delivered two speeches of moderate tone, recalling the opposition of his party to devaluation; and calm returned. The Bank of France raised the discount rate and took the usual precautionary measures, and the export of gold ceased.

The Communist Party, however, acted in a manner which seemed pregnant with danger to the State. Before the month of May was out, and while the Sarraut Ministry was still in office, it encouraged and disciplined the strike which was being prepared by nearly 100,000 metal workers of the Parisian district against their employers. The workers in factories working for the national defence and in big automobile firms occupied the workshops night and day. These industries are under such obligations to the State that they are very susceptible to pressure from the Government; and the employers were likely to yield

all the more readily if they were invited to do so by their own customer.

The new Chamber held its first sitting on June 1. On the 3rd the strike movement developed further. The number of "stay-in" strikers was estimated at 300,000. A start having been given, the series of strikes which had broken out in the Paris district spread to the provinces. All branches of the national life were affected, except the services which the strikers allowed to go on.

M. Herriot was elected President of the Chamber. The Sarraut Ministry resigned, and the Blum Government was formed (June 4). The Ministerial departments were divided into six groups—national defence, general administration, foreign and colonial affairs, finance and State debts, national economy, and social services. These groups were placed respectively under MM. Daladier, Salengro, Delbos, Vincent Auriol, Spinasse and Lebas. M. Labeyrie was nominated Governor of the Bank of France in place of M. Tannery.

The peaceful occupation of factories appeared to be a very effective strike weapon. Certainly it was illegal, but no authority opposed it, on account of the risks which such a step would involve. Stipulating only that order should be observed, the new Government did not attempt to do more than arbitrate. From its birth it showed itself anxious not to destroy the electoral structure of the "popular union," in order that it might not be overwhelmed later from the Left.

On June 7 an agreement was concluded between the delegates of the Trade Union Movement and the Employers' Federation, meeting under the presidency of the Prime Minister. This was the famous Matignon agreement, so called from the official residence of the Prime Minister. The employers' delegation agreed to recognise collective labour contracts, and consented to a 7 to 15 per cent, rise in wages, the appointment of workers' delegates on the governing boards of firms, holidays with pay, and a forty-hour week. The workers' delegation on its side undertook to order the resumption of work. But the Matignon agreements were signed only by the *Confederation generale de la production frangaise* and the *Confederation ginirale du travail*, comprising only a fifth of the employers and a tenth of the workers—under the auspices of the Government, it is true.

The political temperature rose. The Trade Union Movement and the delegates of the strikers urged reforms on the Government, which in turn urged them on Parliament. In a few days, social and financial projects were drafted of far-reaching, not to say revolutionary, scope.

First of all came five measures concerning the forty-hour week, holidays with pay, collective labour agreements, levies on the salaries of Civil servants, and the abrogation of the legislation by decree of July 17, 1935 relative to ex-soldiers.

June 11 saw another series of Bills, prolonging the school age to 14, and permitting the Government to alter by decree the conditions for the retirement of Civil servants.

In the provinces, especially in Marseilles, incidents occurred between the bearers of red flags and bearers of the tricolor, and several persons were injured. Such affrays between supporters and adversaries of the Popular Front were deplored in Paris, and decrees dissolving the Leagues were accordingly promulgated. The Leagues aimed at were the *Association des Croix de feu*, the *Parti national populaire* (formerly *Jeunesses patriotes*), the *Parti national corporatif republicain* (formerly *Solidarity frangaise*), and the *Parti franciste*.

The dissolution of the Leagues was followed by the foundation by Colonel de la Rocque of the *Parti social-frangais*, which was to comprise the adherents of the former *Croix de feu*. M. Jacques Doriot, formerly a Communist and now Mayor of the large industrial city of the Department of the Seine, Saint-Denis, organised the *Parti populaire frangais*, the object of which was to detach workers and peasants from the influence of the Third International.

The continuance of the strikes after the conclusion of the Matignon agreements, and the scenes of violence which accompanied some of the occupations of workshops, brought about a certain reaction in public opinion and in the Senate. Driven into a corner by M. Bienvenu-Martin, M. Salengro declared in the Senate that the Government was determined to assure public order, and to bring the occupation of workshops to an end, "by all appropriate means." But, as he had to explain subsequently, these means would involve a rather long procedure, namely the intervention of the police with a prohibition to use arms. The Senate had, in short, compelled the Government to recognise the illegality of the occupation of the factories. It also refused to grant it the right to determine arbitrarily the age-limit for Civil servants. When Parliament reached the close of the session on August 14, it had in addition passed Bills for setting up a national Wheat Office, for the purpose of revaluing agricultural products and fixing minimum prices, for dealing with the coal market, for the reform of the Bank of France, for instituting public works, for the nationalisation of the manufacture of war material, and for the renovation of aviation material.

From March 7 the French Governments, that of M. Sarraut as well as that of M. Blum, had made a point of emphasising the necessity of collective security. To the German plan for a general settlement the French Government on April 8 opposed a plan for general pacification which included suggestions for solving economic and monetary difficulties, for a new adjustment of exchanges, and for the abolition of artificial trade barriers. An attempt was made in this plan to meet the claims of the Reich,

but **it** received only a slight response in Berlin and London. **On** the other hand, as the Abyssinian defeat gradually became unmistakable, the Blum Cabinet officially raised sanctions against Italy.

Other European difficulties had meanwhile arisen over the civil war in Spain. There was reason to suppose that from the first days of this war Italian airmen had been sent to the headquarters of the insurgents in Spanish Morocco. The first impulse of the Popular Front Ministry may have been to supply the Madrid Government with the means of resistance. But the constitutional regime of Spain had rapidly assumed the shape of a social revolution, and France could not plunge into such an adventure without weakening its own forces at home and running the risk of breaking with England. This was the reason which led MM. Leon Blum and Delbos to propose a pact of non-intervention. M. Leon Blum denied the rumours about the deliveries of arms and aeroplanes, and the Council of Ministers decided to address a pressing appeal to the principal Governments concerned for the adoption and rigorous observance in regard to Spain of common rules of non-intervention. It also prohibited all export of war material to any Spanish destination.

At the end of August the French Government was in possession of the answers of all the Foreign Offices to its project on non-intervention. They agreed in essentials while offering considerable difference in details.

The decree issued by the Fuhrer at this very time prolonging the term of military service in Germany to two years gave a shock to French opinion. The almost simultaneous tour of Dr. Schacht, the director of the Reichsbank, was no doubt meant to give France some reassurance, the cold tap and the hot tap being turned on alternately.

On first taking office, M. Leon Blum had stated that the policy of deflation stood condemned. In the Chamber, on June 19, M. Vincent Auriol had declared against devaluation. Here was a contradiction which the loan issued during the summer did not help to remove. On September 25 the Cabinet decided to devalue the franc. It was driven to this step by the flight of gold abroad, and the check on the issue of Treasury bonds. The new gold value of the franc was to lie between 49 and 43 milligrams of gold 0.900 fine. This plan necessitated the requisition of gold, measures against speculation and social measures, especially the obligation of employers to vary wages in proportion to the cost of living figures. Finally, in a joint declaration, France, England, and the United States announced their intention of preventing so far as possible any disturbance of the bases of exchange resulting from the new adjustment.

The Communists, always on the watch to create discord, **announced** that **they would remain opposed** to the **depreciation**

of the franc. Nevertheless they voted for it in order to maintain the Popular Front. The proposed sliding scale, however, was attacked in the Senate by M. Caillaux, and was rejected, as also the plenary powers demanded by the Government. Consequently employers would not have to vary wages according to the cost of living figures. In the end devaluation was voted in the Chamber by 350 votes to 221, and in the Senate by 141 votes to 125. The law allows the new value of the franc to oscillate between 20.15 and 22.97 to the dollar. Should either of these limits be exceeded, the Exchange Control Fund will intervene. Parliament abolished the levies on war pensioners. In its desire to encourage the recovery of the exchanges, it suppressed certain surtaxes which were to compensate for the fall in the exchange but which hit trade, and it reduced Customs duties on numerous articles.

The wide scope of the reforms undertaken by the Blum Government, the devaluation of the franc and its effects, and the seizure of the factories, roused bitter partisan opposition in certain quarters in the country. The weekly paper *Guinguette* for several weeks carried on a violent campaign against M. Salengro, the Minister of the Interior, bringing serious accusations against him on the ground of his conduct during the war. On November 13, after an announcement by M. Daladier, a speech by M. Blum and a declaration by M. Salengro himself, the Chamber by 421 votes to 63 declared the accusations to be without foundation and strongly repudiated the campaigns of insult and calumny. Nevertheless, on the 18th, M. Salengro committed suicide at Lille. He was succeeded at the Ministry of the Interior by M. Marx Dormoy. Shortly afterwards the leader of the *Action française*, M. Maurras, was imprisoned in order to serve the sentence to which he had been condemned. A new Press law is likely to be one of the results of the above-mentioned events.

Continuing its policy of destroying the Treaty of Versailles, Germany on November 14 denounced the clauses in the treaty relative to the internationalisation of the Rhine, the Danube, the Elbe, the Oder and the Niemen (section 2 of part 12 of the Treaty of Versailles). Paris desired a collective protest of the Powers, but most of these displayed a willingness to accept the fact, a kind of collective bowing of Europe to force. Thus the year 1936 witnessed the rapid annulment of the treaties of 1919, by successive and unilateral manifestations of the will-power of the Reich.

If this policy on the part of Germany, if the Italian threats in the Mediterranean, brought about a very marked *rapprochement* between France and England, France still saw her foreign anxieties increase. In addition to the German front proper, she saw herself under the military necessity of keeping watch on the Spanish front, especially in Spanish Morocco, and finally in the Mediterranean.

Relations with Rome remained to a certain degree unstable. The Italian Government had demanded that the *fait accompli* should be recognised in Abyssinia. France, as already mentioned, had raised sanctions, but no more. As a kind of reprisal, the Italian Government refused to receive the new French Ambassador who succeeded M. de Chambrun because his credentials did not mention the title of Emperor of Abyssinia which for six months had been borne by the King of Italy.

Faithful to its alliances in Central Europe, France saw herself once more drawn into closer contact with Poland when she granted that country a loan for reorganising her defences.

On December 11 M. Delbos, in the Chamber, declared in reference to a speech just made by Mr. Eden at Leamington that all the forces of France on land, on sea and in the air would be spontaneously and immediately brought into play for the defence of Great Britain against an unprovoked attack, and that the same would apply to Belgium.

On the same date England and France requested the German, Italian, Portuguese, and Russian Governments to join with them in an offer of mediation in Spain. Three weeks later they insisted on the necessity of arresting immediately by legislative measures, such as the refusal of passports, the sending of volunteers to Spain.

Further to be noted in the sphere of foreign affairs are the signature of the Franco-Syrian Treaty with a view to conferring autonomy on Syria within the framework of the League of Nations, and the difficult negotiations with Turkey. The visit to Paris of M. Rustu Aras, Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, did not produce any marked progress in the exchange of views over the question of the Sanjak of Alexandretta, in respect of which claims were put forward by Turkey.

In December the Chamber at length took up the discussion of the Budget of 1937. As finally passed it showed a deficit of three milliards. The increase in expenditure over the previous year was seven and a half milliards. The special Budget for military expenditure and public works not covered by other revenue amounted to 16 milliards. Meanwhile the Finance Minister M. Vincent Auriol issued a loan, promising a fiscal and monetary regime which should be liberal and stable. Faced with such a Budget, the Government took refuge in hopes of an economic revival which alone would enable the budgetary and extra-budgetary requirements to be met. The last named, of military character and proportioned to the dangers threatening Europe, could not be reduced.

The Budget along with the fiscal reform was not passed till the night of January 1-2, 1937. The fiscal reforms, of which the effects cannot yet be foreseen, affect inheritances, transferable securities, the flow of commodities, etc.

At the end of the year 1936, already signalised by so many social reforms and labour movements, the Bill for compulsory conciliation and arbitration in industry and commerce was passed. Henceforth all collective labour differences must be submitted to a process of conciliation and arbitration before any strike or lock-out is declared. This concluded a series of measures of reform introduced by the Blum Government which, on the whole, increased their reputation in Great Britain.

ITALY.

For Italy 1936 was pre-eminently the year of the annexation of Ethiopia and the proclamation of the Empire.

At the beginning of the year the military situation in Abyssinia did not seem to promise a success so complete and so rapid of the African enterprise. The situation was practically as follows. On the Tigre (north) front, the Italian lines, under the pressure of the Abyssinian forces, had fallen back to Axum and Adowah, which had been occupied since the beginning of the offensive in October, 1935. Makale, which had been occupied on November 7, was still held, but constituted a salient which gave the Italian dispositions the form of an obtuse angle. This was highly disadvantageous, since it only required the point of the angle then formed to be forced in by the Abyssinians to compel the Italians to retire. As things turned out, it was this unfavourable position which rendered possible a rapid Italian victory. For Marshal Badoglio, on succeeding General De Bono (who had been recalled to Rome and made a Marshal) as Commander-in-Chief of the expedition, provisionally stopped all offensive action, and devoted himself to strengthening the defensive organisation of the Tigre front, calling for Alpine divisions as reinforcements.

This passive attitude had also another object, namely, to entice the Abyssinian armies which till then had refused battle to mass themselves south of Takazze and to engage in a general attack. Italy in fact could not hope to win rapidly unless she succeeded in annihilating the Ethiopian forces; should these persist in refusing battle, the Italian advance, being exposed to guerilla attacks, could be effected only very slowly.

On the Somali (southern) front General Graziani was equally inactive. He was waiting till the concentration of the troops of Ras Desta, the son-in-law of the Negus, should be completed between the Ganale Doria and the Dawa Parma before attacking him.

On January 12 General Graziani launched his attack, which ended on the 20th with the capture of Neghelli, the capital of Galla Borana. On January 20, on the Tigre front, where considerable Ethiopian forces had massed themselves in southern

Tembi under the command of Ras Kassa and Ras Seyyoun, the troops of Marshal Badoglio attacked them in order to beat back the offensive which they had already commenced towards the hill of Warieu, and after four days' fighting forced them to retreat.

On February 11 there was a new Italian offensive south of Makale, which ended on the 16th with the occupation of Amba Aradam, and the defeat of the army of Ras Mulugueta. This battle is known as the battle of Enderta. On February 28 the troops of Marshal Badoglio, having continued their advance to the south, occupied Amba Alagi. On the north-west at the same time took place the second battle of the Tembien, which on March 3 ended with the destruction of the armies of Ras Kassa and Ras Seyyoun. Finally, on February 29, the army of Ras Imru which was covering Gondar was attacked in turn in the plains of Shire. By March 7 the three battles were over.

Instead of avoiding new mass encounters, the Abyssinian reserves and the remnants of the routed forces engaged on March 31 in a great battle under the command of the Negus, in the region of Lake, Ashiangi, in order to bar to the Italians the road to Addis Ababa. The Italians first resisted, then counter-attacked, and on April 4 the army of the Negus was in flight. Meanwhile, on April 2, Gondar had been occupied. The Italian successes seem to have been due in large measure to an intensive use of poison gas. On April 8 at Geneva, Mr. Eden demanded at the Committee of Thirteen an inquiry into the use of poison gas in East Africa. On April 12 the Gondar column occupied the bank of Lake Tsana. On the 15th the occupation of Dessye took place.

On the Somali front General Graziani of April 14 launched an offensive towards Sassabaneh and Dagabur. On the 29th he occupied Sassabaneh.

On May 2 the Negus with his family abandoned Addis Ababa and took refuge in Jibouti, whence he embarked for Palestine. The Ethiopian capital was given over to pillage. On the 5th the troops of Marshal Badoglio made their entry into Addis Ababa. On the same day the troops of General Graziani occupied Jijiga. Signor Mussolini ordered a "general civil mobilisation" as he had done on October 2, the opening day of the war, and announced to the crowd assembled in the Piazza di Venezia the end of hostilities.

During this period (January 1 to May 5) there had been uninterrupted diplomatic activity. After the failure of the Hoare-Laval project and the resignation of Sir S. Hoare (December 18, 1935), the Council of the League of Nations and the Committee of Eighteen considered an intensification of economic sanctions by placing an embargo on oil. Great Britain at the same time endeavoured to obtain the support of France, Yugoslavia, Greece,

and Turkey, the maritime Powers of the Mediterranean, " in case of Italian aggression following on measures taken by Great Britain in the Mediterranean to make sanctions effective." Italy protested in a Memorandum dated January 24. On March 2 the Committee of Eighteen sitting at Geneva postponed the application of the embargo on oil, and on the next day, on the proposal of the French Premier, M. Flandin, the Committee of Thirteen addressed an appeal to the belligerents with a view to the opening of peace negotiations. The Negus accepted the offer on March 5 and Signor Mussolini on the 7th. On April 8 the Committee of Thirteen instructed its president, M. de Madariaga, to bring together an Italian and an Abyssinian delegate. But Italy refused to negotiate with a delegate of the Negus and was willing to treat only with a representative of the Committee of Thirteen. Conversations between M. de Madariaga and the Italian delegate—Baron Aloisi—commenced on the 15th. Italy consented to peace negotiations, but only on condition that they took place outside of Geneva between Italian and Abyssinian delegates, without cessation of hostilities. The League of Nations was simply to be informed of the results. When the Ethiopian delegate refused to negotiate on these conditions, Italy proposed that a representative of the League of Nations should be present as an observer. The Ethiopian delegate refused this procedure also, and the Committee of Thirteen concluded that the negotiations had broken down and decided to refer the matter to the Council of the League which had been summoned to meet on the 20th. The Council admitted that the attempt made by the Committee of Thirteen had failed, called upon Italy to adopt a more conciliatory attitude, and denounced all violations of the law of nations.

On May 9, after a brief meeting of the Grand Fascist Council and the Council of Ministers, Signor Mussolini announced to the assembled crowd from the balcony of the Palazzo di Venezia the annexation of Ethiopia and the proclamation of the Empire, the King of Italy taking the title of Emperor of Ethiopia. On June 1 the Council of Ministers approved the law for the organisation and administration of Italian East Africa, comprising the Empire of Ethiopia, Erythrea, and Somaliland. Italian East Africa has at its head a Viceroy Governor-General (the first Viceroy was Marshal Badoglio, who was succeeded after a few weeks by General Graziani). The general Government has five sub-divisions: the Government of Erythrea with capital at Asmara; the Government of Amhara with capital at Gondar; the Government of Sidamos, capital Jimmi; the Government of Harar, capital Harar; and the Government of Somaliland, capital Mogadiscio. The strongest guarantees for freedom of worship and religious education were given to the Mohammedans, who had been oppressed by the Negus. From the first Italy

preferred to rely more on the Mohammedan population and clergy than on the Coptic clergy.

On May 11 at Geneva, Baron Aloisi refused to take part in a discussion on Ethiopia in a private sitting of the Council of the League of Nations because an Ethiopian delegate was admitted to the table of the Council. On the next day the Italian delegation left Geneva. The Council resolved to maintain the economic sanctions against Italy till the next meeting of the Council and the Assembly in June. Italy abstained from sending delegates both to the Council (June 26) and to the Assembly (June 30). When the Negus rose to address the Assembly, the Italian journalists present made a violent demonstration against him, in consequence of which they were arrested and then expelled from the Canton of Geneva. On July 4 the Assembly resolved to raise sanctions.

On July 25 Germany resolved to close the German Legation at Addis Ababa and to replace it with a Consulate-General. When the Ethiopian delegates were admitted to the Assembly of the League of Nations in September, Italy decided not to take any part in the proceedings at Geneva till further notice. In the later months of 1936 the sanctionist States one after the other took up negotiations with Italy for the resumption of commercial relations. In December Great Britain and France decided to close their Legations at Addis Ababa and to replace them with Consulates-General. This is regarded in Italy as an indirect recognition of the actual status.

Officially May 5 marked the end of hostilities. But military operations, described as police operations for the suppression of brigandage, were continued without cease to protect the Addis Ababa-Jibouti railway line which was constantly attacked by the natives ; to pacify the territory of Galla Sidamo ; to occupy the western part of the Abyssinian territory up to the frontier of the Sudan; and especially to seize Gore, where the Negus, a refugee in England, persisted in maintaining that a regular Ethiopian Government existed. On November 27 Gore was occupied, yet Italy was none the less compelled to keep in Abyssinia three very strong military contingents.

The administrative organisation and the economic development of East Africa were the object of numerous decrees and circulars. For the administrative organisation, a Vice-Governor General was placed by the side of the Viceroy. The Governors of the provinces are all Generals : Guzzoni for Erythrea, Pirzio Biroli for Amhara, Nasi for Harar, Geloso for Galla and Sidamo, Santini for Somaliland. On July 4 the Council of Ministers resolved to create special colonial cadres for Italian East Africa, containing instructors, sanitary corps, civil engineers corps, postal and telegraphic corps, political police, and interpreters.

The organisation of transport and the construction of roads

has been entrusted to the autonomous Road Department which has planted in Abyssinia a central supervision Office with its seat at Addis Ababa and four sub-inspectors at Addis Ababa, Gondar, Dessye, and Asmara. The construction of 2,800 kilometres of roads in two years is contemplated. The cost of construction is fixed at 500,000 lire per kilometre. 100,000 workmen, of whom 50,000 will be Italians and 50,000 natives, will be employed on the construction. 25,000 others, almost all Italians, will be used for other activities connected with transport.

Railway lines are also projected: a line from Mogadiscio to Dolo, which can be extended towards Lake Tana; the extension westwards of the Jibouti-Addis Ababa line; the extension of the Massowah-Asmara line towards the plain of Tesseni and towards Gondar; a line going from Tigre towards Massowah; and finally a cross line connecting all the lines and going from Tigre to Addis Ababa. The sections Mogadiscio-Dolo (500 km.), Assab-Dessye (550 km.) and Addis Ababa-Massowah (1,000 km.) will be the first completed. A survey of Addis Ababa is projected.

The General Confederation of Industrialists jointly with the Ministry of Colonies and that of Corporations was commissioned to study the best ways of developing the Empire. Large companies, consortiums not possessing a monopoly but prosecuting their activities on a sufficiently broad basis, are in contemplation, and some have been already established. It is intended to transfer some establishments with all their plant—ironworks, brickworks, cement works, constructional timber works. On June 17 the Minister for the Colonies issued directions for (a) agricultural colonisation, aiming at a national demographic colonisation, to be carried out by organisations already specialised; the land cultivated is to become at a later stage the property of the cultivators; (b) colonisation by small proprietors; under this, limited areas will be handed over to agriculturists possessing a small capital; (c) colonisation of an industrial type, in zones where demographic colonisation is impossible; it will be in the hands of offices established on the initiative of the competent Confederations; (d) collaboration with the natives for the cultivation of industrial products; (e) native cultivation.

Immediately after the occupation of Addis Ababa, it was announced that all the soldiers and militiamen who had taken part in the expedition would be kept in Abyssinia. But at the beginning of June the repatriation of large units was commenced and new troops were sent out to Italian East Africa, as well as workmen—the latter to the number of about 100,000. It is now admitted that colonisation will be a slow business and that a mass exodus of white population to Ethiopia cannot be expected for many years to come. The Government is anxious to preserve racial purity and has taken a series of measures against possible miscegenation.

Numerous measures of a financial character were taken in 1936 to supplement those which had been passed in the second half of 1935 to provide for the war expenditure, and of which the two principal were the seizure by the State of holdings abroad or in foreign bonds belonging to private persons, and the 5 per cent. loan. On March 3 the Council of Ministers approved the so-called " corporative " banking reform, the object of which was to permit the State to control directly the whole activity of credit institutions. This control was exercised by an Inspectorate for the defence of savings and the exercise of credit, which, while having the Governor of the Bank of Italy at its head, was controlled directly by a Committee of Ministers. The large banks were transformed into public utility credit institutions. The Bank of Italy became the bankers' bank. On June 15 traffic in wheat was nationalised.

On October 5 the devaluation of the lira was resolved on. The devaluation was of the amount of 40.93 per cent. The lira was fixed at 4,677 gr. fine gold per 100 lire nominal value, instead of 7-919 gr., the rate of 1927. This devaluation was accompanied by the issue of a forced redeemable 5 per cent. loan and by the creation of an extraordinary tax on fixed property for the service of this loan. Property owners were expected to subscribe to the loan to the extent of 5 per cent. of the value of their fixed property.

On the other hand, a certain number of social measures were taken for the benefit of the poorer classes, such as an increase of 10 per cent. in wages as from August 17, introduction of the forty-hour week on December 12, and " theatre Saturday " for the employment of leisure time.

Note must be taken also of measures intended to strengthen the totalitarian regime, such as the formation of the Fascist party into a militia on May 20 and the appointment of heads of real estate with the duty of directing the passive defence against aerial attack and engaging in work of social relief (June 24).

Notable too was the reorganisation on June 9 of the Government team. Count Galeazzo Ciano, son-in-law of the Duce, was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, the under-secretaries of the Press and Propaganda Departments, of the Colonies and of the Corporations became Ministers, and Signors Dino Alfieri, Lessona, and Lantini received new offices. M. Fulvio Suvich, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, was appointed Ambassador at Washington, and his place was taken by Signor Bastianini. A little later the Minister of National Education, Signor De Vecchi, was appointed Governor of Rhodes and succeeded by Signor Giuseppe Bottai.

In the field of foreign policy, the second half of 1936 was marked by the Italo-German *rapprochement*, the conclusion of the " gentleman's agreement " with England in the Mediterranean, **and the events in Spain.**

Count Ciano had conversations at Berlin, and then at Berchtesgaden, with the German Foreign Minister and with Chancellor Hitler from October 20 to 23. The Reich officially recognised the Empire of Ethiopia. On November 1, at Milan, Signor Mussolini proclaimed the creation of the "Rome-Berlin axis." From November 9 to 12 Count Ciano was present at the Italo-Austrian-Hungarian conference at Vienna. He then went to Hungary, where he stayed till the 17th. On November 24 the Hungarian Regent, Admiral Horthy, arrived in Rome on an official visit, and stayed till the 25th.

The conversations between England and Italy resulted on January 2, 1937, in the signing of a declaration by which the Italian and British Governments gave mutual assurances relative to the Mediterranean. A letter from the Italian Foreign Minister affirmed Italy's disinterestedness in respect of the Balearic Islands.

In regard to Spain, Italy very early manifested her sympathy with the rebellion of General Franco. All the same, on August 21, Italy gave her adhesion to a plan of non-intervention proposed by the French Government, while regretting that this plan did not include a prohibition "of public subscriptions and of voluntary enlistments for one side or the other." After Count Ciano's visit to Germany, Italy declared herself opposed to the establishment of Bolshevism whether in the whole of Spain or in one part of it, as for instance Catalonia. Following the example of the Reich, she decided to recognise the Government of Burgos (November 18). To a Franco-British Note proposing mediation in Spain, the Italian Government replied on December 12 with extreme reserve and practically in the negative. To a Franco-British Note on the question of volunteers (December 28), it replied with an acceptance in principle under certain conditions.

In the record of this year so rich in events—the acquisition by Italy of Ethiopia, the creation of the Rome-Berlin political axis, the strengthening of the State's grip on Italian economy with a view to a maximum economic autarky—we may mention in conclusion a decree of December 5 reorganising the Italian mercantile marine and reducing it to four great companies—Italia, Lloyd Triestino, Tirrenia, and Adriatica Venezia—practically run by the State through the Institute of National Reconstruction, which has become the holder of a majority of the shares. A loan was issued to finance this reorganisation.

CHAPTER III.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

GERMANY.

As far as internal political affairs were concerned, the course of events during the year 1936 in Germany ran fairly smoothly. On the other hand, the economic difficulties increased and the foreign policy, influenced by these, grew more and more restless and disordered. Herr Hitler was able during this year also to maintain the unity of the governing National-Socialist Party. Occasional tension between the divergent tendencies within the party did not lead to open rupture any more than the opposition between capitalists and workers, or between town and country. But underground propaganda continued to be carried on by the various groups of Socialists and Communists, nor could it be entirely eliminated by renewed mass-arrests of suspected individuals.

A slight improvement took place in the relations between the State and the Catholic Church. The bishops declared that the Church was ready to help the State without any reservations in its struggle against Bolshevism. As a *quid pro quo* the Church demanded freedom of movement in those domains which are of importance to it. In the personal negotiations carried on between Herr Hitler and Cardinal Archbishop Paulhaber, of Munich, a compromise was attempted. It was, however, a failure, for now as always the National-Socialist Party demanded unrestricted domination of the German youth. Membership of the Hitler Youth Movement became compulsory for all the young people of the country. Thus the Church Youth Movement was made completely ineffective.

In the same way the severe restrictions of the religious press, of Church Movements and meetings continued to be enforced. Thus an understanding between the State and the Catholic Church was not achieved.

Similarly, the relationship between the State and the Protestant Church continued to be one of suspended crisis. The Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs, Herr Kerrl, attempted to make peace in every district by appointing neutral Church Commissions composed of persons without strong connexions. But the two enemy camps—on the one side the protagonists of a Heathendom which brought with it the revival of old Germanic traditions and the so-called German Christians, and on the opposite side the clergy and the laity faithful to the Bible—could come to no reconciliation. A certain section of the leading party men continued their agitation against Christianity and the Bible. A marked tendency

became more and more apparent within the ranks of the Hitler Youth and the S.S. (the Party Police) to substitute for the Church a new heathen Germanic religion which found expression in the deification of Hitler and in the cult of Blood and Soil (*Blut und Boden*). Young people were taught: "To serve Hitler is to serve Germany, to serve Germany is to serve God." Towards the end of the year even the official moderate Church Commissions protested against the heathen tendency in the State and the party, and in this way a *rapprochement* came about between the official Commissions and the Clerical opposition. A solution of the Church conflict was not in sight at the end of the year.

The Nürnberg Laws against the Jews were administered with the utmost severity. Innumerable cases of so-called "Race-debauchery" were alleged against Jewish men, and in addition the German newspapers were expected to lay special stress on the Jewish origin of the accused in order to convey the impression that the Jews were morally on a lower plane than their neighbours. As each case against a Jew had a definite propaganda value for the National-Socialist Party, it is doubtful whether cases against Jews were dealt with on their strict legal merits. Side by side with the moral pressure, the economic hardships of the Jews were continually being intensified, so that the possibilities of earning a bare livelihood for those Jews remaining in Germany became more and more precarious.

In 1936 also a number of the political opponents of the National-Socialists were sentenced to death and executed, and the concentration camps for political prisoners were continued. The fate of the political enemies of Herr Hitler who were imprisoned in Germany continued to exercise public opinion in other countries. Thus the Nobel Peace Prize was on November 24 awarded by the Committee in Norway to the German political prisoner, Herr Karl von Ossietzky, one of the foremost protagonists in Germany in the cause of democracy and peace. Since the advent to power of Herr Hitler he has been interned in a concentration camp under the most rigorous conditions. The German Press characterised the award of the Peace Prize to Ossietzky as "impertinent" and as "an insult to the new Germany."

Some progress was achieved in the unification of the Reich. On June 17 the Chief of the S.S., Herr Himmler, was appointed as head of the police throughout Germany. The policy of the Government aimed above all at a complete fusion between the Party Police and the State Police forces and at permeating both forces with the outlook dominant in the S.S. On December 2 a law was promulgated reforming the Land Tax, the effect of which was that the separate states lost their independent sources of income from taxation, and taxes henceforth were to go directly either to the Central Government or to the local municipality, who were to provide the states with the revenue they required. Thus

progress was made in the centralisation both of the administration and of the finances, and this went hand in hand with the same process in education and the administration of justice. Nevertheless the states retained their integrity as administrative units, with the right to their own ministers.

On the whole, no serious difficulty was encountered with the food problem of Germany until about the middle of August. It was not until after the Olympic Games, which took place in Berlin in August and were a pronounced propagandist success for the German Government, that the food difficulties of the previous year suddenly reappeared in much increased proportions. But there was no actual famine, since bread, potatoes, vegetables, and fish were readily procurable. There was, however, once more a shortage of the cheaper kinds of meat and of all classes of fats, and this continued until a slight improvement became apparent towards the end of the year. The limited foreign currency available to Germany was in the first place reserved for importing raw materials for industry, and more especially for armaments. It was impossible at the same time to buy the requisite amount of cattle fodder or fats from abroad. As one leading National-Socialist put it: "The German people must temporarily do without butter in order to produce the guns necessary for their defence !"

The main object of the Government in the struggle with economic difficulties was to keep down as far as possible the number of the unemployed. In this they were on the whole successful. Towards the end of the year the official number of unemployed in Germany was given as not quite one and a half million. It must, however, be taken into account that many hundreds of thousands of young men who under previous Governments normally used to come on the labour market, are now absorbed by the Army, the labour camps, and the party organisation. Furthermore, the Government did its utmost to prevent the closing down of undertakings, so that a factory, in spite of lack of raw materials or of orders, continued to employ the same number of workpeople but at lower wages or for shorter hours. The lack of raw materials was met by an attempt at producing substitutes of home manufacture. The old process, whereby even before Herr Hitler's regime petrol was extracted from liquefied coal, was now once more generally employed. Experiments were also made to provide artificial rubber, and in place of wool and cotton, materials made of cellulose were to be used. All these substitutes proved in effect either extremely expensive to manufacture or else of inferior quality. In consequence the official Reich Propaganda explained to the German people that the only way to relieve it of the scarcity of raw materials was by the restitution of its colonies. It was admitted that the world markets were amply supplied with all manner of raw materials, but Germany did not

possess the necessary foreign currency with which to purchase them. Therefore it followed that Germany must once more be put into possession of overseas countries to be under German rule and to use German currency. Dr. Schacht, the Minister of Economic Affairs, was especially prominent as propagandist in this matter.

In regard to the supply of foodstuffs, the principal efforts of the Government were directed to prevent a rise in prices. A strict control was maintained, and small shopkeepers who exceeded the official prices were punished by having their shops closed. In the same way the farmers were closely watched to see that they did actually do their duty by bringing all their produce to market. Fats at cheap prices were provided for the poorer classes, and recourse was once more had to the system of indirect rationing whereby individual shopkeepers were obliged to keep lists of their customers for fats so that the quantities received might be equably distributed according to these lists. Reluctant as the Government was to buy foodstuffs abroad, it was once more compelled to expend some of its scanty store of foreign credits and currencies in the purchase of provisions. Thus, during 1936, Germany bought from Denmark 28,000 tons of butter, and towards the end of the year an agreement was concluded with that country whereby Germany will buy from Denmark in the coming twelve months 130,000 pigs, 130,000 head of cattle, and 34,000 tons of butter, besides lard and eggs.

The economic difficulties, and above all the scarcity of raw materials, meat, and fats, created a feeling of depression among the population and threatened to undermine confidence in the Government, seeing that Germany had not experienced an absolute shortage of foodstuffs since the end of the war. Once more it became apparent that the various classes of society were affected in different ways by the economic crisis. The mass of the workers and employees suffered through low wages and the shortage of manufactured goods. Farmers and small tradesmen were forced by the State authorities to sell their produce at low and wholly inadequate prices. The income of Civil servants was sadly depleted either directly, or indirectly, by the inroads made upon it by the constant demands for contributions to the numberless funds for the needy of the population. These contributions were supposed to be voluntary, and on this basis the Winter Help Fund was nominally collected, but when appeals were made official pressure was exerted so that no one could refuse to give. In contrast to this, the concerns employed in the manufacture of armaments made huge profits during 1936. The big industrial firms, especially in West Germany, used their surpluses to acquire a number of small businesses, among them many which had formerly belonged to Jews, but which owing to the altered conditions could no longer be carried on by their old proprietors. In the early days of the German Republic, the State had frequently participated in large

industrial undertakings or in banking concerns. When difficult times came and such undertakings required the help of public funds, they received adequate aid from the State, to which in return they handed over a part of their share capital. During the past year such holdings of the State in private enterprises were frequently bought back by industrialists out of their increased profits.

Dr. Schacht, the Minister of Economic Affairs, favoured this tendency, being as he is a staunch supporter of private enterprise. But his authority was not powerful enough to stifle completely the opposition to this one-sided large capitalist development which made itself heard not only within the party but among the people generally. It became necessary to bolster up the economic policy of the National-Socialist Party by more effective methods. Herr Hitler accordingly announced a Four-Year Plan for Germany with the object of making Germany independent of supplies of raw materials from abroad. On October 19 the Prime Minister of Prussia, General Goering, was entrusted with the carrying out of this Four-Year Plan. To enable him to fulfil his task the General was invested with dictatorial powers, but Dr. Schacht remained in office as Minister of Economic Affairs and continued his activities as heretofore. The proclamation of the Four-Year Plan and the appointment of General Goering in no way indicated a change of policy ; it was merely a gesture to indicate that General Goering, the hero of June 30, 1934, stood ready ruthlessly to suppress the slightest opposition to the National-Socialist economic policy.

Throughout the year official propaganda was at pains to make the German people think that Germany was surrounded by a world of enemies, and that it was essential for her to defend herself against Communism and its hidden allies. Accordingly German re-armament was continued without intermission. The recruits called for service during 1936 and 1937 were those born during the war-years of 1916 and 1917, when the birth-rate was low ; the number called up was therefore small. But in order to bring the Army up to the numerical strength which had been planned, on August 24 the two-years' compulsory military service for the German Army was introduced. This imposed a new and heavy burden on the people. The Government refused to grant the propertied and professional classes the privilege of a shorter period of service. In consequence young men preparing for the professions had to face the fact that their period of preparation, long enough in all conscience, would be still further increased by two years of military service and by the six months of compulsory labour service. As a sop to the discontent engendered by this policy, the period of education at the High Schools was shortened by one year.

The development of the German Navy continued during the

year on the basis of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement. On October 3 the German man-of-war *Scharrihorst* was launched, and on December 8, the sister-ship *Gneisenau*. Towards the end of the year the new German submarines aroused no little interest on their appearance off the coasts of Spain and Morocco. In like manner the German Air Arm was further developed during the year.

German foreign policy was occupied partly with affairs that were of specific German interest, and partly with waging an international war against Bolshevism. On March 7 the German Government unilaterally denounced the Locarno Pact and sent troops to the left bank of the Rhine. The inevitable consequence was to create tension between France and Germany. The Germans had always felt that the limitation of their rights imposed by the Treaty of Versailles had been unjust, and therefore this step of the Hitler Government, which extended German military authority to German territory on the left bank of the Rhine, was universally acclaimed. The Government made use of this propitious moment to dissolve the Reichstag. New elections took place on March 29. Once again only one list of candidates was presented to the voters, that of the National-Socialists, and no propaganda for any opposition parties was allowed. According to the official report, 99 per cent, of the German electorate polled for the Government list. But this result appeared to be so exaggerated that it was regarded with suspicion not only abroad but also in Germany itself. In November, Germany likewise unilaterally denounced that part of the Versailles Treaty which dealt with the international control of German waterways.

Without cease the German Government protested against the alliance between Soviet Russia and France, alleging that the pact was a danger to Germany. That was one plank in the platform of German foreign policy. The other was to draw closer to Italy. Both France and Russia were important members of the League of Nations. About the same time Italy was, in consequence of the war in Abyssinia, in opposition to the leading members of the League. As a result, the two Powers at cross-purposes with the League, viz., Germany and Italy, made common cause. Through this renewed *rapprochement* with Italy, Germany was freed from its position of isolation in foreign politics, and the Hitler Government could count on the help of Italy in its negotiations for a new Locarno Pact. As a *quid pro quo*, Germany was obliged to call a halt in her campaign against Austria. On July 11 an understanding was reached between Germany and Austria, whereby the relations between the two countries were once more restored to normal. The embargo on German travellers to Austria was removed and the German Government sacrificed the National-Socialist movement of Austria.

Throughout the whole of the year German propaganda made

violent attacks on Czechoslovakia. The situation of the German minorities in that country was painted in the gloomiest colours, **and at** the same time it was asserted that the country was **a** military outpost of Soviet Russia, and more specifically for the latter's Air Force. German relations with Poland became worse during the year. In Danzig conflicts arose between National-Socialists and Polish subjects, and these could only be smoothed over with difficulty. Renewed persecution of German schools and clubs in Poland and the judgments given in Polish courts of justice against members of the German minority were noted with deep regret by the German Press. On the other hand, nothing occurred to interrupt peaceful relations with Lithuania, and the change in the foreign policy of Belgium was received with great satisfaction in Germany. The fact that Belgium had decided in future to refrain from entering into alliances and to maintain **a** policy of strictest neutrality was looked upon as an approach to the German point of view. Needless to add that the Fascist Rex-Movement found the greatest sympathy in Germany.

All these problems of foreign policy were concerned with direct German interests. But beyond all these, at the Party Congress of the National-Socialists at Nurnberg in September, a crusade against the "world danger of Bolshevism" was proclaimed. This warlike attitude of the new Germany against Bolshevism was due to internal considerations, inasmuch as the party in authority claimed that it alone had saved Germany from Bolshevism, and that in future it would prevent the return of this menace to Germany. But beyond this consideration there was another. The Hitler regime would like to become the international centre for combating Bolshevism, Socialism, and the Jews, and in this way win the friendship of all Fascist, dictatorial, and conservative movements. If they succeeded in this, the men in power in Germany reckoned that they would gain valuable allies, whose help might at one time or another prove useful to Germany in her economic or political difficulties. But the immediate result of the violent anti-Bolshevik propaganda, which was intensified after the Party Congress in Nurnberg, brought little profit to Germany. It only exacerbated the tense feeling between Germany and Russia, and involved Germany in disputes which lay outside her own interests.

On November 24 Germany concluded an agreement with Japan, by which both Powers undertook to make common cause against Communism. The opposition of both countries to Russia even before this pact was apparent. Whether the pact **with** Japan represented something new in Germany's relation to Russia, or whether it was **a** prologue to the return of Germany into the arena of active participation in **the** politics of the **Far** East, **was not** made clear by the end **of 1936**.

The most important field for the anti-Bolshevik activities of

Germany was in a different sphere, viz., Spain, where Germany was busy during the second half of the year. The Fascist rebellion in that country had been welcomed with great satisfaction by the National-Socialists, and the whole machinery of German propaganda was brought into play in the interests of General Franco. After a while, Germany, in co-operation with Italy, furnished more material aid for the Spanish rebels. German aeroplanes and munitions were shipped to Spain. German pilots, engineers, and technical advisers were put at the service of the Spanish Fascists. Towards the end of the year, complete battalions were sent to Spain by the German Government; official figures as to the actual number of German troops in Spain were not available at the end of the year, but a reliable private source estimated the number of German infantry at round about 10,000. On November 18 Germany and Italy jointly recognised the Government of General Franco as the legitimate Government of Spain, and the German troops in Spain were represented as volunteers anxious to help the Spaniards against Bolshevism.

The attitude of the German Press to the events in Spain was exceedingly strange. The successes of Franco were invariably magnified and the democratic Spanish Government was made to appear as an agent of Soviet Russia and was in every way disparaged. But the fact that German soldiers were fighting on Franco's side was carefully kept hidden from the German public. Only in the most secret fashion were German families informed if their relatives were killed on the Spanish front. Thus the National-Socialist Government waged its first war without taking the public into its confidence. The reason is plain. The great mass of the German people are entirely against military participation in Spain. Towards the end of 1936 the intervention of Germany in Spanish affairs and in Spanish Morocco led to a new and violent conflict with France and aroused great anxiety in England.

Throughout 1936 the German-Russian antipathy found expression in the unceasing campaign waged by the State propaganda of both countries. In Spain German and Russian pilots waged war against each other, and in Soviet Russia many German Nationals were arrested. Yet in spite of this, throughout the twelve months under review, the economic relations of the two countries were in no wise interrupted, and even as late as December 24 a new economic treaty, whereby the existing regulations for trade and credit between the two countries were prolonged for a further year, was signed by Dr. Schacht and a Russian delegate. In Polish circles the favourable commercial relations between Germany and Russia were viewed with some concern, and the possibility was envisaged of a moment arriving when Hitler and Stalin might unexpectedly compose their political differences and extend the commercial treaties by offers of a different character at the expense of Poland*

In sum, the growing economic difficulties within the country itself*, which have been experienced approximately since August, 1936, were accompanied by an ever-increasing uncertainty in the foreign policy of Germany. At the end of the year German foreign policy was being torn in many different directions, while at home Germany's economic anxieties were such as to make further political conflicts quite within the bounds of possibility.

AUSTRIA.

Great changes in Austria's internal and external situation took place during 1936, which left Dr. Schuschnigg sole dictator (after disposing of his Heimwehr allies), and saw the breach between Austria and Germany at least outwardly healed after several years of conflict. But the agreement was not a whole-hearted one. The Austrian Nazis continued dissatisfied with its fruits as the year drew to a close, although in obedience to the known wishes of Herr Hitler, they were still abstaining from open hostility. Behind the conclusion of the agreement with Germany were Italy's anxieties in the summer regarding the Abyssinian situation and her quarrel with Great Britain, which induced her to try to free her hands in respect of Austria, and Germany's desire to form a great Fascist and anti-democratic bloc of States.

Already in January there were signs that the Austrian Government felt uneasy concerning Italy's ability to continue the role of effective protection against Germany. British influence was unobtrusively exerted to encourage this Austrian distrust of Italy and to draw her closer into the camp of the Little Entente—more particularly into that of Czechoslovakia, backed by Soviet Russia. (These efforts had taken concrete shape at the end of 1935 in the fresh scaling down of the claims of the British creditors of the Credit-Anstalt from 200,000,000 to 60,000,000 schilling.) The Vatican, alarmed at the continual persecution of German Catholics by the Nazis, also considered the possibility of Czechoslovakia becoming a new guarantor of "political Catholicism" in Austria; the Vatican's goodwill had been shown in the support of the candidature of Dr. Edward Benes for the Presidency of Czechoslovakia. Austria never committed herself very far along this path of friendship with the Little Entente, two of the main obstacles being Dr. Schuschnigg's refusal either to abandon the idea of an eventual Habsburg restoration, or to drop the repression of all democratic **and** Socialist movements in the country. On January 10 the Czechoslovak Premier, Dr. Hodza, paid a mysterious visit to Vienna, which the Press was forbidden to report, while returning **to Prague** from his visit to Italy. On January 13 the Czechoslovak

Foreign Minister declared in Vienna newspapers that the time had come to end the post-war coolness between Vienna and Prague. The Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Schuschnigg, paid a formal visit to Prague on January 16, and had several conferences with Czechoslovak statesmen where he gave assurances that although he was not prepared to check sentimental monarchist propaganda, he had no intention of taking any definite steps towards a restoration. He received satisfactory assurances in return of Czechoslovakia's keen interest in assisting to maintain Austrian independence from Germany, and Premier Hodza declared in an interview that he had been reassured by Dr. Schuschnigg's declarations on the subject of the Habsburgs. On March 10 an official visit of M. Hodza and a trade delegation to Vienna concluded with the signing of a Commercial Agreement which was to form the basis of a new trade treaty to replace that expiring on May 31, and in addition for new cultural and arbitration agreements. On March 13 Dr. Schuschnigg went to Budapest to reassure the Hungarians, who were bitterly opposed to any close friendship between their Austrian allies and Czechoslovakia, and on March 23 Dr. Schuschnigg took part in the signing of the Three Power Pact at Rome with Italy and Hungary. This put a check on further development of the dawning friendship with Czechoslovakia, as one of the provisions of the Rome pact prevented any one of the signatories from entering into negotiations on Danubian questions with any fourth State, without previous consultation with the other two signatories. These Rome conversations had a big bearing on other events in Austria, for there is little doubt that in their course, Signor Mussolini promised to support Austrian re-armament in defiance of the Treaty of St. Germain, and signed the death-warrant of the Heimwehr, who were to be replaced by a large conscript army.

This change in the attitude of Signor Mussolini could not naturally be concealed from the higher ranks of the Heimwehr, and had a good deal to do with the striking of a counter blow by Prince Starhemberg in the form of a revelation of the Phoenix Life Insurance scandals. While Dr. Schuschnigg was in the train en route from Rome to Vienna, his Vice-Chancellor, Prince Starhemberg summoned a sudden Cabinet Council on March 25, and issued a *communique* which startled the general public by its abrupt revelation of scandals long and carefully concealed. This *communique* spoke of "grave irregularities" and a deficiency in the premium reserves which the Finance Minister, Dr. Draxler, had to admit next day would be in the neighbourhood of 250,000,000 schilling. Gradually the full extent of the scandal became known. The Commissar for Propaganda, Colonel Adam, broadcast on March 31 a statement which included admissions of criminal maladministrations and corruption of high State

officials by the Phoenix. The head of the Government Department charged with the supervision of insurance companies, who was implicated, committed suicide at once, as did later on a former Finance Minister of Dr. Dollfuss, Dr. Karl Buresch. The fact of the latter's suicide was suppressed. Special taxes on all insurance companies and insured persons were imposed to help the State make good the deficit, so that in the end the Austrian insured really bore the burden of the long-continued corruption of Ministers and officials by the Phoenix. The extent to which the Heimwehr Fascist movement had been subsidised by the Phoenix was one interesting feature of the revelations.

The attempt of the Heimwehr Prince Starhemberg to upset the Schuschnigg Cabinet by the premature revelation of the Phoenix scandals availed him little, partly because many of his own supporters were involved. On April 1 Chancellor Schuschnigg repudiated Austrian military obligations under the Treaty of St. Germain by introducing a Conscription Bill before the nominated Diet, which of course passed the measure unanimously. This was bound, on financial grounds alone, to mean the end of the Heimwehr, and thus the further consolidation of all power in the hands of Dr. Schuschnigg and his Clerical friends. The Conscription Act provided for a differentiation between civil and military conscription at the discretion of the Government—a sign that there was a proportion of Austrians to whom the Government feared to entrust arms. On April 6 the three Little Entente States presented identical protest notes to Dr. Schuschnigg against Austria's violation of the treaty. The purely formal protest was, however, occasioned solely by Austria's methods of ignoring, on the German model, her pledged word, and in subsequent declarations from the Little Entente camp it was made abundantly clear that Austria would have had no difficulty in re-arming with their consent, had it been sought.

The quarrel between Vice-Chancellor Prince Starhemberg and Chancellor Dr. Schuschnigg became an open one when on April 26 the latter declared before 12,000 armed Heimwehr-men that the Heimwehr would be disarmed only over his dead body, although the day before he had admitted in a private conference of Heimwehr leaders that ultimate disarmament was inevitable. Dr. Schuschnigg did not long delay action against his rebellious and impetuous Vice-Chancellor. After an all-night Cabinet sitting and a bitter struggle behind the scenes, Chancellor Schuschnigg announced in the small hours of May 14 that "owing to difficulties of opinion" with himself, Prince Starhemberg had resigned. As a consolation he was made head of the Mothers' Aid Section of the Fatherland Front. A telegram despatched by the Prince three days before his elimination to Mussolini congratulating him on victory "over barbarous and democratic hypocrisy" affronted Britain and France, whose informal pro-

tests contributed to bringing about his downfall. Four days before there had been public demonstrations against Dr. Schuschnigg by Heimwehr supporters of Prince Starhemberg. Prince Starhemberg declared that "the fight for Heimwehr Fascism is only beginning," but nothing more was heard of these threats, and he finally accepted the situation quietly enough. By the end of the year it was clear that he had accepted defeat fully and retired altogether from the political field to devote himself to sport and social amusements. The Heimwehr were dispirited, disbanded, and to a large extent disarmed. On May 21 the Fatherland Front Act was promulgated by the Government. It gave Dr. Schuschnigg absolute power over the only political organisation tolerated, the Fatherland Front, emphasising its autocratic character. It further established the Fatherland Front militia, to replace the Heimwehr, as the only military body tolerated outside the regular forces, and gave the Chancellor the power to appoint its commander. Neither Prince Starhemberg nor Major Fey (who had tried to come back to public life when Prince Starhemberg was dropped) secured the appointment, but Major Baar-Baarenfels, who was shortly afterwards replaced by General Huelgerth, a close friend of Dr. Schuschnigg.

On June 1 the Chancellor paid another of his frequent visits to Rome, and was persuaded by Signor Mussolini to come to an agreement with Nazi Germany, on terms which had been under discussion in great secrecy ever since May. On July 10 Herr von Papen, who for weeks had been having confidential talks with Schuschnigg concerning the details, went to Berchtesgaden to obtain Herr Hitler's approval of the final terms, and, travelling all night, returned with them next day to Vienna. The agreement, which ended at least the open hostility of four years, due to Herr Hitler's obsession with the idea of gaining his native Austria for National-Socialism, was announced on the radio on July 11, simultaneously in Berlin by Dr. Goebbels and in Vienna by Chancellor Dr. Schuschnigg. Herr Hitler recognised Austria's full sovereignty "in the sense of his statement of May 21, 1935" (in which he advocated "self-determination" for Austria). Both countries agreed not to seek to influence the internal politics of the other. Austria promised that her policy would always be based on recognition that she was a German State, and provision was made for all further details of the agreement to be arranged by mixed commissions. Two friends of the Nazis and of Germany, General Glaise-Horstenau and Dr. Guido Schmidt, were taken into the Cabinet, the former becoming Minister of the Interior shortly afterwards, while Dr. Guido Schmidt was made Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. An amnesty for Nazis was promised and granted, although part of it was suspended for a few weeks owing to anti-Schuschnigg and anti-Heimwehr demonstrations in Vienna by Austrian Nazis

on **the** occasion of the passage of the Olympic torch on its way to Berlin on July 29. Among the consequences of the agreement were the admission of many banned German newspapers to Austria, the toleration in Austria of the forbidden Swastika emblem, and the Horst Wessel song (both, however, for German subjects only), and the raising of Germany's " 1000 mark barrier " against German visitors to Austria. The latter proviso proved illusory, as the Reichsbank refused to allot more than 10 marks for such visits save in exceptional cases. In general it can be said that the first five months of the pact showed that Herr Hitler had wisely abandoned the shadow of a certain amount of prestige, particularly among the Austrian Nazis, who were at first stunned by his recognition of Austrian independence, for the substance of tying Austria to Germany's foreign policy and a subsequent great revival of Austrian Nazi hopes. The influence of the Nazis through their friends in the Cabinet began to grow rapidly, and for the rest of the year Dr. Schuschnigg was more or less at bay, fighting—and with considerable success—to prevent Nazis from gaining ground too rapidly.

On October 1 Austria put into practice her repudiation of the disarmament clauses of the Treaty of St. Germain by calling up her first 8,000 conscripts. Shortly afterwards, on October 10, Dr. Schuschnigg carried out another midnight coup, dropping the two remaining Heimwehr Ministers in the Cabinet, Dr. Draxler (Finance) and Vice-Chancellor Baar-Baarenfels, because they refused to support the dissolution of the Heimwehr. Dr. Schuschnigg then promulgated a decree absorbing the Heimwehr into the Fatherland Front militia. The end of the Heimwehr had been preceded by public quarrelling and exchanges of uncomplimentary epithets between Prince Starhemberg and Major Emil Fey. On October 18 Dr. Schuschnigg had himself proclaimed " Front Fuehrer " at a big Fatherland Front rally (at which, of course, attendance was compulsory). An " industrial militia " was established on November 5 (to aid in fighting eventual strikes by proclaiming workers subject to martial law). On November 8 Count Ciano came to Vienna for the four-day Three Power Conference of the Rome Bloc States (Italy, Austria, and Hungary). At the conclusion Austria and Hungary formally recognised the Italian conquest of Abyssinia ; Austria and Italy expressed approval of Hungary's theoretical demand for the right to re-arm. In a speech in November 28, Dr. Schuschnigg angered Austrian Nazis by classifying Nazism with Communism and Austrian grumblers as the three foes of Austrianism.

Throughout the year the police and Government waged unceasing war against the underground democratic, Socialist, and Communist forces in the country. Thousands of arrests were made and long years of imprisonment imposed without it proving possible to stop any of the illegal printing presses and the circulation of

illegal newsheets and pamphlets. The biggest trial of the year was that of 30 leaders and founders of the Revolutionary Socialists (the successors to the Social Democratic Party after the Fascist counter revolution of February, 1934), which was held from March 16 to March 25. Mr. Phillips Price, British Labour M.P., Madame Van der Velde (wife of the Belgian ex-Premier), and other leading foreign Socialists sent to Vienna to attend the trial were refused admission to court. The trial received big publicity abroad and the sentences imposed were unusually mild. In the course of the year two other British Labour delegations visited Austria in the hope of persuading the Chancellor to modify his anti-democratic regime, to abolish the system of multiple punishments by various authorities for a single offence, to restore the rights of *habeas corpus* to Austrians, and to include Left prisoners in a wide amnesty. The Chancellor, however, refused on every occasion to receive any of the delegates.

CHAPTER IV.

SOVIET RUSSIA — ESTONIA — LATVIA — LITHUANIA — POLAND —
DANZIG — CZECHOSLOVAKIA — HUNGARY — RUMANIA — YUGO-
SLAVIA—TURKEY—GREECE—BULGARIA—ALBANIA.

THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

THE year 1936 brought no relaxation of the tension which in the previous year had marked the relations of Russia with Japan on the one side and Germany on the other. The ratification by France of the Franco-Soviet Pact in March still further inflamed Nazi feeling against Russia, and led to an intensification of anti-Communist propaganda in Germany, which culminated at the Nuremberg rally in September in a torrent of abuse and denunciation directed against the Soviet State by the heads of the German Government. The Russian spokesmen replied in kind at the 8th All-Union Congress of Soviets at the end of November. In spite, however, of this rhetorical duel, and in spite of the German-Japanese "ideological" pact against Communism, no breach occurred in the diplomatic relations between the two countries, and trade relations actually improved.

Nevertheless, a clash was not entirely avoided. While the Russian Government showed in many ways, especially through the speeches of M. Litvinoff, that it was desirous of preserving international peace, it allowed a free hand to the Comintern; and the activities of this body in Spain in the earlier half of the year provided a good ground to the Fascist Powers for supporting the rising of General Franco in July. Russian sympathies were naturally with the other side, and were shown in very practical

fashion. A "Spanish levy" was imposed on all trade union members and extended to the collectivised peasant farms. By October 27 the Central Committee of the Co-operatives had raised no less than 47.6 million roubles. Food ships were also openly sent to Spain, and, although Russia in August joined the Non-intervention Committee in London, the Government allowed volunteers and war material also to go surreptitiously. Hence Russian and German "volunteers" found themselves fighting one another in Spain, and there were sharp passages of arms between the representatives of the two countries in the Non-intervention Committee. At the end of the year, however, Russia unhesitatingly accepted "in principle" the Franco-British proposal that no volunteers should be allowed to go to Spain.

Further offence was given to Germany by the sentence of death passed by the Supreme Court in November on Herr Stickling, a German mining engineer, on a charge of espionage and sabotage. In response to representations from Berlin, the sentence was commuted to ten years' imprisonment, though six Russians condemned along with Stickling were shot on November 25. A little later German sentiment was again outraged by the arrest of 34 German subjects on a charge of espionage, wrecking, and sabotage, and forming secret Nazi organisations.

On the Japanese side the year was marked by a number of frontier skirmishes between small bodies of Mongol and Japanese-Manchurian troops along the border between the Soviet Union and Manchukuo and on the (Outer) Mongolia border. In an interview with Mr. Roy W. Howard, Chairman of the American Press syndicate of Scripps-Howard Newspapers, M. Stalin declared that the Soviet Union would regard aggression against (Outer) Mongolia as a *casus belli*. On April 8 the protocol of mutual assistance between the U.S.S.R. and the Mongolian People's Republic, to continue for ten years, signed at Ulan-Bator (Urga) on March 12, was published. On April 8 M. Litvinoff rejected a protest from the Nanking Government alleging that the protocol was incompatible with the Sino-Soviet treaty of May 31, 1924, under which the Soviet Union undertook to recognise (Outer) Mongolia as an integral part of the Chinese Republic. The negotiations commenced in April, 1935, for revising the 1928 fisheries convention on Japanese fishery rights in Soviet waters around Sakhalin, Kamchatka, and Okhotsk, led to a temporary convention being signed in Moscow on May 25 prolonging the expiring convention until the end of the year. A final agreement was reached in October. An agreement concluded in Moscow on September 9 permits the Japanese North Sakhalin Oil Company to continue to prospect for oil in Northern Sakhalin for another five years. Since 1933 the Trans-Siberian Railway and other old railway lines in the Russian Far East

have been double-tracked. At the Soviet Congress in November the completion of a new strategic line, the North Baikal railroad from Irkutsk to the Okhotsk Sea, far beyond the reach of Japanese attack, was announced. In 1936, 3,000,000,000 roubles was spent by the U.S.S.R. in the Far East alone.

Considering herself to be seriously menaced on two sides, Russia in 1936 still further increased her military preparations, raising her peace strength to 1,300,000 men (77 regular and 23 territorial divisions), with 5,000 guns, about 6,000 aeroplanes, and 3,000 tanks. The grand total of Russian forces, including territorial and special political troops, amounted after February 1 to 1,912,000 men. The military budget was more than doubled, from 6,500,000,000 roubles in 1935 to 14,700,000,000 roubles in 1936—approximately 40 per cent, of the total Budget. On August 11 the age of conscription was lowered from 21 to 19. On April 21 the limitations on the military service of the Cossacks in the Red Army were abolished, and the formation of five special Cossack cavalry divisions was begun. The appointment in December of L. M. Rukhimovitch as head of a new Commissariat for industry and military defence was a clear sign of the connexion between industrial development and military preparedness and of the intention of the Government to expand still further the armament programme.

On December 27, 1935, Uruguay, on the ground that the Soviet Legation at Montevideo was supporting subversive Communist activities in Latin America, had broken off diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. On a question of principle, the U.S.S.R. early in January formally protested to the League of Nations that Uruguay had violated the League Covenant (Art. 12) by breaking off diplomatic relations with another League member without first submitting the question to arbitration or conciliation, and at a meeting of the League Council on January 23, M. Litvinoff successfully challenged the Uruguayan delegate to prove the charges brought against the Legation in Montevideo. Anglo-Russian relations remained unchanged. On October 1, as a result of Anglo-Russian negotiations, a provisional agreement was reached for Russia's accession to the Naval Convention signed by Great Britain, France, and U.S.A. on March 25.

The attitude of the U.S.S.R. to the Italo-Abyssinian war was one of firm support of effective sanctions until the breakdown of the Abyssinian resistance. Soviet proposals for a reform of the League of Nations were published on August 28. In March the treaties between the Soviet Union and Turkey and the U.S.S.R. and Afghanistan were prolonged for a further period of ten years. M. Litvinoff attended the Straits Conference opened at Montreux on June 22. The new Convention signed on July 20 strengthened Russian security in the Black Sea. The U.S.S.R. obtained free passage for Russian and allied warships and the closing of the

Black Sea for the ships of other countries in case of war. The Swiss National Council declined on June 11 to renew diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. Moscow continued its broadcasting propaganda in English, French, German, and other tongues night by night. M. Litvinoff, the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, received on his sixtieth birthday (July 17) the decoration of the order of Lenin, the highest honour in the Soviet Union.

At home, 1936 also was a year of political, economic, and social experiments. The outstanding events in home affairs were Stalin's purge in August, the wiping out of the last vestiges of opposition within the country, and the unanimous adoption of the new "Stalin" Constitution by an extraordinary session of the All-Union Congress of Soviets held at Moscow from November 26 to December 5. In August Zinovieff, Kameneff, and 14 others were charged under Art. 58 of the Soviet Code with planning a series of terrorist acts against the Communist party leaders and the Soviet Government and with having directly ordered and organised the murder of Kirov in 1934. It was also alleged that several terrorist agents had been sent from abroad by M. Trotsky. The public trial began on August 19 before the Military Collegium of the State Court. Almost all the accused acknowledged their guilt, but from a non-Bolshevik point of view the trial was a travesty of justice: the confessions proved too much. On August 25 Stalin sent the two men who had formed with him the triumvirate after Lenin's death and their 14 accomplices to face the firing squad. It meant the absolute victory of his main idea of the realisation of Socialism in a single country against the supporters of the idea of world revolution as the condition for realising the Communist aim. Norway, however, declined to accede to an official Soviet demand to expel Trotsky. Many well-known personalities, such as Pjatakoff, Vice-Commissar for heavy industry, Sokolnikoff, formerly Soviet Ambassador in London, General Putna, Military attache in London, Karl Radek, and others were charged with complicity in the Trotskyist plot and were removed from their posts or arrested. Bukharin, the chief editor of the official *Izvestya*, and Rykoff, the former President of the Council of People's Commissars, were absolved on September 9 from the allegations brought against them. M. P. Tomsy, who from 1918 to 1929 had been President of the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions and from 1932 Chairman of the State Publishing House, committed suicide on August 22.

The 2,033 delegates to the "constitutional" Congress represented 63 nationalities and were made up of 42 per cent, workers, 42 per cent, peasants, and 16 per cent, "intellectuals"; 72 per cent, of the delegates were members of the Communist Party. Stalin himself introduced the new constitution with a historic speech on November 25 in the old Throne Room of the Kremlin Palace, Calling it "a moral aid for all who struggle against

Fascism," he declared that the Soviet Union had attained Socialism—"the lowest form of Communism." In the new "model" constitution all the fundamental principles of democracy appear ; therefore Stalin claimed that the " Soviet democracy " was the " sole true democracy " in the world. There is in the new constitution no strict separation of powers into legislative, executive, and judicial departments. The most important innovations are: The U.S.S.R. is now composed of 11 Union Republics—R.S.F.S.R., Ukraina, White Russia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Kazakhstan and Kirghisia. Instead of the Congresses of Soviets, a two-chamber parliament (Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.) will be elected democratically by secret, direct, and equal ballot. It will consist of the Union Council of 600 members and the Council of Nationalities of 242. The Supreme Council will elect a so-called Presidium of 37 members to act as a collective executive. The old disproportional representation (one deputy for 125,000 village electors or 25,000 urban voters) is to be abolished ; the new equal value of the votes means that the balance of power shifts from the town to the country, in other words to the peasants. Stalin defended the restoration of civic rights even to members of the ex-bourgeois classes, to priests, former Whites and former Kulaks, on the ground that they were no longer a danger to the Soviet regime. The constitution promises freedom of conscience, freedom of religious worship and of speech, of the Press and education, right of assembly, and no search without a warrant. But the application of these rights is limited by the fact that not political group other than the Communists is to be tolerated. The economic rights embody the right to work, rest, and leisure, the right to maintenance in old age and also in cases of illness or incapacity. To meet French criticisms that the Franco-Soviet mutual assistance pact was ineffective under Art. 49 of the new constitution unless Russia were herself attacked, an amendment was inserted in the final draft giving the Soviet Executive authority to declare war also " in the case of necessity to fulfil international obligations arising from mutual assistance pacts." On the whole no essential change in the present mode of executive government is to be expected, and foreign observers regard the new constitution merely as a cloak for party dictatorship.

On July 20 N. Krylenko and M. Kaminskij were appointed as chiefs of the new Union-Commissariats for Justice and Hygiene. At the end of September, G. G. Yagoda, the Commissar of the Interior (formerly the G.P.U.), and M. Prokofieff, his chief assistant, were transferred to the Commissariat of Posts and Telegraphs. The appointment of M. Yezhov to the post of Commissar of the Interior was one sign more of the concentration of all power in the party and the state in the hands of Stalin and his lieutenants. Of the four party secretaries (Stalin, Kaganovitch,

Andreyev, and Yezhov) two are commissaries. In February formal pardon was granted to Professor Ramzin, the principal defendant in the famous industrial trial in November-December, 1930. On June 4 a decree was issued condemning the ostracism of certain categories of citizens by refusing them the right to work. In May and June drafts of a law for the protection of the family and of the new constitution were submitted to public discussion. The draft of the new family-life code, prohibiting abortion and providing bonuses for large families, also imposing a rising scale of charges on divorce, was made law by decree of June 28. The Xth Congress of the All-Union Lenin's Own Communist League of Youth (Komsomol) held at Moscow adopted a new constitution on April 21.

The chief step taken under the second Five-Year plan was the return to sound money. The decree of November 14, 1935, which ordered the liquidation of the Torgsin-shops and forbade payment in foreign currencies within the U.S.S.R. came into force on January 1. The rouble was made sole legal tender. On January 31 the last Torgsin-shops in Moscow closed; in the five and a half years of their operation the shops had taken 50,000,000 roubles worth of gold, silver, foreign currency, gems, etc. On January 1 the new rouble exchange rate came into operation. For a time the new rate of 1 rouble = 3 French francs existed side by side with the old gold rouble rate of 1 rouble = 12.14 fr. A new decree, dated February 29, ended the system of double rouble rates and regulated the manner in which accounts concerning foreign trade and other foreign currency transactions should be made. The new valuation was applied to foreign transactions from April 1. Thus after a 10-year period of multiple values the Soviet rouble again acquired a uniform value. Following on the devaluation of the French franc on October 28, currency transactions in the U.S.S.R. were fixed at the rate of one rouble to 4½ French francs. Auditing of accounts was made obligatory in all Government bodies and public economic organisations on April 16. A decree on May 27 reorganised the State Bank; on July 15 its whole board of management was changed and M. Kruglikov, the new president, was appointed at the same time deputy to the Commissar for Finances of the U.S.S.R. A new internal loan was issued on July 1 for 18,000,000,000 roubles. All existing 10-year loans issued since 1929 (11,000,000,000 roubles at 10 per cent, and 3,000,000,000 at 8 per cent.) were compulsorily converted into a single 20-year loan at 4 per cent. The saving bank accounts totalled in July 3, 106,000,000 roubles with 14,000,000 holders—an average holding of 220 roubles compared with 172 at the same period in 1935. The foreign debt fell from 115,000,000 roubles on November 1, 1935, to 75,000,000 roubles on July 1, 1936. Soviet Russia expects to become largely independent of the capitalist world in the third Five-Year Plan **which will begin on January 1, 1938, almost without imports.**

The U.S.S.R. had a favourable trade balance in 1935 of about 5,000,000 roubles ; 74 per cent, of the whole export trade in 1935 consisted of industrial exports (50 per cent, in 1928, 25 per cent, before the revolution). A regulation published on December 31, 1935, largely curtailed the Government programme in order to satisfy the population's growing demands for a variety of consumer's goods, such as dairy produce, fruit, fish, tobacco, rubber, etc. The Soviet-French Commercial Agreement signed on January 11, 1934, was prolonged for two years on January 6, the provisional Commercial Agreement with the U.S.A. for one year starting on July 13.

Under the operation of the second Five-Year Plan the transformation of the U.S.S.R. into a modern industrial country made progress during the year, as was evidenced by the following statistics : production (in million tons) rose in 1935 for coal to 108 (1913 : 29), for naphtha to 25.2 (1913 : 9.3), for pig iron to 12.5 (1913 : 4.2), and for unwrought steel to 12.4 (1913 : 4.3). The reported success of the new Stakhanow movement (so-called after its initiator) in raising working productivity by a more rational, scientific, and efficient handling of modern machinery and methods and by progressive piece-work wages must be accepted with some reserve. It was found necessary to modify the system of payment for piece-work by taking into consideration the factor of quality. On April 11 a decree abolished State subsidies in several branches of the heavy and timber industries, which had been subsidised for seven years. In April the Soviet Government authorised the preparation of a plan for rebuilding Moscow in ten years. A harsh eviction decree empowered in July the city Soviets of Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev to take all steps necessary for grandiose urban planning schemes. In agricultural policy the breaking up of many State farms situated in the Ukraine, in the Caucasus and Siberia and the distribution of the land among the collective farms was noteworthy. On the basis of the good cotton harvest 1,878,000 tons was fixed as the amount of raw cotton to be delivered by farms to the State.

To improve transport, the weak spot in the whole Soviet industrial and defence organisation, M. Kaganovitch, the Commissar of Transport, reorganised the railway administration and pushed on the construction of new lines, of waterways and highways. A gigantic project was contemplated of developing from existing waterways a deep-water canal system that will connect the White Sea and the Baltic in the North with the Caspian and the Black Sea in the south. A decree dated March 3 compels men (between the ages of 18 and 45) and women (between 18 and 40), inhabitants of villages and farms throughout Soviet Russia, to contribute six days' labour annually on the highways in their neighbourhood. In spring began the construction of the first strategical motor road, the East-West communication

between Moscow and Minsk. A " Stalin " highway from Moscow to Vladivostok was also projected.

The fundamental school reform which was inaugurated by the decree of September 3, 1935, on the organisation of teaching and discipline was carried a step further by the decree of December 29, 1935, admitting to the universities and technical colleges persons whose parents are deprived of certain rights or who, owing to their social origin, were previously denied admission. All high schools (except military colleges) were placed under a Committee for higher education which was appointed on May 21 with M. Meshlauk, the president of the Gosplan, as its president. In 1936 there were 645,000 students at the universities. New regulations concerning the personal status of the teachers in elementary and secondary schools were issued on April 10. There were estimated to be 26,000,000 children in primary and secondary schools. A " Sverdlov " High School for the training of Communist propagandists was opened on March 7. On January 27 a decree ordered a complete revision of all history text-books. On February 7 the Council of People's Commissaries decided to abolish the Communist Academy, the supreme institution for Marxist learning and research ; its functions were absorbed by the All-Union Academy of Sciences—a fact which illustrates the gulf between present practice and former doctrines.

ESTONIA.

In January a referendum was laid before the people on the question whether they desired a new and more democratic constitution in place of the one which had been adopted in 1933, and which conferred almost autocratic powers on the President. The final figures showed 473,235 for the proposed reforms and 149,578 against. Under the new constitution, there was to be a Lower House of 80 members elected on the " English " system, and an Upper House representing the organs of local government and various economic and cultural bodies. On September 2 an Electoral Law was promulgated fixing the age for acquiring the franchise at twenty years. On September 10 martial law was prolonged for a further year.

On May 6 the trial was commenced of 154 " Liberators " or Estonian Fascists for participation in an attempt on the President and other Ministers in the previous December (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935). The trial ended on May 25 when nine of the accused, mostly Army officers, were sentenced to twenty years' penal servitude, twenty-four, including General Larka, a former candidate for the Presidency, and General Toervand, ex-chief of the General Staff, to fifteen years, and most of the others to terms varying from twelve years to a few months. Seven were

acquitted, including M. Pusta, ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs. Many of the prisoners had been pardoned in the previous year for taking part in a similar plot, and the severity of their sentences was due to the fact that they had abused the clemency then shown to them.

In June the restrictions on the buying and selling of foreign currency in private banks were removed. Foreign trade in 1936 showed imports at 86,846,000 marks, and exports at 83,191,000 marks, as against 68,757,100 and 80,117,500 respectively for the previous year.

The first half-yearly conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Baltic States was held at Tallinn in May when loyalty to League principles was affirmed.

LATVIA.

On March 18 a law was published decreeing that on the resignation of President Kveisis, which was due on April 11, he should be succeeded by Dr. Ulmanis, the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, who since May, 1934, had been virtual dictator of Latvia. Dr. Ulmanis duly became President on April 11, shortly afterwards relinquishing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Progress was made in the course of the year with the framing of a new constitution based on five Chambers devoted respectively to commerce and industry, agriculture, arts and crafts, labour, and culture (or liberal professions). Difficulties, however, arose with regard to the Chamber of arts and crafts, which had not yet been constituted by the end of the year. In July martial law was prolonged till February 15, 1937.

At the end of September, as a result of the devaluation of the French franc, the Government of Latvia changed the exchange basis of the lat from the franc to the pound sterling, fixing its value at 25-22 lats to the pound, instead of 15-5 as hitherto. The devaluation facilitated trade with Great Britain but hampered trade with Germany, Latvia's next best customer. The timber exporters at first reaped a rich harvest from the change, but their profits were soon curtailed by export duties. Orders were issued against the raising of retail prices, and the duties on the chief imports, such as tea, coffee, tobacco, cotton, wool, and agricultural machinery, were lowered.

In the second half of March about thirty Latvian citizens of German origin were arrested in Riga on a charge of being members of an illegal organisation called "Bewegung," the object of which was to propagate Nazi ideas in Latvia. They were all detained for a few days and heavily fined.

Steps were taken in May to diminish the noise of traffic in Riga by forbidding motor-horns, tram-car bells and similar

sound-signals. The experiment was so successful that it was resolved to continue it for an indefinite period.

In the first week of November a bridge across the Daugava, constructed by an English firm, Messrs. Braithwaite & Co., was opened by the President. On November 11 official delegations, accompanied by the British Minister and British residents, laid wreaths on the British war graves in Jelgava (Mitau), and expressed the intention of repeating the ceremony each year in token of their appreciation of British friendship during the struggle for Latvian independence.

At the beginning of the year the Orthodox Church in Latvia was accepted into the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople. In March Mgr. Augustins Petersons was elected and enthroned as "Metropolitan of Riga and All Latvia."

By arrangement with the other Baltic States, Latvia in September was given a seat on the Council of the League of Nations.

The second half-yearly meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the three Baltic States was held at Riga in December, when their accord on all international questions was declared.

LITHUANIA.

Relations between Lithuania and Germany, which had been strained in 1935, improved greatly in 1936. Early in the year the German Government acknowledged that since the elections the terms of the Autonomy Statute had been observed by the Directorate and Diet in Memel, and it accordingly acceded to the desire of the Lithuanian Government to open negotiations for the purpose of restoring normal trade relations between the two countries and lifting the German economic blockade of Lithuania, which had reduced the value of the mutual trade from about 40,000,000 marks in 1933 to about 9,000,000 marks in 1935. The negotiations were brought to a successful termination on August 5, when a treaty was signed removing restrictions on frontier traffic and the movement of labour and cattle, and binding each country to buy 12,600,000 marks worth of goods from the other. Trade between the two countries thereupon rapidly began to assume its former proportions. The treaty also eased the situation in Memel, and in December President Smetona liberated eight of the Memellanders who had been sentenced in the great treason trial of 1934-35, and who were serving terms of from four to ten years' imprisonment. In October, M. Kupilius, one of the leading members of the Nationalist Union—the Government Party—was appointed Governor of the Memel territory in place of M. Kurkauskas, who resigned.

On January 15 seven persons were found guilty by a court-

martial of plotting against the Government in favour of the ex-Prime Minister, Professor Valdemaras, and three were sentenced to death and four to long terms of penal servitude. The death sentences were subsequently commuted to penal servitude for life. In May, seventeen men who had been concerned in the peasant disorders of the previous year were found guilty of having conspired with citizens of another State (*i.e.* Germany) against their country, and seven were sentenced to death, and the rest to long terms of penal servitude. To the general surprise, four of the death sentences were actually carried out, President Smetona, contrary to his usual custom, refusing to commute them.

On June 17 disorders broke out in Kovno as a result of a dispute between a workman and his employer, and on the next day a general strike was proclaimed, and traffic was paralysed. The military took charge of the town for four days, when normal conditions were restored. As a result of the disorders ten persons were sentenced to death (afterwards commuted to penal servitude for life), and three to penal servitude for life.

At the beginning of February the Government confirmed and made permanent the suppression of political parties in Lithuania, which had been decreed a few months before. Later, however, after an interval of nine years, a kind of Parliament was once more established. It consisted of forty-nine members elected by local authorities on personal, not party grounds. It met on September 1, and devoted most of its first session to questions of form and procedure.

The Anglo-Lithuanian Trade Agreement was prolonged on July 8 for a further six months.

POLAND.

Parliamentary Government continued to be at a low ebb in Poland during 1936. The reason was the absence of a strong enough Parliamentary *bloc* pledged to support a Government enjoying the confidence of General Ridz-Smigly, the successor of Marshal Pilsudski as head of the Polish Army. Consequently the special powers of President Moscicki, who was General Ridz-Smigly's henchman, to issue decrees on economic and financial matters were prolonged till the end of the year. On July 13 President Moscicki announced that the General was henceforth to be considered the second citizen in Poland after himself, thus legalising his position as virtual ruler of the country. On November 10 he was made a Marshal of Poland, and at the same time changed his name to Smigly-Ridz.

The Cabinet of M. Koscialkowski, which had taken office

towards the end of the previous year, resigned on May 15. At the request of General Ridz-Smigly and President Moscicki, General Skladkowski formed a new Government inclined somewhat more to the Right, M. Koscialkowski remaining in it as Minister of Health, while M. Kwiatkowski and Colonel Beck retained their portfolios of Finance and Foreign Affairs. In a speech to the Diet on June 4, the Premier declared that the new Government would go neither towards the Right National Democrats, who seemed to have no other policy than to beat up the Jews, nor to the Left Socialists, who were too near to Communism. It began by allowing rather greater liberty to the Press, but on August 12, General Skladkowski complained that this was being abused by the Opposition organs.

General Ridz-Smigly looked for political support chiefly to the two organisations of ex-soldiers, the Union of Legionaries and the Regimental Clubs of Legionaries, which since the *coup d'etat* of 1926 had played a prominent part in the political life of Poland. At a congress held at Warsaw on May 24, it was decided to fuse these two bodies, and Colonel Koc was appointed President with the object of organising Parliamentary support for the Dictator. Addressing the Congress, General Ridz-Smigly charged it to produce a programme "intelligently conceived and suited to the present interests" of the Polish State, at the same time warning it against unconstitutional methods.

In other quarters there was a certain amount of political unrest. On June 29, when General Ridz-Smigly was present at a celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the death of Michal Pyrzyca at Nowosielcy, some 150,000 peasants presented him with copies of resolutions affirming their faith in their exiled leaders—Witos, Kiernik, and Bagninski—and demanding a revision of the constitution, an amendment of the electoral law, and many changes in the administrative system. At a meeting of the Udno (Ukrainian Party) in September, it was resolved that the normalisation of relations between the Ukrainians and the Poles depended to a large extent on the restoration to the Ukrainians of the rights they had lost since 1919. The Government found it necessary in May and June to close many branches of the *Deutsche Vereinigung* and to break up the *Nazionalsozialistische Arbeiterbewegung* at Kattowitz and to arrest its members on a charge of conspiring to detach Polish Upper Silesia from Poland.

On January 13 sentences ranging from death to thirteen years' imprisonment were passed on the twelve young Ukrainians who in November had been brought to trial for the murder of Colonel Pieracki in 1934 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935, p. 215). Shortly before, owing to the great overcrowding of the prisons, an Act of Amnesty had been passed, and under this the death sentences were cancelled and the others reduced, while altogether, in the first half of January, 17,106 prisoners were released out of a total of 53,336.

Throughout the year financial and economic problems continued to occupy the chief place in the attention of the Government. M. Koscialkowski showed a disposition to consider a certain restriction of Government trading in the interests of private enterprise, but this line was not pursued by his successor. By exercising a stricter control over expenditure he reduced the Budget deficit and restored a certain measure of confidence to financial and business circles. On April 27 some currency restrictions were introduced which had the effect of arresting the flight of capital. In July it was announced that coupons of foreign loans, etc., would not be met for countries which had a consistently unfavourable trade balance with Poland, but this threat was not carried out pending the completion of commercial negotiations with all the countries concerned. The Budget for 1937-38 introduced in December estimated revenue and expenditure at 2,923 million zl., an increase of 72 million zl. over the previous year. Of the expenditure, 768 million zl. was for the Ministry of War. The Minister of Finance stated that there was no intention of devaluating the zloty.

Immediately after the introduction of the currency reforms in April, the Bank of Poland placed 800,000l. at the disposal of the Government for public works. On June 11 the Finance Minister announced a plan for spending 72,000,000l. on public works over a period of four years with a view of reducing unemployment and stimulating trade and industry. In the autumn a scheme was drafted for the formation of labour companies of young people of both sexes between 18 and 20 under the auspices of the War Department to undergo physical training and preparation for military service for a period of two years. The acute distress among the Jewish population, who were the worst sufferers from the economic crisis, led to the Government considering a demand for colonies in order to provide an outlet for Jewish emigration. The anti-Jewish campaign of the National Democrats was condemned in the spring by the Catholic Archbishop, Mgr. Blond.

The foreign relations of Poland were marked by a good deal of friction with Germany, in spite of her efforts to keep on good terms with that country. In the middle of January the Polish railways threatened to reduce the train service across the Corridor by 75 per cent, if Germany did not pay the arrears of transit dues, already amounting to some 70 million zl. In April Germany agreed to restrict traffic across the Corridor to a maximum of 1½ million gold marks a month, and in September the question of the 100 million zl. then owing was settled by Poland setting off 25 millions against German claims on her and consenting to take the balance in the form of goods—an arrangement which aroused concern in Polish Silesia, which was thus threatened with an unfair competition. In addition to the transit dues there was

some 230 million **zl.** (over 9 million l.) of Polish money frozen in Germany in January. Poland had also to complain of the vigorous efforts made to Germanise the Poles in Germany, and of the activities of Nazi organisations in Poland, especially in Polish Silesia. The treatment of Poles by Nazis in Danzig also exacerbated Polish sentiment against Germany. At the end of the year Colonel Beck, who had always striven to maintain friendly ties with Germany, was forced to confess that relations between that country and Poland had been marked by a certain nervousness in public opinion in both countries.

In August General Gamelin paid a visit to Warsaw and General Ridz-Smigly in return attended the French manoeuvres in September. The result of this and other exchanges of visits, along with the provision by France of a 2,000 million fr. loan for military supplies and other purposes, was to put new life into the Franco-Polish alliance, which was becoming dormant.

A Commercial Convention with Russia, to replace the one which expired in January, was signed at the beginning of March, by which the U.S.S.R. agreed to buy 8 million **zl.** worth of Polish goods for cash. After lasting a year, the Soviet-Polish Press dispute was settled on April 21, when a new representative of the *Toss* Agency arrived in Moscow, and a new *Pat* correspondent left for Moscow. In December, Col. Beck visited London and discussed with Mr. Eden European security, Danzig, and the Jewish problem. Commercial relations with Italy, which had been suspended during the period of sanctions, were formally renewed in September.

THE FREE CITY OF DANZIG.

In a report to the League of Nations on January 18, Mr. Lester, the High Commissioner, drew attention to the unconstitutional activities of the Nazi Party in Danzig under the leadership of a German citizen, Herr Foerster, who stated openly that the Danzig Nazi Party was subordinate to the Reich Nazi organisation. Mr. Lester failed to receive any support either from the League or from Poland, and the Nazis treated him with ever-growing disrespect. Matters came to a head on June 28, when the Commander of the German cruiser *Leipzig*, while on a visit to Danzig, deliberately abstained from calling on him. His position from this time became untenable, and he soon after resigned. The Nazis meanwhile, under the leadership of Herr Foerster and Herr Greiser, went on with the "Gleichschaltung" of Danzig politics, which they practically completed in October with the dissolution of the Socialist Party and the German Nationalist Party, their activities being accompanied by a **good deal of terrorism.**

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

Throughout 1936 Czechoslovakia continued to work steadily for the improvement of economic and political relations in the Danubian basin ; and with this end in view she sought on the one hand to draw closer the ties of the Little Entente, and on the other hand to improve relations between the Little Entente countries and the signatories of the Rome Protocol, particularly Austria.

On January 17 Herr von Schuschnigg, the Austrian Chancellor, gave an address in Prague in which he said that closer economic co-operation between the Danubian States was essential, and that political considerations should not be allowed to interfere with it. Negotiations for a new Commercial Agreement between Czechoslovakia and Austria which had been dragging on for years were thereupon accelerated. Partly with a view of furthering the co-operation mentioned by Dr. Schuschnigg, Dr. Hodza, the Czechoslovak Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, paid visits in February to Paris and Belgrade. On March 9 and 10 he was in Vienna, where he found agreement with his view that a progressive economic *rapprochement* between the States of the Little Entente and of the Rome *bloc* was desirable. On April 2 a Commercial Treaty was signed between Czechoslovakia and Austria, based on most-favoured-nation treatment, but providing second mutual preferences limited to specific quotas. The treaty was to come into operation on July 1 and to be subject to three months' denunciation after July 1, 1937. Owing to objections raised by Germany, some of the provisions for mutual preferential treatment were removed in a supplementary agreement signed on July 8.

On February 24 a meeting of the Economic Council of the Little Entente opened at Prague to elaborate further the Little Entente " Economic Plan." As a result of its labours, a plan was drafted for an increase in mutual trade, and negotiations were opened for a new trade treaty between Rumania and Yugoslavia, communications between Constanza and Adriatic ports with Czechoslovakia were improved, and a number of Trade Agreements between Czechoslovakia and Rumania were ratified. In the autumn, as a result of a suggestion made by Dr. Hodza, an " Economic Centre " for the Little Entente was opened at Prague, to enable private enterprise to collaborate in promoting closer contacts between the three States.

Other economic arrangements made during the year included a provisional Commercial Treaty with Brazil, concluded on June 22, to take the place of the treaty of November, 1931, which had been denounced by Brazil; a new Commercial Agreement with Hungary, concluded on December 21, increasing the **total of reciprocal quotas for 1937 from 120 million pengoes**

(4,000,000l.) to 180 million pengoes (6,000,000l.); and the prolongation till March 31, 1937, of the existing Commercial Treaty with Germany. In July an agreement was made with Rumania providing for two credits to that country of 200 million crowns and 160 million crowns respectively, the former to enable Rumania to pay for munitions ordered from Czechoslovak firms, and the latter to release Czechoslovak assets "frozen" in Rumania.

As in the economic field, so in foreign affairs a strengthening of the bonds of the Little Entente was the corner-stone of Czechoslovak policy. The three Foreign Ministers of the States of the Little Entente met at Belgrade on May 6 and 7, and sent a joint telegram to President Benesh assuring him that the policy of the Little Entente would continue to be conducted in his spirit. On June 6 Dr. Benesh paid a visit to Bucharest, and had conferences with King Carol at which M. Titulescu, the Rumanian Foreign Minister, was also present. On September 12 the Foreign Ministers of the Little Entente States met again at Bratislava, and emphasised the solidarity of the three States, and their fidelity to the principles of the League, and declared that lasting peace could not be secured if any system of collective security were limited to Western Europe. On October 28, the eighteenth anniversary of the proclamation of Czechoslovak independence, King Carol of Rumania returned the visit of President Benesh, in order to demonstrate the cohesion and solidarity of the Little Entente.

Relations with Poland continued to be somewhat strained. The appointment in February as Minister to Poland of Dr. Slavik, a Slovak who could converse with President Moscicki in Slovak, somewhat eased matters, and on May 28 the Minister for Foreign Affairs stated that relations with Poland had slightly improved, one sign being that the wireless propaganda at Kattowice directed against Czechoslovakia had ceased. In September a number of Polish citizens in the district of Moravska Ostrava (Mährisch-Ostrau) were put on trial "for offences against the Czechoslovak Republic," but on a protest being raised by the Polish Government, the trial was adjourned *sine die*.

With Germany also Czechoslovakia did her best to keep on good terms, and she gave an earnest of her goodwill in December by prohibiting the public sale of two anti-Nazi papers published in Prague; but in spite of her endeavours she found it impossible to avoid friction with the Reich. Germany, it is true, early in the year offered Czechoslovakia a non-aggression pact, but this was rejected as not falling within the framework of collective security. German military preparations were naturally viewed **with** misgiving in Czechoslovakia, though even at the end of **the** year Dr. Benesh dismissed the idea that an attack by Germany **was in contemplation.** **The German military occupation of the**

Rhineland in March caused alarm in Czechoslovakia, but not being a signatory to the Rhineland Treaty she did not feel called upon to intervene. At the end of March the Government lodged a protest in Berlin against the action of the Reich in allowing three Czechoslovak citizens who had fled into Germany to become candidates for election to the Reichstag, which was a breach of the German-Czechoslovak Treaty of 1922. In response Germany in August denounced Article 13 of the Agreement by which neither State might admit as a citizen a national of the other country who had not yet been released from his original citizenship. On September 10 allegations were made by Dr. Goebbels that the Soviet Army had aeroplanes and aerodromes in Czechoslovakia. These charges were denounced in Czechoslovakia as pure invention, and when they were repeated at the Nuremberg rally the Czechoslovak Charge d'Affaires at Berlin presented a Note of protest. On December 2 the Minister of Foreign Affairs also protested formally against Germany's denunciation of the international status of German rivers.

The attitude of the Sudetic German Party—the section of the Germans in Czechoslovakia which demanded national recognition—continued to cause anxiety to the Government, although their leader, Herr Henlein, did not cease to profess complete loyalty to the Czechoslovak State. In the first half of the year dissensions arose within the party, a considerable section, mostly drawn from University professors and students, and led by Herr Kaspar, being dissatisfied with the constitutional methods pursued by Herr Henlein ; in fact, thirteen Czechoslovak Germans were in March found guilty of conspiring against the State, and others were arrested for espionage. A crisis occurred on June 11, when Herr Henlein deprived Herr Kaspar, who represented the trade unions, of his functions and expelled a number of provincial party officials. In a speech which he made at Reichenberg on August 19 President Benesh acknowledged that the Bohemian Germans had grievances, but he refused to entertain the idea of giving them national autonomy within the State.

Mistrusting German activities on both sides of her borders, Czechoslovakia took vigorous measures for improving her defences, and particularly for the protection of her frontiers. On April 30 a Bill was passed by Parliament providing for the establishment of a Supreme Army Council, and authorising the Government in the event of mobilisation or of internal disorders to take special measures in the frontier districts. Another Bill was passed at the same time increasing the penalties for military espionage. In May the Government was authorised to issue an internal loan of unspecified amount for military expenditure in excess of the Budget estimates. It was hoped to raise 3,000 million crowns (24,000,000l.), but actually 4,000 million crowns (over 33,000,000l.) was realised. In June a decree was

passed strengthening the powers of the military authorities in the frontier districts. On October 31 a decree was issued providing for the formation of a force of Frontier Guards organised on military lines.

Internal affairs, apart from the friction with the Sudeten-deutschen, were uneventful. On February 29 Dr. Kamil Krofta, the Permanent Under-Secretary of the Foreign Office, a non-party man and a distinguished historian, relieved Dr. Hodza of the office of Foreign Minister. In March Dr. Trapl resigned from the Ministry of Finance on account of ill-health and was succeeded by Dr. Kalfus, also a Civil servant and non-party man. On July 2 the German Clericals, who had six seats in the Chamber of Deputies, joined the Government *bloc*, and one of their members, Herr Zajicek, became Minister without Portfolio. The Slovak Clericals, however, under Mgr. Hlinka, could not be induced to join the Government *bloc*.

The year on the whole proved to be one of economic recovery, though special measures for relieving unemployment were still necessary. At the beginning of October, in consequence of the fall of the gold *bloc*, it was decided to devalue the Czechoslovak crown by about 16 per cent., its value being fixed at 31.2 milligrammes of gold. The Estimates for 1937 submitted in October showed revenue 8,456,499,000 crowns, and expenditure 8,454,970,960 crowns, in addition to 5,294 million crowns to be spent on public works in 1937.

HUNGARY.

Throughout 1936 "revision" continued to be the watchword of Hungarian foreign policy, but this year, too, brought Hungarian hopes in the matter no nearer to realisation. M. Kanya, the Foreign Minister, represented Hungary at the funeral of King George V., but both in London and in Paris he kept studiously aloof from the conversations regarding the Danubian basin. When Dr. von Schuschnigg, the Austrian Chancellor, visited Budapest on March 12, although he was most cordially received, the Hungarians were disappointed to find that he laid more stress on Danubian co-operation than on treaty revision; and though General Gombos and M. Kanya were treated with the highest honour when they visited Rome on April 21, no mention was made of revision. Nevertheless, Hungary refused to modify her attitude. In a speech delivered on May 28, M. Kanya divided Europe into two groups—of those who were for and those who were against the *status quo*; and he made it clear that Hungary was not prepared to accept the *status quo*, at the same time disclaiming any intention on her part of re-arming. Later in the year Hungarian hopes were revived by the speech delivered

by Signor Mussolini at Milan on November 1, in which he said that until justice was done to Hungary there could be no final solution of the Danube question, and called Hungary "the great mutilated nation." The joy created by this pronouncement was, however, short-lived, since no mention was made of revision either at the conference of the Foreign Ministers of Hungary, Austria, and Italy, held at Vienna on November 8-12, or by Count Ciano, Signor Mussolini's son-in-law, during his visit to Budapest immediately afterwards. And a somewhat depressing effect was caused by an article written by Herr Alfred Rosenberg, the Nazi foreign affairs expert, in the *Völkischer Beobachter* of November 15, in which he said that Germany, to which Hungary pinned her hopes no less than to Italy, was not really interested in the question of Hungarian frontier revision.

Subject to her demands for treaty revision being considered, Hungary always declared herself ready to join in Danubian co-operation whether for political or for economic purposes. As, however, Yugoslavia and Rumania would not hear of any frontier changes, this attitude was an effective bar to co-operation; and Hungary was again left to deal with her economic difficulties as best she could from her own resources. On April 2 the Finance Minister, Dr. Fabinyi, in his Budget statement, announced a slight economic improvement due to a rise in agricultural prices, the index for which had risen from 72 to 85. The number of industrial workers employed had also risen by a fifth. Expenditure was given at 1,211,800,000 pengos (423,600,000 on State concerns), and revenue at 1,136,000,000 pengos, leaving a deficit of 75,600,000 pengos, or 260,000 less than in the previous year.

In the early part of the year, public attention was focussed on the Peasant Entails Bill introduced by Premier Gombos at the end of 1935, which aimed at settling a maximum of 33,000 families on 416,000 yokes of land during a period of 25 years. The Bill was denounced by all sections of the Opposition as being utterly inadequate; Dr. Eckhardt, the Agrarian leader, insisted on the crying need for distributing more land, on the ground that the daily wage of agricultural workers in 1934 was only 37.5 heller (about 9d.) a day, and that most owners of less than 5 yokes in 1935 were without enough bread, and even the Conservative Count Bethlen held that it would have been quite easy to get 700,000 yokes at once.

The dictatorial methods of General G6mb6s continued to cause great resentment in political circles. On January 18 M. Konza, the Minister of the Interior, created a sensation by a speech in which he complained of interference in the administration on the part of leading officials of the Government party, notably the General Secretary Marton, and the propaganda chief Be1dy. In consequence of some remarks made during a debate in the Chamber, a duel with pistols was fought in March

between General Gombos and M. Eckhardt, with no other result than to cause a great public scandal. On April 7 Count Bethlen, at an election meeting at Szigetvar, warned the Government that Hungary would not tolerate their efforts to imitate Nazi methods by doing away with Parliament and driving the electors like cattle to market. General Gombos denied these charges, but gave no sign of carrying out the reform of the franchise to which he had long been committed.

Early in May General Gombos was incapacitated by kidney trouble, and his place as head of the Government was taken by Dr. Daranyi, a man of much more liberal views. The General's illness grew worse, and on October 7 he died in a Munich sanatorium. General Goering, Dr. von Schuschnigg, and Count Ciano were present at his funeral, at which a 15 minutes' silence was observed throughout the country. Under the leadership of Dr. Daranyi, the Government adopted a more liberal tone, and active preparations were made for electoral and other political reforms, while the obnoxious M. Marton was relieved of his post of secretary to the Government party.

In the last week of November, the Regent, Admiral Horthy, paid his first State visit abroad as the guest of the King of Italy. On his way to Rome he passed through Zagreb, where he was greeted by the Ban of the Save and replied in Serbo-Croat. At Rome he was entertained with great pomp and ceremony, and in the official toasts congratulated the King on the formation of an Italian colonial empire. At the conclusion of his visit he attended a Naval Review in the Bay of Naples of 108 ships, among which were some that he had himself once commanded when Admiral of the Austro-Hungarian Fleet. In a speech of acknowledgment, however, he declared that the war had left no rancour behind. From Italy he went to Vienna, where resentment was shown by some officers of the old regime at his having attended the Naval Review.

RUMANIA.

Throughout the year a Liberal administration remained in power, with M. Tatarescu at its head. In its foreign policy it showed throughout close and unswerving adherence to the Little Entente, but otherwise was somewhat vacillating. In its home policy it devoted itself chiefly to improving the country's financial position, and combating threats of disorder both from the Right and the Left.

On three occasions in 1936 Rumania cemented the ties which bound her to the other members of the Little Entente. On June 6 Dr. Benesh, President of the Czechoslovak Republic, and Prince Paul, First Regent of Yugoslavia, made an official visit to

Bucharest, and had important conferences with King Carol, at which their Foreign Ministers also took part. King Carol said that the three States of the Little Entente were one unit, and that they would act in close collaboration with the Balkan Entente in safeguarding their own interests and peace. On September 9 the Yugoslav Premier, M. Stoyadinovitch, visited Bucharest, and had conversations with the Rumanian Ministers as a result of which it was resolved to take measures to strengthen still further the arrangements for strategic and military co-operation between Rumania and Yugoslavia. The third occasion was the visit of King Carol to Czechoslovakia from October 27 to November 2.

For the first half of the year M. Titulescu was Foreign Minister, and during this period the foreign policy of Rumania was strongly pro-French and anti-German with a certain leaning towards Russia. This last feature of M. Titulescu's policy was resented by some of his colleagues, and brought about his downfall. It is true that on July 14 M. Tatarescu expressed explicitly the Government's approval of M. Titulescu's conduct of foreign affairs, but on August 29 he resigned, and immediately formed a new Government without M. Titulescu, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs being given to M. Antonescu. From that time the Government showed greater reserve towards Russia, and greater sympathy with Germany and Italy. Early in December, however, M. Antonescu stated that Rumanian foreign policy was still based on the traditional ties of friendship with France, with the countries of the Little Entente, and with the countries of the Balkan Entente, and Signor Mussolini's encouragement of Hungarian revisionist aspirations about this time caused a revulsion of feeling against Italy in Rumania.

A visit paid by the Polish Foreign Minister, Col. Beck, to Belgrade in May aroused suspicions in Rumania that Poland was trying to undermine the Little Entente, and M. Titulescu went to Belgrade to assure himself that the fear was groundless. When M. Antonescu became Foreign Minister, he made it his business to cultivate better relations with Poland, and for this purpose paid a visit to Warsaw on November 25. He was followed in December by General Samsonovici, Chief of the Rumanian General Staff, and M. Constantinescu, Governor of the National Bank of Rumania, both of whom discussed the question of military collaboration between Poland and Rumania.

Internally, the economic and financial condition of Rumania improved during 1936. There was a marked revival in Rumanian industries, due partly to the check placed on imports. The estimates for 1936-37, submitted in April, showed expenditure and revenue balancing at 22,972,419,500 lei. The Minister of Finance stated in September that revenue for the first half of 1936 amounted to 7,190 million lei, which was 460 million lei

more than the estimates. On November 6 the Government empowered the National Bank to calculate the value of its gold reserves on the basis of 153,333 lei per kilogramme of fine gold, instead of 111,111 lei as hitherto. Foreign currency, however, continued to be purchased and sold at the same prices as heretofore. As a result of the adjustment, the reserves of the National Bank as stated in lei were increased by about 2,940 million lei, which was advanced to the State for expenditure on national defence. Loans for the same purpose were also obtained from France and Czechoslovakia.

Various steps were taken by the Government for the benefit of agriculture, notably the introduction of a Bill imposing restrictions on the transfer of land, in order to save peasant proprietors from being expropriated. A three-year plan was elaborated for the modernisation of eight main highways and for the construction of three motor roads—from Bucharest to Cluj and Oradea, from Bucharest to Constanza, and from Constanza to Balci. The new Unified Penal Code, which had taken some twelve years to draft, was promulgated on March 17, to come into operation on January 1, 1937.

Throughout the year the country was kept in a state of unrest by the activities of the extreme Nationalists and kindred bodies. Early in the year a new party was formed by the amalgamation of the Christian League, led by Professor Cuza, the National Christian Party, led by the poet Octavian Goga, and secessionists from the National Peasant Party, led by Dr. Alexander Vaida-Voevod, which aimed at driving Jews and Magyars out of public life, and introducing authoritarian methods of administration. In January serious affrays took place between the Cuzists and members of the National Peasant and Democratic parties, and the Government in consequence issued an Order dissolving the quasi-military organisations of the Fascist and anti-Jewish parties, and forbidding the wearing of uniforms by their members. The order was not very strictly enforced, and M. Mihalake, the head of the National Peasants' Party, at a great demonstration of the party held on May 31, accused the Government of insincerity. On June 21 Nationalist students organised anti-Jewish demonstrations in Bucharest which lasted for several days. M. Titulescu upbraided his colleagues for their pro-Fascist tendencies, and on July 14 M. Tatarescu promised to take a stronger line against all extremists of the Right. The "Iron Guard," the organisation of the notorious anti-Semitic Codreanu, was in fact dissolved, but the Fascist agitation still went on almost unchecked. The "Iron Guard" was re-formed under another name, and on November 8 a huge demonstration of the National Christian Party was held at Bucharest, at which Professor Cuza affirmed that a *rapprochement* between Rumania and Germany was being arranged. With the Communists the Government dealt

more sternly ; on July 7 Emma Pauker, a former Secretary of the Communist Party, was sentenced by a court-martial to ten years' imprisonment and a heavy fine, and eighteen of her associates received sentences ranging from 2½ to 10 years' imprisonment, and on September 21 five more Communists were sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment each.

YUGOSLAVIA.

Yugoslavia during 1936 remained an active member both of the Little Entente and of the Balkan Entente. She improved her already friendly relations with the other Balkan States, and drew somewhat closer to Germany, but remained estranged from Italy, whose designs in the Adriatic she suspected ; from Austria, on account of the movement there for a Habsburg restoration ; and from Hungary, on account of its revisionist claims.

The First Regent, Prince Paul, visited London in January to represent his country at the funeral of King George V. During his stay in London, and in Paris on his way home, he discussed with leading statesmen of various countries the question of a Danubian *rapprochement*. He intended also to have an interview with Prince Starhemberg, the Austrian Vice-Chancellor, but refused to do so when he learnt that the Archduke Otto had also come to Paris for the same purpose. A little later, the Yugoslav Government informed Baron Berger-Waldenegg, the Austrian Foreign Minister, that before there could be a real improvement in the relations between the two countries, the agitation in favour of a Habsburg restoration must be checked.

Speaking in the Chamber on March 6 the Premier, M. Stoyadinovitch, reaffirmed Yugoslavian loyalty to the Little Entente and to the Balkan League, stressing the principle of " the Balkans for the Balkan peoples," and especially the desire for collaboration with Bulgaria. Speaking of Austria, he openly condemned Legitimist propaganda, adding that a Habsburg restoration would have grave consequences for the peace of Europe, and that it was therefore " a duty to repeat once, twice, and thrice, their resolute ' No ' to this question." He also reaffirmed Yugoslavia's devotion to the League of Nations, in spite of the serious economic losses which she had incurred through the adoption of sanctions against Italy.

Yugoslavia took a much less serious view than Czechoslovakia of Germany's reoccupation of the Rhineland, and this difference caused a little friction between the two countries. However, Yugoslavia reaffirmed her loyalty to the Little Entente at the conference held at Belgrade on May 7 ; it was at her instigation that the conference protested to Austria against her breach of the Treaty of St. Germain by reintroducing conscription.

Shortly afterwards Colonel Beck, the Polish Foreign Minister, paid a visit to Belgrade, with the object, it was thought, of sowing distrust between Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. M. Stoyadinovitch, however, while expressing a desire for friendship with all countries, made it clear that Yugoslavia would remain true to its alliances. On several occasions subsequently Yugoslavia showed its solidarity with the other members of the Little Entente (*vide* Czechoslovakia and Rumania), especially on December 1, the eighteenth anniversary of National Unity both in Yugoslavia and Rumania, when a joint session of delegates of the Parliaments of the three countries was held at Bucharest, and the three flags were flown together from the same building.

Yugoslavia cordially supported Turkey in her demand for the remilitarisation of the Dardanelles, and received the result of the Montreux Conference with unqualified satisfaction. In the last week of October M. Stoyadinovitch paid a visit to Ankara, where he was effusively welcomed as representative of a "brother nation." On his way home he paid a visit to King Boris of Bulgaria, and also conferred with the Bulgarian Premier. A further sign of the improved feeling between the two countries was a visit paid about the same time by the Metropolitan Stephen of Sofia and several of his clergy to the Serbian Patriarch at Belgrade. At the end of the year M. Stoyadinovitch visited Sofia and signed a Treaty of Friendship between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.

Yugoslavia carried out with some thoroughness the policy of sanctions against Italy, and suffered considerable loss of trade in consequence. This was one reason why she willingly acceded to the proposal of Dr. Schacht that she should enter into barter arrangements with Germany in order to recover as much as possible of her "frozen" debts in that country. At the end of May the Government placed orders with German firms amounting to nearly 3,000,000Z., mainly for railway material and rolling stock, and immediately afterwards it restricted imports into Yugoslavia from Britain, the United States, and other countries. At the beginning of June Dr. Schacht paid a brief visit to Belgrade, when he reiterated his views regarding barter.

In internal affairs, Prince Paul, the First Regent, continued to pursue a conciliatory policy towards the Croats, and to prepare the way for a return to constitutional government. Bitter opposition to this policy was evinced by the group led by the ex-Prime Minister, M. Jevtitch, and on March 6 one of his followers, M. Arnautovitch, fired a revolver at the Premier, M. Stoyadinovitch, during his Budget speech in the Skuptshina. Several deputies were arrested, and at the end of July M. Arnautovitch was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment, while three of his accomplices received sentences of 5, 4, and 1½ years. In consequence of the incident the Government resigned, but it

was immediately reappointed, with the exception of General Zivkovitch, who, on account of his Fascist tendencies, was replaced as Minister of War by General Maritch, till then Chief of the General Staff.

At the end of March the Executive of the former Serbian Radical Party decided to join the associated Opposition, consisting of the Croat Peasants, the Serbian Agrarians, and the Democrats. The Opposition, however, was held together somewhat loosely, and its various sections could not agree on a common programme. On account of this, and of the illness of Dr. Matchek, the Croat leader, in the summer, Prince Paul delayed entering into negotiations with them. Towards the end of the year, however, he had a long conversation with Dr. Matchek with a view to paving the way for definite negotiations between Belgrade and Zagreb, the Croat capital; and on December 1, the anniversary of National Unity, the Premier's organ, *Vreme*, expressed the hope that this was the last occasion on which this anniversary would come round without a solution of the Croat question being found.

In August King Edward VIII. of England spent ten days cruising along the Dalmatian coast and received tremendous ovations at all the places he visited. In December Prince Paul spent three weeks in England on a private visit to his sister, the Duchess of Kent, and strengthened Yugoslavian ties with Great Britain.

TURKEY.

The outstanding event of 1936 for Turkey was the ratification of the new convention regarding the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, which abrogated that signed at Lausanne on July 24, 1923. For several years the Turkish Government had shown restlessness under the provisions of the Lausanne Straits Convention, which, while guaranteeing freedom of transit for commercial vessels, with certain restrictions in time of war, and regulating the passage of men-of-war, enforced the demilitarisation of the zone of the Straits and arranged for an International Commission to superintend the observance of these provisions. At the Disarmament Conference held in Geneva in 1933 Turkey had requested the removal of the Lausanne clauses, on the ground that they were incompatible with the rights of legitimate defence, and had insisted that, if the military clauses in the various Peace Treaties were to be eliminated, the military clauses of the Lausanne Treaty should be treated in the same way. On that occasion and subsequently she was dissuaded from pressing her point, but the subject continued to be ventilated, as at the conference of the **Balkan** Entente States held in May, 1935, when the Turkish

delegate announced that, if the Austrian, Bulgarian, and Hungarian Peace Treaties were revised, Turkey would demand a revision of the Straits Convention and the right to fortify the Dardanelles. The Italo-Abyssinian war, it was held in Turkey, had rendered the position still more anomalous, as by the Convention of 1923 Great Britain, France, Japan, and Italy were pledged to defend the Straits in case of hostile attack by such means as might be decided by the League Council. Of these four Powers one had withdrawn from the League and another had openly flouted its authority, while the world had moved away from the disarmament promised in 1923 and was now engaged in a competition in armaments.

On April 10 the Turkish Government took the formal step of addressing a Note to the Governments of the nine Powers commissioned by the League to apply the rules of demilitarisation of the Dardanelles, announcing its readiness to enter into negotiation for a fresh Agreement for regulating the regime of the Straits. At the same time the Secretary-General of the League of Nations was requested to inform all the States members of the step being taken, as Turkey desired to use the machinery provided by Article 19 of the Covenant for the revision of the clauses of the Treaty of Lausanne, which she held to have become inapplicable. The conference summoned in response to the Turkish request met at Montreux on June 22, Italy alone of the Lausanne signatories not being represented. The fact that Turkey had adopted the correct procedure for revision instead of the more fashionable unilateral denunciation, won for her considerable goodwill. The new Convention of the Straits was signed on July 20.

Under this Agreement Turkey recovered her sovereignty over the Straits, with full right to remilitarise the zone. The International Commission of the Straits was to cease to exist after October 1, 1936. The Convention guaranteed freedom of commerce, both in peace and in war. In regard to warships any external Power might singly send a force comprising "light surface vessels, small war vessels and fleet auxiliaries" up to a maximum of nine vessels and 15,000 tons through the Straits by day at a week's notice. Foreign naval forces gathering in the Black Sea were limited to 30,000 tons, unless and until the Soviet Black Sea Fleet increased by 10,000 tons over its strength on the day of signature, when the total of foreign tonnage allowed in would rise proportionately to a maximum of 45,000. No one Power might send in more than two-thirds of the 30,000 to 45,000 tons, and the maximum stay was to be three weeks. In war belligerents were forbidden to use the Straits except when acting under the authority of the League or in accord with a regional pact to which Turkey was party and which had been registered at Geneva under Article 18 of the Covenant. Turkey had the right to close the Straits in case of war or a threat of aggression,

subject to a two-thirds vote of the League Council. The Convention was to last for twenty years unless denounced, but might be revised every five years. It came into force on August 15, but Turkish troops, under the terms of the protocol, had occupied the zone on July 21

The conclusion of the Straits Convention was followed by a notable improvement in Anglo-Turkish relations, which not only rendered possible the visit of King Edward VIII. to Turkey at the beginning of September, but also made it an occasion for the manifestation of cordial pro-British sentiment. In August a Turkish mission proceeded to London to discuss the unsatisfactory working of the Trade and Payments Agreement concluded between the two countries in June, 1935, and on September 2 that convention was superseded by an Anglo-Turkish Trade and Clearing Agreement. During November units of the Turkish Fleet, including the battle cruiser *Yavuz Sultan Selim*, paid a visit to Malta, and on December 2 a contract was signed with a British firm for the construction, at a cost of nearly 3,000,000l., of the iron and steel plant required under Turkey's first five-year industrial plan at Karabuk, near the iron mines of Sofranboli and within easy reach of the Black Sea coal-fields. In the middle of December Turkish representatives began in London a discussion regarding the possible conclusion of a bilateral naval agreement on the lines of the London Naval Treaty of March 25, 1936.

The success of the British firm in securing the contract for the iron and steel plant was the more significant, inasmuch as it followed immediately a visit paid to Turkey in the middle of November by Dr. Schacht, German Minister of Economics. The purpose of this visit, it was understood, was to counteract the effort that Turkey had been making during the year to cultivate closer trade relations with other countries, in view of her threatened loss of markets as a result of her previous subordination to German economic influence. At the same time Turkey had repeatedly expressed her resolve not to resort to devaluation, which Germany was credited with the desire to see her adopt.

During the year the dispute between Turkey and France concerning the future of the territories of Alexandretta, Antioch, and dependencies ceded by Turkey in virtue of the Treaties of 1921 and 1923 came to a head as a result of the treaty between France and Syria for the determination of the French mandate and the pending grant of independence to Syria. The Turkish Government claimed that 80 per cent, of the population of the territories in dispute were Turkish, that the treaties of 1921 and 1923 had automatically become invalid and that the Sanjak had the right to resume its independence now that France, as the Mandatory Power, had accorded a Constitution to Syria and the Lebanon. Early in December the dispute was referred by

Turkey to the League Council, which resolved, at a special session pending its decision on the subject, to appoint three observers to go to the Sanjak, to keep in touch with the facts and to report to the Council, if necessary. A full examination of the dispute was postponed until the ordinary session in January, 1937.

In the domain of home affairs the year was marked by steady progress with the programme of the industrial plan in respect of the establishment of more State-owned factories. As from February 1 all Turkish cargo and passenger boats passed into the ownership of the State. The formal amalgamation of the Popular Party with the State was carried out in June, to obviate the danger of a single party drifting into the position of an independent power unchecked by responsibility. The Minister of the Interior was to be the General Secretary of the party, and the Governors of provinces the presidents of local sections. A decree was issued on November 22 abolishing the quota system as from January 1, 1937.

GREECE.

During the year 1935 Greece had terminated her twelve-year experiment of the republican system of government, King George II. had resumed his throne and in his first trial of strength with the politicians had made it clear that he held to his previously expressed resolve to be king of a united nation and not the crowned head of a victorious section. General Kondylis, "king-maker" and Prime Minister, had been unwilling to sign a general amnesty in favour of those implicated in the revolution of the previous March and had made way for a Cabinet under M. Demerdjis the National Assembly was dissolved and a General Election was fixed for January 26, 1936. This election resulted in a political deadlock. The Liberals under M. Sophoulis, as successor to M. Venizelos, secured 127 seats, which, with the support of Republicans and Agrarians, brought their strength in the new Chamber to 142, while their old antagonists, the Populists under M. Tsaldaris, with 69 seats, and the Popular-Radical Union, led by General Kondylis and M. Theotokis, with 63 seats, could muster, with 7 followers of General Metaxas and a Macedonian group of 4 deputies, a total strength of 143. The Communists with 15 seats held the balance between the two main groups.

The parliamentary *impasse* continued until the middle of March, notwithstanding the sudden death from heart failure on January 31 of General Kondylis, who served as a rallying-point for irreconcilable anti-Venizelists. On March 7 M. Sophoulis was elected President of the Chamber and accepted the King's invitation to form a Cabinet. He failed, however, to secure the co-operation of M. Tsaldaris and a few days later expressed his

readiness, as leader of the majority party, to support M. Demerdjis, if the latter were invited to reconstruct his Ministry. On March 15 a new Government was formed under M. Demerdjis, with General Metaxas as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for War. Before the Chamber reassembled M. Demerdjis died suddenly of syncope on April 13, and General Metaxas became head of the Government. The Chamber met on April 22, and a week later the Government gained a vote of confidence on its declared programme by 241 votes to 16. Parliament was prorogued for five months, and the Government received authority to govern by decree during the interval, its decrees being subject to the approval of a Parliamentary Committee of forty members, including all party leaders and a proportionate number of their followers. An amnesty for political offenders was voted, together with complete restitution of properties confiscated after the March revolution. Among the latter was the large house of Mme. Venizelos, which later in the year was purchased by the British Government as its new Legation in Athens.

Death during the year took a heavy toll of Greece's political leaders—five in all. On March 18 M. Eleutherios Venizelos died in Paris. He was to be buried in his homeland Crete, but the intention was that there should be a lying-in-state in the Cathedral in Athens. Owing to demonstrations in the capital against the honours to be paid him, the plan, however, was cancelled, and his body was taken direct to Crete for interment. On May 16 M. Panayis Tsaldaris, leader of the Populist Party, died suddenly, and on September 15 M. Alexander Zaimis, the late President of the Greek Republic, who had been Prime Minister ten times and was for five years High Commissioner of Crete, died at the age of 81 years.

In spite of the King's desire to reign over a united people, political parties, or at least their leaders, showed little inclination and less ability to sink personal differences and to pull together for the benefit of the country as a whole. By its adjournment for five months Parliament had escaped from the position of having the Communist Party with the controlling vote, but party jealousy found plenty of scope for obstruction in the Parliamentary Committee. The Communists in the meantime were active and sought to batten on any unrest or dissatisfaction that manifested itself up and down the country. A strike at Salonika early in May, attributed to Communist agitators, involved bloodshed and was followed during the next few weeks by labour troubles at other centres. The Cabinet sought to deal with the situation and prepared a decree fixing a minimum wage, but providing for compulsory arbitration in labour disputes and for the Government's intervention in the administration of the provident funds of trade unions. The reply of the union leaders was to call a general strike for August 5. General Metaxas, however, struck

first. Late on August 4 he obtained the **Kong's signature for decrees** proclaiming martial law, suspending the operation of **certain** articles of the Constitution affecting the liberty of the subject, and dissolving the Chamber. Although the Communist threat was the ostensible reason for the introduction of **an** absolutist regime—all the Communist deputies, except one who escaped, were at once arrested—General Metaxas was also influenced by the hopelessness of the political situation as a result of the failure of the politicians to abandon their personal rivalries **and** to collaborate in government.

Although the *coup d'etat* was the outcome of a sudden decision, General Metaxas soon showed that, in addition to establishing **a** viable administration, he intended to work to a definite programme of reform, which was to include social assistance, the development of industry and the reorganisation of the country's defensive forces. The new regime was unchanged at the end of the year and by that time had introduced, among other measures, minimum wages for workers, compulsory arbitration on labour disputes, health insurance and the protection of workers of minor age. Attention was given to improving the housing conditions of refugee populations, and for the better administration of Athens, the Piraeus and their suburbs, the whole district was placed under a Governor having Cabinet rank, with a Nomarch, or Prefect, as the head of the civil, administrative, and police authorities. The only indication of any actual challenge to the absolutist regime was the announcement on December 1 of the discovery of a plot against the Government, which resulted in nine of the men arrested being sentenced by a special court to terms of imprisonment ranging from six months to two years.

After negotiations extending over eighteen months Greece made a further agreement with her foreign Bondholders. Under the new Debt Settlement the Greek Government pays 40 per cent, of the interest due on the country's external debt in respect of 1935-36 and 1936-37, in the place of the 35 per cent, previously offered. Greece has been in default on her two League Loans since 1932-33, since when payments have ranged from 27½ to 40 per cent. In the third week of August new and drastic restrictions were imposed on the export of foreign exchange. As a result of a visit (June 13-15) from Dr. Schacht, German Minister of Economics, an agreement was made regarding Greco-German commercial exchanges for the balancing of the clearing account (which showed an active trade balance of over 2,000,000l. in favour of Greece) by means of Greek purchases from Germany.

In foreign affairs the chief event of the year was the insistence by Greece, at the meeting of the States of the Balkan Pact, held in Belgrade at the beginning of May, **on** the recognition by **her** co-signatories that her obligations **under the pact should not involve her** in conflict with **a** Power outside the **Balkan Peninsula.**

During the course of his Mediterranean cruise, on board the yacht *Nahlin*, King Edward VIII. visited Greek waters and spent a few hours in Athens,

On November 17, thirteen years after his death, the mortal remains of King Constantine, with those of Queen Sophie and Queen Olga, his mother, were brought to Greece for burial at Tatoi, the royal estate near Athens.

BULGARIA.

The problem of a return to normal political life may be said to have occupied Bulgaria throughout the year 1936. Since the *coup d'etat* of May 19, 1934, the country has been without a Parliament. In April, 1935, the replacement of a purely military rule, first under Colonel Gheorghieff and then under General Zlateff, by a Government under a former diplomatist who had not been identified with any political party, was regarded as the first step towards the reintroduction of a more representative regime; and when in the following November M. Kiosseivanoff succeeded M. Tosheff as Prime Minister, it was announced that the new Government would give early attention to the drafting of a new Constitution and a new electoral law.

Difficulties in the way of a return to stricter constitutionalism have arisen from several quarters. In the first place when the military, having satisfied themselves that, however efficiently they might engineer *coups d'etat*, they were not successful administrators, surrendered the reins of government into civilian hands, King Boris was induced to sign a proclamation that there should be no return to the political conditions that had prevailed before the Military League seized power. The Military League was dissolved by Royal Decree in March, 1936, but the Army and Officers of the Reserve have remained a potential factor in the background and are not likely to forget the King's undertaking.

A further difficulty exists in the fact that, although the law suppressing the old political parties remains on the Statute Book, in practice it has been found impossible to work upon any scheme for a resumption of normal political life without some reference to the proscribed political parties. The two strongest groupings in Bulgaria are the Agrarians and Dr. Tzankoffs following with its marked National-Socialist leanings after the German pattern; they cannot be altogether ignored in any return to normalcy, but to take note of them otherwise than as political parties presents a grave dilemma. The attempt was abandoned last July, when after seven weeks of negotiations M. Kiosseivanoff reformed his Cabinet and included in the new Government three party politicians (two of them followers of Dr. Tzankoff) and seven non-party men). Personal antagonism was held responsible for

the failure to include Dr. Tzankoff himself and M. Guitcheff, leader of the former Agrarian Union. From the time of this reconstruction until the middle of October it was generally accepted that the influence of Dr. Tzankoff on the course of the country's affairs was steadily increasing, and by many it was thought to be merely a question of time before he took the inevitable step of establishing a dictatorship. On October 22, however, after an audience of King Boris, Dr. Tzankoff's nominees in the Cabinet resigned, and the same evening the Tzankoff Club was raided by the police, the premises closed and the archives confiscated. Two non-party men were appointed to the vacant posts in the Cabinet. The new Government announced that the General Election that had been promised for October would not be held until such time as a really free appeal to the people could be made. Bulgaria, accordingly, remained without a Parliament; but as far as the wishes of the people have been manifested, they would seem to have less liking for the totalitarian State that Dr. Tzankoff is credited with being anxious to form under his own direction than for the present indeterminate regime which is supposed to be seeking to evolve a species of parliamentary government without political parties. During November Dr. Tzankoff left Bulgaria on a month's tour. He visited Belgrade, where he had previously been identified with a policy of animosity towards Yugoslavia, and declared himself a supporter of the movement for the establishment of friendship between the two countries; he then went to Germany, where he was received by Herr Hitler. Shortly after his departure from Bulgaria thirty-two persons of varying political sympathies, including members of the Guitcheff Agrarians, Dr. Tzankoff's National-socialists and Zveno, were arrested in connexion with the despatch of anonymous letters attacking the King.

During the year King Boris undertook two journeys abroad. In January he came to England for the funeral of King George V., and on the way home made short stays in Paris and Belgrade. In the late summer he visited Italy and Central Europe, and again was the guest of the Prince Regent of Yugoslavia, this time at Bled. The visits exchanged between the Royal Houses of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, which have been inaugurated in 1934, led finally, at the instance of Bulgaria, to negotiations for a formal pact between the two neighbour countries. On December 31 it was officially announced in Belgrade that the Yugoslav Government had informed the Bulgarian Government of its readiness to conclude a pact of friendship, for which the consent of Yugoslavia's partners in the Balkan Pact and the Little Entente had already been secured.

On December 17, 1935, the trial of Colonel Damian Veltcheff, Major Stantcheff and twenty-five others, charged with participation in a subversive movement (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935, p. 240)

had begun. It was concluded in the third week of February. Fourteen of the accused were acquitted : Colonel Veltcheff and Major Stantcheff were sentenced to death, and the others were condemned to various terms of penal servitude. After the fate of the two leaders had been in the balance for some time, the sentences of death were commuted by King Boris on March 29 to imprisonment for life, the penalty imposed also on the two surviving members of the triumvirate that directed the Military League when its dissolution was decreed.

In the course of the year Sofia received a number of notable visitors. In June Dr. Schacht, President of the Reichsbank and Minister of Economics in the German Government, included Bulgaria in a tour of Central and South-Eastern Europe, in the course of which he contrived to persuade the States that were experiencing difficulty in obtaining from Germany money for goods long since delivered to accept payment by way of purchases of German goods. During the same month a delegation of the British Legion, under Major F. W. C. Fetherston-Godley, had an enthusiastic welcome in Sofia, where in May Sir Edward Boyle, Chairman of the Balkan Committee in London, had handed over to the Sofia University a mace presented by the University of Oxford. The most notable visit, however, was that paid by King Edward VIII., who returned from his Mediterranean cruise overland from Istanbul. His journey by day through Bulgaria enabled him to spend a few hours with King Boris and to visit Sofia.

A new agreement between the Bulgarian Government and foreign Bondholders regarding payment of interest on League Loans was reached in March. In April, 1934, Bulgaria had agreed to transfer 32½ per cent, of the interest on her external debt for two years, but by the following November she was in default. In January, 1935, transfers were reduced to 15 per cent. As the result of fresh negotiations the Bulgarian Government agreed to provide 32½ per cent, of the interest in effective leva and to raise the percentage transferred from 15 to 21½. It was to continue to provide the balance of the full service, 67½ per cent, of the interest and full sinking fund, in non-interest-bearing Treasury Bonds.

ALBANIA.

Twelve financial, trade, and economic agreements with Italy were signed at Tirana on March 19. At the same time cordial messages were exchanged between the Albanian Premier and the Duce and between the Albanian and Italian Parliaments. The news caused great concern in Belgrade, where it was thought that Albania was again being brought within the sphere of Italian influence.

CHAPTER V.

LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE : BELGIUM
— NETHERLANDS — SWITZERLAND — SPAIN — PORTUGAL —
DENMARK—SWEDEN—NORWAY—FINLAND.

BELGIUM.

THE special powers conferred on the Government in 1935 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935) expired on March 31, and on April 5 M. van Zeeland, the Prime Minister, made a report to the Chamber on the use which the Government had made of them. He stated that the monetary problem no longer existed and that the Belgian franc was again becoming a sane currency. The balance between wholesale and retail prices had been restored, the costs of production had been lowered, and with them the cost of money. The Budget had been balanced and reserves of a sum of 4,350 fr. million from the profits of devaluation had been turned over to the Treasury. Taxes had been lowered, unemployment had been cut down by 40 per cent., and the whole economic activity of the country increased by 20 per cent. The report was adopted by the Chamber on April 10, when M. van Zeeland paid a tribute to the loyalty of his Socialist and Liberal colleagues in the Cabinet. A motion approving the policy pursued by the Government during the special period was passed unanimously save for three Communist dissentients.

The Chamber and the Senate were dissolved on April 22. Since 1932 the population had increased by 600,000, and the number of voters was now estimated at 2,652,000, so that it was necessary to increase the number of seats in the Chamber from 187 to 202. For these there were 1124 candidates, including 16 women. The General Elections was held on May 24, and resulted, in the case of the Chamber, as follows : Socialists, 70 ; Catholics, 63 ; Liberals, 23 ; Rexists, 21 ; Flemish Nationalists, 16 ; Communists, 9. The Socialist lost three seats, the Catholics 16, and the Liberals 1 ; the Flemish Nationalists gained 8 seats, and the Communists 6, while the Rexists were an entirely new party which had been founded in the previous year by M. Leon Degrelle by a secession from the Catholics. They were uncompromisingly anti-Socialist, but otherwise differed from the Catholics rather on personal grounds than on grounds of policy. Their success in the election caused general surprise.

The Senate as ultimately constituted on June 30 consisted of 66 Socialists, 57 Catholics, 19 Liberals, 12 Rexists, 9 Frontists, and 4 Communists.

On May 26 M. van Zeeland considering the task for which he had taken office to be completed, resigned with his Cabinet.

The formation of a new Government proved very difficult; at the pressing request of the King M. Van Zeeland undertook the task again, but it was not till the third attempt, and after M. Vandervelde, the Socialist leader, had also tried, that he succeeded on June 14 in bringing together a Cabinet containing 4 Catholics, 5 Socialists, 3 Liberals, and 1 Christian Democrat, besides a military man, General Denis, as Minister of Defence. The Socialists had one portfolio more and the Liberals one less than in the preceding Cabinet, the Catholics the same number. The Ministers who were not reappointed were M. Paul Hymans, M. Deveze, Vicomte Poulet, and M. du Bus. A new office was created in the shape of the Ministry of Health, which was taken by M. Vandervelde. M. Huysmans, the Socialist Burgomaster of Antwerp, was elected President of the Chamber.

On June 24 M. van Zeeland made in the Chamber a statement of policy in which he said that the Government's first consideration would be to raise the standard of living of the workers. For this purpose Bills would be introduced prescribing a minimum wage of 32 fr. for eight hours' work, a 40-hour week in certain industries, six days' holiday with pay a year, increased family allowances, and an increase of 5 per cent, in unemployment allowance. Other points in the programme were the lowering of the retiring age of officials from 65 to 60, raising of the school-leaving age, compulsory insurance against unemployment and sickness, and national control of the manufacture of arms and war supplies. On June 29 a vote of confidence in the Government was passed in the Chamber by 119 votes to 51, with 9 abstentions. The opposition consisted of Rexists, Flemish Nationalists, Communists, and a number of Socialists, while the abstainers were Roman Catholics.

In the Budget for 1937, which was introduced on September 30, revenue was estimated at 10,737 million fr., and expenditure at 10,566 million fr. Just before this, Belgium had notified the British, French, and United States Governments of its adhesion to the declaration issued by them in support of the French franc. By a decree dated March 31 the belga was definitely stabilised at the rate provisionally adopted a year before—viz., 0.150682 gr. of fine gold, representing a reduction of 28 per cent, on the basis fixed in 1926.

The chief task to which the Government devoted itself throughout the year was the strengthening of the national defences. Reports of German military movements in the Rhineland in January intensified popular interest in the subject, and on February 11 M. Deveze, the Minister of National Defence, brought forward a Bill for prolonging the period of service of all arms, with the object of ensuring a permanent supply of armed men for covering the frontier. The Socialists decided to oppose the proposals, and on February 27 the Chamber rejected the **Bill** by 94 votes to 62.

The German occupation of the Rhineland and denunciation of the Locarno Treaty which took place shortly afterwards naturally caused great alarm in Belgium, but the country was reassured by the announcement made by the British Foreign Minister that Britain would be in honour bound to assist Belgium or France if either were attacked by Germany. On March 10 M. van Zeeland declared in the Chamber that Germany's act had affected Belgium more gravely and more brutally than any other country, although the Belgian attitude had not given even a pretext for reproach of any kind, since the Franco-Soviet Pact in no way concerned Belgium, which had always observed the Locarno Pact both in the letter and the spirit. M. van Zeeland subsequently took part in the discussions in London on the German act, and on March 20 he read in the Chamber, amid cries of approval, the British letter assuring the Belgian Government of British support according to the Locarno Treaty if conciliation failed. [See under Public Documents for the terms of this letter.] The suggestion shortly afterwards made by Germany that she might possibly return to the League of Nations brought a certain sense of relief.

The chief lesson which the Belgian people drew from this crisis was that the country must look to its defences, and in March a mixed Commission of Members of Parliament and military officers was formed to examine the question. This body, on July 4, passed a resolution stating that the permanent organisation of Belgian defence should follow the line of foreign policy adopted by the Government, and that Belgian military organisation should not be made to appear as permanently directed against any particular nation or be linked up with the defence of another country. At a sitting of the Commission on August 12 General van den Berge, Chief of the General Staff, stated that 500,000,000 fr. was needed for the modernisation of the defence forces, which were particularly in need of aeroplanes. Meanwhile, in the middle of July, the Government, on the suggestion of the Army General Staff, had decided that most of the militia class of 1935 due to be released in August should be kept with the colours. This measure affected about 30,000 men, and caused some discontent.

On October 14 a Council of Ministers was summoned by King Leopold to consider the question of national defence and military service. The King first pointed out that Belgian military policy, like the foreign policy by which it was determined, must be directed to keeping war away from Belgian territory. The geographical situation of the country compelled the Government to maintain a military machine large enough to deter any of Belgium's neighbours from using her territory as a base for attacking another State. By fulfilling this mission, Belgium would contribute to the peace of Western Europe. As reasons

for this reinforcement of the national defences the King mentioned the re-armament of Germany, the complete militarisation of Italy, the reoccupation of the Rhineland, the weakening of the bases of international security by infractions of conventions, even when freely entered into, and the weakness of the League of Nations. Belgian opinion, he said, was unanimous that the defence of the country should be strengthened, but Belgian undertakings should not go beyond that. Even a purely defensive alliance would not lead to the desired end, since nowadays an ally could not intervene in time to prevent a lightning attack. Belgium must therefore follow a policy entirely and exclusively Belgian, and aim at keeping the country outside of any disputes between its neighbours.

King Leopold's speech was subsequently made public. It not unnaturally created the impression that Belgium desired to pursue a policy of isolation, and while for this reason it was welcomed by the Flemish party at home, it aroused serious concern in France and England. In response, however, to inquiries from the Governments of these two countries it was explained that the King had merely desired to emphasise the necessity for strengthening the national defences, and that Belgium was contemplating no change in policy and would remain true to her engagements. In a statement to the Chamber on October 28 M. Spaak, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, repeated these assurances and said that there could be no question of Belgium returning to the pre-war status of neutrality; and on the next day the Government's foreign policy was approved by 126 votes to 46 with 10 abstentions.

At the same time the Government brought forward a Defence Bill prolonging the term of service for all infantry regiments from 8 to 18 months, and strengthening the other arms of the service. To placate the Socialists, the term for certain units was reduced to 12 months. In the debate which commenced on December 1 the Government accepted an amendment reducing the period for the rest from 18 to 17 months. The Bill was then passed by 137 votes to 43, with 8 abstentions.

Though the Government commanded a majority in Parliament, its position was jeopardised by the agitation carried on by the Rexist Party outside Parliament. M. Degrelle, the Rexist leader, had acquired his popularity chiefly by denouncing the older parties as corrupt, and he had in fact brought certain cases of corruption to light; it was no doubt on account of his exposures that the Union Catholique in February forbade Senators and Deputies to hold positions as directors of commercial or industrial firms so long as they represented the party in Parliament—a decision that affected a number of ex-Ministers. He also carried on an anti-Parliamentary campaign which the Government considered dangerous, and which it determined to

stop. A trial of strength took place on Sunday, October 25, when the Rexists planned a great demonstration at Brussels for which they had ordered 61 special trains. They expected a gathering of 250,000 people, and the Premier declared that such a meeting would be dangerous to public order, and could not be allowed. The Rexists persisted in their determination to hold the meeting, but the Government took steps to prevent the threatened influx, and when M. Degrelle made a speech he was arrested. Owing to the energetic measures taken by the Government, the demonstration was a fiasco. The Government's action was soon after endorsed by the Chamber, and from that time M. Degrelle's influence began to wane.

At the beginning of June grave unrest broke out in the mining and other industries, and before long some 400,000 men were on strike. The Government made energetic efforts to restore peace, and by the end of June most of the strikers had resumed work after obtaining higher wages and other concessions.

THE NETHERLANDS.

The year 1936, which for the Netherlands as for other countries had been mainly one of deep anxiety, closed on a note of gladness, on account of the betrothal of Princess Juliana, the heiress to the Throne, and the preparations for the wedding. On September 8 Queen Wilhelmina personally announced the betrothal by wireless to the people of the Netherlands, whilst the Prince-Consort-to-be, Prince Bernhard of Lippe-Biesterfeld, introduced himself by the same medium. The friendly behaviour of the youthful Prince, who with his Royal betrothed moved freely among the public, won the hearts of the people, which eagerly welcomed this fresh opportunity of showing its warm affection for the House of Orange. The wedding was fixed for January 7, 1937, but a spirit of good cheer was in the air from the very day—December 19—on which banns were put up.

Another factor in promoting a more cheerful feeling was the revival which manifested itself in business life and in some of the industries. This was due partly to a certain measure of economic improvement noticeable in some quarters, partly to the abandonment of the gold standard on September 27. As late as September 26, even after France had decided on the devaluation of the franc, the Government intimated its intention of adhering to the gold standard. On September 27, however, Switzerland also gave up the gold standard and decided to adapt its currency to the leading exchanges. Thus the Netherlands remained the only country to preserve its old parity intact, a "position of honour," as the Leader of the Cabinet, Dr. Colijn, called it in his wireless address on September 28, which, however,

it proved impossible to maintain in the face of the altered economic and monetary conditions. The constant and increasing pressure on the guilder and hence on the gold stocks of the Netherlands Bank made it inevitable that the Government—which had always energetically opposed devaluation—should sooner or later abandon the gold standard ; and it preferred to do so at once of its own free will, rather than afterwards under compulsion. For this reason, from September 27 onward, the export of gold was prohibited. A Bill was passed by the States-General providing for the institution of an equalisation fund of fl.300 million, in order to prevent unnecessary depreciation of the guilder. The Government did not consider it desirable to fix a definite percentage of devaluation ; it wanted the guilder to find its own level. Events in the next few months showed that a greater use should have been made of the equalisation fund in order to avoid an undesirable appreciation of the guilder rather than an undue depreciation of it. The actual depreciation fell short of the 20 per cent, which had more or less been reckoned on. At the same time, the Government took legislative measures against price inflation and hoarding, its efforts in this direction obtaining the whole-hearted co-operation of trade. At the end of the year the devaluation proved to have stimulated various branches of industry to renewed activity without the cost of living for the people at large having materially increased. Towards the end of October the Government had already come into line with Great Britain, France, and the United States on the question of monetary co-operation.

The devaluation of the guilder served further to remove one of the points of difference between the Government and part of the majority in Parliament by which it was supported and which—more especially the Roman Catholic section—had for a long time urged the abandonment of the gold standard. Another point of difference, viz., the lightening of the fixed burdens weighing more particularly on agriculture, was temporarily removed by the rejection of a Bill which, while designed to satisfy the demands of the Roman Catholics in the matter of relief, was regarded by some members of the Chamber as going too far and by others as not going far enough. As the Government had not staked its existence on the Bill, its rejection had no political consequences. The crisis of the summer of 1935 had proved that the Roman Catholics, being unwilling to form a Cabinet with the sole aid of the Social Democrats, could not take over the reins of Government, and accordingly they showed themselves prepared to give the Colijn Cabinet in its last year their conditional support.

The Social Democratic Labour Party, on its part, although adhering to its Labour Plan drafted the year before, continued to show an increasing disposition to co-operate with the bourgeois parties, and refused emphatically to combine with the

Revolutionary Socialists and the Communists in forming a " People's Front," as proposed by the last-named. The menace which in their opinion lurked for the Netherlands also in the dictatorial regime and growing militarism across the frontier, aroused also in the Social Democrats a strong national feeling, which *inter alia* found expression in a heightened loyalty to the dynasty, already so popular in the Netherlands, and in a willingness on certain conditions to vote for military expenditure, to which, in fact, even the Communists showed themselves prepared to consent. The Radicals also proved to have been cured by the dangerous developments of international relations of their inclination towards one-sided disarmament of the Netherlands, which they had advocated so ardently ever since the war. This was due in particular to the sending of German troops to the Rhine district, which had been demilitarised after the war. The resultant tension forced the Netherlands Government to keep the militia troops in training at the moment under arms beyond their normal term. This necessity showed that under the existing laws there might not be at certain moments sufficient troops available even to fully cover the mobilisation. In the course of a debate on the subject in the Second Chamber, the Government promised measures for the strengthening of the national defences, and for this purpose a Defence Fund was created, from which 22-23 million guilders will be drawn for speeding up rearmament, whilst an increase of the annual contingent for the militia and an extension of the recapitulary training was considered. The possibility was also discussed of a rapid and more efficient protection of the frontiers in the event of a threat of war. As regards the Navy, for the Netherlands no large ships were proposed, these being in the first place destined for the Netherlands Indies. For the mother-country, small craft and mine barrages seemed to be more serviceable. At the end of the year these plans were still only partly embodied in legislative measures.

The proposed revision of the Constitution, which among other things aimed at counteracting as much as possible revolutionary disturbances in and outside Parliament, also remained unfinished. A restriction of the liberty of the Press, which had at first been planned, was abandoned by the Government on account of the criticism with which it met in many quarters. On the other hand, it carried through its proposal that members of Parliament who were proved to be using illegal means to bring about a revolution in the present form of government, should lose their seats. For the sake of strengthening the Government, authority was asked for the Crown to appoint Ministers without Portfolio, whilst a revision of the Suffrage Act was proposed to confine within bounds the creation of pigmy political parties as a result of the system of proportional representation. In order

to guard against possible revolutionary movements, a Bill was passed prohibiting private military corps, which had begun to spring up, more especially on the National Socialist side.

Economically, the Netherlands seem to have passed the deepest point of depression. Nevertheless, the unemployment figure still remained alarmingly high. The fund for the creation of employment was swollen by fl.6 million, whilst with the aid of the State a company for the financing of industrial enterprises was founded. The proportion between imports and exports was favourable. Although imports dropped somewhat in volume, they increased a little in value, partly as a result of the devaluation. Exports increased both in bulk and value. The adverse trade balance dropped from fl.483 million in 1933, to fl.272 million in 1936.

The national finances also gave evidence of a certain revival, although in the Ordinary Budget for 1937 a deficit of fl.45 million had still to be reckoned on (as against an estimated deficit for 1936 of fl. 119 million). Measures for meeting this deficit to the extent of fl.36 million were immediately proposed, partly from new sources of revenue and partly by further retrenchments. In his Explanatory Memorandum, the Minister for Finance declared that if the signs of the times were not deceptive, "a turn of the tide was near at hand." The State credit also proved not to have been affected by the devaluation of the guilder. Of a fl. 100 million 3 per cent, loan, issued in November, 1936, fl.50 million was taken up privately, whilst the remaining fl.50 million was seven times over-subscribed. The loan was issued at the rate of 95½ per cent., but at the end of the year the rate had almost reached par. In January, 1936, a fl. 104 million 4 per cent, loan was issued at the rate of 99 per cent. The position of the Netherlands Bank, whose charter was renewed, also continued strong. At the end of the year the available metal balance totalled about fl.300 million, whilst the claims payable on demand were covered to an extent of 70 per cent.

The course of affairs in Europe was naturally watched in the Netherlands with great apprehension. The sanctions against Italy received the energetic support of the Netherlands at Geneva and were as energetically carried through, although grave economic loss was incurred thereby. When it became practically impossible to uphold the sanctions, however, the Netherlands Foreign Minister, Jhr. de Graeff, made a statement at Geneva, also on behalf of a number of other small and "neutral" Powers, to the effect that in the future the Netherlands also would only be prepared to participate in sanctions if the League of Nations assumed a universal character and a revision of certain articles of the Statute should be considered. A Netherlands ambulance worked for a number of months at the Abyssinian front. The unilateral cancellation by Germany of the Rhine Navigation

Act of Mannheim filled the Netherlands with concern for the future, their interests in this waterway being of very great importance. A dispute which arose with Germany over the expulsion from Limburg of a number of Germans who had engaged on political propaganda, to which Germany retaliated by expelling from the country a number of absolutely innocent Netherlands who had been residing at Berlin for years, was settled by negotiation. A dispute of a few years' standing with Belgium in the matter of the tapping of water from the Meuse was laid by the Netherlands Government before the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. With regard to Spain the Netherlands immediately adopted the non-intervention policy and laid an embargo on the export of war materials, whilst the recruiting of volunteers was subjected to close supervision.

SWITZERLAND.

The Federal President for 1936 was Herr Meyer (Zurich) and the Federal Vice-President Signor Motta (Ticino). The Joint Federal Assembly on December 17 elected Signor Giuseppe Motta as Federal President for 1937. This will be Signor Motta's fifth term of office as Federal President in the twenty-five years that he has been a Bundesrat, and he received the congratulations of most Governments on his appointment.

No change took place in the composition of the Bundesrat in 1936. The Chief of the General Staff, Chief Corps Commander Heinrich Roost, died on June 9 and was succeeded by Chief Commander of Division Jakob Labhart, who soon after was appointed Chief Corps Commander.

In 1936 there were no federal elections and no plebiscites. In the half-Cantons Basle Town and Basle County, which had separated in 1830, a plebiscite took place which resulted in favour of reunion, the voting being in Basle Town 20,771 for and 7,450 against, and in Basle County 12,722 for and 10,023 against.

Both the internal and the external policy of the country was determined by the fact that Switzerland is surrounded on three sides by authoritarian States and by the pressure which the two "dynamic" Great Powers between them exercised upon it.

Under this pressure the Social Democratic Party was led to abandon revolutionary methods and support national defence in order to save Swiss democracy. It is true that at the Congress at Zurich there was still a bare majority against the new defence proposals (263 votes to 255), but on the next day (June 8) the Social Democratic group gave a decisive majority for the proposals, which were adopted by 140 votes to 10 with 12 abstentions. This policy, which found its strongest supporters in the

trade unions, shipwrecked all attempts which the Communists made in 1936 to form a united front with the Socialists. The only exception was the Canton of Geneva. Here, chiefly through the influence of Leon Nicole, the united front actually came into being. When, however, the Socialists accepted Communist candidates in their list for the elections to the Great Council (Cantonal Parliament), they suffered a reverse, obtaining only 40 seats out of 100. In the General Election for the Council of State fourteen days later, on November 29, the Social Democrats lost all their seats in the Council, in which they had previously had a majority.

At the end of the year the Social Democratic Executive passed a resolution binding on all cantonal and local organisations, in which occur the following words :—

The Social Democratic Party is aware that to form a pact with anti-democratic organisations would endanger democracy and strengthen Fascism. In this conviction the party refuses all connexion and co-operation with movements and organisations which are not based upon democracy, . . . Fully aware that Swiss Labour must at any moment be prepared to repel attacks on the independence of Switzerland, the Social Democratic Party recognises the necessity of national military defence and is prepared to vote the necessary means.

To counteract the tendency to form a united front on the Left, the Social Democratic Party made overtures to some small new groups, especially the " Young Peasants." This led to a " guiding principles movement " which, along with the maintenance of democracy, national defence, and religious tolerance, seeks to achieve the economic restoration of the country through a common, to some extent socialistic, programme. The " guiding principles movement " is still too new for its character to be clearly discerned. It was probably with the object of assisting the Social Democratic campaign in peasant circles that in December a Swiss party with the same name was formed out of a number of cantonal peasant unions and bourgeois parties.

The international situation made it necessary to strengthen further the national defence. As universal military service is strictly enforced, there could be no question of increasing the Army numerically. Improvement therefore was sought in a better technical equipment of arms and means of transport, in a recasting of the larger units, and in a reorganisation of the frontier defence.

The General Staff worked out a new Army system which the Bundesrat approved on June 19 and both Houses of Parliament soon after ratified without opposition. The former three Army Corps are retained, but the divisions are made smaller and their number increased, being raised from 6 to 9. Formerly each division consisted of three brigades; henceforth it will consist of 3 to 4 regiments. Further, three independent mountain brigades are established. The former three cavalry brigades are

replaced by three "light brigades," which besides cavalry possess motorised troops of all arms. The infantry are provided with infantry cannon and mine-layers, and the number of machine-guns is increased to 52 per battalion. The artillery, especially the heavy artillery, is increased, and largely motorised. The flying squadrons are almost doubled. For protecting the country against a surprise attack, special detachments are being prepared. Whereas hitherto Switzerland had relied solely on the central fortress of St. Gotthard and the fortress of St. Maurice in Valais, now smaller permanent barricades are to be built on all fronts. Instead of the militia system laid down by the Constitution, it has been decided to raise permanent frontier defence companies by voluntary enlistment; the first company had been formed by the end of the year.

For providing the funds for the new organisation, both Chambers voted a defence loan of 235 million francs. In September the first instalment of 80 millions was issued. Although the subscription was opened in the period of the devaluation, the public immediately subscribed 330 million francs. The Bundesrat resolved to accept all subscriptions to the full amount. The energetic steps taken by the Cantons to improve the Alpine roads, with the help of subsidies from the Federal Exchequer, benefited employment and the tourist industry as well as the national defences.

Governmental powers for combating the interference of foreign Powers in the internal affairs of the country were also strengthened. The irredentist intrigues in the Canton of Ticino had in 1935 led to the prohibition of the Adula, and its leaders, Emilio Colombi and Teresa Bontempi, were put on trial for treason (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935, p. 251). In May, 1936, both had to be released and the trial abandoned because the Federal law on Federal criminal procedure contains no penalty for such a case. In order to close the gap, an addition to the criminal code was proposed making punishable any act the object of which is to bring about any interference of a foreign Power in the affairs of the Confederation which endangers the independence of the Confederation. Likewise punishable was made the attempt to bring the Confederation or any part of it into the power of or dependence on a foreign Power or to detach from it a Canton or a part of a Canton. Both articles of the new Bill are taken from the draft of the Federal criminal code which is intended one day to replace the criminal codes of the individual Cantons. The Federal criminal jurisdiction of 1853 applies only to certain specific acts directed against the Confederation.

Gauleiter Gustloff (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935, p. 250), the supreme head of the National Socialists in Switzerland, was on February 4 murdered by a Yugoslavian citizen (*v. infra*). The assertion continually put forward in Germany that he was not

an official personage was belied by the imposing State funeral which the Reich Government gave him. The Bundesrat thereupon resolved on February 18 not to permit any successor to Gustloff, and also to forbid the group leaderships subordinate to the head of the "Gau Schweiz," but to tolerate further the National Socialist local associations. As German students made themselves very conspicuous at Swiss Universities by their Hitler propaganda, the Bundesrat at the same time laid down special rules for the conduct of German students, and expelled the chief agitator, a student of theology named Griasch. On February 20 the German Government protested against the decision of the Bundesrat regarding the prohibition of the head offices of the Nazi Party in Switzerland, but the Bundesrat upheld its decision.

The Bundesrat also took steps to combat Communist machinations. A number of foreign Communists were in September arrested for secret activities, and on November 3 special measures were decided on. Soon afterwards the Bundesrat laid before the Chambers a comprehensive Bill for the protection of the State which, among other things, gave it full power to forbid the Communist party in Switzerland. It desired the Bill to be passed as an "urgent resolution of the Federation," in order to save it from the ordeal of a referendum, as in recent years the people by a referendum had already twice rejected Bills for the protection of the State. Precisely this endeavour to hinder the expression of the people's will roused opposition, as being thoroughly undemocratic. The Parliamentary Committees deferred the consideration of the Bill till 1937, thus implicitly denying the urgency of the Federal resolution.

Hitherto there had been no Parliamentary Commission for foreign affairs. Such a Commission was this year appointed in the Nationalrat by 90 votes to 51. By a strange anomaly, however, a corresponding body in the Ständerat is still lacking. The Standing Orders Committee of the Nationalrat resolved, on May 14, by 9 votes to 3, to recommend to that body the resumption of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, or alternatively the recognition of the Soviet Government (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935, p. 249). On June 11 the Nationalrat rejected this proposal by 96 votes to 72, the opposition of the Catholic-Conservative Party turning the scale.

In 1935 the Jacob affair (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935, p. 250) had prejudiced relations with Germany; the German spy Wesemann, who had been concerned in the kidnapping of Jacob, was sentenced by the Basle Criminal Court to three years' imprisonment, a sentence which was confirmed by the Basle Appeal Court. The murder of Gauleiter Gustloff produced a similar effect in 1936. A Yugoslavian Jewish medical student in Berne, named David Frankfurter, had, in order to strike a blow

at National Socialism for persecuting the Jews, murdered its head in Switzerland. As Gustloff was not accredited to the Bundesrat, the act as far as Switzerland was concerned was simply the murder of a private person, and, though regrettable like every murder, concerned only advocate and court of justice, not the State. The German Press, however, directed violent attacks against Switzerland, trying to make her responsible for the murder; above all it maintained that the numerous newspapers which had repeatedly demanded the expulsion of Gustloff (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935, p. 250) were guilty of the murder, and that a Jewish-Marxist organisation had used Frankfurter as a tool. The attacks and attempts at intimidation made a very bad impression on Swiss public opinion. Before the beginning of the proceedings against Frankfurter before the Grisons cantonal court (Grisons has no trial by jury) the German Press demanded the death penalty for Frankfurter, although the criminal code of Grisons does not admit the death penalty. A searching investigation failed to bring to light any instigators behind Frankfurter, and even the German advocates who represented the third party could bring no proof to show that Frankfurter had not acted entirely on his own initiative, as he himself maintained. The trial lasted from December 9 to 14. The court, as the State attorney had demanded, condemned Frankfurter to 18 years' imprisonment for murder (not political murder). The minimum penalty for this crime is 15 years' imprisonment, the maximum 25 years. After the trial the controlled German Press demanded that the Bundesrat should bring to light the instigators of Frankfurter and take proceedings against them.

In 1936 dissatisfaction with the League of Nations increased in Switzerland. It became evident that this body afforded no protection to small States against great, while, on the other hand, membership of it involved Switzerland in danger of losing the remnant of her neutrality, the military part. The position of Switzerland as a member of the League of Nations between Germany and Italy was difficult. The Bundesrat was therefore particularly concerned to maintain good relations with Italy. For this reason Bundesrat Motta, as head of the Swiss delegation, advocated the raising of sanctions against Italy after the capture of Addis Ababa. After England and France had recognised the annexation of Abyssinia *de facto*, Switzerland recognised it *de jure* on December 23. In spite of this, a certain irredentist agitation was carried on by Italy in the Italian-speaking parts of Switzerland, and in spite of the censorship in Italy some north Italian papers demanded a new frontier between Switzerland and Italy, which would have added to Italy the whole of the cantons of Ticino, Grisons and Valais, and parts of others.

The fact that the League of Nations had its headquarters in Geneva was a serious drag on Swiss foreign policy. The

Negus on his arrival at Geneva on June 26 was given a very sympathetic reception by the population, and when on June 30 Fascist journalists in the meeting of the Assembly hissed him, they were arrested and expelled from the Canton of Geneva and then from Switzerland. As the Secretariat of the League desired these journalists to be admitted again, the expulsion order was cancelled. The international paper *Journal des Nations*, published in Geneva, had in the Abyssinian question advocated strongly the strict application of the Covenant against Italy, and in the Spanish civil war it violently attacked the Fascist States because they supported the insurgents. This caused some tension between Switzerland, which was made responsible for the attitude of the paper, and Italy. The editor of the *Journal des Nations*, an Italian refugee named A. Prato, who lived as a foreigner on sufferance in Geneva, was on December 23 deprived by the Geneva Government of his permit as from January 15, and the Federal foreign police extended this withdrawal of the permit to cover the whole of Switzerland. In consequence of these measures the Bundesrat was violently attacked in a number of foreign papers. The Union of the Journalists accredited to the League of Nations resolved to petition the Council of the League for a special statute for the League journalists, in order to relieve Switzerland of the responsibility for the activities of the League journalists in Geneva.

On August 14 the Federal Council prohibited the export of all munitions of war to either side fighting in Spain and likewise the participation of Swiss citizens as volunteers.

The most important event of the year 1936 was the devaluation of the Swiss franc. Switzerland suffered increasingly from the economic crisis. Vigorous, but in the main unsuccessful, attempts were made to adjust the Swiss to the international price level. The hotel industry was threatened in great part with extinction ; the deficit of the Federal railways, in spite of all economies, increased with the growing decline in passenger and goods traffic ; the export trade was in a bad way, and goods were often exported at a loss in order to keep concerns going. State and communal subventions which were granted in large numbers could not overcome the evil. While the general aim in the business world was to reduce costs, the hard-hit and politically influential peasantry were allowed higher prices for their products, and were able also to command good prices on account of the quota system. The country was approaching economic stagnation. Nevertheless it clung to the gold *bloc* and could not make up its mind to devalue the franc, principally because Switzerland has to buy most of its raw material, including a large part of its food-stuffs, from abroad. The devaluation of the French franc made devaluation in Switzerland unavoidable. On Saturday, September 26, shortly before the closing of the

Bourse, the Bundesrat announced the devaluation of the franc to the extent on which it had decided, about 30 per cent. In the next few days prohibitions were issued of raising prices without the consent of the Department for National Economy. Switzerland joined the exchange agreements between England, the United States, and France. The devaluation was carried out successfully. In the hotel industry its good effects were immediately noticeable; foreign guests who had been kept away by the high value of the franc appeared in large numbers for the winter sports. Export industries obtained new orders. Whether the improvement will be permanent remains yet to be seen. This will depend, next to the maintenance of peace, on whether a great increase in the cost of living and with it a rise of cost level can be avoided.

Unemployment increased greatly in 1936, but since the devaluation the rise has been arrested. At the end of November, 1935, there were 95,740 registered unemployed; at the end of November, 1936, 96,541. Almost half the unemployed are in the building trades, which are at a very low ebb and receive no direct stimulus from the devaluation. Partial unemployment has declined greatly since the devaluation. In foreign trade there has been, especially since the devaluation, an increase in exports, while imports have decreased. The total imports for 1936 were 1,216 million francs (in 1935, 1,283 million), and the total exports 858.9 million francs (in 1935, 822 million). In 1936 for the first time gold which has been partially worked is not reckoned among the speciality exports; hence the real rise in exports is from 795 to 858.9 million, or 8 per cent. Up to the devaluation it was 5 per cent., in October 11 per cent., in November 15 per cent.

The gold cover of the Swiss National Bank was at the end of 1936 2,709 million francs, reckoning the devalued franc at 215 milligrams gold fine. The note circulation was 1,482.2 million francs. The National Bank made a profit from the devaluation of 538.8 million francs, which was used as an exchange equalisation fund.

The Federal accounts for the year 1936 closed with (provisional figures) 510 million revenue and 550 million expenditure—a deficit of 40 million francs. Of the expenditure 72.6 million was for defence, 52 million for corn supply (extra payment to agriculture), 63*5 million for combating unemployment, 36.2 million for assisting agriculture—altogether 215.7 million francs as Federal contribution. The debt service (interest and sinking fund) took 126.5 million francs.

The Budget for 1937 counts on a revival of business. Consequently the Federal contributions are reduced from 215.7 to **179.7** million francs. The contribution for the Federal railways, **which in 1936** was **42** million francs, was **fixed** at **39.5** million. **As,**

however, a reduced yield is expected from customs, on account of various tariff reductions, a deficit of 42.5 million francs—revenue 483.4 million, expenditure 525.9 million—is anticipated.

SPAIN.

When the year opened there was a complete deadlock between the forces in the Parliamentary arena. The experiment of a non-party financial expert as Prime Minister—to balance the Budget (by economies amounting to two hundred million pesetas), a feat only once achieved in the five years' history of the Republic—had failed, and, with the party leaders either discredited or sulking, to replace Senor Chapaprieta, the President of the Republic had fallen back upon a veteran liberal *politico* of pre-Republican days, Senor Portela Valladares. Before the turn of the year the Cabinet had revealed its utter instability, and it was only a question whether the job lot of Ministers could tide things over till a General Election. The wheels of the machine of State were eventually freed by the action of the President (Senor Alcala-Zamora) in signing, on January 6, the decree of dissolution of the Cortes approved by the outgoing Ministry. That the President should have hesitated is explicable in view of the constitutional stipulation that he could only dissolve the Cortes twice in his term of office (which was due to expire only at the end of 1937), and he had already exercised his prerogative once in dissolving the Constituent Cortes in October, 1933. Senor Alcala-Zamora, however, reckoned on securing through his nominee, Senor Portela, sufficient electoral support for a centre party to hold the balance in the next Cortes between irreconcilable Right and Left *blocs*. If he had deliberately ignored the claims of Senor Gil Robles, Leader of the *Accion Popular*, the strongest single party, it was because he sensed a swing back of opinion towards the Left, which had successfully mustered its disparate forces in a Popular Front under the leadership of the former premier and chief architect of the Republic, Manuel Azana.

The results of the election of February 16 showed that, on this as on the previous occasion, Senor Alcala-Zamora had correctly gauged the feeling of the electorate, which was favourable to a Left but non-Socialist administration. Of the successful Popular Front candidates, 136 were Left Republicans of various kinds, 87 Socialists, and 15 Communists—the election of the latter, it is said, being due mainly to the apportionment of the constituent elements of the alliance. The polling in Madrid, in particular, was significant, with Senor Azaiia easily topping the list, followed by Senor Besteiro, the most moderate of the Socialist leaders, and the one Communist, together with Senor Largo Caballero, Left-wing Socialist stalwart, at the bottom of the list. The bid for a centre party had proved an egregious failure ;

intelligent Spaniards did not take kindly to the resurrection of the local *cacique* (political boss) to "make" the elections.

The final figures of the election were given in *El Sol* of March 3 as follows: Left (Popular Front), 4,523,981 votes, 265 seats; Right (including Basque Nationalists), 4,128,092 votes, 142 seats; Centre parties, 449,320 votes and 66 seats. The result was generally interpreted as a decisive victory for the Left. Within three days the Portela administration had faded out of the picture, the Civil Governors in several provinces simply abandoning their posts, and Senor Azafia was called upon to form a Government. His Cabinet was composed of nine Left Republicans and three of the *Union Republicans*, Party, with a General at the Ministry of War—this Liberal tone was in accordance with the understanding reached with the workers' parties, whose votes had so materially contributed to the election—and the ten-point Popular Front programme was duly proclaimed. This consisted, in sum, in the re-establishment of the 1931 Constitution in all its essential points: land reform on the lines of settlement of small holders, reduction of taxation and rents, irrigation projects, etc., some measure of State intervention and control of industry, an extensive scheme of public works to relieve unemployment, and restoration of regional autonomy for Catalonia. The new Government was straightaway called upon to forestall a subversive plot for a military *coup* sponsored by certain leaders of the disappointed Right parties, as a result of which General Franco, who had become Chief of the General Staff in 1935, was degraded to the military command of the Canaries and General Goded, another highly placed officer, to that of the Balearic Isles.

The effervescence of the working masses, contained during the pre-election period, now presented a serious problem, and they were in no mood to listen to Senor Azana's broadcast address on February 20 appealing for unity in a great work of national reconstruction—and no disturbances. In interviews to the foreign press, Senor Gil Robles, Leader of the Catholic Right, cooed like a dove, wished the new Prime Minister well, declaring that his party would carry out "reasoned but not systematic opposition." But passions were running high. There were prison riots—which forced Senor Azana's hand and compelled immediate promulgation of the promised amnesty decree—without due process of Parliament. There were sporadic outbreaks of arson, and sacking of political clubs associated with those parties which had given "the people" such a raw deal during the *bienio negro* (1933-35). There were demands for the reinstatement of workers who had taken part in the Asturias rising of October, 1934, or had been dismissed on suspicion of revolutionary sympathies—and not merely reinstatement but compensation with six months' pay. There was "symbolical" occupation of land on

the big estates in Extremadura by labourers who could not afford to wait upon the slow processes of bureaucracy if the soil was to be prepared in time for that year's sowing. The Government was obliged to regularise these *asentamientos* by special decree, it could not stand up to the (Socialist) Federation of Land Workers which was eagerly canalising the political turbulence. Public opinion was seriously dismayed by the trail of church burning and assaults on life and property. Since, however, this explosion of violence is usually written down exclusively to the account of the Left, it is only fair to record that the novel feature of the normally turbulent political life of the country was the counter-revolutionary terrorism, the employment by the Fascist *Falange Espanola* of gunmen and thugs to destroy "Bolshevism." (The *Falange* was a comparatively insignificant group which had come to model its tactics as well as some of its ideology on those that had proved eminently successful in Italy and Germany.) In the main these outrages were the work of hooligan bands paying off private scores, evidence, certainly, of the "moral decline" going hand-in-hand with material impoverishment which Senor Azana lamented in his Ministerial declaration on April 3, but hardly a portent of social revolution. They were confined too to certain provinces—e.g., Albacete, Logrono, Granada, Murcia on the fringe of the central plateau where the conditions of squalor and distress were worst. In Catalonia and other provinces of the littoral, for all their reputation of anarchist violence, there was scarcely any disturbance recorded. Though he found extenuating phrases for the "hungered multitudes" fresh from prison or repression. Senor Azana was under no illusion as to the fatal effects of these stories of Red terror on the business classes on which, in the last analysis, the Republic depended. His solemn warning, uttered three times in the speech of April 3 that this was the last chance of Spain making headway by Parliamentary methods, was supported by a public declaration in the same vein two days later by Senor Largo Caballero, the "Marxist" leader—all the more significant since Senor Caballero had never liked the idea of a Popular Front, and on December 20, 1935, had resigned the presidency of the party's executive on that issue.

For a brief period during April there seemed a reasonable prospect of a spell of democratic rule continuing along the lines of the first two years of the Republic. The regime sustained a mortal blow, however, when on April 10 on a motion sponsored by Senor Indalecio Prieto, the moderate Socialist leader, the Cortes by 283 votes to 5 (the members of the Government and parties of the Right abstaining) dismissed Senor Alcala-Zamora from the presidency. The method adopted—a motion that the dissolution of the former Cortes was not "necessary" in the meaning of Article 81 of the Constitution—was highly

irregular. But the consequences were particularly grave. As his successor there seemed to be no one on whom the parties of the Left, let alone the nation as a whole, could agree—except Senor Azafia himself. And indeed, either because he felt that the pace of the mass-forces on the Left was getting too hot for him, or, more likely, because he thought he could still wield effective power from the reserve position of the presidency, Senor Azafia signified his willingness to stand. He was duly elected on May 10. His pet project of installing Senor Indalecio Prieto as Premier, however, was frustrated by the veto of the Socialist Party—in which the followers of the " Marxist " line of Senor Caballero were at that time dominant—and it was his friend and colleague, Senor Casares Quiroga, who on May 13 formed the new Government, still exclusively Republican (i.e., non-Socialist). The latter, in his Ministerial declaration, referred to " the excesses which I know are committed by local authorities and which must cease forthwith. . . ." But the situation was rapidly getting out of hand, and people began talking of the old and tried expedient of bringing in the Army to restore social discipline and " save Spain ! "

The anniversary processions (April 14) in Madrid had re-awakened political passions. On the following day there was some wild shooting at the funeral procession of a Civil Guard killed a few days before, and there seemed to be no end to the vendetta of " Fascist " and Socialist gunmen. A general strike, declared against the orders of the executive of the U.G.T. (General Union of Workers), paralysed Madrid on April 17 and initiated a series of labour disputes all over the country. Most of these strikes were due to the eagerness of irresponsible syndicalist elements of the C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labour) to capitalise the *frondeur* spirit of the rank-and-file of the workers, exasperated by continual Fascist provocation. The Anarcho-Syndicalist Congress at Zaragoza in the first days of May passed resolutions, it is true, in favour of a " united front " with the (Socialist) U.G.T. But in practice the old rivalry persisted. Tension grew, too, within the Socialist Party between Senor Prieto, with the more experienced trade union leaders, and Senor Caballero, backed by the younger generation of Socialists and Communists which had merged into one Youth Organisation, and it began to look as if the Right could profit by these dissensions and the good bourgeois dislike for anarchy.

A Government decree of April 17 proclaimed the dissolution of all Fascist groups. In deference to Socialist pressure there was a winnowing of philo-Fascist elements in the Army and Civil Guard, and on April 20 an emergency Bill against possible anti-Republican activity on the part of disaffected Army officers—specifically those who had retired with a disarmament " dole " in 1931—was forced through Parliament. At the same time

the Prime Minister revealed knowledge of the existence of illicit activity in military circles—whereas a month previously the Government had issued an official denial of discontent in the Services and adjured the citizens of Spain to regard the Army as the firmest support of the Republican State.

Yet it would not be true to say that the situation steadily deteriorated. The strikes, though irritating, were perfectly orderly. Parliament, by the middle of June, was getting into its stride, and, above all, as Senor Azaiia had always anticipated, the effervescence of the masses was fast simmering down. Elections to the Socialist Party Executive at the end of June showed that the moderates, under the wily Senor Prieto, were retrieving their position. As for the Communist Party, the utterances of its representatives breathed nothing but moderation and co-operation, according to the latest instructions from Moscow.

The surface calm was rudely shattered by the murder, on July 12, of Lieutenant Castillo of the Shock Police (known to have Socialist sympathies) by gangsters of the Right. It was in direct retaliation that on July 13 a group of these Shock Police went to the house of Senor Calvo Sotelo, the outstanding figure of the Right, to arrest him, and in a scuffle that ensued he was shot dead. An officer and six constables were immediately placed under arrest. Parliament was closed for a week to* allow passions to cool. The Government spokesmen made the best defence they could at stormy sessions of the Permanent Committee of the Cortes acting on behalf of the main body of deputies.

By this time, however, the patience of the forces of order was exhausted. On July 18 insurgent Army officers under General Mola, as well as the Army in Morocco seized power, justifying their action by a professional grievance. Under sustained pressure from the Socialists, the Minister of War had removed from their posts a number of senior officers as politically undesirable. The "Army in Morocco" had incurred the particular hostility of the Left for its repression of the Asturias revolt in October, 1934, and, as it happened, but for the murder of Senor Calvo Sotelo, the Cortes would have been investigating clamorously that very week "responsibilities" for that episode. The temptation to strike first was irresistible. Military risings in a large number of cities the same day showed that this was a concerted movement, a *pronunciamiento* on a nation-wide scale. The rebels were successful at once in Seville, Cadiz, Zaragoza, and Pamplona, and they were hailed as saviours of the country from "Communism" in the rural provinces of Burgos, Salamanca, Valladolid, and in many parts of Galicia. General Franco flew from his post in the Canaries to Tetuan to place himself at the head of the movement. On the morning of the 19th the Casares Quiroga Government resigned. A project for a

Republican Ministry on a wide basis—including Senor **Sanchez Roman**, whose group had remained outside the Popular Front—came to nothing, as the proposed Premier, Senor Martinez Barrios, President of the Chamber, was opposed to arming the workers, and nothing less was likely to meet the situation. In the circumstances Senor Azafia had to surrender to the pressure of the trade unions—Socialists, Syndicalists, and Communists were now making common cause—and he called upon his friend, Senor Giral, to take the helm. Labour unions were authorised to call general strikes wherever martial law appeared.

In Madrid and Barcelona after severe fighting, the Government obtaining support from the Shock Police and some Army officers, the revolt was crushed. In Catalonia the Army found no support, and General Goded surrendered. Then the insurgents suffered a great loss, one of the chief organisers of the rebellion, General Sanjurjo, being killed in an aeroplane accident just after taking off from Lisbon. Amid tremendous excitement committees of anti-Fascist militia were formed in the principal towns still in Government hands to take over policing and transport control duties, and with "Fascism" the quarry the hunt was up. On July 30 the insurgents set up a Government at Burgos under the name of "Junta de Defensa Nacional." This rising, though financed and engineered by reactionary elements of the Church and landowning aristocracy, was at first only incidentally bound up with the question of social revolution. The condition of civil war, in which Spaniards were forced to take sides, was really a second phase; a natural enough development in a country where political passions run so high and communications are so difficult that wild rumours and tendentious news can get a flying start, but not inevitable.

By the beginning of August the issue was clearly defined. On the one side were all those elements antagonistic to the aspirations of the Republic of 1931, Monarchists, landowners, the Catholic Church hierarchy, politicians wedded to the old system of boss-rule (*caciquismo*), small-holders in certain Catholic provinces, and the peasants in the Traditionalist stronghold of Navarre, reinforced by a fair proportion of the middle and business classes who regarded popular government, when they saw it close up, as synonymous with anarchy and chaos. These God-fearing patriots prized above all the values of authority, order, and discipline and in all sincerity supported a mutinous Army caste whose avowed purpose it was to save Spain from "Bolshevism." The elements loyal to the Government, on the other hand, comprised Liberals, Catholics, Socialists, Communists, Anarcho-Syndicalists, and perhaps 12 per cent, of Army officers **and** Civil Guard unwilling to forswear their oath of allegiance. **The** Basque Nationalists, Conservatives, and ardent Catholics—**they had** voted with the **Right in February—were found**

militant in the same camp as champions of social revolution—because they happened, above all, to be genuine democrats and also, of course, to have a stake in a Republic which had promised them regional autonomy. But this meant that the rich industrial resources of the Bilbao region—as of Catalonia—were at the disposal of the Loyalists, and the active help of the Basque ship-owners and iron and steel manufacturers made nonsense of the facile assumption that the struggle in Spain could be interpreted in terms from the Marxist lexicon. Foreign intervention, however, lent colour to this assertion. It came to be accepted that the issue between Fascism and Communism, which people on the Continent were for ever expecting, was to be fought out first in the peninsula. Such a reading of the situation, of course, ignored the peculiar conditions of Spain and her history, which were sufficient explanation of the present bloody assizes.

Notable events in the military campaign were the capture of Badajoz by the insurgents on August 15, and their subsequent sweeping advance up the Tagus valley through Talavera and Toledo to the outskirts of Madrid—which they reached at the beginning of November, their entry into Irun and San Sebastian at the end of August and the heroic resistance of the besieged rebel forces in Oviedo, Huesca, and Toledo. These successes, however, were achieved when General Franco's forces were receiving a plentiful supply of war material from Germany and Italy, and the Loyalists had very little equipment and few trained troops. By the end of October factories in Barcelona, Bilbao, and elsewhere which had been working on war-production, were able to supply the Government's needs, and help from abroad was likewise forthcoming. Consequently when General Franco's Shock Troops, the Foreign Legion, and Moorish mercenaries, arrived at the gates of Madrid, they met with determined resistance, and in spite of constant attacks with shell and bomb at the end of the year Madrid remained untaken. The advent of the International Brigade, seasoned soldiers and experts, stiffened the resistance of the militia and made it possible for impregnable defences to be built up. There was skirmishing in other sectors, with no pronounced advantage for either side.

In the political sphere there was, necessarily, a certain "Red-shiffc." Social-revolutionary forces had appeared to dominate the situation throughout the eastern half of Spain which is undisputed Government territory. In the strip of Basque territory along the coast in the north, on the other hand, the democratic but conservative Nationalist Party was in control, as anti-Red as any of General Franco's supporters. On closer examination it transpired that, for all the palaver about "the revolution" such measures of confiscation and of economic control as were in force should properly be rated as essential war-measures. There was in any case a surprising unity among the heterogeneous

anti-Fascist forces, more real and more efficacious, it would appear, than the efforts of the conglomerate elements supporting General Franco.

A Government truly representative of the Popular Front Coalition replaced the Giral Cabinet on September 4, under Senor Largo Caballero. It included five Socialists, two Communists, three Republicans, and representatives of the Catalan and Basque Nationalists. A working arrangement with the Syndicalist leaders was announced at the same time. In Barcelona the latter had already swallowed their objections to "politics" and "authority" and were represented in the *Oeneralitat* by the side of Marxists and bourgeois Republicans.

A few weeks later the Madrid Government was reconstituted to admit Anarcho-Syndicalist representation. In this way the improvised anti-Fascist committees of defence were gradually dissolved. Workers' committees, however, from August onwards, were controlling all factories and businesses employing more than a hundred persons throughout Catalonia (and mildly in Valencia) where the war seemed a long way away and there was plenty of time to wax eloquent about "the revolution." The property of any persons reputed to be "Fascists" was taken over by the State—at first by workers' committees more or less on behalf of the State, and summary justice was done by popular tribunals operating under martial law. One of the features of the civil war was the utter ruthlessness on both sides ; there was little or no taking of prisoners, and there was, in fact, greater loss of life—again on both sides—from the shooting of political opponents than in actual battle. The end of the year witnessed a virtual deadlock on the military fronts. But, from a political angle, the Government might be said, barring accidents, to have secured its position. President Azana, established in a wing of the *Oeneralitat* palace in Barcelona, was still effective President of a Republic which had successfully resisted the desperate efforts of a faction exercising the sacred right of rebellion. On October 1 General Franco was appointed "Chief of the Spanish State." The Largo Caballero Government, which migrated to Valencia when Madrid was *in extremis* at the beginning of November, was securely established on the ruins of the old Monarchist State structure. A federal trend, enabling the distinctive regions to live their own life, without compulsion, was unmistakable. On August 2 a new Catalan Government had been set up under Senor Companys, consisting of 15 members, 10 of whom belonged to the Esquerra, 3 were Socialists and 2 Experts. On September 27 the Cabinet was reorganised to contain 3 members of the Esquerra, 3 of the National Confederation of Labour, 3 Socialists, and 1 representative of the Peasants. On October 1 the Basque Home Rule Statute was adopted by the Government and the first Autonomous Basque Government, under

the Presidency of Senor Aguirre, came into existence beneath the historic tree at Guernica on October 8.

PORTUGAL.

For the better carrying out of the re-armament programme laid down in the Budget of 1936 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935, p. 256), Dr. Salazar, the Prime Minister, resigned on January 18, and immediately afterwards resumed office with a Cabinet containing only three of the former Ministers. For the rest of the year Dr. Salazar continued to rule as virtual dictator, maintaining a very strict censorship of the Press. The Budget for 1937, published on December 30, showed a surplus of over 3,000,000l

Being autocratic in character, the Portuguese Government watched with some concern the rise to power of the Popular Front in Spain, fearing that it might have repercussions in Portugal, where there were considerable disaffected elements not only among the general population, but also in the Army and Navy. It therefore welcomed the revolt of General Franco in July, and had no hesitation in showing its sympathy with the Spanish insurgents. Supplies for them were freely allowed to cross Portugal, and rebel leaders were welcomed on Portuguese soil. One of them, General Sanjurjo, was killed in an aeroplane accident at Cascaes on July 20, just as he was starting on a flight to Burgos. Portugal made great difficulties about joining the non-intervention pact proposed by France, and finally gave her adhesion only with considerable reservations.

The Government's fears of a sympathetic rising in Portugal were partly realised on September 8, when the crews of the sloop *Alfonso d'Albuquerque* and of the destroyer *Dao*, which were stationed in the river Tagus, weighed anchor and made for the open sea, with the intention of joining the fleet of the Spanish Government in the Mediterranean. The Government, however, had received timely warning of the mutineers' intention and had ordered the forts on both sides of the river to fire on any ship that moved. After an artillery duel of about half an hour's duration, both ships were forced ashore, having suffered considerable damage. The mutineers were subsequently tried, and those found guilty were condemned to varying terms of imprisonment in a Colonial penal settlement. Measures were also taken subsequently to weed out disaffection in the Army and Navy.

On October 24 Portugal severed diplomatic relations with the Spanish Government on account of the repeated insults she had received, one of which was the violation of diplomatic correspondence. But the Burgos Government did not receive recognition from her.

British firms trading to Portugal contributed the funds required for the establishment of a centre of British culture at

the University of Coimbra, and on June 6 the opening of the¹ 'Institute of English Studies at Coimbra University' took place. The opening was attended by the British Ambassador, Sir Charles Wingfield, and many other notabilities. Dr. Pacheco, the Portuguese Minister of Education, presented a greeting from King Edward VIII. who, while Prince of Wales, had, as patron of the British Council for Relations with other Countries, showed great zeal in consolidating the secular relations of friendship between the two peoples. A letter was read from Lord Eustace Percy, Chairman of the British Council, thanking the University for the hospitality accorded to the new Institute.

The year 1936 was a disastrous one from an agricultural point of view. The oil production was one of the worst ever recorded. The vintage was also very poor, but wine growers were able to recuperate themselves from the large stocks held over from the previous year. The cereal crops were up to the average, and there was an accumulated stock of 200,000 tons of wheat which enabled Portugal not only to supply her own necessities but to export and compete with the world market. The rice crop was larger and of better quality than had been known for many years, and there was no need to import any rice from abroad.

Economically Portugal benefited from the all-round improvement experienced in other countries. Unemployment was almost non-existent.

DENMARK.

In 1936, as in the immediately preceding years, Denmark, on account chiefly of the restrictions placed by other countries on her agricultural exports, was compelled to continue with a certain regulation of her imports and exports in order to safeguard her exchange and her trade balance. In these circumstances the main item on her political agenda was the renewal of the Trade Agreements with the two countries forming her most important commercial connexions, Great Britain and Germany.

The agreement with Germany made on March 1, 1934, and renewed on January 24, 1935, expired on December 31, 1935. Negotiations for replacing it were commenced in that month, but had not reached a conclusion before the expiry of the agreement. As a consequence, the agreement was prolonged till January 31, 1936. On January 30 a new agreement was signed, together with a Clearing Agreement between the financial institutions of the two countries. The Trade Agreement aimed at increasing considerably the trade between Denmark and Germany ; it made a distinction between " basic quotas", comprising the quantities of commodities which might with some certainty be expected to be exchanged for some years to come, and " sup-

plementary quotas " comprising quantities which it was hoped might be exported when circumstances were not unfavourable. During the summer months these supplementary quotas entailed some difficulty, but this was overcome, and at the end of the year it could be stated that, as a whole, the agreement had worked more or less to the satisfaction of both countries. Negotiations concerning an agreement for 1937 were commenced in December, 1936, resulting in the signature of an agreement on December 23. It involved some changes in the system hitherto employed, but it is hoped that on this basis it will be possible to maintain trade as in 1936.

The Trade Agreement of April 24, 1933, between Denmark and Great Britain expired on June 20. As the problems associated with the British agricultural policy were not sufficiently clarified by that date, a supplementary agreement was signed on June 19, providing that the agreement in force should remain valid until cancelled by either party with four months' notice, and at the same time Denmark undertook to ensure an adequate allocation of licenses for the purchase of British goods. As the Parliaments of neither country were in session at the time, this supplementary agreement was provisionally put in force immediately by an exchange of Notes and ratifications were exchanged subsequently.

In the course of the year Denmark concluded new Trade Agreements, wider or narrower in scope, with a number of countries with relatively small markets, including Italy, with whom a temporary agreement was signed on November 4 after an interruption of commercial intercourse by the period of sanctions.

In the sphere of general politics, Denmark as usual worked for European peace. She supported the efforts to bring about non-intervention in the Spanish civil war; and in July she accepted the invitation of the British Government to discuss the question of adherence to the naval agreement of March 25, 1936. Within the League of Nations the month of September terminated the three-year period during which Denmark, through her Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. P. Munch, had occupied the seat on the Council which by time-honoured practice rotates among the four Scandinavian member-states and Holland. Thus in the course of the year Denmark had an opportunity of participating in the extraordinary meeting of the Council in London, March 14-24, on the occasion of Germany's re-occupation of the Rhineland zone, at the Council meeting in Geneva on May 9-12 on the sanctions policy, and in the drawing up of the declaration of the seven ex-neutral States on their attitude to the League of Nations in the situation prevailing after the Italo-Abyssinian conflict.

All through 1936 Denmark took her share in the negotiations concerning co-operation between the Scandinavian countries in

respect of numerous matters, a comprehensive account of which was forwarded in June for the use of the Economic Committee of the League of Nations. This co-operation was impressively and strikingly expressed on the so-called "Scandinavia's Day," October 27, when the kings of the Scandinavian countries called upon their peoples in wireless messages to come together and co-operate.

Denmark's relations with her German neighbour on the south were uneventful in 1936. It was significant that at the elections to the Landsting in 1936, the pro-German party in North Sleswig, where the Germans had formed 25 per cent, of the population in 1920, mustered only 15.6 per cent, of the votes given.

In internal politics the election of half the members to the Upper Chamber of the Danish Parliament, the Landsting, which took place on September 15, was the most important event. The parties supporting the existing Stauning Government gained so much ground that they obtained a majority in the House. With this result a new era commenced in Danish politics, a coalition of Left groups (Social Democrats and Radical Liberals) for the first time holding the majority in both Houses.

Early in the year a demand by 50,000 workers for higher wages led to friction with the employers, and after three weeks of negotiation had failed to produce a settlement, the Employers' Federation on February 22 locked out over 100,000 men. Other workers struck in sympathy, and Denmark was faced with the most serious industrial conflict since 1925. The Official Referee made proposals for a settlement which were accepted by 65 per cent, of the workers but rejected by 59 per cent, of the employers. The Government openly showed its sympathy with the workers, and on March 26 brought in a Bill giving the force of law to the Official Referee's proposals, and prohibiting both strikes and lock-outs during the period covered by the new agreements. The Bill was passed by both Houses on March 29.

On February 20 the Conservative Party proposed in the Lower House to allocate 20 million kr. for the modernisation of the Air defences of the country. The Bill was debated on March 31, and rejected through the opposition of the Government parties, the Socialists and Radicals, but the Government admitted that the 1932 scheme was no longer adequate. In a speech at Copenhagen on June 5, Hr. Stauning, the Prime Minister, stated that while Denmark would not adopt a policy of re-armament, he was not opposed to making certain technical improvements in the military force of the country.

The Budget for 1936-37 showed revenue 442,389,640 kr., and expenditure 441,274,752 kr., part of the revenue being obtained from increases in income tax and Customs and Excise duties.

ICELAND AND THE FAROES.—The Lagting elections held in

the Faroes on January 28 gave 8 seats to the Unionist Party (11 in 1932), 7 to the Home Rule Party (8 in 1932), 5 to the Social Democratic Party, and 2 to the Commercial Party. In June the King and Queen of Denmark made a ten days' stay in Iceland, being cordially welcomed everywhere. In July the Prime Minister, along with the Minister of Defence, visited both Iceland and the Faroe Islands. On his return he stated that both were suffering from economic and financial difficulties owing to the falling off of their trade with Italy and Spain. Politically, however, the situation was better from the point of view of Denmark, as he had found all parties more friendly to him than on his previous visit six years before.

SWEDEN.

The fourth annual session of the 1932 Riksdag was opened by the King on January 11, and on the same day the Budget for 1936-37 was introduced. Revenue and expenditure were balanced at 1,167 million kr., which was 111 million kr. more than in the previous year. Hr. Wigforss, the Minister of Finance, declared that the economic outlook was better than a year ago, trade and industry being on a sounder basis and with a tendency to expand. He therefore felt able to propose a reduction of 12 per cent, in the rate of income tax, and the repayment of 116 million kr., the outstanding amount of the short-term loans raised in 1933-34 for public works. He was also optimistic enough to reduce the unemployment relief grants from 46 million kr. to 20 million kr. In the debate on the Budget in the Second Chamber on January 17, Hr. Hansson, the Prime Minister, while admitting that the improvement in the financial position was not due solely to the Government's measures, claimed that those measures had made it possible to take advantage of all the favourable factors in the situation.

The chief problem confronting the Government was that of national defence. Hr. Hansson declared that the Socialists were by no means blind to the immense importance of adequate defence forces. Nevertheless he was resolved that the requirements of defence should not be allowed to encroach on those of social welfare or to involve increased taxation of the poorer classes ; and this rendered abortive his attempts to frame an agreed programme with the leaders of the bourgeois parties. The Defence **Bill**, with four supplementary Bills, was introduced on March 30. It proposed an annual expenditure of 135 million kr. on the forces, of which 69 million kr. was to be for the Army, 33½ million **for the Navy**, 6 million for the Coast Artillery, 21 million **for the Air Force**, 3½ million **for Air** defence, and 1½ million for miscellaneous services.

The Bill was not well received in the Riksdag, and the special committee formed to consider it was on the whole unfriendly. On June 11 the recommendations of the Defence Commission, involving an annual expenditure of about 17,000,000 kr. more than that proposed by the Government, were adopted by the Riksdag. Hr. Hansson declared that he was willing to accept the increased expenditure on the fighting services, provided the Pensions Bill granting increased old age pensions in expensive districts was passed. On June 13, however, this Bill was rejected in the First Chamber by 81 votes to 64 and in the Second Chamber by 113 votes to 107.

Hr. Hansson thereupon resigned, and a new Government was formed by Hr. Pehrsson, the Agrarian leader, consisting of members of the Agrarian Party and non-party Civil servants. The new Government relied upon the support of the Socialists, and towards the end of June passed a law limiting the hours of work of agricultural labourers to ten a day or forty-six a week in winter, fifty-one in early spring and late autumn, and fifty-six during the remainder of the year.

The term of the Riksdag expired shortly afterwards, and a General Election which was held on September 20 resulted as follows : Social Democrats, 112 (+ 11); Conservatives 44 (— 9); Agrarians 36 (— 1); Liberals 27 (+ 3); Independent Socialists 6 (— 2); Communists 5 (+ 3). The Social Democrats increased their poll by nearly 300,000, the Agrarians by 67,000, and the Liberals by 71,500, while the Conservative poll fell by 59,000. Hr. Pehrsson resigned on September 23, and Hr. Hansson immediately afterwards formed a new Cabinet containing 8 Social Democrats and 4 Agrarian members, Hr. Pehrsson becoming Minister of Agriculture. The new Coalition Government commanded 148 votes in the Second Chamber out of 230 and 88 out of 130 in the First Chamber. The Prime Minister's statement of policy on September 28 outlined a moderate, not markedly Socialistic, programme of reforms.

In an interview which he gave to *The Times* towards the end of the year, Hr. Hansson said that the security of democratic institutions depended on a nation's capacity to adapt itself to new circumstances and changed conditions, and to a willingness to sacrifice old prejudices in the interests of the common good. The hands of democratic Governments must be strengthened so that they might be quick and resolute in action. The authoritarian States must not be allowed to "boom their policies and achievements upon a dazed world, to give the impression that democracies lack initiative and are incapable of decision." National defence, he said, was now no longer a party question in Sweden, and this also was an achievement for Swedish democracy.

On January 13 the Government introduced a Bill authorising **the** Executive to carry out Article 16 of the Covenant of the

League of Nations prohibiting Swedish nationals from granting credits directly or indirectly to the nationals of a Covenant-breaking State. On January 14 the Swedish Government sent to Italy a Note protesting strongly against the bombardment by Italian airmen of the Swedish Red Cross unit in Abyssinia.

On May 27 the Riksdag passed a Bill amending the Law of Succession so as to enable Princes of the Royal House to marry, with the king's consent, foreigners of non-royal birth without forfeiting their right of succession to the Crown.

The Swedish Social Democratic Congress which was held on April 3-9 passed a resolution expressing the willingness of the party to co-operate with other democratic parties for continued social and economic reform, and expressing the continued interest of the party in the efforts to establish an international regime of law and to bring about a general reduction of armaments. Hr. Hansson was re-elected leader of the party.

The quinquennial congress of the Swedish Federation of Trade Unions was held at Stockholm from September 27 to October 4. Membership was stated now to be 719,044, an increase of 143,484 during the past five years, and the Federation funds to amount to 87,463,590 kr., an increase of 22,862,248 kr.

NORWAY.

The Labour Cabinet, headed by Mr. Johan Nygaardsvold, remained in power throughout 1936, thanks to the support of the Farmers' Party. While maintaining their independence, the Agrarians voted with the Government in divisions affecting economic policy, agreements between the party leaders having been concluded beforehand in the most important cases.

In the Speech from the Throne which was read by the King at the opening of the Parliamentary session, it was announced that the Government would submit to the Storting various social and economic reforms, the most important being Bills for the "protection of workers", old age pensions and sickness insurance for sailors. The Government, it was stated, would also propose the establishment of two new State banks, one for industry and another for second mortgages on houses. All these measures were passed by the Storting in the course of the session. The law for the protection of workers embraced not only manual labour, but all kinds of employees with the exception of those engaged in navigation, fisheries, and agriculture. The law regulated the hours of work, provided for extra pay for overtime work, and also protected the workers against unjustified dismissal.

The old age pension law, which was passed by an overwhelming majority, guarantees all Norwegian citizens of more than 70 years old a pension which in the towns must not be less than

800 kr. and in **the** country districts not less than **600** kr. **per** **year**. The annual expenditure was calculated at 42,000,000 kr., of which 5,250,000 kr. was to be paid by the municipalities and 21,000,000 kr. by the State, while the rest was to come from an Old Age Pension Fund, to be established by an extra income tax of 1 per cent, on all incomes exceeding 800 kroner in the towns and 600 kroner in the country districts.

Bills were also passed reorganising and improving elementary education, making physical training compulsory for pupils in all elementary schools and providing for the teaching of English in the elementary schools. In the secondary schools the curriculum also included German and French as compulsory subjects.

The estimates for the financial year 1936-37 submitted by the Government in January showed an expenditure of 481,400,000 kr., an increase of 44,500,000 kr. compared with the preceding year. The grants included 88,000,000 kr. for various measures to combat unemployment and relieve the crisis in agriculture.

During the debate in the Storting on the Speech from the Throne in the middle of February, the Conservative leader, Mr. Hambro, moved a vote of censure, criticising the Government estimates and demanding a reduction of expenditure. The Liberal leader, Mr. Mowinckel, also regretted the increase of expenditure and emphasised the necessity of strengthening the defences of the country by extending the term of service for recruits. The Liberal Party, however, had no desire to help in provoking a Cabinet crisis, being willing to allow the fate of the Government to be decided by the electors in October. Mr. Hundseid, the Agrarian leader, said that the Farmers' Party had not sold itself to the Government. The support given by the Agrarians to the Government's economic measures did not mean an alliance with the Labour Party, and he was sure that these measures would be to the benefit of the whole country. The Conservative vote of censure was defeated by a large majority.

The majority of the military committee of the Storting in March proposed an extension of the term of military service from 72 to 84 days. The Minister of Defence declared that the Government would resign if the extension was carried. The proposal was defeated by 90 votes to 53, the Farmers' Party voting with the Government.

One of the most controversial measures proposed by the Government was a Bill making women theoretically equal with men in respect of all offices in the State, including military, diplomatic, and ecclesiastical posts. The Bill met with strong opposition from the State Church, and resolutions were passed by parochial and diocesan councils declaring that the idea of women clergymen was contrary to the tradition of the Christian Church. The Bill was passed by the Odelsting, the lower House

of the Storting, but defeated by the Lagting, the upper House, by a narrow majority. Practically all Agrarian members this time voted against the Government, while most of the Liberals supported the proposed reform.

The national Congress of the Labour Party was held in Oslo in May. The Congress passed a resolution expressing full confidence in the Government and satisfaction at the results already obtained by its economic and social policy. A proposal by the Communist Party for co-operation between the two parties in the General Election in October was defeated.

The final estimates for 1936-37, amounting to 483,000,000 kr., were passed by the Storting on July 16, the Parliamentary session being concluded on the same day.

The General Election took place on October 18, after a somewhat more lively electoral campaign than usual. This was due chiefly to the propaganda of the small Nazi Party, " Nasjonal Samling " (National Union), led by Major V. Quisling, who had been Minister of Defence in Mr. Hundseid's Agrarian Cabinet. A Nazi daily *Fritt Folk* (Free People) was founded in Oslo a couple of months before the election, and the leaders of the party boasted that they would have at least 20 seats in the new Storting. So far was this prediction from being fulfilled that the party did not succeed in getting a single candidate elected.

In face of the anti-democratic propaganda of " Nasjonal Samling " and the small semi-Fascist organisation " Fedrelandslaget " (The Patriotic League), which was equally unsuccessful at the polls, all the four big parties made democracy the chief plank of their electoral platform. From the extreme Right to the Left wing of the Labour Party the candidates appealed to the electors to be faithful to the democratic traditions of the country. There was no co-operation between the Labour Party and the Farmers' Party at the election. In 10 of the 29 constituencies, electoral pacts—the so-called "Listeforbund"—were made between the three Bourgeois parties, the Right, the Agrarians, and the Liberals. In 8 constituencies there was co-operation only between the Conservative Party and the Farmers' Party. The Communists, realising their small chance of success, only put up separate candidates in one constituency.

The most remarkable feature of the election was the great increase in the poll of the Labour Party, which amounted to 620,000 votes—120,000 more than at the election in 1933. In spite of this progress the party only obtained one representative more than at the previous General Election—70 as against 69.

The Conservative Party increased their poll by about 30,000 and gained 6 seats, bringing their total representation up to 36. The Liberal Party also had a fair increase of votes—about 23,000 more than in 1933—but lost 1 seat and obtained 23 representatives. The Farmers' Party had a serious setback, polling

about 15,000 votes less than in 1933 and suffering a net loss of 5 seats. Their parliamentary group was thus reduced to 18.

Of the smaller parties the Christian People's Party obtained two representatives and the Social Party (Samfundspartiet) one. The Nazi National Union Party polled 26,000 and the Communists about 4,000 votes without obtaining any representative in the new Storting.

The election was disastrous for the extremist parties, and showed that neither Fascism nor Communism has any attraction for the Norwegian people. The whole Press proclaimed the result a victory for democracy. The Labour papers in their comments said that the elections had given the Government a strong vote of confidence. That Labour did not increase their parliamentary group by more than one representative was attributed by the Labour Press to the imperfect electoral system and the electoral pacts between the Bourgeois parties. A significant result of the election was that *Fritt Folk*, the daily of "Nasjonal Samling," ceased to appear. Simultaneously *A.B.C.*, the weekly of the semi-Fascist "Fedrelandslaget," was greatly reduced in size.

In foreign politics the year was uneventful. In April the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Halvdan Koht, made a journey to Eastern Europe, visiting Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Russia and conferring with the Foreign Ministers of these countries. Norway—in contrast to many other League of Nations States—fulfilled its obligations to the League to the letter during the economic blockade of Italy. The important export of dried fish to Italy practically ceased, and the fishing trade suffered considerably.

Dr. Koht and the Conservative leader, Mr. Hambro, played a very active part at the two Assembly meetings of the League of Nations held in the course of the year. The Norwegian ex-Minister of Justice, Paal Berg, presided over the international maritime conference at Geneva, and the Norwegian ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Raestad, was President of a League conference for the promotion of peace through the radio. A Norwegian judge, Michael Hansson, was appointed President of the Nansen Office for Refugees by the League Council.

FINLAND.

On February 15 Hr. Serlachius, the Minister of Justice, and Hr. Witting, Assistant Minister of Finance, the two representatives of the Swedish Party in the Cabinet, resigned as a protest against the continued failure of the Government to bring in a Bill providing for the more extended use of Swedish at the University of Helsingfors. They were followed at the beginning of March by Hr.

Killinen, Minister of Trade. Their places were taken respectively by Hr. E. J. Jatkola, of the Progressive Party, Hr. T. Reinikka, of the Agrarian Party, and Hr. V. Arola, of the Agrarian Party. On March 12 the Diet rejected a Bill brought in by the Government for enabling the President to suspend the constitutional guarantees for personal liberty in times of crisis, but the Government survived the defeat, though with diminished prestige.

The term of the Diet expired on April 22, and a General Election was held on July 1 and 2, with the following results (the 1933 figures in brackets) : Socialists, 83 (78) ; Agrarians, 53 (53) ; Swedes, 21 (21) ; Coalition, 20 (18) ; Patriotic Popular Movement, 14 (14) ; Progressives, 7 (11) ; Small Farmers, 1 (3) ; People's Party 1 (2).

The result of the election placed the Government of Hr. Kivimäki, which represented the bourgeois parties, in an even weaker position than before. Nevertheless it remained in office till September 25, when it was defeated by one vote on Bills amending the criminal law, particularly in the matter of treason and espionage. The President called upon Hr. Kallio, of the Agrarian Party, to form a Cabinet, and on October 6 he took office with a Government containing 9 Agrarian, 2 Progressive, and 2 Coalition members. The new Government announced its intention of continuing the constructive policy of its predecessor, and strengthening the country's democratic institutions.

On February 25 the Socialist Party in the Diet submitted a Bill condemning the activities of the Patriotic Popular Movement, a kind of Fascist organisation, which they accused of having abetted the attempted *coup d'état* in Estonia in December. The Bill was passed by 115 votes to 46, and the Government undertook to prosecute the chief persons among those implicated.

On October 20 the Diet discussed a memorandum on Communist activities drawn up for the Criminal Investigation Department which, though not intended for publication, had been published by the Press, and in which the names of certain prominent personages had been dragged in without any justification. The debate ended with the passing of a resolution proposed by the Socialists, by 112 votes to 75, declaring that the methods of the Department were unsatisfactory and that a committee should be appointed to reform them.

On May 28 the sentence of penal servitude for life passed in 1935 on Toivo Antikainen, for having, when a general in the Soviet Army, murdered a Finnish soldier, was confirmed after a re-trial. The two trials attracted much attention abroad, where the procedure was adversely commented upon.

In the course of the election campaign in June, speakers of the Patriotic Popular Movement violently attacked the Soviet Government for its treatment of the Karelians under its rule. The Soviet Press retaliated with allegations that Finland was

building a large number of aerodromes to assist foreign—*i.e.* German—aggression against Russia. These charges aroused great resentment in Finland, where it was thought that their purpose was to prejudice Finland in the eyes of the Northern Powers, and a vigorous protest was made against them by the Finnish Charge d'Affaires at Moscow.

The Budget passed in January estimated revenue at Fmks. 3,841,496,950, and expenditure at Fmks. 3,838,193,500. In the accounts for 1935 there was a deficit of Fmks. 93,967,741.

On December 15 President Svinhufvud was the recipient of congratulations from numerous Kings, Presidents, and Heads of States on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday, which was celebrated throughout Finland with great enthusiasm.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MIDDLE EAST: IRAN—AFGHANISTAN—IRAQ—PALESTINE— SYRIA AND LEBANON—ARABIA.

IRAN.

TOWARDS the end of 1935, a high Iranian official visited Delhi to discuss with the Indian Government measures for developing Indo-Iranian trade. As a result of the discussions, it was decided in May to float a joint-stock company with its head office in Bombay, with a view to improving the Indian import and export trade with Iran.

Negotiations between Iran and Iraq for the settlement of questions outstanding between the two countries were resumed at Baghdad in January and for a time made good progress. In May, however, they came to a deadlock over the question of frontier regulations, which it was decided to refer to the League of Nations.

As a result of a somewhat trivial incident, Iranian relations with the United States became strained early in the year. On November 27, 1935, Ghaffar Khan Jalal, the Iranian Minister to the United States, was arrested at Elkton, Maryland, by the local police, who did not know his identity, for infringing speed regulations. He received an apology from the Governor of Maryland, and Mr. Cordell Hull, the Federal Secretary of State, also made a formal expression of regret, adding a remark, however, that diplomatic immunity did not imply a right to violate laws and regulations, but on the contrary imposed an obligation to obey them meticulously. The Iranian Government took umbrage at this remark, and, being further vexed with the tone in which Iran was frequently referred to in the American Press, recalled the Minister almost immediately and in April closed

their diplomatic and consular offices in the United States. Soon after, Iranian interests in the United States were placed in charge of the Turkish Ambassador and Consuls.

On May 30 the Iranian Government sent a letter to the British Charge d'Affaires in Teheran protesting once again against the interference of the British Government with the alleged rights of Iran over the Bahrein Islands. The protest concerned the levying of a tax upon goods in transit via Bahrein by the Government of Saudi-Arabia.

AFGHANISTAN.

Throughout 1936 the chief control of affairs remained in the hands of the three uncles of the young King, Mohamed Nazir Shah, who continued to work together in complete harmony. The country enjoyed peace both internally and externally and made further material progress. Early in the year, direct telegraphic communication was opened with Iran, the Afghan line being connected with the Iranian at Kalk Ala. New motor roads were built in the Southern Province of Afghanistan, and classes in practical agriculture were opened in Kabul under the guidance of a Japanese expert. Visits were paid by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to Turkey in January, by the Minister for War to London in July, and by the Prime Minister to Paris and Berlin in November. In April the American Minister in Teheran visited Kabul to negotiate a treaty of friendship between the United States and Afghanistan, and about the same time the Governor of the North-West Frontier Province visited Kabul to discuss frontier problems. In June an agreement, virtually amounting to a Trade Agreement between Russia and Afghanistan, was concluded between the Afghanistan National Bank and the Soviet Trade Agency, by which arrangements were made for the barter of commodities between the two countries, with imports and exports balancing at a value of 10,500,000 gold dollars over a three-year period beginning on June 1. Afghanistan was to export cotton, wool, opium, and other commodities, and import kerosene, cotton seeds, linen goods, petrol, and sugar. At the end of the year it was reported that the Afghan Government had granted to the Inland Exploration Company of New York a 75 year concession for oil covering 270,000 square miles.

IRAQ.

Iraq, like more settled and supposedly advanced countries further west, had a *coup d'etat* during the year. General Yasin Pasha el-Hashimi's "National" government, which included

four ex-prime ministers, had been in office some twenty months when suddenly, on October 29, General Bekir Sidqi, who was notorious for his massacre of the Assyrians in 1933 and was in command of the Iraqi army, sent aeroplanes over Baghdad, which first dropped leaflets denouncing the Government and calling for its dismissal and its replacement by another under Seyyid Hikmet Sulaiman. In order to emphasise his demands some bombs were dropped near the Parliament house. The King promptly complied with the demands, and the members of the Cabinet, with one exception, fled to Syria or Egypt. The exception was Jafar Pasha el Askari, the trusted and popular Minister of Defence, who was murdered by the insurgents while on a mission to them from the King. The new Prime Minister was Minister of the Interior during the Assyrian massacres. He announced as his programme justice for all individuals and races at home and the continuation of the existing foreign policy abroad. Nevertheless both abroad and at home the change was received with some misgiving. However, the treaty with Saudi-Arabia which had been in course of negotiation was ratified [see Arabia]. Earlier in the year, in April, there had been the usual revolt in the Mid-Euphrates region, in the course of which the Baghdad-Basra Railway was cut. It was not suppressed until the end of July. At the beginning of the year relations with her neighbours continued satisfactory. The frontier dispute with Iran showed signs of a mutually satisfactory settlement and negotiations were entered into for a non-aggression pact with Iran and Turkey. Less satisfactory was the welcome given by the King and Government, after the *coup d'état*, to a notorious brigand who had escaped from Palestine after the end of the disturbances there. The agreement with Great Britain for the transfer of the railways to Iraq against a nominal payment was signed on March 31.

The situation of the Assyrians remained unsettled throughout the year. At the end of 1935 it was believed that this question was concluded by the decision to settle them in Syria. But the district allotted by the French Government was found to be unsuitable, and while another district was being sought, Syria was granted her independence and the matter passed beyond the control of the French Government. At the end of the year the League of Nations, or the British Government, was still seeking without result some region in which this unhappy fragment of a people can find a home.

PALESTINE.

The year 1936 was very unhappy for Palestine. The Arab outbreak that had been foreseen for years occurred on April 19, with a sudden attack on Jewish passers-by who happened to be

in Jaffa. It quickly spread throughout Palestine, taking the form at first of attacks on Jews and Jewish property in all parts of the country. But it soon developed into a rebellion in which the Government and its forces, which were being continually increased, were the enemy. Accompanying the outbreak was a "hartal," in the course of which practically all Arab places of business remained closed and Arab life in the towns was at a standstill. The strike, as it was called, lasted for exactly 25 weeks, at the end of which it was called off at the instance of the rulers of the Arab states, apparently in expectation that some of the demands of the Arab rebels would be granted. On the cessation of the strike and the rebellion, the Royal Commission that had in the meanwhile been appointed to "ascertain the underlying causes of the disturbances . . . to inquire into the manner in which the Mandate is being implemented . . . and to ascertain whether . . . either the Arabs or the Jews have any legitimate grievances " and if they have " to make recommendations for their removal and for the prevention of their recurrence " arrived in Palestine. The Chairman of the Commission was Earl Peel. There were, however, still sporadic outbreaks, and at the end of the year the general impression was that there was very grave risk of the renewal of the outbreak at an early date.

The rebellion may be said to have commenced with an act of banditry on April 15 when three Jewish passengers in a bus were shot, two mortally, apparently solely because they were Jews. This was followed by the murder of two isolated Arabs in the same neighbourhood the following night. Anti-Arab excitement in Tel Aviv, which followed the funerals of the Jewish victims, was exaggerated among the Arabs into the murder of Arabs, and the Jews in Jaffa were thereupon attacked. The Arab terrorists at first devoted much of their energy to the destruction of Jewish property, crops, trees, and orange groves, as well as buildings and their contents. But after a time they turned to indiscriminate murder of nurses proceeding to their work, of children sleeping in their cots, of pleasure-seekers leaving a cinema, among others. Hardly a day passed on which there was not at least one murder. British soldiers and police were also killed and injured. The number of Arabs killed was large. In most cases they died, in possession of arms, at the hands of the police or soldiery, but in some instances they seem to have been killed by fellow-Arabs, as a punishment for inadequate sympathy or support. The most glaring instance was that of the Mayor of Hebron, shot outside his house one afternoon, apparently not because he was not a good nationalist, but because he disapproved of acts of violence. In the end an army of almost 30,000 men, including police, was brought to Palestine, but this was unable to preserve the security of even the main roads and railways. In the hills there was a regular warfare between the British troops and bands recruited not only

from Palestine but also from the neighbouring countries. They were under the command of Fawzi Kawakji, a Syrian soldier of fortune who styled himself "Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Southern Syria." He was allowed to escape from Palestine when the hostilities were suspended and was received in Baghdad as a national hero by all classes including the King and Cabinet.

The strike was declared by a committee representative of the several Arab political parties in Palestine. They had come together some six months earlier, and despite the notorious fissiparous tendencies of Arab politics and the keen personal rivalries of the different leaders, the union continued to hold. But this committee, although more or less agreed, soon lost control over its followers and could retain its prestige only by keeping close behind them. The Government took full legal powers, short of the declaration of martial law, to deal with the situation, and under those powers not only increased very severely the penalties for individual offences, but imposed collective fines on towns and villages when offenders believed to belong to them could not be discovered, destroyed houses in which criminals were believed to have sheltered and interned innumerable suspects in all stations of life. The Government threatened to do worse but did not carry out its threats. The Arab Higher Committee shortly after the beginning of the outbreak formulated its demands as the stoppage of Jewish immigration, the prohibition of the sale of land to Jews, and the formation of a representative "National" Government. Before the strike and disturbances were a month old the High Commissioner offered, in the name of the British Government, a full inquiry into the Arab grievances as soon as the strike and outrages should cease. By then the Arab leaders had lost all control and, even if they had been willing to do so, were quite powerless to pay the price required. The senior Arab officials, who were in a very difficult position, torn between their sympathy with the Arab cause and their loyalty to the Government of which they were servants, under very heavy pressure to join in the strike and in some instances mourning the loss or sufferings of near relatives, at length in July presented a memorandum to the High Commissioner in which in moderate terms they put forward the Arab case. The Emir Abdullah of Transjordan also made repeated efforts to establish a *modus vivendi* between the Arabs and the Government, however without success. A similar effort by General Nuri Pasha es-Said, the Foreign Minister of Iraq, almost reached success in August, but failed at the last moment.

Apart from the sympathy with the Jews of Palestine, which was very widespread, they gained great admiration for the restraint they imposed on themselves under provocation that few other peoples could have withstood. Apart from a few individual instances, most noticeable at the beginning and end of the period

of active revolt, they abstained from all suggestion of physical retaliation. The young Jews of Palestine as a body showed a sense of discipline that those who knew them best had hardly expected of them. For this the credit was due to their leaders as well as to themselves. To some extent relief to their feelings was afforded by the enrolment of some two or three thousand temporary police, but this occurred only towards the end of the period. The total reported casualties were 1,351, of whom 187 Moslems, 80 Jews, 10 Christians, 28 British soldiers and police, and 9 Palestinian police were killed.

The Royal Commission arrived in Palestine on November 11 and held its first meeting on the following day. In the meanwhile a Labour Immigration Schedule, far lower than that requested by the Jewish Agency, had been granted, the reduction being admittedly in part on political grounds. The Arabs were bitterly disappointed, as they expected at least a temporary suspension of immigration, and replied by a decision to boycott the Commission. The boycott held until the end of the year.

The proposals for the institution of a legislative council, which would in fact have been of an advisory not a legislative character, had been disclosed by the High Commissioner almost on the last day of 1935. It had been rejected forthwith by the Jews. The Arabs were divided, although a majority was in favour, hoping however for improvements.

The economic and financial situation had shown signs of deterioration since the previous October when there had been a bank panic, allayed only with Government assistance. Unemployment, unknown for some years, began to show itself among the Jews. So far as cash return was concerned, the season was a bad one for the orange industry, almost the sole support of Palestinian exports, and the prospects for the future, in view of the largely increased harvests, was disturbing. The great and alarming gap between visible imports and exports continued to grow. It was 13½ millions in 1935, the value of imports being more than three times the exports. With the beginning of the year 1936 both imports and exports however began to fall and the difference in 1936 was less than in the previous year. The Arab strike had, of course, its repercussion on the economic and financial position of Palestine as a whole, as well as of the Arab section of the population, and apart from the large bill that had to be met for the military re-inforcements, the Government accounts which had for some years shown large surpluses showed a small deficit.

Perhaps one of the most important events in the history of Palestine since the entry of the present regime was the introduction in December of a new Criminal Code, largely in accordance with the laws in force in England, in place of the Ottoman Code, which with amendments had hitherto held the field and was in many respects defective.

SYRIA AND LEBANON.

The year 1936 was very eventful in both Syria and Greater Lebanon. It began with riots in all the principal towns of Syria, excited by the suppression of the Nationalist Party and the closing of its clubs. The riots were sufficiently serious for troops to be called out and a number of soldiers and civilians were killed and injured. The disturbances soon developed into a practically universal protest, in which Christians as well as Moslems took part, in the form of the closing of shops and the suspension as far as possible of other activities; the outbreak was preceded by a political agreement between the Maronites and the Moslems, for centuries hereditary enemies. The demand of the people, who were practically unanimous, was for independence on the Iraqi model. The French declined to consider the request, but they little realized the unanimity of the Syrians or their determination. After the "strike," accompanied for the most part by rioting, had continued for a month, the French authorities showed themselves less intransigent. A relatively moderate element also appeared among the Nationalists. The first result was the resignation of the Syrian Prime Minister, who was considered too pro-French, and the appointment of a colourless Cabinet. However, another three weeks had to pass before normal activities were resumed, and this occurred only on the virtual capitulation of the French. All who had been sentenced to imprisonment or exile during the disturbances were released and a freely elected delegation was to go to Paris to discuss with the French Government a treaty based on that between Britain and Iraq. Finally, a treaty of friendship and alliance between the two States was signed on September 9 and ratified by the Syrian Parliament on December 26. Five days earlier the President of the Syrian Republic and the Prime Minister had resigned. They were replaced by nominees of the Nationalist Party, which was quite satisfied with the settlement reached in Paris. Under the terms of the treaty Syria is to become an independent State and a member of the League of Nations. Syria and France shall be in perpetual alliance. French troops are to remain in certain parts of the new State, and in other respects the Iraqi precedent was followed. The districts of Jebel Druze and Latakia, which are inhabited by compact minorities, are to be given a special status within the Syrian Republic.

At the same time a similar status was agreed to for the Greater Lebanon. Here, in the first days of the year, the right to elect the President of the Republic was restored to the local Parliament, and M. Emile Edde, a Maronite and former Prime Minister, was chosen. Differences arose regarding the retention in the Lebanon State of the large areas with a Moslem population that had been attached to it by the French, and a Moslem party arose that

demanding at least the restitution of the detached districts to Syria. In March, in July, and again in November there were disturbances in the course of which a number of Moslems were killed, but a treaty between France and the Lebanese Republic was signed on November 13 and awaits only ratification by the Lebanese Parliament. However, this did not end the trouble. Riots broke out in the Moslem districts and in Beyrout, and many Christians were assaulted. For a time there was warfare between the two communities, and the military had to be called out to suppress the disturbances. Another difficulty arose with regard to the Alexandretta district, whose inhabitants are largely of Turkish race. This has a special status under the present constitution, and it is proposed to continue this under the new one. There has, however, always been a movement, which has received encouragement from the other side of the frontier, for the restoration of the district to Turkey. The trouble came to a head on the last day of November when an anti-Syrian demonstration in the course of the elections led to bloodshed. Almost simultaneously the Turkish Government took up the cause of Alexandretta. The question that arose was whether the special status accorded by treaty between France and Turkey in 1921 was to continue in the new conditions or whether the question of the creation of an independent State could be considered. The question was raised before the Council of the League of Nations by the Turkish representative in December, and was still unsettled at the end of the year. In the meanwhile approval of the two treaties by the Council of the League was deferred.

ARABIA.

In a Middle East filled with turmoil almost throughout the year, the history of Arabia was relatively calm and uneventful. The position of King ibn Saud, both in relation to his neighbours and absolutely, improved still further and he is gradually gaining general acceptance as the head of the Arab peoples. Not only was his position enhanced by the treaties he negotiated with Iraq and Egypt, but his intervention in Palestinian affairs and the part he took in bringing the Arab revolt there to an end served also to increase his influence beyond his frontiers. By the treaty with Iraq, which was signed on November 12, the contracting parties undertook not to enter into any agreement with any other Power that might be prejudicial to either. In the event of either being attacked or threatened from without, they undertook to consult one another, and in the event of internal disorder each undertook to prevent any assistance being given to the rebels. There were other clauses relating to the exchange of educational and military missions and other minor matters. The King of the Yemen was invited to adhere to the treaty, and

it was expected that, despite the efforts of the Italian Government, he would do so. The treaty was also open to the adhesion of the other Arab states. All differences between Saudi-Arabia and the Yemen had previously been settled. The agreement with Egypt settled a ten years' old dispute regarding Egyptian participation in the Pilgrimage to Mecca [see Egypt].

The situation in the Yemen was more threatening, although the simmering unsettlement did not come to a head in the course of the year. There were quarrels between the King's sons that threatened to break out into civil war in the event of a vacancy of the throne. The eldest son, Ahmad, who has the support of the Army, was somewhat critical of his father's administration and aroused the hostility of his three younger brothers, who were imprisoned. Moreover, the relations between Prince Ahmad and Seyyid Abdullah, the influential governor of the coastal province, were anything but cordial and at times threatening. In the last weeks of the year there were rumours that Italy, known to have ambitions in Southern Arabia, had obtained a concession for a port in the Hadramaut, but this was denied by the Italian Government.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FAR EAST: CHINA—JAPAN—THE NETHERLANDS INDIES.

CHINA.

THE year 1936 saw a continued strengthening of nationalist sentiment in China in face of the Japanese menace to her integrity and independence. Though internal unity was far from being achieved, the different military forces in the country showed on the whole a greater disposition to oppose the common enemy than to fight one another, and not only was civil war avoided but Japanese pressure was successfully resisted.

Early in the year two Japanese advisers joined the Hopei-Chahar Council which controlled the five northern provinces (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935). Japanese efforts, however, to detach these provinces from Nanking proved unsuccessful, nor did the Nanking Government rescind the order for the arrest of Yin Ju-keng, the Japanese protege in East Hopei. On March 3 Major-General Doihara, who had been the chief promoter of the movement for an autonomous (*i.e.*, Japanese controlled) North China, returned to Japan. His successor, Major-General Matsumoro, was attached not to the bellicose Kwantung Army but to the Tientsin command, and showed no eagerness to interfere in Chinese affairs.

It was at first feared in China that the Army *coup* in Tokio in February would be followed by an intensification of the Japanese

" forward " policy in China, but in fact the opposite seemed to be the case not only in North China but in Nanking also. In March informal discussions of a friendly nature took place between Mr. Hachiro Arita, the newly appointed Japanese Ambassador, and General Chang Chun, the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the latter proposed that negotiations should be conducted through regular diplomatic channels, with a view to placing the relations between the two countries on a proper basis. For various reasons, however, this suggestion was not acted on although Mr. Arita and Mr. Kawagoe, who succeeded him as Japanese Ambassador on April 2, continued their friendly discussions with the Foreign Minister.

In May tension again increased between the two countries. At the beginning of that month the Japanese military leaders in North China began to press the local Chinese leaders to conclude an agreement for joint action against the Communist armies in Shansi which the Japanese regarded as a threat to their own position, and they increased their forces in North China from about 2,000 to 6,000 men, a step against which the Chinese Ambassador in Tokio strongly protested. On May 15 he also delivered a strong protest against the encouragement given by the Japanese authorities to the smuggling campaign in North China, which was seriously affecting the Chinese revenues (*vide infra*). The Japanese Government refused to take any steps in the matter, but the Army did not interfere with the measures taken by the Chinese Customs authorities themselves to curb the evil.

Japan on her side found cause of complaint against the Nanking Government in the continuance of the anti-Japanese agitation, especially among students. This led in the summer to a number of untoward incidents, partly provoked by the Japanese themselves. On May 29 an attempt was made to wreck a Japanese troop train east of Tientsin. Towards the end of August the Japanese authorities tried, against the will of the Chinese Government, to establish a Consulate at Chengtu in Szechuan, with the result that an anti-Japanese demonstration took place in which two Japanese were killed and two seriously injured. On September 8 a Japanese chemist was assaulted and fatally injured by a crowd of Chinese at Pakhoi. On September 20 a Japanese Consular constable was murdered at Hankow, and shortly afterwards three Japanese sailors were fired upon, one being killed and the other two seriously injured, in the Hongkew district of Shanghai. In each case the Chinese Government expressed its regret and punished the offenders, but the Japanese Government took a very serious view of the incidents and called on Chiang Kai-shek to assume more direct responsibility and discuss with the Japanese Ambassador the whole field of Sino-Japanese relations.

Conversations between Mr. Kawagoe and General Chang Chun
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having reached a deadlock, on October 8 General Chiang Kai-shek himself had an interview with the Japanese Ambassador in which he pacified the latter with regard to the outrages, and arranged that he should resume discussions with the Foreign Minister. The chief subjects treated were Japan's position in North China and the proposal that Japan should give military assistance against Communism ; and on both points the Chinese Foreign Minister refused to make concessions.

While the discussions were still in progress, a force of several thousand irregular Mongol troops launched an attack on Taolin in Eastern Suiyuan on November 5. They were repulsed with heavy loss by General Fu Tso-yi, the Chairman of the Provincial Government of Shensi, who followed up his success by delivering a surprise attack on Pailingmiaio, the insurgents' base of operations in Northern Suiyuan, and occupying it on November 24. Fu Tso-yi's victory was hailed with delight in China, where it was thought that Japan was behind the incursion, and impressed on the Japanese the futility of continuing the negotiations at Nanking. A further success was scored by the Chinese before the end of the year at Tsingtao, where owing to a dispute between Japanese mill-owners and their Chinese employees a Japanese naval contingent had been landed and some Chinese officials arrested. Some far-reaching demands made by the Japanese were successfully resisted by the Mayor of Tsingtao, supported by the Chairman of the Shangtung Provincial Council, and after a fortnight's discussion an agreement was reached under which work was resumed, the arrested officials liberated, and the landing-party withdrawn.

In internal affairs the position of Chiang Kai-shek as head of the State was on two occasions very seriously threatened, though from each crisis he emerged stronger than before. On June 2 General Chen Chi-tang, the military leader of Kwangtung, and Marshal Li Tsung-jen and General Pai Chung-hsi, the military leaders of Kwangsi, sent to Nanking a telegram urging armed resistance against the Japanese and pledging the support of the Southern armies. At the same time their forces began to move northwards with the title of "Anti-Japanese Salvation Army." It was strongly suspected that their movement was directed as much against Chiang Kai-shek as against the Japanese, and the Generalissimo despatched Central Government troops to strategic points in Hunan, Kiangsi, and Kweichow to hold up the Southerners' advance, if necessary. Negotiations were commenced in the latter part of June, but for some time they made little progress, and the threat of civil war was imminent. Fortunately for Chiang Kai-shek, Hu Han-min, the ablest political leader on the southern side and his own implacable opponent, had died at Canton on May 12, and there was no one left who could hold the Southern forces together. After the first week of July, defections

began among the Cantonese air pilots, and they were followed by certain Kwantung Army commanders, notably General Yu Han-mou. The Kuomintang Conference which opened on July 10 appointed Yu Han-mou Pacification Commissioner for Kwantung, thus superseding Marshal Chen Chi-tang, and at the same time abolished the South-west Branch Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. Yu Han-mou immediately led his troops back to Canton, which submitted to him without a struggle. General Chiang Kai-shek himself entered the town on August 11—for the first time since 1926—receiving an enthusiastic welcome. The Kwangsi resistance he endeavoured to break down by offering to the Marshals high Government posts. At first they refused and put themselves in a posture of defence, but at the beginning of September they accepted Chiang Kai-shek's offers and resumed personal relations with him after an estrangement of nearly five years. Thus China was at this time nearer to unity than it had been at any time since 1912.

An even more alarming experience befell Chiang Kai-shek later in the year, with a sequel even more advantageous to him." In December he went by air to Sian, in order to inspect the troops of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, who was showing a great lack of energy in the work which had been entrusted to him of suppressing the Communist armies in Shensi and Kansu. On December 12 he was suddenly placed under arrest by Chang, together with the members of his staff, including Chiang Tso-pin, Minister of the Interior, General Chiang Ting-wen, Pacification Commissioner of Fukien, and General Chen-Cheng, Vice-Minister for War. Chang Hsueh-liang declared that his *coup* was intended to bring about the formation of a new Government which would form a common front with the Communist forces in a war against Japan. The Central Government, under the presidency of Dr. H. H. Kung, Minister of Finance, immediately denounced Marshal Chang as a traitor and appointed General Ho Ying-ching, the Minister of War, to the supreme command. The fate of Chiang Kai-shek personally was for some days in suspense, but through the mediation of a British subject, Mr. W. H. Donald, who was confidential adviser to the Generalissimo, and had previously served Chang Hsueh-liang in the same capacity, he was released unconditionally on December 25. Marshal Chang at the same time went to Nanking and sent Chiang a letter in which he stigmatised himself as "naturally rustic, surly, and unpolished," expressed penitence for his "impudent and criminal act," and offered to submit to any punishment that might be decreed against him. He was sentenced by the Central Executive Council to ten years' imprisonment, but immediately pardoned, while Chiang Kai-shek, who offered to resign, was confirmed in his office.

At the beginning of January the Communist forces in Hunan

were heavily defeated by the Government troops. They retreated to Kweichow, and for a time threatened the city of Kweiyang, but they were repulsed and retired to the mountainous country of Yunnan. In the north a large body of Communists at the beginning of March crossed the Yellow River into Shansi, defeated the troops of that Province, and besieged the towns of Pingyang and Hungtung. The Government, in order to give the Japanese no excuse for intervening (*vide supra*), acted with unusual vigour, and despatched 100,000 troops into the Province ; nor was it long before it regained control of the situation.

The financial position improved somewhat during the year. The currency reform introduced in November, 1935, worked rather better than had been expected ; early in the year the foreign banks agreed to hand over their stocks of silver bullion in exchange for the new paper currency, and the effect on the export trade was stimulating. Unfortunately, revenue from Customs, as also legitimate trade, suffered severely from an orgy of smuggling which took place in North China in the first half of the year under the operation of the Tangku truce between the Japanese military authorities and the North China leaders, which forbade Chinese revenue cutters from exercising adequate control of the Hopei coast. In July, however, the contraband traffic declined considerably, partly because the Tientsin market was saturated, partly because the Chinese railway officials in the interior at length plucked up courage and took stricter measures to check the transit of smuggled goods. At the end of June, Sir F. Leith-Ross, Chief Economic Adviser to the British Government, who had come to China nearly nine months before to study the financial and economic situation there, stated on the eve of his departure that the currency problems had been boldly and efficiently handled by the Central Government, and that the financial future of China depended on the maintenance of peace and order in the interior and the settlement of the situation in the North.

In March the Chinese Government protested to the Soviet Government against the Protocol signed on March 12 between the U.S.S.R. and Outer Mongolia providing for mutual military assistance, on the ground that it violated Chinese sovereignty and in particular was incompatible with the Sino-Soviet Agreement of 1924 by which Outer Mongolia was recognised as an integral part of the Chinese Republic.

On October 10 the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the Chinese Republic was celebrated throughout China by official ceremonies, but in view of the tension with Japan all mass meetings and popular demonstrations were forbidden. On October 31 General Chiang Kai-shek, on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday, was presented with 100 aeroplanes purchased by public subscription. **They** were dedicated by him to the

service of the nation, and \$1,000,000 raised by the Kwangtung provincial authorities, and \$2,000,000 by the four principal Chinese banks, were devoted to the same object.

JAPAN.

The year 1935 had closed in an atmosphere of high tension in political circles generated by the dispute which had arisen between the militarists, who were clamouring for a great increase of expenditure on the Army, and the Cabinet of Count Okada, particularly the Finance Minister, Mr. Takahashi, who were resisting their demands. The Diet, especially the Minseito, the more Liberal of the two large parties, were behind the Cabinet. At the end of January the Diet was dissolved, and in the elections held on February 20 the Minseito raised their representation from 127 to 205, while that of the Seiyukai fell from 242 to 174. The Labour Party also obtained the unexpected number of 26 seats.

Feeling that it would now be more difficult than ever to overcome the resistance of the Cabinet by constitutional means, a group of hotheads among the militarists resorted to the same methods of violence as had been used for a similar purpose in 1932, when the Prime Minister, Mr. Inukai, was murdered. Shortly before dawn on February 26, some junior officers and N.C.O.'s and about 1,300 men of the Tokio garrison broke into the houses of some leading statesmen and industrialists, and murdered Admiral Viscount Saito, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, Mr. Takahashi, the Minister of Finance, and General Watanabe, Inspector-General of Military Training, while Admiral Suzuki, the Grand Chamberlain, was severely wounded. The Prime Minister, Admiral Okada, escaped by a lucky accident. The conspirators then posted themselves in the Diet building and the Premier's official residence.

The Government and high military authorities were taken by surprise by this outbreak, but immediately took measures to preserve order. A cordon of troops was thrown round the area occupied by the mutineers, and Tokio was placed under martial law under the command of General Kashii, Military Governor of the city. The country remained perfectly calm. After two days of parleying, an ultimatum was presented to the mutineers, and the rank and file, at the suggestion of their leaders, surrendered. They were sent back to their barracks, while the officers were dismissed from the Service and imprisoned ; some of the ringleaders committed suicide.

The first effect of the *coup* was to bring about a complete change in the Government, and in the High Command of the Army, All the members of the Supreme Military Council—both

moderates like General Hayashi, and extremists like Generals Araki and Mazaki—were, with the exception of the Imperial Princes, retired or given other posts. The most significant changes were that two uncompromising militarists, General Terauchi and General Isogai, obtained the key posts of Minister of War and Director-General of the Military Affairs Bureau of the War Office. Admiral Okada resigned from the Premiership, and on the advice of the Elder Statesman, Prince Saionji, the Emperor first requested Prince Konoe, President of the House of Peers, to form a Cabinet. When he, to the general amazement, declined the task, it was entrusted to Mr. Hirota, who had been Foreign Minister in the Okada Cabinet. Mr. Hirota wished to appoint as his Foreign Minister Mr. Yoshida, but the Army would not accept him, as he was the son-in-law of Count Mafcino, who had been one of the objects of the rebel attack on February 26, and Mr. Hirota thereupon took the post himself. His Government as finally constituted contained one banker, five Civil servants, and two officers on the active list, while only four, and those in the least important posts, were politicians; and the decisive voice in it was exercised by the War and Navy Ministers.

For participation in the military *coup* of February 26, 21 officers, 73 N.C.O.'s, 19 privates, and 10 civilians were tried by a special Court Martial presided over by the ex-War Minister, General Kawashima. Sentence was pronounced on July 6, 13 officers and 4 civilians being condemned to death, and most of the remainder to terms of imprisonment ranging from 18 months to life, while 31 of the N.C.O.'s and 16 of the soldiers were acquitted. Martial law in Tokio was raised on July 17.

A few weeks previously Lt.-Colonel Aizawa had been sentenced to death for the assassination of General Nagata in the previous August (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935). These sentences were duly carried out, which seemed to show that the authorities were determined to suppress terrorism in the Army.

Contrary to expectation the Hirota Government proved far from being a pliant tool in the hands of the Army, siding rather with the great industrialists and financiers. According to the Japanese Press, the Army required of it four things—to reform the Administration in such a way as to remove all suggestion that the Army and Navy were responsible to anyone save the Emperor, to grant all the Army's demands for increased expenditure, to redress the balance between industry and the distressed farming population, and to promote Japanese expansion in China and Manchuria. On March 17 and 25 Mr. Hirota made two declarations in which this line of policy was only vaguely indicated, and from which the one definite statement which emerged was that there would be no war so long as he was Premier.

The new Finance Minister, Mr. Baba, shortly afterwards

announced his intention of reversing his predecessor's policy of opposing the Army's demands, with the result that there was a sharp fall on the Stock Exchange. He thereupon made a statement modifying his first remarks, and a recovery followed. In the end a Budget was approved in May providing for a total expenditure of 2,309,000,000 yen (135,000,000l.), of which 508,000,000 yen was for the Army and 550,000,000 yen for the Navy. In the summer the militarists proposed an armament programme spread over twelve years and requiring an expenditure on armaments during that period of 700,000,000l. The Cabinet in the interests of financial stability objected, but by the end of the year it consented to lay before the Diet a Budget for 1937-38 totalling expenditure of 179,000,000l., of which about 45,000,000l. would be for the Army.

In the matter of Cabinet reform also, Mr. Hirota proceeded with a dilatoriness which greatly displeased the militarists. On May 18, it is true, it was laid down by an Imperial Ordinance that the Ministers of War and Marine should henceforth be chosen only from officers on the active list. As, however, the right granted to Premiers in 1913 to select these Ministers from the reserve lists also had only once been exercised, this made little difference in practice. It was not till the end of October that Mr. Hirota appointed two commissions to study the proposals made by General Terauchi, the Minister for War, and Admiral Nagano, the Minister of Marine, for the reform of national and local government machinery. The chief of these were that the number of Cabinet posts should be reduced, and that a new Minister without portfolio should be appointed to act as the head of a bureau charged with the task of investigating and framing national policies.

In China and Manchuria also the change of regime in Japan did not result in the Japanese expansionist policy being pursued with any greater vigour; rather the reverse. Early in the year, while still Foreign Minister in the Okada Government, Mr. Hirota welcomed a proposal made by General Chang Chen, the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs, that negotiations between the two countries should be conducted through regular diplomatic channels, at the same time laying down that discussions should be based on the three principles put forward by Japan in September, 1935—the suppression of anti-Japanese agitation in China, co-operation between China, Japan, and Manchukuo, and joint Sino-Japanese action to suppress the Communist movement in North China. On March 25, after becoming Premier, Mr. Hirota repeated that he would adhere to these three principles in dealings with China. Early in June Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, the Chief Economic Adviser to the British Government, paid a visit to Tokio to discuss with Japanese officials the financial situation in China and especially

to **discover** if **there** was any prospect of co-operation between **Japan** and Great Britain in giving economic assistance to China. The Japanese officials received the suggestion coldly, insisting that a political settlement with China in accordance with Japanese views was first necessary. In July and August Mr. Kawagoe, the Japanese Ambassador to China, tried to persuade leading Chinese in North China to co-operate with the Japanese in the economic development of the country independently of Nanking, but without success. Thereupon negotiations covering the whole field of Sino-Japanese relations were opened at Nanking. On September 28 Mr. Arita, who meanwhile had become Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, stated that these negotiations could end only in their relations with China becoming very much better or very much worse. In fact they dragged on inconclusively till the Chinese victories in Suiyuan in December (*vide* China), when they broke down without Japan having gained any of her objectives.

In Manchukuo also attempts which were renewed by the Japanese to penetrate into Outer Mongolia again met with no success. The breakdown in December, 1935, of the Manchukuo-Mongol Frontier Conference at Manchuli was followed by a number of clashes between Japanese-Manchukuo and Soviet-Mongol troops. On April 28 the Japanese and Soviet Governments agreed to set up a permanent mixed commission to settle incidents along the section of the frontier from Lake Khanka to the north-east frontier of Korea, on the understanding that the Mongol-Manchukuo frontier would receive similar treatment in due course. Later in the year, arrangements were made for another conference between Mongolian and Manchukuo representatives, again at Manchuli. Banditry was stated to have increased during the year in Manchuria.

The principal innovation in the year in the field of foreign policy was an agreement with Germany, signed in Berlin on November 25, for collaboration in combating the subversive activities of the Communist International (Comintern) by means of exchanging information and consultation through a permanent committee. Rumours had long been current of a projected alliance between the two countries, and it was widely supposed that some secret military clauses were attached to the agreement. This, however, was strenuously denied at Tokio. The agreement was coolly received by the Japanese public, which criticised it as trying to force the nation into a Fascist *bloc* and as being calculated to estrange Great Britain.

Just before the agreement was published, Mr. Arita, the Foreign Minister, had obtained the sanction of the Emperor for a new Fisheries Convention which had just been concluded with Russia to take the place of the treaty of 1928. The Soviet Government now refused to ratify the Convention, and the

Hirota Government was on the point of falling when it was saved by a Soviet offer of a Protocol extending the existing treaty for a period of a year.

On January 15 the Japanese delegates at the London Naval Disarmament Conference withdrew, under pressure from the Navy, when their proposal for a "common upper limit" was rejected. Shortly afterwards the Naval Minister, boasting that Japan had now been "released from the naval ratio bondage," expounded a new naval policy extending the sphere of offensive and defensive operations to include the entire stretch of Mandated South Sea Islands from the equator on the south to the 180th meridian on the east. A Naval Investigation Council was formed for studying how to translate this plan into action. On June 2 Japan formally notified Great Britain that she would not adhere to the London Three-Power Naval Treaty.

In May the Government, under the Trade Protection Law, restricted Australian imports into Japan, in retaliation against discriminatory duties shortly before imposed by Australia on Japanese imports. A tariff war ensued which lasted till December, when an agreement, to last for eighteen months, was concluded under which Australia was to import from Japan 102,500,000 yards of piece goods a year, and Japan was to take from Australia on an average 553,000 bales of wool a year.

THE NETHERLANDS INDIES.

The policy of so-called "adjusting" both public expenditure and private standards of living to the crisis conditions, which had been pursued in the Dutch East Indies to even further limits than in the mother-country, showed its effects in the year 1936, enabling the country to reap the full benefit from the revival, small though it was, of international trade. The devaluation of the guilder, in which the Indian Government joined with the mother-country, also helped it to overcome the depression. Drastic measures were taken to prevent price inflation to the prejudice particularly of the native population, which in some quarters of the Archipelago obtained further relief through the restriction of the export of native rubber, which enabled them to secure higher prices for this important raw material. Most of the plantations went forward, whilst industrialisation proceeded continually. The mother-country, the commercial ties with which were drawn tighter than before, put at the disposal of the Indies 25 million guilders for purposes of general welfare, public works, irrigation, and so forth.

At the end of the year the public finances presented a more satisfactory aspect than had been expected. On the ordinary Budget for 1936, revenue, estimated at 257*7 million guilders,

was reckoned to amount to 268.2 millions, whilst expenditure, estimated at 308.1 millions, apparently did not have exceeded 301.4 millions. In this way the expected deficit of 50.4 millions proved to have been reduced to 33.2 millions. As the extraordinary (capital) service was calculated to yield a surplus of 38.8 millions instead of an estimated deficit of 7.4 millions, there was probably for 1936 a total surplus of 5.6 millions instead of a deficit of 57.8 millions. The Budget for 1937 shows the following figures : ordinary service, expenditure 440 millions, revenue 415 millions, deficit 25 millions ; extraordinary (capital) service, expenditure 21 millions, revenue 21.5 millions, surplus 0.5 million.

The situation in the Pacific obliged the Indian Government to pay careful attention to the possibilities of the defence of the Archipelago. In the First Chamber of the States-General the Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs declared that the Netherlands would not renounce one square yard of their territory, either in Europe or oversea, even were it to meet halfway the expansionist desires of other nations.

An agreement was made with the Netherlands Government that the main part of the navy—cruisers, destroyers, torpedo-ships, and submarines—should be stationed more continuously in the Indian waters, whilst the reinforcements of naval bases, especially that of Surabaya, should be given a foremost place in the scheme of Indian defence, as also defence in the air.

Relations with Japan, which had showed some tension, were improved by negotiations affecting commercial and shipping interests which took a favourable course.

In September the Governor-General Jhr. de Jonge, having completed his term of office, returned home after handing over the government to his successor, Jhr. Tjarda van Starkenbergh Stachouwer, hitherto Netherlands Ambassador at Brussels.

The betrothal of the heiress to the Throne, Princess Juliana, aroused in the Indies also great enthusiasm among both the European and the Asiatic population. Several native princes went to Holland or sent delegations thither in order to assist at the royal marriage and to pay homage to Queen Wilhelmina as sovereign of the Netherlands Indies.

CHAPTER VIII.

MOBOCOO AND EGYPT.

MOROCCO.

IN May Tangier was thrown into a condition of unrest by a syndicalist agitation carried on chiefly by non-Tangerene Spaniards with objects partly economic and partly political.

The agitation had the support of the Spanish Minister in Tangier, and gained numerous adherents among the Spanish element in the International Zone. The natives, however, under the firm guidance of the Mendoub, kept aloof. In spite of the lukewarmness of the Spanish authorities in suppressing disorder, attempts of the agitators to interfere with the public services or to bring about a general strike failed, and normal conditions were restored when, on June 11, the Mendoub, acting on the advice of the Assembly Magistrates, ordered the expulsion of eight Spanish agitators. On the next day, as they were being carried out of port in a Bland liner, about 150 Spaniards swarmed over the quay, boarded a Spanish postal motor-ship, and followed the liner in order to rescue them, ultimately landing at Algeciras.

In June, for the first time in French Morocco, labour troubles broke out at Casablanca, in sympathy with the strikes then taking place in France. Attempts were made by Spanish agitators to stir up trouble between Moslems and Jews, and there were several street demonstrations, but firm measures taken by the authorities succeeded in preserving order.

On July 18 the bulk of the Spanish troops in Spanish Morocco, under the leadership of General Franco, rose in revolt against the Spanish Government and seized Melilla and the other principal towns in Spanish Morocco. Fierce fighting took place in Melilla between them and the loyalists, but in a short time they established themselves in control of the whole of Spanish Morocco, in spite of the shelling of some coast towns by Government warships. For a time, the Spanish Government showed a disposition to use Tangier Bay as a submarine base, and some of their submarines were bombed there by rebel aeroplanes. As a result, however, of representations made by a majority of members of the Commission of Control, orders were given on August 8 that Spanish warships must leave Tangier and not put in there again, and these were strictly obeyed. In Spanish Morocco the natives showed themselves well disposed to the insurgents, owing, it was reported, to promises of autonomy, and furnished General Franco with numerous recruits, partly voluntary, partly under compulsion. The enlistment of the Moors in Spanish Morocco caused some ferment in French Morocco, and the French Government thought it wise to replace the civilian President-General, M. Marcel Peyrouton, on September 16 with a soldier, General Nogues, who also became Commander-in-Chief of the Moroccan forces.

EGYPT.

1936 was an outstanding year in the history of Egypt, for in the course of it the long-drawn-out agitation and sporadic negotiations were brought to a conclusion, and by the treaty signed with

Great Britain, and ratified on December 22, Egypt recovered her independence and took her place in the company of nations untrammelled by foreign control. The negotiations that resulted so satisfactorily were in course from almost the first day of the year. A conciliatory speech by the British Foreign Minister had its influence on the Wafd which, although not the Government, was the most influential party in Egypt. This approach was accepted by all parties, and in February the King of Egypt appointed a delegation of thirteen, including the leaders of all parties, to negotiate with the British representatives, of whom the High Commissioner, Sir Miles Lampson, was the chief. The negotiations thus initiated reached a satisfactory conclusion in August, a draft treaty of alliance between the two Powers being initialled on the 12th of that month. The treaty was subsequently approved with practical unanimity by both the British and Egyptian Parliaments. Profiting by previous experience, the negotiators on this occasion turned to the major questions first. Of these the military clauses securing British imperial communications and the defence of Egypt against foreign aggression led to the longest discussion. At one time there was almost an *impasse*, due to the demands of the British military authorities, but a flying visit of Sir Miles Lampson to London in June enlisted the support of the Foreign Office, and after that an agreement was soon reached (July 23). The Prime Minister of Egypt accompanied by colleagues left for England at once and the treaty was signed on August 26. By its terms the British military occupation was terminated and an alliance of 20 years concluded. The special British interest in the defence of the Suez Canal Zone was recognized and the responsibility for it left to British forces until the Egyptian Government was able to undertake the defence itself. Neither party was to conclude a treaty inconsistent with the alliance and both were to consult one another in the event of difficulties with a third State. Each State would support the other in the event of war, and in such circumstances Britain would have the use of Egyptian ports, aerodromes, and communications. On the completion of accommodation in the Canal Zone and of military roads elsewhere in Egypt, the British military forces at present in Cairo and Alexandria were to be withdrawn. The status of the Sudan was to remain unchanged, except that Egyptian regiments were to return to it, and so far as immigration and settlement were concerned, British and Egyptian subjects were to be treated alike. The British Government undertook to support Egypt's application for admission to the League of Nations and her efforts to secure the abolition of the Capitulations. The ultimate abolition of the Mixed Courts was also envisaged.

By the time the treaty was signed the Wafd, with Nahas Pasha as **Prime** Minister, had taken on responsibility as well as

power. He was appointed with a homogeneous Cabinet on May 10. Since the beginning of the year there had been a latent—at the end of January an active—Cabinet crisis. The year opened with a political strike in the universities and the schools, and the co-operation between all parties except that of the Government showed rifts. The anxiety of the British Government to commence negotiations led to the resignation on January 22 of Nessim Pasha's Cabinet, as it was felt that a more representative one should meet the British delegation. The Wafdists, however, refused to enter a coalition, and in the end a neutral Cabinet under Ali Pasha Maher, the Chief of the Royal Cabinet, was formed on January 30. In the meanwhile the students had been striking and rioting and there was even a minor insult to the British flag outside a consular agency. General Elections were held on May 2 with an overwhelming majority for the Wafd in both chambers. The Government thereupon resigned, and Nahas Pasha was appointed head of an all-Wafd Cabinet. In the meanwhile King Fuad, whose health had long been precarious, died on April 28. [See under Obituaries.] He was succeeded by his son, Prince Farouk, who was still at school in England. King Fuad had left instructions for a regency, but these were ignored and three close relatives of the new King appointed.

In the home field Nahas Pasha set out to cancel all or most of the reforms introduced by the governments that had succeeded the previous Wafd one. The "Spoils" system was restored to the Civil Service, new and necessary posts were abolished, and with one stroke the whole of the preceding Government's measures were rescinded. On the other hand, a number of widespread social reforms was promised.

Another welcome settlement was that between Egypt and Saudi-Arabia, which brought to an end a period of not very friendly relations that had lasted for ten years. It began with an attack during the Pilgrimage of 1926 on the "Mahmal," the annual gift from the Egyptian Government. The annual gift was thereupon suspended and at the same time the usual payments from Egypt to charities in Mecca and Medina ceased. The Egyptian Government also had hitherto not recognised the annexation of the Hidjaz by Nejd. Negotiations between the two Powers began at length in April, 1936, and on May 7 a treaty was signed between them whereby, by a compromise, both Powers were satisfied and the gift of the Mahmal and the usual payments were resumed.

The long-drawn-out litigation as to whether the coupons of the Egyptian Debt were to be paid in gold or sterling was in effect settled on February 15, when the Mixed Appeal Court decided that it had no competence in the matter, which was one for diplomacy. The Egyptian Government thereupon continued to pay in sterling, to which step no further objection has been taken.

CHAPTER IX.

AMERICA : THE UNITED STATES—ARGENTINA—PAN -AMERICAN
CONFERENCE — BOLIVIA—BRAZIL—CHILE — CUBA—MEXICO—
NICARAGUA—PARAGUAY—PERU—VENEZUELA.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

CONSCIOUS that the year 1936 was election year and that his political opponents were exerting themselves to mobilise business opinion against him, President Roosevelt in his message to Congress on January 3, came swiftly and adroitly to grips with his critics.

Without directly claiming that the slowly returning prosperity, visible in almost every direction, was due solely to the policies of the Administration, he invited his opponents to propose the repeal of his measures.

" If these gentlemen believe," he said, " that the measures adopted by this Congress and its predecessor, and carried out by this Administration, have hindered rather than promoted recovery, let them be consistent. Let them propose to this Congress the repeal of these measures. The way is open to them."

This challenge was never taken up, though the President repeated it on more than one occasion. And the main reason it was never taken up, the main reason an aggressive entrepreneur class dared not propose in all seriousness a completely logical return to the old *laissez faire* gospel in which they professed to believe, was that they had lost the courage of their convictions.

This silent shift in opinion was perhaps the most significant development of the year. Intensely as the business class disliked " interference " with industry and the heavy taxation involved in the Roosevelt programme for recovery, few of them were bold enough to propose a thorough-going and consistent return to that state of governmental apathy which remained in men's minds as the lasting picture of the Hoover regime. Banks could *not* be allowed to fail, nor the unemployed to starve, nor bankrupt farmers to be dispossessed. Tacit recognition that *some* Federal activity was essential if American capitalism was to be kept going did much—as the presidential campaign showed—to cramp the controversial style of the President's critics.

Perhaps the easiest way to envisage this shift in opinion is to notice the contrast between the approach to much the same problem displayed by President Cleveland in 1886 and by President F. D. Roosevelt in 1936.

In 1886 there was a severe drought in a small area in Texas, as the result of which the farmers had no seed for the Spring planting. Congress passed a Bill appropriating 10,000 dollars to

buy seed for them, but President Cleveland received general applause when he sternly vetoed the Bill on the grounds "I can find no warrant for such an appropriation in the Constitution. . . . The lesson should be constantly enforced that though the people support the Government, the Government should not support the people."

This was good Democratic doctrine, but fifty years later, on May 27, 1936, another Democratic President was made by Congress the administrator of a public relief fund totalling 1,450,000,000 dollars.

However, it should also be noticed that the President's critics had, in a sense, less cause to bestir themselves from the fact that the United States Supreme Court seemed willing, though by a divided vote, to do it for them. The year 1935 had already seen several of the Roosevelt recovery measures declared unconstitutional (notably the National Recovery Act), and this process continued through 1936.

The President made a half-hearted attempt to revive the National Recovery Act on a co-operative and voluntary basis, but when 82 per cent, of the 10,000 members of the National Association of Manufacturers voted not to participate in it, he had no option except to liquidate the bureaucratic and voluntary machinery which had been set up to bring about "order in industry" and peace between capital and labour.

On January 6 the Supreme Court, by the not unusual vote of 6 to 3, laid low another piece of "recovery" machinery by declaring unconstitutional the "Agricultural Adjustment Act."

This had been passed with the aim of improving agricultural prices by reducing the huge and unmarketable surpluses; this was to be accomplished by levying a tax upon the manufacturers and processors of farm products, the proceeds of which were turned over to farmers as payment for withholding land from the production of stated crops and for reducing their live-stock.

The majority of the Supreme Court ruled that this was an unwarrantable use of the taxing powers of the Federal Government and that the scheme violated the rights of the individual States. Justices Brandeis, Cardozo, and Stone united in a strong dissenting minority opinion which, if it did no more, brought out in strong relief the gulf between the legal and constitutional philosophies of the majority and the minority of the Supreme Court.

However, both political parties looked with tenderness upon the farmer and were—quite regardless of the Supreme Court's views—united in the belief that Federal aid to the farmer was a legitimate use of central Governmental powers. Anticipating the adverse decision of the Court, the Administration had already drafted an ingenious Bill designed to avoid the "processing tax" and yet to continue the policy of rewarding the individual farmer

who withheld land from the production of those crops which were prone to have large surpluses and falling prices.

Within a month of the Supreme Court's decision, the Administration had introduced and secured the passage of a " Soil Conservation Act " preserving, in effect, Government control of farm surpluses.

This was perhaps the most interesting piece of legislation evolved during the year.

Behind its acceptance was the growing realisation that soil depletion and soil abuse were already taking a heavy toll of America's agricultural resources. Huge dust-storms in the Middle West, which shifted thousands of tons of top soil dozens of miles, were startling evidences of this. Some pastoral areas where over-feeding of live-stock had completely killed the pasturage were called " dust-bowls." But soil-depletion was widespread even in areas where dust-storms had not yet arisen.

The basic idea of the new Act was to induce farmers to shift some 30,000,000 acres from the intensive cultivation of soil-exhausting crops into grasses and vegetables designed to conserve the fertility ; another part of the scheme provided payments for those who actually increased the fertility of the soil. Farmers in 1936 who participated in the scheme under the supervision of local committees received payments averaging about 10 dollars an acre for the land thus treated. These payments were made direct from the Federal Treasury—in affect a redistribution of the national income (like most subsidies) designed to induce the farmers to do what, on a long view, they should be ready to do on their own initiative.

The Act—perhaps with one eye on the Supreme Court—provided that by the end of 1938 the scheme, if it is to be continued, must be taken over by the individual States, aided by grants from the Federal Treasury.¹ It seems highly probable that the States will hasten to do this, and a new type of economic control over agriculture will become a permanent feature of American farming.

But if the Supreme Court, as the popular " villain " in the piece, was " foiled " in this fashion in its attack upon the " New Deal," it scored a fairly startling triumph on June 1 when it handed down, by a vote of five to four, a memorable decision declaring unconstitutional the New York State Minimum Wage Law for Women and Children. The Act, said the majority, deprived employers and employees of property rights " without due process of law."

This Act was not an invasion of State's rights by an over-aggressive Federal Government; it was an attempt by a State to regulate conditions in an area which the Supreme Court had

¹ The Supreme Court had expressly held that Federal contributions for **the "general welfare "** were constitutional.

repeatedly pointed out belonged wholly to the States. Under the slowly expanding doctrine of the "police powers" many States had gone moderately far in regulating factory conditions, but the Supreme Court majority held that the regulation of wages was beyond their powers. Minimum wage laws in 17 States were nullified by this decision.

Although the President was not involved in the New York State Act, he was greatly annoyed at the decision which revealed with startling clearness that the whole new movement for "social security" in the States as well as in the Federal Government, faced an implacable opposition in the highest court in the land. One unusual feature of this decision was the fact that Mr. Chief Justice Hughes, usually counted among the "conservatives", deserted the majority and wrote the minority opinion which was signed also by the three "liberals," Justices Brandeis, Cardozo and Stone. To the problem of how the Supreme Court majority—and a number of like-minded lower Federal judges—could be prevented from blocking indefinitely the country's manifest desire for "advanced" legislation the President and his advisers devoted considerable study during the remainder of the year.

During January Congress passed over the President's veto, the "Soldiers' Bonus Bill," providing for the distribution from the Treasury of the colossal sum of 2,300,000,000 dollars to veterans who had enlisted (or been conscripted) into the American forces during the Great War. The average payment was for 558 dollars and took the form of low-denomination bonds—known as "baby bonds"—which could either be held for income or cashed at banks and post offices. Distribution of the bonus was made in June, accompanied by considerable Government propaganda urging the veterans to hold the bonds for income, but by the end of the year the bulk of them had been cashed and spent, injecting a stiff inflationary tonic into retail sales of consumers' goods.

However, the Soldiers' Bonus threw the Budget further out of balance than the President approved and he insisted successfully upon the imposition of higher taxes, including a very novel tax upon the undistributed earnings of companies. This tax forced innumerable companies to distribute very liberal extra dividends toward the close of the year; as these dividends were taxed, they gave an extraordinary buoyancy to revenues though the scheme was severely criticised as tending to discourage companies from building up proper surpluses against future slumps.

One curious development of the year was the enhancement of the Government's credit in the teeth of much wild talk of inflation of the currency on the German post-war model. Several things contributed to this. One was a growing belief that the much-discussed National Debt, which on June 30 stood at 33,545,000,000 dollars, was by no means excessive when compared with the country's taxable resources. Another factor

was the decisive rejection by Congress in January of a proposal to pay the Soldiers' Bonus by an issue of " Government money " and, in May, by the defeat in the lower House of a proposal to issue paper money for the relief of farmers burdened by farm mortgages. These two defeats of the avowed " inflationists " in Congress, coupled with the President's reiterated statement that he was determined to balance the Budget, led the public to discount the opposition talk of impending currency inflation and abysmal Government deficits.

One result of this was the widespread public buying of Government " savings bonds " in small denominations, mainly 25 dollars and 100 dollars, which toward the end of the year amounted to more than 1,000,000 dollars a day. In December the Government was able to borrow at the cheapest rate in its history, though critics pointed out that this was due less to the high standing of the Government's credit than to the fact that the banks, stuffed with idle deposits resulting from the Government's huge expenditures, had no choice but to invest in Government securities.

Pohtics coloured the year but it was tedious politics, lacking any fundamental issue save the personality of the President. Conservative Democrats, like ex-Governor Alfred Smith, publicly repudiated Mr. Roosevelt, and the Press, which has an incurable relish for the manoeuvres of politicians, shuddered and calculated elaborately just how widespread was the " revolt " within the Democratic party against the leader; Mr. Hearst also took a dislike to the President's policies which, it appears, smacked of " communism," and the Hearst newspapers from coast to coast banged away at the man in the White House.

He rarely replied. Not that he was silent, for he received the Washington correspondents every day and talked freely of what the Administration was trying to do, but his political judgment was shrewd and he manoeuvred his critics into the position where they seemed, to the man in the street, merely " railing " at the only one who was " trying to do something." The entire presidential campaign of 1936 may be summed up in the statement that the President's opponents never escaped from the ineffective role to which the President consigned them.

The Republican leaders, apparently misled by the influential newspaper support they enjoyed, seemed to feel that they had a chance, if not to defeat Mr. Roosevelt, at least to wrest control of Congress from him and they made careful preparations. Early in the year, canvassing the vote-getting possibilities of the various potential candidates, they settled upon Governor Alfred Landon of Kansas as probably the best standard-bearer. Governor Landon had become something of a national figure by his handling of the State finances during the depression; the balanced Budget and negligible funded debt of the State were regarded as in

effective contrast to the capriciousness and extravagance alleged against the " New Deal."

The Republican Convention met at Cleveland on June 10, with the usual paraphernalia of organised enthusiasm which are now a fixture of American conventions—brass bands, cheer-leaders, orators, and an ingenious " thermometer " standing many feet high in which coloured liquid by its oscillations up and down registered the volume of applause. Behind the scenes the party leaders smoothed out differences and the convention on the first ballot nominated Mr. Landon for President and Colonel Frank Knox, a Chicago newspaper publisher, as Vice-President. The platform drafted for and accepted by the candidate was not afraid of emphasis :

" America is in peril," it began. " The welfare of American men and women and the future of our youth are at stake. We dedicate ourselves to the preservation of their political liberty, their individual opportunity, and their character as free citizens which to-day for the first time are threatened by the Government itself."

However, the Roosevelt attack upon the depression had bitten too deeply into national life to be abandoned forthwith, and the platform, after roundly denouncing all and sundry of the Roosevelt measures, turned around and pledged itself to old age pensions, unemployment insurance, minimum wages for women and children, and other measures. Along with these, however, it took up a position congenial to American business, demanding a balanced Budget, the restoration of the gold standard, and an end to experiments.

Two weeks later the Democrats met at Philadelphia and on June 27 nominated Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. J. N. Garner as candidates to succeed themselves as President and Vice-President. The Democratic platform began with a thumping challenge : " We hold this truth to be self-evident—that the test of a representative Government is its ability to promote the safety and happiness of the people." As for the ungrateful business man, the platform declared :

We have taken the business man out of the red. We have saved his bank, and given it a sounder foundation ; we have extended credit; we have lowered interest rates; we have undertaken to free him from the ravages of cut-throat competition. . . . We will keep him on the road to freedom and prosperity.

An " American Labour Party " endorsed the President; the followers of Father Coughlin of Detroit combined with the disciples of the Townsend Old Age Pension plan to form a " Union Party " which nominated Congressman William Lemke, of North Dakota, for President; and the Socialists and Communists waded into the fray with their own tickets.

One novel feature of the campaign was the fact that all of the parties bought " time " on the various broadcasting circuits,

thus addressing—potentially, at least—far **larger numbers than** ever before.

But there was only one issue, and that was the President. He was easily the most effective speaker, whether over the radio or in addressing huge audiences in a tour of the country. Betting favoured his re-election, but the fact that the leading newspapers fought him hard, day after day, suggested that the result might be fairly close, and few people were mentally prepared for the astonishing result of the election on November 3.

He swept the country, polling 60 per cent, of the total vote cast compared with Mr. Landon's 36 per cent. In 1932 he had polled 22,821,000 against Mr. Hoover's 15,761,000 ; this time he polled 27,751,000 against Mr. Landon's 16,681,000. He carried every State but two in the electoral college where the vote, polled according to the majority vote in each State, was 523 for Roosevelt and only 8—representing Maine and Vermont—for Landon. An altogether extraordinary triumph for a man and a programme. The Democrats increased their control over both Houses of Congress, and elected the Governors of twenty-six States.

American business, pondering the overwhelming returns and the prospects of another four years, promptly decided to make peace with the victor, and the year ended on a more amicable note than that on which it had begun. The metropolitan newspapers were quick to point out that the President would doubtless be more conservative during his second term than he had been during his first.

Mr. Roosevelt showed much more interest in foreign affairs during the closing year of his first term than he had shown, or been able to show, during the strenuous first three years. In January he addressed letters to the Presidents of the various American Republics suggesting that the time appeared propitious for the American nations to meet around a council table in the cause of peace in the Western hemisphere. This idea drew a warm response, and in November Mr. Roosevelt, accompanied by Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of the State Department, and a delegation, travelled to Buenos Aires where he addressed **on** December 1 the opening session of the American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace.

The twenty-one States represented there adopted a convention pledging themselves to consult together for the common defence in case of war. A protocol also agreed to provide that any act of an unfriendly nature, by any American nation, tending to disturb the peace affects all the American nations and will be the basis for invoking immediately the consultative procedure provided for in the convention.

On the initiative largely of Mr. **Hull**, the conference also **agreed** to a number of resolutions and recommendations **looking toward the reduction of trade barriers by either bilateral or uni-**

lateral action. The keynote of the conference was struck by Mr. Roosevelt as the policy of "the Good Neighbour," and the President could assure the Latin-American countries that the United States, whatever it may have been tempted to do in the past, now interpreted the role of "Good Neighbour" as one forbidding forcible intervention in the affairs of a neighbouring State. On March 2 he had already demonstrated his attitude by signing a treaty with Panama, after eighteen months of negotiation, far more favourable to that country's sovereignty than any previous treaties had been; not a little of the enthusiastic reception he received at Buenos Aires was due to South American appreciation of the equal and friendly terms of the Panama Treaty regulating the relations of the two countries *vis-a-vis* the Panama Canal.

On July 31 the President visited Quebec where he met Lord Tweedsmuir, the Governor-General, Prime Minister Mackenzie King, and other officials. The visit was intended to stress the "Good Neighbour" policy; apart from official entertaining, there were private conferences. During the year the State Department negotiated Commercial Agreements with France, Switzerland, Finland, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, thus bringing the number of such Trade Agreements up to fifteen, and in September and October, the Treasury joined with Britain and France in common agreements to support the stabilisation of the foreign exchange value of their respective currencies. In November Switzerland and the Netherlands joined this tripartite agreement and others followed, laying somewhat gingerly the foundations for international co-operation for the stabilisation of exchanges and, it was suggested, of an all-round reduction of trade barriers.

Both the Nazi regime and the Fascist regime had a very bad Press in the United States during the year, mainly on the grounds that they were war-minded and threatened the peace of Europe, if not of the world. Even the financial Press, habitually impatient of the "demagogy" of the American politicians, found nothing particularly admirable in the efficiency of the totalitarian states, while the professional and middle classes were impressed by Sinclair Lewis's novel, "It Can't Happen Here," which portrayed the rise of an American variant of "National Socialism" on American soil, complete with a mercenary private army, concentration camps, censorship, and other attributes of an "island of peace." The *American Review of Reviews*, a highly respectable non-partisan monthly magazine, polled its readers on the question: "Which side would you favour in case of a war between Germany and the Soviet Union?" The results showed a two-to-one majority in favour of the Soviet Union. While the "sampling" was much too small to be trustworthy as a guide to American opinion in general, it was striking to find 52 per cent, of the

businessmen-readers, 69 per cent, of the schoolmasters, 72 per cent, of the clergy, and 79 per cent, of the doctors voting in favour of Russia,—mainly on the grounds that Russia seemed disposed to mind her own business while Germany seemed headed for war.

Secretary Hull, opening the Third World Power Conference on September 7 declared that war was imminent and repeated what was a commonplace of national thought on the subject, "a general war now would set loose forces that would be beyond control—forces which might easily bring about a virtual destruction of modern political thought, with all its achievements, and possibly a veritable shattering of our civilisation." The President himself, speaking at Buenos Aires, referred caustically to those nations which were feverishly re-arming: "We know that nations guilty of these follies inevitably face the day when either their weapons of destruction must be used against their neighbours or an unsound economy, like a house of cards, must fall apart/*

This seeming imminence of war posed a difficult problem for American pacifist sentiment. A very large part of the President's following in Congress demanded a policy of 100 per cent, neutrality in the event of a war breaking out in Europe with a virtually complete embargo, not only on munitions, but on any materials potentially useful to the combatants. On this theory the victim of European aggression was to be treated exactly the same as the aggressor. They pressed for the enactment of legislation which would tie the President's hands completely and enable him to withstand any pressure, either from business interests anxious to sell to one or the other of the combatants, or from public opinion.

Opposed to this was a smaller body which argued that this was a harsh and short-sighted view of the nation's obligations and that situations might arise—a war, say, between the totalitarian states and the democratic countries—in which the latter could not, in decency, be abandoned to their fate. The active intervention of Germany and Italy in the Spanish civil war was closely followed as was also the German Press campaigns against not only Soviet Russia but also Czechoslovakia. These tended to strengthen the view that the President should be given some measure of discretion to permit, say, the victims of aggression to buy, pay for, and transport at their own risk such supplies, not actually munitions of war, which they might need. This policy was described by its proponents as the "cash and carry" policy.

Mr. Roosevelt himself kept his own counsel on the controversy though many believed that he was opposed, on principle, to a policy of "100 per cent, neutrality" where such a policy threatened the destruction of democratic states. The Neutrality Law already in force was extended on February 19 to May 1, 1937, but on the closing day of the year Congress amended it to prevent the shipment of war materials to either side in the Spanish civil war,—in effect, a victory for the "one hundred percenters."

But the one outstanding event in foreign affairs which absorbed the American public was the abdication of King Edward VIII. Months before the British Press printed a line about the King and the American woman with whom he had fallen in love, the American newspapers carried columns upon columns of gossip, comment, and the wildest speculations as to the probability or improbability that an American-born woman would become either the Queen or the morganatic wife of the King of England. King Edward's popularity was extraordinary with all classes and his abdication an emotional shock.

Although business improved and employment increased with scarcely a setback throughout the year, the Federal, State, and Municipal Governments continued to be burdened with heavy relief payments. The Secretary for Labour reported that while 6,000,000 men and women who had been unemployed in 1933 had regained private employment, there were still in December some 3,000,000 employed either on public works or on enterprises assisted by the State.

Strikes became more numerous, especially the new type of "sit down" strike which paralysed production while leaving the employees in possession of the works; in the motor tyre industry in particular there was an epidemic of these "sit down" strikes which finally drove the manufacturers into removing at least part of their works from Akron, Ohio, where for many years they had been located.

Even more important was the rise of a movement for "industrial unionism," represented by the "Committee for Industrial Organisation" formed by John L. Lewis of the United Mine-Workers of America. This movement broke away from the old "craft union" form of organisation sponsored by the American Federation of Labour and proposed instead that all the employees in an industry should be organised by plants instead of by crafts.

Jealous of this new development, the American Federation of Labour suspended from membership a number of labour federations which supported the Lewis programme. Despite this, the Committee for Industrial Organisation pushed ahead with plans to unionise the steel industry and the big motor industry,—two fields in which the old type of craft unionism had failed completely. Over the next few years this may prove a highly important development; next to the new type of controlled agriculture, possibly the most important development of the year.

ARGENTINA.

At the end of 1935 steps were taken to compose finally the differences which had arisen in the Cabinet after the assassination of Dr. Bordabehere at the beginning of August, 1935 (*vide* ANNUAL

REGISTER, 1935). Dr. Pinedo, the Minister of Finance, Dr. Duhau, the Minister of Agriculture, and Dr. Iriondo, the Minister of Education, resigned, and their places were taken by, respectively, Don Robert Ortiz, Don Miguel Carcano, and Don Ramon Castillo. This reorganisation of the Cabinet gave it a more "Left" complexion, and did something to appease the Radicals, who had been greatly incensed by the unfair conduct of the provincial election in Buenos Aires in November, which they considered had robbed them of victory, though the Electoral Court, while finding the allegations of fraud to have been justified, did not reverse the verdict of the polls.

On March 1 elections were held for the renewal of one-half of the Federal Chamber of Deputies and one-half of the Buenos Aires Municipal Council. There were again complaints of grave malpractices in the Provinces, but this time the Radicals and Socialists swept the board in the capital, and the Radicals made gains in the Provinces. Dissatisfaction with the Government now became more pronounced on the extreme Right, which hankered after a dictatorship like that of General Uriburu. The Government for the rest of the year steered an uneasy middle course ; towards the end of the year efforts were made to bring into general use a "democratic salute" consisting in raising both hands joined above the head, and signifying equal opposition to both Fascism and Communism. At the end of the year the Senate passed a Bill for the suppression of Communism by 17 votes to 4.

In his financial statement to Congress in May, the President reported that revenue had amounted to 823,800,000 pesos, being 65,000,000 pesos more than the estimate and 52,000,000 pesos more than in the previous year, and that there was a Budget surplus of 27,000,000 pesos. Other signs of economic improvement were an increased trade balance, saving in external debt, release of most of the remaining blocked pesos, and improved quotations for Government bonds. At the beginning of the year, however, the outlook was rendered uncertain by the agitation in England for granting further protection to the beef industry, which threatened to cut the ground from under Argentina's chief export, that of chilled beef, for which Great Britain was practically the only market. After some informal negotiations, the British Government in July gave notice that on November 7 it would terminate the Roca Trade Agreement concluded between the two countries in 1933, and negotiations were commenced for a fresh agreement. At the end of November a new agreement was concluded, terminable at six months' notice on and after December 31, 1939. Argentina agreed to the imposition of duties not exceeding $\frac{3}{4}$ d. a lb. on her chilled beef, 2s. 3d. a lb. on frozen beef, and corresponding duties (20 per cent, *ad valorem*) on other beef. She also agreed to reduce somewhat her shipments of

chilled beef to the United Kingdom below the 1935 figures. In return, Britain gave the Argentine certain guarantees in case imports into the United Kingdom should be regulated at a future date. The guarantees given by Argentina to the United Kingdom in 1933 in regard to exchange matters were continued. The agreement was criticised by the Opposition as being less favourable to Argentina than that of 1933, but was defended by the Government spokesmen as the best obtainable under the circumstances. On December 3 a deputation from the Argentine Rural Society delivered a note to the Minister of Agriculture stating that the Argentine stock-breeding industry had reached a position where at any time the supply might exceed the demand, and asking for his assistance in opening up the United States market to Argentine meat. On December 30 President Justo, addressing a meeting of stock-breeders, declared that the new agreement, if it did not satisfy Argentine aspirations, at least brought equilibrium and security to the commercial relations between the United Kingdom and Argentina. The Minister of Agriculture also hinted that the Government might subsidise the stock-breeders.

On August 7 the Senate began the discussion of the two Transport Bills, designed to protect the railways and the Buenos Aires tramways against unfair motor competition, which had passed the Chamber of Deputies in the previous September. They were opposed by the Socialists on the ground that they were framed in the interests of foreign capitalists. In September the drivers of the privately-owned micro-omnibuses went on strike in protest against the Urban Transport Co-ordination Bill, and three small bomb explosions which occurred in the city on September 23, without doing any damage, were attributed to their activities. This Bill was passed by the Senate after an all-night sitting on September 30 by 16 votes to 6.

On January 7 riots arising out of the builders' strike which had been in progress since October took place in Buenos Aires, resulting in a number of fatalities. With the aid of Government intervention, a settlement of the strike was reached on January 23.

On February 23 President Justo accepted a suggestion made by President Roosevelt that a Pan-American peace conference should be held at Buenos Aires. In August the date of the conference was fixed for December 1, and shortly afterwards the Argentine Government invited 21 Republics to take part. In honour of the visit of President Roosevelt to open the conference, November 30 was decreed by the Government a public holiday, and the President was accorded a most enthusiastic reception.

In January a maximum of 300,000l. was voted for rebuilding the Argentine trans-Andine railway which was destroyed by flood two years before. In December a Bill was passed for constructing an international bridge over the Uruguay river

connecting Argentina with Brazil. In June orders were placed with British shipbuilding firms for the construction of seven destroyers, at a cost of 2,800,000Z. On January 3 the town of Buenos Aires celebrated the fourth centenary of its foundation, and the landing of Pedro de Mendoza at the Boca, the old port, was reconstructed. At the beginning of the year the Argentine Government recognised as compulsory the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE.

On December 1 the Pan-American Conference for the maintenance of peace began at Buenos Aires (*vide* Argentina), all the States of the American Continent being represented. The opening address was delivered by President Roosevelt, who said that he was confident that the Republics of the New World could help the Old World to avert the catastrophe which was impending over it. It was their first duty, he said, by every honourable means to prevent any future war among themselves, which could best be done by strengthening the processes of constitutional democratic government. Dr. Saavedra Lamas, the Argentine Foreign Minister, was elected President of the conference. The programme of the conference consisted of ten items, of which the chief were the examination of methods of preventing and settling peaceably conflicts between American nations, the discussion of the rules, rights, and duties of neutral countries and belligerents, limitation of armaments, and a number of juridical, economic, and cultural questions.

The proceedings throughout were marked by great cordiality and a desire on all sides to make the conference a success. Although only a comparatively small part of the programme was worked through, three agreements of outstanding importance were reached. On December 12 all the delegates, subject to a slight reservation by Paraguay, supported a draft treaty proposed by Argentina providing for consultation among the Governments of all the American Republics in case the peace of the American Republics was threatened, whether from within America or from outside. On December 16 the conference, subject to certain reservations by Argentina, Venezuela, and Colombia, adopted the final draft of a treaty proposed by the United States, co-ordinating, amplifying, and ensuring the fulfilment of existing treaties between all Pan-American States. Finally, on the same day, a non-intervention Protocol, defining intervention as a "threat to peace," and laying down that any such threat should set in motion a consultative machinery for common defence, was accepted unanimously without debate. This document was hailed with joy by the Central and South

American States as finally marking the end of the "Monroe doctrine" and proving the sincerity of the United States' desire for the "Good Neighbour" policy advocated by President Roosevelt.

BOLIVIA.

On January 14 Bolivia accepted the terms of the Chaco Peace Conference (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935, p. 310), and on the 21st an agreement was signed by the two countries providing for the return of prisoners and the payment by Bolivia to Paraguay of 2,400 million Argentine pesos (about 135,000*l.*) for the maintenance of prisoners. Diplomatic relations were resumed forthwith. The task of delimiting the Chaco was left to the Peace Conference.

On May 18 a group of military officers forced the President, Don Luis Sorzano, to resign. In a proclamation which they issued the next day they declared that he had mismanaged the financial and economic affairs of the country and permitted profiteers to make fortunes while soldiers were dying at the front. The office of President was offered to Colonel Jose David Toro, an officer who had distinguished himself in the war. He immediately formed a Government consisting of officers and Left-wing civilians; this was replaced a few days later by one inclined still more to the Left. On June 21 the Army took entire control of the Government, on the ground that the civilians were not sufficiently in earnest in the cause of reform. On July 11 the Government decreed work to be compulsory for all between the ages of 18 and 60, including foreigners, for the duration of the crisis. On August 20 a decree was issued ordering every one engaged in the production or distribution of wealth, whether as employer or employed, to join a union, membership of which would be an essential condition of Bolivian citizenship.

BRAZIL.

Throughout 1936 Brazil was ruled by the President, Dr. Getulio Vargas, with semi-despotic power. After the suppression of the revolt in November, 1935, a "state of siege" to last 90 days was proclaimed, and Congress was without difficulty induced to promulgate a series of amendments to the Constitution providing for the exercise of martial law and the imposition of the death penalty. On March 24 the Government declared that a grave situation existed throughout the nation and decreed an extension of "the state of siege," with suspension of constitutional guarantees, which continued throughout the year. In the

early part of the year all but 315 of the civilians and 83 of the military men imprisoned after the revolt were released. Later, however, the Communist leader, Luiz Carlos Prestes, Senhor Pedro Ernesto Baptista, Mayor of Rio de Janeiro, a Senator, and four Deputies were imprisoned on the charge of having assisted in organising the November revolt. At the end of the year about 16,000 political prisoners, mostly Communists, were still awaiting trial. The year witnessed a growth of the semi-Fascist "Integralist" movement, which, while combating Communism, was also opposed to the President.

Congress met on May 3, and the President in his opening address declared that the country was peaceful, and that the financial position in 1935 had improved considerably. He outlined measures for improving finance, agriculture, and methods of insurance, and also for regulating immigration and for bringing up the children of immigrants as Brazilians. The Budget at first showed a deficit of over 3,000,000 contos of reis, but was afterwards nearly balanced by means of reductions in expenditure.

The Trade Agreement between Brazil and Great Britain concluded in September, 1931, was denounced by the Brazilian Government with effect from July 31. It was prolonged till September 1, when a new agreement was made, pending the conclusion of a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation. The new agreement somewhat limited Britain's claims to "most-favoured-nation" treatment and Brazil's claims to be put on the same footing as territories of the British Empire. The two Governments agreed not to discriminate against one another as regards the allocation or regulation of exchange or the grant of import licences issued with the object of regulating exchange.

On August 20 the President decided, owing to the Left character of the Spanish Government, to break off diplomatic relations with Spain, and the Brazilian Ambassador to Madrid was accordingly recalled, and the Spanish Ambassador at Rio de Janeiro was given his passports.

CHILE.

At the beginning of the year the Government professed to have information that a Communist rising, directed from outside with the co-operation of agents in Chile, was in preparation. It took no immediate steps, but when a railway strike broke out on February 3 and was followed by widespread labour unrest, it laid the blame on Communist agitation and imprisoned the leaders of the Communist Front. It also proclaimed martial law in all the provinces from Acancagua to the south, and relegated the Communist ringleaders in this region to distant places within Chilean territory.

Among those arrested was Senor Solis, who had been the Chilean delegate to a Pan-American Labour Conference held in Santiago in January. The conference had been addressed by Mr. Harold Butler, Director of the I.L.O. at Geneva, and had passed resolutions concerning the relations of the I.L.O. with American countries, native workers, emigration, unemployment, and nutrition. At the conference Senor Solis had criticised the Chilean Government for its labour policy, and an inquiry was now addressed to the Chilean Government by the Director of the I.L.O. from Geneva whether this was not the cause of his arrest. The Chilean Government, while refusing to admit the right of the I.L.O. to interfere in the internal affairs of Chile, replied that Senor Solis had been arrested as a member of the strike committee, and not for his activities at the conference.

At the end of February a military plot was formed with the object of assassinating the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, General Novoa, and creating confusion in military circles, but it was discovered in time and rendered abortive.

President Alessandri devoted most of his opening address to Congress on May 21 to a consideration of Chile's relations to the League of Nations. He said that the experience of nearly twenty years showed that it was necessary to recast the basis of the League, to mould it to reality, and give it enough elasticity to make its actions effective. He pointed out that of the forty problems so far handled by the League, only three had interested America directly, and two of these had found their solution through the direct action of the American nations. Shortly afterwards, the Chilean Government submitted to the United States and the States of Central and South America, and also to all States members of the League of Nations, a Memorandum containing proposals for reforming the League, at the same time hinting that if the Covenant were not reformed Chile might have to leave the League.

On September 21 Valparaiso celebrated the fourth anniversary of its foundation by Juan de Saavedra amid general rejoicing. President Alessandri witnessed a parade of Chilean armed forces in which Argentine officers and seamen also took part.

CUBA.

In January, for the first time since the downfall of President Machado in August, 1933, a new President was duly elected in the person of Don Miguel Mariano Gomez. In the interval there had been six provisional Presidents. On May 20 the new President was duly inaugurated with great ceremony and amid much popular enthusiasm. Before long he incurred the displeasure of the Army on account of his opposition to a Sugar Tax Bill,

the object of which was to raise money for establishing and maintaining schools throughout the country in which particular attention should be given to military education. After the Bill had passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, the President vetoed it on December 21. On the next day the House of Representatives, by 111 votes to 45, decided to impeach him, and on December 27 the Senate found him guilty of unconstitutional action and deposed him. He was immediately succeeded by the Vice-President, Dr. Don Federico Laredo Bru. The public remained apathetic, and the outgoing President was allowed full liberty of action.

MEXICO.

The attempt of the Government to spread a Socialistic system of education led to some outbreaks of disorder, the most serious of which were at the end of March in the village of San Felipe Torres Mochas in the State of Guanajuato, when 16 persons were reported to have been killed and 25 seriously injured, and on April 23 in some small towns of the State of Vera Cruz, when a number of schoolhouses were burnt and teachers maltreated. On the other hand, the Government set bounds to Socialist activities in certain directions ; it removed from office early in the year the Governor of Tampico, on the ground that he was supporting the local extremists, and on May 19 suppressed forcibly a strike of 48,000 employees of the Mexican National Railways. On April 10 it expelled from the country ex-President Calles, who for eleven years had been virtual dictator of the country, along with three of his principal supporters, Don Luis Morones, a former Minister of the Interior and of Labour, Don Luis Leon, a former Minister of the Interior and Agriculture, and Don Rafael Melchior Ortega, a former Governor of the State of Guanajuato. General Calles issued a statement declaring that he had been exiled for opposing the endeavour of the Government to institute a dictatorship "on the Russian plan." On April 6 the night express from Vera Cruz to Mexico City was wrecked by a bomb, and several persons were killed and injured, but whether the outrage was due to political motives was not known.

On August 31, in consequence of the fall in the world price of silver, the President issued a decree increasing the silver content of the national currency. One-peso notes were withdrawn, as also silver coins of -420 silver content, and the old coins of '720 silver content kept in reserve by the Bank of Mexico were restored to circulation. For the five-peso notes in circulation were substituted silver certificates of the same denomination redeemable in silver coin or bar silver at 12 grammes per peso.

At the end of October the Government, acting under the powers conferred on it by the Agrarian Code of 1934, took steps

to expropriate the estates of five foreign firms, notably a cotton estate of 140,000 acres in the Laguna district belonging to a British firm incorporated in 1885, although in the previous year President Rodriguez had declared this unsuitable for expropriation. About the same time a Bill was brought in conferring further wide powers of expropriation on the Government; after passing both Houses of Parliament, it became law on November 25.

The Mexican Government strongly sympathised with the Spanish Government in its struggle against General Franco and exported to it considerable supplies of arms and ammunition.

At the end of the year M. Trotsky was granted an asylum in Mexico on condition that he abstained from Communist activities.

NICARAGUA.

At the end of May General Somoza, the Commander of the National Guard, rose against President Sacasa and forced him to abdicate and go into exile. Dr. Don Carlos Brenes Jarquin, a prominent Liberal, was appointed by Congress to complete his term of office as President.

PARAGUAY.

Peace with Bohemia was signed on January 21 (*vide* Bolivia). On February 4 Colonel Rafael Franco, who had commanded the II Army Corps in the Chaco and was one of the heroes of the war, was deported by the Government to Argentina on a charge of being a Communist. On February 18 a revolt broke out in Asuncion and Colonel Franco was proclaimed President. He returned two days later and soon succeeded in overcoming the resistance of President Ayala and General Estigarribia, who had been Commander-in-Chief in the war. As President, Colonel Franco proceeded to organise the State on "totalitarian" lines, chiefly in the interests of the ex-soldiers. On April 18 a decree was issued to nationalise certain industries, mostly those which "directly affected the necessities of the people," and State banks and departments were empowered to fix maximum prices. On March 14 the new Government was recognised by the United States and the other members of the Chaco Peace Conference. On May 5 a decree was signed for the expropriation of 4,000,000 acres of unused land to be divided into 70,000 lots and distributed among peasants. On May 16 friction arose between certain Ministers and the association of ex-combatants, and a new Cabinet was formed. At the end of May a plot to overthrow the Government was discovered, and several Liberal politicians were arrested.

PERU.

At the Presidential election held on October 11, the voting went strongly in favour of the Social Democratic candidate, Don Luis Equiguren. President Benavides thereupon, before the count was concluded, called a special session of Congress, which, on the ground that Senor Equiguren was supported by the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance, an outlawed Radical organisation, annulled all the votes cast for him. It also approved an extension for three years of the term of President Benavides, in spite of the provision of the Constitution that a President cannot succeed himself. It further granted President Benavides power to govern by executive order and then voted for its own immediate dissolution.

VENEZUELA.

General Lopez Contreras, who had become provisional President on the death of President Gomez in December, 1935, completed his predecessor's unexpired term on April 24, and was then elected President for seven years by the Venezuelan Congress by 132 votes to 1. Strong precautions were taken to prevent disorder. Soon after, a suit for the recovery of about 6,750,000l. by the Government of Venezuela from the estate of the late dictator was filed in Caracas, and the courts granted an injunction on his property until the case should have been decided.

PART II.
CHRONICLE OF EVENTS
IN 1936.

JANUARY.

1. In the New Year Honours List a viscounty was conferred on Lord Hanworth, lately Master of the Rolls, and on Lord Trenchard, lately Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police [Viscount Trenchard, of Wolfeton, in the County of Dorset], and baronies on Sir Arthur Shirley Benn [Baron Glenravel of Kensington, in the County of London]; Sir James Gomer Berry [Baron Kemsley of Farnham Royal, in the County of Buckingham]; Sir Thomas Catto [Baron Catto of Cairncatto, in the County of Aberdeen] ; and Sir Ian Macpherson [Baron Strathcarron of Banchor, in the County of Inverness].

3. *The Times* announced that Lord Dalziel, who died on July 15, 1935 (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1935, p. 131), after providing for certain legacies, had left the residue of his estate (407,886l.) for the redemption of the National Debt.

10. Under the will of Mr. William Guthrie Gardiner, of Stirling, the University of Glasgow is to receive 10,000l. for founding scholarships for research in science.

14. The Council of the Royal Institute of British Architects nominated Mr. Charles Holden for the 1936 Royal Gold Medal.

— Mr. Howard Hughes, flying a Northrup monoplane, broke the trans-continental flying record, by covering the 2,450 miles between Burbank, California, and Newark, New Jersey, in 9 hours 27 minutes, at an average speed of nearly 260 miles an hour.

FEBRUARY.

9. Flight-Lieutenant T. Rose, in the Miles Falcon monoplane, arrived in Cape Town, having flown from Lympne in 3 days 17 hours 37 minutes, and so beat Mrs. Mollison's record by 13 hours 19 minutes.

10. Under the will of Mr. Thomas Cowan, LL.D., of Edinburgh, the University of Edinburgh received 10,000l. to enlarge or improve the Students' Hostel, Cowan House, George Square.

11. Mr. Arthur George Walker, A.E.A., sculptor, Mr. Henry Rushbury, A.R.A., engraver, and Dame Laura Knight, D.B.E., A.R.A., painter, were elected Royal Academicians.

26. *The Times* announced the formation of a new branch of the National Trust to administer a scheme for helping in the preservation of historic English country houses.

MARCH.

7. The Chinese Art Exhibition, which closed at the Royal Academy, was visited by 422,048 people.

10. The Dolmelyllyn estate of 1,200 acres, six miles north of Dolgelly in North Wales, was bequeathed to the National Trust by Mr. Campbell Blair.

— Flight-Lieutenant T. Rose, again in the Miles Falcon monoplane, covered the homeward journey from Cape Town to Lympe in 6 days 6 hours 57 minutes (see under February 9).

20. By the will of Mr. Peter Birtwistle, a native of Colne, in Lancashire, who migrated to Canada many years ago, Colne is to benefit to the extent of 200,000l.

24. The *Queen Mary* left the Clyde on her first voyage ; about a million people lined the banks to see the ship sail.

28. The London School of Medicine for Women received an anonymous gift of 11,000l. to endow " The Free Woman's Lectureship in Clinical Medicine."

APRIL.

9. Seven acres of cliffland at Saltwick, on the Yorkshire coast near Whitby, were presented to the National Trust by Mrs. L. T. Rowland, of Thornton-le-Dale, near Pickering.

17. King's College Hospital received an anonymous gift of 4,000Z.

18. Bramhall Hall, a half-timbered Cheshire mansion, the property of the Bramhall and Hazel Grove U.D.C., was opened to the public.

19. Summer time began at 2 A.M. [see under October 4].

23. Mr. Richard Garbe, A.R.A., sculptor, was elected a Royal Academician.

24. The University of Oxford received 10,000l. from an anonymous donor for the establishment of an Institute of Experimental Psychology.

25. *The Times* announced Lord Beaverbrook's gift of 24,900l. to St. Mary's Hospital, Paddington, and Sir Herbert Austin's of 7,000l. to **Birmingham** United Hospital **to defray the cost of a radium bomb to be used for cancer treatment.**

29. Middlesex Hospital received a further gift from Mr. E. A. Meyerstein, of Sevenoaks, in celebration of his golden wedding.

— Sir Herbert Austin presented 250,000*l.* to the University of Cambridge towards the extension and further endowment of the Cavendish Laboratory.

MAY.

7. Mrs. Mollison flew from England to Cape Town in 3 days 6 hours 25 minutes, beating Flight-Lieutenant Rose's record by 11 hours 12 minutes [see under February 9].

— The Establishment of a City of London Airport at Pairlop, near Ilford, was approved by the Common Council. The capital cost is expected to be 600,000*l.*

15. *The Times* announced that the Bernhard Baron Trust had made a gift of 25,000*l.* for new research laboratories to the Royal College of Surgeons.

— Mrs. Mollison completed her homeward journey from Cape Town in 4 days 16 hours 17 minutes; this was 1 day 14 hours 40 minutes less than the time taken by Flight-Lieutenant Rose [see under March 10].

16. A new L.C.C. open-air swimming bath, with terraces for spectators, beaches for sun-bathing and an open-air cafe, was opened at Victoria Park, in the East of London, by Mr. Herbert Morrison, leader of the Council.

19. Sir Hector Hetherington, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Liverpool, was appointed Principal of the University of Glasgow, in succession to Sir Robert Rait, resigned.

27. The Aga Khan won his third Derby at Epsom when his colt Mahmoud won by three lengths from his stable companion Taj Akbar.

— Mr. W. Melville Wills, President of the Bristol Homoeopathic Hospital, made a gift of 20,000*l.* towards the endowment fund of the Hospital.

— With 2,000 passengers aboard, the *Queen Mary* left Southampton on her maiden voyage to New York.

JUNE.

23. In the Birthday Honours List, the first of the new reign, Lord Dawson of Penn was made a Viscount, and baronies were conferred on Sir Herbert Austin [Baron Austin of Longbridge, in the City of Birmingham]; Sir Henry Cautley [Baron Cautley of Lindfield, in the County of Sussex]; Sir Malcolm Hailey [Baron Hailey of Shahpur, in the Punjab and of Newport Pagnell, in the County of Buckingham]; and Mr. J. W. Beaumont Pease [Baron Wardington of Alnmouth, in the County of Northumberland].

25. Mr. Edgar J. Forsdyke became Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum, in succession to Sir George Hill, retired.

26. The University of Leeds received 50,000/. towards the establishment of a scholarship endowment fund from Mr. Frank Parkinson, of Messrs. Crompton Parkinson, Ltd., a former student of the University.

27. St. Hugh's College, Oxford, celebrated the jubilee of its foundation.

28. The University of Utrecht celebrated the tercentenary of its foundation.

JULY.

1. The centenary of the foundation of the University of London was celebrated with a thanksgiving service at St. Paul's Cathedral.

— The first direct air-mail service between London and Stockholm was opened.

3. Sir Arthur Sutherland, shipowner of Newcastle, announced benefactions to that city amounting to 111,000/.—1,000/. for distribution among local charities, 10,000l. for new buildings for the Grammar School, and 100,000/. for a new medical college.

— Mr. P. Howard Paget made a gift to the city of Birmingham of Elford Hall Estate, a property comprising a mansion house and 600 acres of land, to be administered as an open space.

15. Dr. W. D. Boss, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, was elected President of the British Academy, in succession to Dr. J. W. Mackail.

— Mr. John Roberts, a native of Carnarvon, bequeathed the ancient fort of Segontium, Carnarvonshire, to the National Trust for the Preservation of Places of Historic Interest.

29. Professor John Leofric Stocks, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Manchester, was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Liverpool in succession to Sir Hector Hetherington [see under May 19].

31. Mr. William Gilman Cheney, formerly of Montreal, bequeathed 2,000,000 dollars to the University and various hospital, church, and charitable institutions in Montreal. McGill University will receive 400,000 dollars.

— July was remarkable for its lack of sunshine (146 hours as against 266 hours in July, 1935 ; 273 hours in July, 1934 ; and 238 hours in July, 1933) and abundance of rain (2.44 inches as compared with 0.53 inch in July, 1935; 1.03 inches in July, 1934; and 1.09 inches in July, 1933).

AUGUST.

1. Sir Charles Trevelyan announced his intention to bequeath his family seat, Wallington, and its large estate near Morpeth, to the National Trust for the Preservation of Places of Historic Interest.

21. The University of London moved from its old premises in South Kensington to its new premises in Bloomsbury.

SEPTEMBER.

3. Mr. Harry Richman and Mr. Dick Merrill landed in a village in Carmarthenshire, having flown across the Atlantic from New York in about 18 hours.

5. Mrs. Markham, the first woman to cross the Atlantic from east to west, having left Abingdon R.A.P. aerodrome at 6.50 P.M. on September 4 made a forced landing at Baleine, 10 miles from Louisburg, Cape Breton Island, after having flown 2,700 miles across the Atlantic.

11. A 731 lb. tunny was cooked whole at the Trocadero Restaurant.

15. -Sir John Priestman, shipbuilder of Sunderland, made a gift of 50,000l. towards the cost of a new building for the Sunderland and Durham Cc ^ye Infirmary.

eburation of the tercentenary of Harvard University, Cambridge,

biton received its Charter of Incorporation as a borough.

he Johannesburg Jubilee celebrations commenced.

The borough of Maidens and Coombe received its Royal Charter ,
orporation from the Lord Mayor of London.

A new world's neight record for aeroplanes was achieved by Squadron Leader F. R. D. Swain, who reached a height of 49,967 ft. in the course of a flight which lasted 3 hours 20 minutes, being 1,269 ft. better than the record recently established by a French pilot.

29. Sir George Broadbridge was elected Lord Mayor of London for the ensuing civic year.

OCTOBER.

1. Mr. C. W. A. Scott, with his companion, Mr. Giles Guthrie, won the Rand Air-race, having taken 52 hours 56 minutes for the flight of 6,150 miles from Portsmouth to Johannesburg.

3. Mr. Charles Henry Gilbard, of Launceston, Cornwall, announced his intention of making a Coronation gift of 10,000l. to Launceston, to be used for the purpose of a sports ground and park.

4. Summer time ended at 2 A.M. [see under April 19].

6. Sir John Miles was elected Warden of Merton College, Oxford.

10. Scunthorpe received its Charter of Incorporation as a borough.

12. The new through sleeping-car service by means of a train ferry between London and Paris, *via* Dover and Dunkirk, was opened by the **French Ambassador.**

14. Lord Lothian handed over Newbattle Abbey, Dalkeith, to a trust with the object of making the mansion a college for adult education.

15. Lord Nuffield offered to give to the University of Oxford in trust sums which will amount, in the aggregate, to approximately 1,250,000l. for the development of a post-graduate medical school with a staff of full-time professors.

— At the same time it was announced that Lord Nuffield had made a gift of 80,000l. to Guy's Hospital, on condition that a further 420,000l. is obtained from other sources.

16. The 1,000,000th telephone to be installed in the London area was presented by the Postmaster-General to the Lord Mayor of London.

19. Lord Nuffield made a gift of 30,000l. to the Acland Nursing Home, Oxford.

29. The Nobel Prize for Medicine for 1936 was divided Henry Hallett Dale, Director of the National Institute for Medicine and Professor Otto Loewi, of Graz, Austria.

30. Mr. James Mollison flew from Newfoundland to Croydon in 17 hours 17 minutes, being the fastest easterly crossing of the Atlantic.

NOVEMBER.

2. Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond was elected Master of Downing College, Cambridge.

5. *The British Weekly* celebrated its jubilee.

7. Under the will of Miss Edith M. V. S. Lang, daughter of Sir Peter R. S. Lang, Regius Professor of Mathematics at St. Andrews for 42 years, the University received a bequest of 20,000l. for a Lectureship in Astronomy, to be called after Baron Napier of Merchiston.

10. The Nobel Prize for Literature for 1936 was awarded to Mr. Eugene O'Neill; the Prize for Chemistry to Professor Peter Debye, of Berlin, and the Prize for Physics was divided between Professor Victor F. Hess, of Innsbruck, and Dr. C. D. Anderson, of Pasadena.

12. The Bridge spanning San Francisco Bay and linking San Francisco with Oakland was opened by Mr. Frank Merriam, Governor of California.

16. An L.M.S. train broke the world's speed record for long distance non-stop steam railway travel by covering the journey between London and Glasgow, a distance of 401 ½ miles, in 5 hours 53 minutes. The return journey was completed in 5 hours 44 minutes.

24. The Nobel Peace Prize for 1935 was awarded to Herr Carl von Ossietzky, and that for 1936 to Dr. Carlos Saavedra Lamas, the Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs.

— Lord Nuffield announced that he would increase his recent gift to the University of Oxford by a further 750,000l., making the total 2,000,000? [see under October 15].

27. *The Times* announced that Mr. and Mrs. John Player had given 25,000?. to the Nottingham Women's Hospital for the purpose of providing 40 more beds.

30. The greater part of Crystal Palace at Sydenham was destroyed by fire.

— It was announced that Mr. H. P. Price had made a gift of 20,000l. to the Royal Institute of International Affairs for the purpose of endowing a Chair of International Economics at Chatham House.

DECEMBER.

4. Mrs. Graves made a gift of 10 acres of woodland on the Harlech-Carnarvon road to the National Trust, in memory of her husband, A. P. Graves, the author of "Father O'Flynn."

5. Dr. W. T. S. Stallybrass, Vice-Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford, was elected Principal.

8. Leeds University received a further gift of 200,000?. from Mr. Frank Parkinson, head of the firm of Crompton Parkinson, Ltd., and an old student of the University, for the proposed main frontage to the University in connexion with the reconstruction scheme [see under June 26].

10. Lord Wakefield made a gift of 10,000l. to the Royal Air Force Benevolent Fund.

16. The Bernhard Baron Trust made a gift of 10,000?. to Guy's Hospital for the reconstruction of the dispensary on the understanding that this part of the Hospital be named as a memorial to Mr. Baron.

17. The Bernhard Baron Trust made a gift of 10,000L. to the Hospital for Sick Children, Great Ormond Street, towards the rebuilding fund.

22. It was announced that Lord Nuffield had given 2,000,000L. for the assistance of the Special Areas, the sum to be administered by three trustees. This gift was believed to bring Lord Nuffield's recent public benefactions to over 7,500,000?.

31. The number of British Broadcasting licences was 7,960,573.

— The outstanding feature of the year's weather was the marked deficiency of sunshine in Southern England.

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE IN 1936.

LITERATURE.

(Books marked with an asterisk are specially noticed at the end of this section.)

THE most important event of the year was the publication in England, at long last, of James Joyce's *Ulysses*. There has never been any serious dispute about its merits among those competent to judge it. The kaleidoscopic richness and microscopic integrity of its survey of twentieth-century turmoil in conscious and subconscious experience have made it the one English work of genius known to cultured minds abroad. Its influence on the progress of European and American fiction is incalculable, yet the history of its publication is the strangest of stories. It was published serially in *The Little Review* in New York in 1920 until the fifth issue was seized and condemned for obscenity. The complete work was first published in Paris in February, 1922, in an edition of 1,000 copies. In October, 1922, The Egoist Press, London, issued an edition of 2,000 copies of which 500 were burned by the New York Post Office authorities. In January, 1923, The Egoist issued a further 500 copies of which 499 were seized by the Customs authorities, Folkestone. In New York, since the 1920 judgment had robbed the work of its U.S. copyright, pirated editions appeared, and in 1927 an international protest against the unauthorised and mutilated edition was signed by 167 distinguished authors, including Jacinto Bevavente, Andre Gide, Knut Hamsun, Thomas Mann, Luigi Pirandello, Paul Valery, and Jacob Wassermann. Finally in 1933 a legal decision removed the ban in these words of the Judge : " But in *Ulysses*, in spite of its unusual frankness, I do not detect anywhere the leer of the sensualist. I hold, therefore, that it is not pornographic. . . . The words which are construed as dirty are old Saxon words known to almost all men and, I venture, to many women, and are such words as would be naturally and habitually used, I believe, by the types of folk whose life, physical and mental, Joyce is seeking to describe. *Ulysses* may therefore be admitted into the United States." The present edition, issued by Messrs. John Lane at the Bodley Head, is magnificently printed and bound; its 1,000 copies have appeased the hunger of the rich, but the ordinary reader is still compelled to smuggle in the handy and cheap edition from Europe.

Although statistically 1936 has beaten 1935 in a record number of publications, the general quality has been somewhat disappointing. There seems no sign of the vigorous recovery of literature so frequently promised, standards of achievement and judgment are singularly weak. Poetry is still lagging, fiction maintains its agreeable level of competence, historical and literary scholarship seems tired, criticism, particularly current reviewing, is without authority or direction, and save for underground rumblings of discontent there seems little relation between literary productivity and the urgent problems of twentieth-century civilisation.

In poetry an attempt was made at stocktaking. Two of the most important anthologies were I. M. Parsons' *Progress of Poetry* (Chatto & Windus) and Michael Roberts's *Faber Booh of Modern Verse* (Faber & Faber), in which an excellent conspectus of modern poetry was given from Gerard Manly Hopkins, through Isaac Rosenberg, Wilfred Owen, the Sitwells, and the Imagists down to W. H. Auden, Stephen Spender, C. Day Lewis, and even the Surrealist beginners. Messrs. D. K. Roberts and J. Lehmann continued their closer survey of contemporary verse in *The Year's Poetry, 1936* (Lane). The most discussed survey of the year was Mr. W. B. Yeats's *Oxford Book of Modern Verse, 1892-1935* (Oxford University Press). The anthology was originally entrusted to Professor Lascelles Abercrombie. Mr. Yeats's choice is a very personal one, which he justifies in his preface. He devotes a large portion of his space to Irish poets, and several poets not as widely known as Mr. Yeats believes them to deserve, among them Margot Ruddock, Manmohan Ghose, Frank Pearce Sturm, Vivian da Sola Pinto, and Shri Purohit Swami, will encounter a new public.

The reputation of A. E. Housman was canvassed on his death and the publication of his *More Poems* (Cape). Material for an estimate of his character was provided by A. S. F. Gow in *Housman: A Sketch* (Cambridge University Press), together with a list of the prose papers whose collection and republication he so firmly forbade. Older poets who added to their publications were John Masefield with *A Letter from Pontus* (Heinemann), and W. H. Davies with *The Birth of Song* (Cape). A group of collected and selected poems of importance included the welcome *Collected Poems* of Mr. T. S. Eliot (Faber & Faber), the *Selected Poems* of Miss Edith Sitwell (Duckworth), with a fascinating analysis of the technique of her own writing by the authoress, the *Collected Poems* of Mr. Sacheverell Sitwell (Duckworth), and a volume of *Selected Poems* (Cape) in which Mr. Robert Frost, long known as the greatest of America's poets, is presented to a new generation of readers by Messrs. Edwin Muir, W. H. Auden, and C. Day Lewis. The *Collected Poems* of Mr. A. J. Young (Cape), the *Selected Poems* of Mr. W. R. Childe, and the *Collected Poems* of Mr. Austin Clarke (Allen & Unwin) were also of interest.

Among the younger writers Mr. W. H. Auden rendered a report of his progress in *Look, Stranger, Look!* (Faber & Faber), and Mr. Dylan Thomas, a newcomer who had already felt the pulse of the public, made a definite entry with *Twenty-Five Poems* (Dent). The vigorous championship of Miss Edith Sitwell called up all the forces of darkness in a newspaper

brawl on the bogey of obscurity. Mr. Roy Campbell after a longish silence presented a Spanish and Mediterranean harvest of *Mithraic Emblems* (Boriswood), and Mr. Archibald MacLeish, one of the most considerable of America's poets, gave his *Public Speech* (Boriswood). The proletarian movement, less acutely struggling here than in the United States, produced Mr. Julius Lipton's *Poems of Strife* (Wishart) with an interesting preface by Mr. C. Day Lewis. From America also came Mr. Conrad Aiken's *Time in the Rock* (Scribners) and Mr. Kobert Nathan's *Selected Poems* (Constable).

A number of interesting volumes included Mr. Richard Church's *Twelve Noon* (Dent), Mr. William Plomer's *Visiting the Caves* (Cape), Mr. L. A. G. Strong's *Call to the Swan* (Hamish Hamilton), and Mr. Michael Roberts's *Poems* (Cape). Miss Lilian Bowes Lyon in *Bright Feather Fading* (Cape) continued the interest of her first volume, and among younger writers new volumes were presented by Mr. Christopher Hassall, *DeviVs Dyke* (Heinemann), Mr. Richard Eberhait, *Ready the Spirit* (Chatto & Windus), and Mr. Julian Bell, *Work for the Winter* (Hogarth Press). An attempt to transfuse the Surrealist method was made in a translation of P. Eluard's *Thorns of Thunder* (Stanley Nott) by various hands.

Drama was less fortunate than the previous year. The older dramatists were represented by Mr. Bernard Shaw's *Simpleton of the Unexpected Isles and other plays* (Constable), Mr. James Bridie's *Moral Plays* (Constable), with an apology for their alleged failure, and Mr. Noel Coward, who must be regarded as a veteran now that he has published his autobiography, gave a bright volume *To-night at 8.30* (Heinemann). Mr. H. P. Kubinstein published a delightful volume of short plays surveying the progress of Jewry in *Israel Set Free* (Cape). The younger group of writers presented an attractive series of volumes, Messrs. W. H. Auden and C. Isherwood their latest adventure in *The Ascent of F6* (Faber & Faber), a remarkable piece of poetic and political persuasion in Mr. C. Day Lewis's *Noah and the Waters* (Hogarth Press), a valuable social comment in poetry in Mr. A. MacLeish's *Panic* (Boriswood), and a new translation in Mr. Louis MacNeice's *The Agamemnon* (Faber & Faber). The most important volume of the year, however, was from an American newcomer, Mr. Clifford Odets, whose *Three Plays* (Gollancz) contained some powerful and expert writing, "Waiting for Lefty" has been performed widely, and is the best known, but "Till the Day I Die" is the most poignant piece of drama that has emerged from the Nazi tragedy. The tercentenary of Lope de Vega, the great Spanish dramatist to whom tradition has assigned some two thousand plays, produced a translation of *Four Plays* by the veteran translator Mr. J. G. Underhill (Scribners). A very important chapter in modern dramatic and theatrical history was recalled in Michael Orme's *J. T. Grein: The Story of a Pioneer, 1862-1935* (Murray). His passionate advocacy of the new drama, his ceaseless activity in bringing foreign plays to England, his conduct of the Independent Theatre, are all part of the battle history of the modern spirit. An ancient battle is recalled in Diderot's *Writings on the Theatre*, edited by Professor P. C. Green (Cambridge University Press). The contemporary fight is mirrored in Professor Allardyce Nicoll's *Film and Theatre* (**Harrap**), in which he takes

the view, comforting to the powers in Hollywood, that the commercial cinema is producing a great drama comparable with the achievements of Elizabethan England.

This year again there has been a gratifying proportion of really interesting books on subjects to one side of the main classifications. From Holland has come a volume very welcome in these days of intensive crime-story writing and reading. W. A. Bongers's *Introduction to Criminology* (Methuen) is a masterly piece of methodology translated from the Dutch Home University Library, and Theodor Reik's psychological study, *The Unknown Murderer* (Hogarth Press), is perhaps the most penetrating and salutary study of crime and punishment yet produced. Both volumes are essential to the library of any criminologist, amateur or professional. A fascinating though expensive work, already out of print, was Colonel T. E. Lawrence's thesis, in 2 volumes, on *Crusader Castles* (Golden Cockerel), the early science, concentration of purpose, and interest in warfare are an important contribution to Lawrence's biography. Lawrence's name also enters into a remarkable publishing episode in the United States. To ensure copyright it is necessary to publish a work in the United States, in however limited an edition. It is not necessary to make the volume easily purchasable by the public. The *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* was published in 1926 in a limited edition of 10 copies at 4,000l. each. His last book, *The Mint*, an account of his life in the Air Force, was published towards the end of 1936 in an edition of 12 copies at half a million dollars a copy. Under the terms of Lawrence's will the book is not to be released publicly until 1950. It is a curiosity of journalism that despite these precautions a review appeared in *The Saturday Review of Literature*. By United States law two copies of any book claiming copyright must be deposited in the Library of Congress. A special envoy was set to watch for their arrival, and a critic consulted the work in pursuance of his legal rights, which counsel's opinion assured him permitted the writing of a review. Mr. H. G. Wells once more presented his views on some of the great problems of life in **The Anatomy of Frustration* (The Cressett Press). Two studies of cultural relations of out-of-the-way interest were C. R. Boxer's *Jan Compagnie. Japan, 1600-1817* (E. Goldston), a study of the cultural, artistic, and scientific influence exercised by Hollanders in Japan from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, and D. S. Mohrenschildt's *Russia in the Intellectual Life of 18th Century France* (Oxford University Press). Another study of Russia of contemporary importance was L. von Koerber's *Soviet Russia Fights Crime* (Routledge), with a remarkable pendant in Anton Makarenko's *Road to Life* (Stanley Nott), the story of the reclaiming in the Maxim Gorki colony of the young criminals who were presented some years ago in a film of the same name.

Two important studies in scientific method were George Sarton's *The Study of the History of Science* (Oxford University Press) and *The Study of the History of Mathematics* (Oxford University Press). Professor L. Hogben's *Mathematics for the Million* (Allen & Unwin) attracted considerable attention, even though the public was considerably less than a million. A brilliant collection of essays appeared in *Philosophy and*

History, edited by R. Klibansky and H. J. Paton (Clarendon Press) as a Festschrift to Ernst Cassirer. Karl Mannheim's *Ideology and Utopia* (Kegan Paul) was hailed as a remarkable pioneer introduction to the sociology of knowledge, and Professor A. O. Lovcjoy's *The Great Chain of Being* (Oxford University Press) was an important contribution to the history of ideas. F. Borkenau's *Pareto* (Chapman & Hall) and R. R. Marett's *Tylor* (Chapman & Hall) were additions to the series of studies of modern sociologists. Psycho-analysis received valuable attention in an important contribution from its great founder Sigmund Freud's *Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety* (Hogarth Press), in T. Eeik's *Surprise and the Psycho-Analyst* (Kegan Paul), and W. McDougall's *Psycho-Analysis and Social Psychology* (Methuen). Some interesting material was presented in the veteran Sir James Frazer's *Aftermath: A Supplement to the Golden Bough* (Macmillan). War and peace were treated in John Langdon Davies's *Behind the Spanish Barricades* (Seeker & Warburg) and H. E. Bates's *Through the Woods* (Gollancz), with a remarkable series of wood-engravings from the master hand of Agnes Miller Parker. T. H. Wintringham's *Mutiny* (Stanley Nott) was an interesting historic survey from Spartacus to Invergordon, and life at sea was presented in *Three Sea Journals of Stuart Times* (Constable), edited by Bruce S. Ingram. From the eighteenth century come two revealing books, *Dear Miss Heber* (Constable), an eighteenth-century correspondence with prefaces by Georgia and Sacheverell Sitwell, and the Rev. William Cole's *The Waterbeach Diary, 1768-9*, edited by F. G. Stokes (Constable). In *belles lettres* two outstanding books appeared, Mr. Sacheverell Sitwell's *Dance of the Quick and the Dead* (Faber & Faber), recreations of the fantastic and the macabre, of Brueghel and Bosch, and a remarkable recreation of the agony of the penal settlements of the early nineteenth century, and also Mr. E. M. Forster's collection of his essays and studies in *Abinger Harvest* (Arnold). Two personal anthologies also attracted attention, Mr. Maurice Baring's **Have You Anything to Declare ?* (Heinemann) and Mr. Daniel George's *Pick and Choose* (Cape). Among new periodicals *Contemporary Poetry and Prose*, edited by Roger Houghton (Stanley Nott), and *New Writing*, edited by J. Lehmann (Lane), presented important work by younger writers interested in the destiny of present-day civilisation and culture, while *German Life and Letters*, edited by Professor L. A. Willoughby, presented the point of view of present-day Germany. *Ireland To-day and Outlook*, incorporating *The Modern Scot* and *The Scottish Standard*, spoke for their respective countries, and *English* (Oxford University Press) appeared as the official magazine of the English Association. An important and outspoken analysis of *The English Press* was written by Jane Soames (Stanley Nott).

English studies did not present so full a harvest as usual, but a number of important and useful works appeared. A study of the tools of scholarship was T. Besterman's *The Beginnings of Systematic Bibliography* (Oxford University Press). An important lexicographical venture was the new *Dictionary of American English*, edited on the lines of the great Oxford Dictionary, by Sir William Craigie and Professor J. R. Hulbert (Oxford University Press). Mr. H. L. Mencken issued a revised and enlarged edition

of *The American Language* (Kegan Paul), and a relevant work of interest was Mr. Erwin Shoemaker's *Noah Webster, Pioneer of Learning* (Oxford University Press). In the important field of place-name study, the Place Name Society issued *The Place Names of Warwickshire* (Cambridge University Press), and Professor E. Ekwall compiled *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names*. A fascinating topic was investigated in G. Gransion's *Middle English Surnames of Occupation (1100-1350)*, (Williams & Norgate). A useful reference work, originally planned by the late Sir Walter Ealeigh, was *Annals of English Literature, 1475-1925* (Oxford University Press). Professor Chadwick added a second volume to his monumental study of the early stages in *The Growth of Literature* (Cambridge University Press), and a later survey was Professor Allardyce Nicoll's *The English Theatre* (Nelson). The earlier stages of our literature received some attention. Professor K. W. Chambers delivered a British Academy Lecture on *Bede* (Oxford University Press), Mr. G. A. Plumptre from the riches of his own collection of manuscripts, sketched *The Education of Chaucer* (Oxford University Press), Professor H. R. Patch traced the literary fruits of *The Tradition of Boethius* (Oxford University Press), an important piece of early prose autobiography was edited in a modern version of *The Book of Margery Kempe*, by W. Butler-Bowden (Cape), Mr. G. P. Faust wrote *Sir Degare: A Study of the Texts and Narrative Structure* (Oxford University Press), and Mr. G. Hofstrand on *The Seige of Troye* (Williams & Norgate). The most important work in this early field was the brilliant and suggestive study by Mr. C. S. Lewis of **The Allegory of Love* (Oxford University Press). A useful selection of *Scottish Poetry from Barbour to James VI* was edited by M. M. Gray (Dent).

Elizabethan studies were few but interesting. An important scholarly edition of G. Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, was published by Miss G. D. Willcock and Miss A. Walker (Cambridge University Press), Mr. J. Wurtsbaugh surveyed *Two Centuries of Spenserean Scholarship* (Oxford University Press), Mr. C. G. Smith examined *Spenser's Theory of Friendship* (Oxford University Press), and the great Variorum Edition of Spenser reached Book 4 of *The Faerie Queene* (Oxford University Press). An important background study introducing much new material was M. C. Linthicum's *Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare* and his contemporaries. Elizabethan drama was investigated in two suggestive contributions, W. Farnham's *The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy* (Cambridge University Press) and T. Spencer's *Death and Elizabethan Tragedy* (Oxford University Press). An important study of wide scope was Professor Hardin Craig's *The Enchanted Glass: the Elizabethan Mind in Literature* (Oxford University Press), in which Elizabethan ways of thinking in science, psychology, philosophy, rhetoric, education, and cosmology are used to illuminate the literary products of that great age. Shakespeare came in for some attention, Professor G. L. Kittredge at last issued his edition of *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* (Ginn). The most interesting commentary was Mr. Granville-Barker's **Hamlet* (Sidgwick & Jackson), in which, from his vast theatrical experience and intuition, he corrected some of Professor Dover Wilson's widespread heresies. A some-

what frightening glimpse of the pre-occupation of the past with Hamlet was given in A. A. Raven's useful *Hamlet Bibliography and Reference Guide* (Cambridge University Press). Mr. J. M. Murphy presented his conclusions on *Shakespeare* (Cape), and Professor O. Elton gave a masterly and concise account of *Style in Shakespeare* (Oxford University Press). Miss P. A. Yates made *A Study of Love's Labour's Lost* (Cambridge University Press), and Miss Anne Bradby collected a representative volume of *Post-War Shakespearean Criticism* (Oxford University Press). Some marginal matter of interest was assembled in Professor C. J. Sisson's *Lost Plays of Shakespeare's Age* (Cambridge University Press). Ben Jonson came in for a little attention in the excellent edition by B. H. Newdigate of **The Poems of Ben Jonson* (Blackwell), and Mr. R. G. Noyes's *Ben Jonson on the English Stage (1660-1776)*, (Oxford University Press). A profound and stimulating volume was Miss U. M. Ellis-Fermor's **The Jacobean Drama* (Methuen). The seventeenth century seems to have lost its post-war attractiveness, and only a few studies were devoted to it. *Two Pamphlets* by Nicholas Breton (Arrowsmith) were reprinted, M. B. Pickel studied *Charles I. as Patron of Poetry and Drama* (Muller), Professor C. M. Gayley, with the assistance of Professor A. Thayer, produced a new volume of his *Representative English Comedies* (Macmillan), devoted to drama from Cowley to Farquhar. Mr. L. Birkett Marshall reprinted some more or less *Rare Poems of the 17th Century* (Oxford University Press), and Mr. Arthur Bryant skimmed the cream from a very rich milking in *Postman's Horn : An Anthology of the Letters of Later Seventeenth Century England* (Longmans).

For the eighteenth century Mr. L. Hanson provided a valuable and richly documented survey of *Government and the Press, 1695-1763* (Oxford University Press). A characteristic product of the period was studied by R. A. Aubin in *Topographical Poetry of the 18th Century* (Oxford University Press). Some outstanding figures received attention. Mr. R. B. Mowat wrote on *Gibbon* (Barker), Mr. F. W. Hilles on *The Literary Career of Sir Joshua Reynolds* (Cambridge University Press), Mr. J. Wild on the life and philosophy of *George Berkeley* (Oxford University Press), an important and now complete edition was issued of James Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (Heinemann), and W. B. C. Watkins examined the relations of *Johnson and English Poetry before 1660* (Oxford University Press). The new standards in criticism were illuminatingly surveyed in S. H. Monk's important *The Sublime: A Study of Critical Theories in the 18th Century* (Oxford University Press). A volume of considerable bibliographical interest was C. J. Longman's *The House of Longman, 1724-1800* (Longmans), with its detailed and accurate picture of the contribution of that historic publishing house to the literature of the time. In the Romantic Movement Burns received yet another tribute from abroad in the German scholar Hans Hecht's *Robert Burns, the Man and his Work* (Hodge). From France came M. Louis Landry's imposing two volumes on *Leigh Hunt, 1784-1859* (Les Belles Lettres). An important study was Mr. C. L. Finney's *The Evolution of Keats's Poetry*, in 2 vols. (Oxford University Press), and Mr. Edmund Blunden gave a pious tribute to *Keats's Publisher: John*

Taylor, 1781-1864 (Cape). *Coleridge's Miscellaneous Criticism* was carefully edited by T. M. Raysor (Constable). The monumental edition of *Scott's Letters* under the direction of Professor H. J. C. Grierson was concluded in Vols. XL, XII. (Constable), and a useful study was published by Mr. James T. Hillhouse of *The Waverley Novels and their Critics* (Oxford University Press). An important biography was H. A. Eaton's *Thomas de Quincey* (Oxford University Press), and a further study of the same author was provided by Mr. E. Sackville West in *A Flame in Sunlight* (Cassell). A minor figure of interest was examined by Lionel Stevenson in *The Wild Irish Girl: A Life of Sydney Owenson, Lady Morgan* (Chapman & Hall). Dr. E. A. Baker's seventh volume of his *History of the English Novel* (Witherby) dealt with the age of Dickens and Thackeray. A fascinating chapter in the history of taste was written by M. W. Rosa in *The Silver Fork School* (Oxford University Press), a study of the novels of fashion preceding *Vanity Fair*. American literature was surveyed in several interesting volumes, in W. Charvat's *The Origins of American Critical Thought, 1810-1835* (Oxford University Press), in Mr. von Wyck Brooks's *The Flowering of New England: A Literary History, 1815-1865* (Dent), and in Professor S. T. Williams's long-awaited *Life of Washington Irving*, 2 vols. (Oxford University Press). The nineteenth century was surprisingly neglected. Outstanding works were B. C. Williams's *George Eliot* (Macmillan), M. Muggeridge, *The Earnest Atheist, a Study of Samuel Butler* (Eyre & Spottiswoode), *William Morris, Artist, Writer and Socialist*, 2 vols. (Blackwell), edited by Miss May Morris, Professor E. R. Vincent's *Gabriele Rossetti in England* (Clarendon Press), and Professor J. W. Beach's imposing survey of *The Concept of Nature in 19th Century English Poetry* (Macmillan). On more recent themes Mr. Joseph Hone's *Life of George Moore* (Gollancz) had some interesting material, Mr. J. L. May discussed the relations of *John Lane and The Nineties* (Lane), Arnold Bennett's *Letters to his Nephew* (Heinemann) threw some new light, Mr. W. B. Yeats collected some revealing reminiscences in *Dramatis Personae* (Macmillan), and a very important collection of the posthumous papers of D. H. Lawrence was edited by E. D. McDonald under the title of **Phoenix* (Heinemann). Two works on the criticism of fiction were of interest. In *The English Novelists* (Chatto & Windus), Mr. D. Verschoyle collected a number of essays by contemporary writers on earlier English novelists, and Mr. Philip Henderson in *The Novel To-day* (Lane) discussed with intelligence and fearlessness the relation of present-day fiction to contemporary political and social problems. The work of James Joyce in its latest phase was the subject of discussion by various authors in *Our Exagmination Round his Fortification for Incamination of Work in Progress* (Faber & Faber).

Critical and familiar essays formed an important group. Mr. T. S. Eliot issued a revised version of his *Essays Ancient and Modern* (Faber & Faber), Mr. Herbert Read caused some alarm with his volume *In Defence of Shelley* (Heinemann), Mr. Allen Tate's legacy of *Reactionary Essays on Poetry and Ideas* (Scribners) was a serious contribution from America, Miss Gertrude Stein published her challenging four lectures on *Narration* (Cambridge University Press), Mr. J. T. Farrell, the author of *Studs Lonigan*,

published a provocative *Note on Literary Criticism* (Constable), and Mr. Aldous Huxley in *The Olive Tree and Other Essays* (Chatto & Windus) gratified those readers who regard him as essentially an essayist rather than a novelist. Mr. P. R. Leavis in *Revaluation* (Chatto & Windus) published a stimulating volume of literary criticism.

A number of studies in foreign literature were of general interest. Professor H. J. Rose published an important *Handbook of Latin Literature from the Earliest Times to the Death of St. Augustine* (Methuen). R. C. Plickinger issued a revised edition of his classic *The Greek Theatre and its Drama* (Cambridge University Press), and Elizabeth Hazelton Haight prepared a volume of valuable and fascinating *Essays on Ancient Fiction* (Longmans). Mr. H. I. Bell gave a sketch of *The Development of Welsh Poetry* (Oxford University Press), Professor G. T. Northup *An Introduction to Spanish Literature* (Cambridge University Press), Miss Betsy Aiken-Sneath a study of *Comedy in Germany in the First Half of the 18th Century* (Clarendon Press), and Mr. Havelock Ellis a volume of studies *From Rousseau to Proust* (Constable). A very important work was Professor Lancaster's third part of his *History of French Dramatic Literature in the 17th Century* (Oxford University Press), dealing with the period of Moliere. Mr. James Cleugh in *Prelude to Parnassus* (Barker) was the advance guard of the celebration of the centenary of Pushkin's death. A volume of highly informative value was *Problems of Soviet Literature* (Martin Lawrence), in which the speeches of Maxim Gorki, Nicolai Bukharin, and Karl Radek at the First Soviet Writers' Congress dealt with the problems of proletarian literature. An anthology, remarkable for the liveliness, variety, and relevance of its contents was *Proletarian Literature in the United States* (Martin Lawrence), with an illuminating introduction by Mr. Joseph Freeman, and a brilliant array of fiction, poetry, drama, reportage, and literary criticism by the most distinguished of living American writers, including Robert Cantwell, John Dos Passos, Albert Halper, Malcolm Cowley, and Clifford Odets.

The world of art produced some valuable and entertaining volumes. C. J. Gadd's *The Stones of Assyria* (Chatto & Windus) was an important setting in order of the relics of Assyrian sculpture. A handsome and brilliant memorial to its author was Humphrey Payne's *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis* (Cresset Press). A smaller field was carefully investigated in Mr. R. H. Jenkins's *Dedolica* (Cambridge University Press), a study of Dorian Plastic Art in the seventh century B.C. Professor O. Siren's *The Chinese on the Art of Painting* (Kegan Paul) was a valuable discussion of first-hand documents, and Mr. Stanley C. Nott's *Chinese Jade throughout the Ages* (Batsford) was a valuable survey of a subject on which information is surprisingly scanty. Mr. Theodore Fyfe's introductory study of *Hellenistic Architecture* (Cambridge University Press) was a welcome volume, and in later architecture Sir Reginald Blomfield stayed in safe waters with his *Three Hundred Years of French Architecture* (Maclehose). A pleasant study of James Wyatt, *Architect, 1746-1813* (Blackwell) was written by Mr. Antony Dale, and Dr. N. Pevsner gave an interesting survey of *Pioneers of the Modern Movement from William Morris to Walter Gropius* (Faber & Faber). Questions of theory entered into Mr. Walter Abell's *Representative*

Form, a Study of AEsthetic Values in Representative Art (Scribners), and in Israel Knox's *AEsthetic Theories of Kant., Hegel and Schopenhauer* (Oxford University Press). More modern problems were discussed in *Cubism and Abstract Art* (Allen & Unwin), edited by A. Barr, Jun., and *Surrealism*, edited by Herbert Read (Faber). English art provoked William Johnstone's *Creative Art in England* (Stanley Nott), a richly illustrated special pleading, and Mr. J. Steegman's pleasantly readable sketch of *The Rule of Taste from George 7. to George IV.* (Macmillan). Mr. Sacheverell Sitwell wrote a commentary on *Conversation Pieces* (Batsford), and Mr. James Laver in *Vulgar Society* (Constable) an account of James Tissot, 1836-1902, whose centenary earned him the attention of an exhibition. Two reference works were of special interest, the first *Annual Bibliography of the History of British Art, 1934*, published for the Courtauld Institute by the Cambridge University Press, and a useful guide to the magnificent collection of theatrical portraits in the *Catalogue of Pictures of the Garrick Club* (Galloway & Porter).

European art was represented by some important additions. The increasing band of collectors of Old Master drawings should welcome two Prestel publications presented in English dress, A. M. Cetto's selection of *Animal Drawings 10th to 19th Century* (Faber & Faber), and Edmund Schilling's *Drawings of the Early German Masters* (Faber & Faber). Modern art was represented by V. van Gogh's *Letters of an Artist, 1881-5* (Constable), and Robert Burnett's life of *Gauguin* (Cobden Sanderson). Of permanent value for the reference library were A. L. Mayer's *Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of Velasquez* (Faber & Faber) and A. B. Burkhard's *Matthias Grunewald: Personality and Accomplishment* (Oxford University Press). Two illustrated volumes of value were W. R. Dreusch's *German Painting of the 16th Century* (Zwemmer), and M. Goering's *Italian Painting of the 16th Century* (Zwemmer). The most exciting art book of the year was *Bruegel*, edited by G. Gluck (Williams & Norgate), consisting of forty coloured reproductions of details from the paintings of that great master of realism and fantasy. Astonishing novelties appeared in paintings supposedly well known, and the volume was equivalent to the discovery of forty hitherto unknown masterpieces. In an art which has an ancient and honourable ancestry both mediaeval and Renaissance, the art of caricature, **Low's Political Parade with Colonel Blimp* (Cresset Press) with its brilliance of draughtsmanship and fearless battling against hypocrisy, tyranny, treachery, and smugness, filled an important place.

A number of musical works were deserving of general attention. Dr. E. H. Fellowes published his final account of England's greatest musician *William Byrd* (Oxford University Press), Miss Harriet Cohen, that brilliant pianist, wrote a lively and personal guide to interpretation in *Music's Handmaid* (Faber & Faber). Mr. Edward Lockspeiser published an excellent and richly documented account of *Debussy* (Dent), and Messrs. M. D. Calvocoressi and G. Abraham a volume, *Masters of Russian Music* (Duckworth). The distinguished continental historian of music, Dr. A. Einstein, who is now living in England, published a masterly *Short History of Music* (Cassell) as well as a special study of *Gluck* (Dent).

Publications in history were more numerous, and included some very important contributions, as well as the welcome body of work at a high general level of competence. **The Cambridge Ancient History* in its eleventh volume (Cambridge University Press) dealt with *The Imperial Peace, A.D. 70-192*, The survey of *European Civilization*, edited by E. Eyre (Oxford University Press), in its third and fourth volumes covered the Middle Ages. Mr. M. L. W. Laistner published a solid *History of the Greek World, 479-323 B.C.* (Methuen). Mr. A. C. Johnston's important *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, Vol. II. (Oxford University Press), was devoted to Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian. Mr. G. P. Baker published a volume on *Hannibal* (Putnam). The history of the Jews was treated from various aspects. Mr. Leonard Woolley wrote with his own special authority on *Abraham: Recent Discoveries and Hebrew Origins* (Faber & Faber), Mr. C. Roth gave *A Short History of the Jewish People, 1600 B.C.-A.D. 1935* (Macmillan), Mr. H. Valentin wrote *Anti-Semitism Historically and Critically Examined* (Gollancz), and Dr. James Parkes, a distinguished authority on Church and Synagogue, wrote a suggestive study of *Jesus, Paul and the Jews* (Student Christian Movement). The history of the East offered some important new publications. Mr. A. B. Keith constructed a valuable *Constitutional History of India, 1600-1935* (Methuen). The same author also issued a novel study of the power and duties of the sovereign in an interesting volume, **The King and the Imperial Crown* (Longmans). Mr. R. Fox wrote a stimulating study of *Genghis Khan* (Lane), Mr. Z. Faruki an account of *Aurengzebe and his Times* (Kegan Paul). The life of *Tamerlane, or Timur the Great Amir*, was translated by J. H. Sanders from the Arabic (Luzac) and Mr. G. E. Cameron wrote a *History of Early Iran* (Kegan Paul).

In European history some very important work appeared. C. P. Dutaillis's *The Feudal Monarchy* (Kegan Paul) was translated. *The Cambridge Medieval History* brought its triumphant career to an end with Vol. VIII, **The Close of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge University Press). One of the most brilliant masterpieces of compressed knowledge by a great scholar was translated from H. Pirenne's *Economic and Social History of Mediaeval Europe* (Kegan Paul). Dr. G. G. Coulton published Volume III. of his *Five Centuries of Religion, Getting and Spending* (Cambridge University Press). The monumental work of H. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, in 3 vols. (Oxford University Press) was published in a fundamentally revised edition by Professor F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden. The Oxford History of England dealt with *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* in a volume by R. G. Collingwood and J. L. Myres (Oxford University Press). J. Tait's *The Mediceval English Borough: Studies in its Origin and Constitutional History* appeared from the Manchester University Press. Another great work was concluded with the sixth volume of A. J. Carlyle's *History of Mediceval Political Theory in the West* (Blackwood). A smaller study in an allied field was G. B. Chrimes's *English Constitutional Ideas in the 15th Century* (Cambridge University Press). An important **new** venture issued its first volume in *History of Parliament: Biographies of Members of the Commons House, 1439-1509*, edited by J. C. Wedgwood

and A. D. Holt (Stationery Office). A life of *James L King of Scots, 1406-1437*, was written by Mr. E. W. M. Balfour-Melville (Methuen), and the Oxford History of *The Reign of Queen Elizabeth* was contributed by Professor J. B. Black. An interesting ally of history was H. C. Darby's *Historical Geography of England before 1800* (Cambridge University Press). One of the most important volumes of the year was the abridged translation of W. Michael's *England Under George I.: The Beginnings of the Hanoverian Dynasty* (Macmillan). A fascinating study of background was W. T. Laprade's *Public Opinion and Politics in Eighteenth Century England to the Fall of Walpole* (Macmillan). J. D. G. Davies wrote an account of *George the Third* (Nicholson & Watson). Two historical figures received special attention in E. Lascelles *The Life of Charles James Fox* (Oxford University Press) and J. A. R. Marriott's *Castlereagh* (Methuen). W. F. Reddaway presented a *History of Europe from 1715-1814* (Methuen), and C. J. Hayes completed his *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe in Volume I I . .*, 1830-1925 (Macmillan). B. C. Hunt wrote on *The Development of the Business Corporation in England, 1800-1867* (Oxford University Press), and two biographical studies of great importance were G. Mayer's *Friedrich Engels* (Chapman & Hall) and F. Mehring's *Karl Marx* (Lane). One of the best publications of the year was H. C. F. Bell's imposing **Lord Palmerston*, in 2 vols. (Longmans). Mr. G. M. Young's *Portrait of an Age*, an enlargement of his bright introduction to *Victorian England* (Oxford University Press), and Mr. Philip Guedalla's picturesque *The Hundred Years* (Hodder & Stoughton) both attracted popular attention. The Oxford contribution to recent English History was Mr. R. C. K. Ensor's *England, 1870-1914* (Oxford University Press). That sure-footed surveyor, Mr. G. P. Gooch, published the first volume, *The Grouping of the Powers, of a series Before the War: Studies in Diplomacy* (Longmans). The *Cambridge History of the British Empire* dealt with *South Africa* (Cambridge University Press) and Professor E. Curtis published a compact *History of Ireland* (Methuen).

Modern foreign history offered some attractive volumes. Mr. J. S. C. Bridge dealt with *France in 1515* in the fifth volume of his *History of France from the Death of Louis XL* (Clarendon Press), Mr. P. R. Doolin wrote on *The Fronde* (Oxford University Press), Mr. N. Abercrombie on *The Origins of Jansenism* (Oxford University Press), Mr. H. Wendel on *Danton, the Dictator of the French Revolution* (Constable), Mr. E. N. Curtis on *Saint-Just: Colleague of Robespierre* (Oxford University Press), and Mr. Evarts S. Scudder on *The Jacobins* (Barker). Louis Madelin's *National History of France* dealt with *The Consulate and the Empire, 1809-1815* (Heinemann), Mr. J. P. T. Bury discussed *Gambetta and the National Defence* (Longmans), and Jacques Bainville surveyed *The French Republic, 1870-1935* (Cape). Two important studies of earlier times were Pierre Coste's *Life and Labours of Saint Vincent de Paul*, 3 vols. (Burns & Oates), and Mr. Watkin Williams's *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux* (Manchester University Press). On German themes, Mr. Reinhold Aris wrote a *History of Political Thought in Germany, 1789-1815* (Allen & Unwin), and Constantin de Grunewald on *Baton Stein, Enemy of Napoleon* (Cape).

The number of biographies and autobiographies of merit was larger than usual. Sir Charles Holmes wrote of his own career in *Self and Partners* (Constable), M. Ambroise Vollard gave a vivid portrait of the growth and marketing of modern art in *Recollections of a Picture Dealer* (Constable), and Mr. J. F. Joni in *Affairs of a Painter* (Faber & Faber) betrayed some of the tricks of the trade. A new writer, Mr. Mark Benney, earned widespread praise for his *Low Company* (Peter Davies), describing the evolution of a burglar. Mr. James Agate wrote *Ego* (Hamilton) and *Ego 2* (Gollancz), F. Anstey described *A Long Retrospect* (Oxford University Press), Mr. Douglas Goldring in *Odd Man Out* (Chapman & Hall) gave the autobiography of a propaganda novelist. The *Autobiography* of G. K. Chesterton (Hutchinson), though containing a certain interest, was a flat farewell. Igor Stravinsky's *Chronicle of My Life* (Gollancz), and Vsevolod Ivanov's *I Live a Queer Life* (Dickson) were contrasted memoirs of Russians. Mrs. Elinor Glyn's *Romantic Adventures* (Nicholson & Watson), Mr. Siegfried Sassoon's *Sherston's Progress* (Faber & Faber), Mr. Ernst Toller's *Letters from Prison* (Lane), Lord Snell's *Men, Movements and Myself* (Dent), and Jawaharlal Nehru's revolutionary *Autobiography* (Lane) indicate the wide variety of experience and confession offered. An important tribute was the *Journals and Letters of Stephen MacKenna*, 2 vols. (Constable), the friend of J. M. Synge and the great translator of Plotinus. P. Mairet's account of A. R. Orage (Dent) will recall the influence of the editor of *The New Age*. Vyvyan Richards's *T. E. Lawrence* (Cape) will invite comparison with H. S. Schonfield's *Richard Burton, Explorer* (Herbert Jenkins), and Seton Dearden's *The Arabian Knight* (Barker). Ralph Barton Perry's *Thought and Character of William James*, 2 vols. (Oxford University Press), used new material, H. W. Dickenson's *James Watt* (Cambridge University Press) celebrated the second centenary of his birth, and Miss Edith Sitwell wrote a new portrait of *Victoria of England* (Faber & Faber). Two studies of Calvin appeared, James Mackinnon's *Calvin and the Reformation* (Longmans) and Stefan Zweig's *The Right to Heresy* (Cassell), a study of his fight with Castellio. Sir E. K. Chambers wrote a life of the Elizabethan *Sir Henry Lee* (Clarendon Press), Margaret Goldsmith an account of *Maria Theresa of Austria* (Barker), and Count Corti of *Elizabeth Empress of Austria* (Thornton Butterworth). Mr. Winston Churchill concluded his *Marlborough* (Harrap), Joan Haslip wrote on *Parnell* (Cobden Sanderson), and Stanley Jackson an account of *Rufus Isaacs, First Marquis of Reading* (Cassell). G. W. Wheeler Bennett's *Hindenburg, The Wooden Titan* (Macmillan) and Konrad Heiden's *Hitler* (Constable) threw much light on recent German history. The life of A. J. Balfour was written by his niece, 2 vols. (Hutchinson). Mr. Lloyd George completed his *War Memoirs*, Vols. V. and VI. (Nicholson & Watson). Viscount Grey of Falloden published three volumes of his recollections of *Twenty-Five Years* (Hodder & Stoughton), Admiral Sir R. H. Bacon wrote a *Life of Earl Jellicoe* (Cassell), Ian Colvin a *Life of Lord Carson* (Gollancz), and Mr. G. de C. Parmiter an interesting account of *Roger Casement* (Barker). An important volume of experience was Mr. W. F. R. Macartney's account of prison conditions in *Walls Have Mouths* (Gollancz),

and the valuable *Dictionary of American Biography* reached volumes XVIII. and XIX (Oxford University Press) under the editorship of D. Malone.

The yield of fiction this year was somewhat disappointing, both in quantity and in quality, in fact not for several years has there been such a feeling of interregnum. The familiar names of course continue to appear, there is much respectable and readable work, but little of more than freak and novelty value from newcomers. Fiction criticism has little to offer towards clarifying the direction in which the novel is moving. This does not apply to England alone. It would seem as though everywhere the uncertainty of world-politics is having a damping effect on creative literature, the older standards of beauty, of the dignity of human existence, of truth, of heroism, fading in a kind of frightened neutrality before the powers of darkness. In many countries this is offset by a new literature of social consciousness, and in Mr. Philip Henderson's *The Novel Today* (Lane) and *Proletarian Literature in the United States* (Martin Lawrence) the implications of this movement are discussed with force and conviction. To relieve the gloom, criticism in a more lively form was offered in *Parody Party*, edited by Mr. Leonard Russell (Heinemann), one of the most witty, penetrating, and relevant books of the year. Good parody is one of the subtlest forms of literary criticism, since it must analyse the disease before exaggerating the symptoms. The admirers of Mr. Charles Morgan will find valuable critical assistance in Miss Rebecca West's superb comment, *Sepulchre : a Tale of Mors Seventh Viscount and Twelfth Baron Sepulchre*, and Mr. Cyril Connolly's *Told in Oath*, and Miss Rose Macaulay's *Week End at the Hoppers* are almost equally brilliant analyses of Mr. Aldous Huxley and Mr. Ernest Hemingway.

The harvest from abroad was leaner than usual. Thomas Mann offered no new work, but in compensation gave a generous volume of his collected *Stories of Three Decades* (Seeker & Warburg). Arnold Zweig, however, issued his magnificent panoramic companion to *Sergeant Grischa* in * *Education Before Verdun* (Seeker & Warburg). Joseph Roth published a brilliant *Story of the Hundred Days* (Heinemann). Contemporary affairs were mirrored in Ernst Glaeser's *The Last Civilian* (Nicholson & Watson), and Ernest Wiechert's *The Baroness* (Allen & Unwin). Among lighter literature were Erich Kastner's accomplished humour in *The Missing Miniature* (Cape), and Alexander Lernet-Holenia's *The Standard* (Heinemann). The best-seller Hans Fallada continued with *Old Heart Goes on a Journey* (Putnam). From France came a fresh instalment of Jules Romains' *Men of Good Will*, Vol. IX., *The Earth Trembles* (Lovat Dickson), Georges Duhamel's impressive *Salavin* (Dent), George Bernanos' *The Crime* (R. Hale & Co.), and Jacques Spitz's *Sever the Earth* (Lane). Two lighter contributions were the hearty *Clochemerle* of Gabriel Chevallier (Seeker & Warburg) and Rene Clair's *Star Turns* (Chatto & Windus). Russian literature offered as its chief gift a magnificent historical novel *Peter the Great*, by Alexei Tolstoi (Gollancz), as well as an unusually well-written thriller *The Death Box*, by the same author. V. Krymov's *He's Got a Million* (Allen & Unwin) continued to satirise the end of the old

regime, and the new order appeared in P. Romanov's *The Diary of a Soviet Marriage* (Stanley Nott), more widely known in the film, *Bed and Sofa*, and Yuri Olyesha's popular *Fury* (Hogarth Press). Spain sent one of the best of the year's books, Ram6n J. Sender's **Seven Red Sundays* (Faber & Faber), awarded the National Prize for Literature in 1935, and a brilliant illumination of the mentality of present-day Spain. Italy contributed Ignazio Silone's *Bread and Wine* (Methuen), by the brilliant author of *Fontamara*, and Alberto Albertini's *Two Years to Live* (Cassell). From Scandinavia came Sigrid Undset's *Gunnar's Daughter* (Cassell), and Par Lagerkvist's *Guest of Reality* (Cape). *Hungaria* was an anthology of short stories by contemporary Hungarian authors (Nicholson & Watson), and from the Yiddish came two excellent works, Sholem Asch's *The Calf of Paper* (Gollancz), and S. Schneour's *Noah Pandre* (Lovat Dickson). A new country, Iceland, was generously represented in Halldor Laxnes's *Salka Valka* (Allen & Unwin) and Gudmunder Kamban's *The Virgin of Skalholt*, (Nicholson & Watson).

At the head of the English novels a small group stood out. The most distinguished in its alertness, wit, precision of writing and character drawing was Miss Rebecca West's **The Thinking Reed* (Hutchinson). John Dos Passos completed in *The Big Money* (Constable) his trilogy of war-time and post-war America. Ralph Bates in **The Olive Field* (Cape) gave a brilliant analysis of present-day warring Spain. **The Collected Short Stories* of Stella Benson (Macmillan) recalled the gifts of a regretted and much-loved figure. Miss Catherine Whitcomb's **I'll Mourn You Later* (Chatto & Windus) was one of the most brilliant first novels of the year. Mr. Aldous Huxley's **Eyeless in Gaza* (Chatto & Windus) was yet another interesting experiment in the structure of the novel. Mr. H. G. Wells wrote a short fantasy close to his older vein in *The Croquet Player* (Chatto & Windus). Mr. J. D. Beresford was as accomplished and distinguished as ever in *The Faithful Lovers* (Hutchinson). Mr. L. H. Myers wrote another delicately poised work in *Strange Glory* (Putnam), Mr. James Hanley another instalment of his epic in *The Secret Journey* (Chatto & Windus), and Mr. Mulk Raj Anand in *The Coolie* (Laurence & Wishart) continued his vast picture of Indian life from a hitherto untouched viewpoint. A novel of some force was Djuna Barnes' *Nightwood* (Faber & Faber) as was Mr. Alec Brown's uncompromising *The Lovely Girl* (Boriswood). Edith Wharton's *The World Over* (Appleton Century) was a rich glimpse of the powers of one of the surest-footed of living novelists. Two volumes of short stories were of specially outstanding merit, Mr. William Saroyan's second volume *Inhale and Exhale* (Faber & Faber), with some unforgettable masterpieces of humour and construction, and Mr. Leslie Halward's first volume *To Tea on Sunday* (Methuen) introduced in generous fashion by that eminent authority Mr. E. J. O'Brien.

The largest group contains those novelists who for various reasons have attracted to themselves a numerous and faithful public. At the head of the list was Mr. Charles Morgan, the merits of whose **Sparkenbroke* (Macmillan) were hotly debated. Miss Margaret Kennedy returned to her public with *Together and Apart* (Cassell), Mr. J. B. Priestley pleased

many with *They Walk in the City* (Heinemann). Mr. Hugh Walpole attracted his customary public with *A Prayer for My Son* (Macmillan), and Miss Mazo de la Roche gave yet another instalment of her saga in *Whiteoak Harvest* (Macmillan). Among other popular women novelists Miss Sheila Kaye Smith wrote *Rose Deeprose* (Cassell), Miss Rosamund Lehmann *The Weather in the Streets* (Collins), Miss Margaret Mitchell an imposingly long *Gone With the Wind* (Macmillan), Miss Romilly Cavan, *The Splendour Falls* (Dent), Miss Vera Brittain, *Honourable Estate* (Gollancz). From another group of women writers came some interesting volumes, Miss Sylvia Townsend Warner's *Summer Will Show* (Chatto & Windus), Miss Elizabeth Jenkins' story of Shakespeare's day, *The Phoenix Nest* (Gollancz), and Miss Storm Jameson's passionate *None Turn Back* (Cassell), and a posthumous novel *South Riding*, by Winifred Holtby (Collins). The historical novel included Mr. R. C. Hutchinson's *Shining Scabbard* (Cassell) and Mr. Vincent Sheean's *Sanfelice* (Hamish Hamilton). The contemporary scene was dealt with in Mr. Maurice Hindus's *Under Moscow Skies* (Gollancz), and the world of fear and fancy in Mr Antony Bertram's *The King Sees Red* (Chapman & Hall), and in John Palmer's *The Hesperides* (Seeker & Warburg). Mr. William Gerhardt's *Of Mortal Love* (Barker) attracted some attention, as did Mr. John Van Druten's *And Then You Wish* (Joseph). The Poet Laureate gave us *Eggs and Baker* (Heinemann), and under an equally enigmatical title, another poet, Mr. Robert Graves in *Antigua, Penny, Puce* (Constable), evoked the world of philately.

A select group of well-trying writers offered entertainment of varied but distinguished quality. Mr. Richard Blaker wrote *But Beauty Dies* (Heinemann), Mr. Compton Mackenzie, *Figure of Eight* (Cassell), Mr. Forrest Reid, *The Retreat* (Faber & Faber), Mr. L. A. G. Strong, *The Last Enemy* (Gollancz), Mr. Martin Armstrong, *Venus Over Lannery* (Gollancz), Mr. Francis Brett Young, *Far Forest* (Heinemann), Mr. Louis Bromfield, *It Had to Happen* (Cassell), Mr. J. G. Cozzens, *Men and Brethren* (Longmans), Mr. Upton Sinclair, *Co-op* (Werner Laurie), and Mr. I. J. Singer, *The Brothers Ashkenazi* (Putnam). Two writers of distinguished prose gave volumes of short stories, Mr. Walter De la Mare's *The Wind Blows Over* (Faber & Faber), and the late R. B. Cunningham Graham's *Mirages* (Heinemann).

The last group contains a number of interesting volumes of experimental work by younger writers and promising first offers by newcomers. Mr. Grahame Greene in *Gun for Sale* (Heinemann) wrote a tense exercise in the American gangster mood, but without the bareness of the American diction. It was intrinsically one of the most successful of the year's books. It is instructive to compare with this Mr. Paul Cain's *Fast One* (Constable), an extreme example of the American idiom in its most allusive and compressed form. From America also came the allegorical thriller *Not Too Narrow . . . Not Too Deep*, by Mr. Richard Sale (Cassell), Mr. Aben Kandell's *City of Conquest* (Joseph), Mr. Jay Dratler's *Manhattan Side Street* (Methuen), and Mr. Frank Tilsley's *FU Do It Again* (Seeker). Mr. John Moore's *Overture Beginners* (Dent), Mr. C. Day Lewis's *The Friendly Tree* (Cape), Mr. H. E. Bates's *A House of Women* (Cape), and Mr. Keith Winter's *Impassioned Pygmies* (Heinemann) all received special praise

and attention. Miss Stevie Smith's *Novel on Yellow Payer* (Cape) aroused interest in its technique and its idiom, and Dawn Powell's *Turn Magic Wheel* (Constable) employed a haunting pathos of an unusual order. Of unusual interest also were Mr. John Steinbeck's *The Dubious Battle* (Heinemann), Mr. Gale Williams's *No Letters for the Dead* (Peter Davies), Mr. Henry K. Marks's *Jew's Harp* (Peter Davies), Mr. Warner Hooke's *Close of Play* (Putnam), and Mr. Robert Clive's *Mud and Stars* (Constable). As a *jeu d'esprit* Mr. Hillel Bernstein's *Choose a Bright Morning* (Gollancz) offered amusement on the somewhat grim theme of dictators. A specially interesting group of young women writers included Miss Pamela Johnson with *Blessed Above Women* (Chapman & Hall), Miss Eleanor Peters with *Tare Harvest* (Cape), Miss Ruth Anderson with *Commercial Hotel* (Peter Davies), and Miss Margiad Evans with *Creed* (Blackwell). The short story was well represented. Mr. E. J. O'Brien continued his discriminating annual offering in *The Best Short Stories, 1936* (Cape), Mr. Stephen Spender entered the field with *The Burning Cactus* (Faber & Faber), Mr. Dal Stevens published *The Tramp and Other Stories* (Macmillan), and Mr. H. G. Wells introduced a volume, *The Trouble I've Seen*, by Miss Martha Gellhorn (Putnam), a grim, moving, and brilliantly executed set of studies of personal tragedy during the American depression. Miss Kay Boyle wrote *Death of a Man* (Faber & Faber), and with several other writers attempted an interesting experiment in *365 Days* (Cape). Mr. Thomas Wolfe, widely known for his Gargantuan novels, limited himself to the short story in *From Death to Morning* (Heinemann).

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.

Collected Poems, 1909-1935, by T. S. Eliot (Faber & Faber).—It is somewhat of a shock to realise, that though the first impact of Mr. Eliot's poetry was in the midst of the war, there are poems that go back to 1909. It was in 1917 that those not too distracted by the noise of battle heard the note of *Prufrock*, and admired the more romantic music of *La Figlia che Piange*. *Prufrock* presented the memorable image

**When the evening is spread out against the sky
Like a patient etherised upon a table;**

which changed the tone of poetry for two decades. The nostalgia, the imagism, the precision of notation, the contemporary sensibility were powerful stimulants and examples to the few who listened. In 1920 came the sensitive mastery of *Gerontion*, and in 1922 the epic and epitaph of our age in *The Waste Land*. Despair and doubt followed in *The Hollow Men* of 1925, and the *Ash-Wednesday* of 1930. Trickling from the alembic came the smaller *Journey of the Magi*, and others of the *Ariel* series, and from a swiftly opened door escaped *Sweeney Agonistes* labelled as "Frag-

ments of an Aristophanic Melodrama." Once the path to drama had been trodden, and with a new certainty in faith, appeared the experiment of *The Rock* with the choruses salvaged from the wreck, and finally the beauty and occult conviction of *Murder in the Cathedral*. Masquerading as minor poems are the exquisite *Landscapes*, and as a new offering the hitherto unseen *Burnt Norton*, in which there is almost a clear statement, or perhaps a presentation of two ways of life offered for the choosing while the author hides again. Not for many long years has a poet had so much authority for his believers, nor so much sensitive guidance to offer the competent and mislead the unwary. Mr. Eliot's work may be displaced from its central position of to-day, but its teaching has enriched the craft and affected the pulse of English poetic creation.

The Anatomy of Frustration, by H. G. Wells (Cresset Press).—To celebrate his seventieth birthday Mr. Wells has written a gigantic interview with himself in which every theme of his life-long crusade is alluded to. The method is in the form of an analytical synthesis in homage to Burton's vast anatomy of Renaissance unease. The prefatory observations on Burton are brilliant criticism from a kindred spirit. Perhaps closer than Burton is Bacon, whose classification of contemporary and eternal frustration is presented in the form of "Idols." The form of Mr. Wells's discussion is both interesting and significant. He uses a mythical William Burroughs Steele, an American business man and amateur scientist and sociologist, whose literary remains he exposes and comments. For so many years has Mr. Wells preached the doctrine that the novel must be discussion, that whereas in *The World of William Clissold* the novel uses discussion as its justification, here discussion is forced to put on a semblance of fiction for its excuse. This book is a messianic document prophetic of Mr. Wells's utopia, with a survey of those hindrances to human perfection which arise from democracy, socialism, the subconscious, youth, self-indulgence, loneliness, the craving for a lover, the envelopment by tradition. Aphorisms abound, as provocative in their baldness as Chesterton's in their fancy dress. "The true artist is innocent of the past." "There are no great men, there is only the greatness of Man," "The better part of education is emancipation." The tendency of the whole is towards "a New Model for humanity," with much negative wisdom which only awaits a positive programme, and a change of heart in those everywhere in power to become a new deal in civilisation.

Have You Anything to Declare ?, by Maurice Baring (Heinemann).—To publish a commonplace book is an ancient and laudable custom, but nowadays it smacks somewhat of literary exhibitionism. Mr. Baring has found an ingenious excuse. In a dream he was once asked by a Customs official whether he had anything to declare from a list of Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Sanskrit, Persian, Chinese, and other literatures. Although this savours a little of the suggestion that literature is contraband, it has enabled Mr. Baring to give a picture of his mind and of his notebooks in translations, some of them his own, from Greek, Latin, French, German, Spanish, and Russian. Mr. Baring is a notable critic and has added comment on Homer and Henry James, on Dante and Goethe, on Shakespeare

and Malherbe. His catholicity is remarkable, St. Augustine and George Eliot, Catullus and Grossmith, Dostoevsky and Gladstone, Isaiah and John Oliver Hobbes, Cervantes and Father Knox appear for their special reasons. Some of his admirations are, for an Englishman, unorthodox. Of La Fontaine he says, " At the age of sixty I think he is the most perfect and unique of all French writers." Matthew Arnold once gave his credentials in a series of " touchstones " of literature, and if a critic is to be judged by his quotations, here is God's plenty.

The Allegory of Love, by C. S. Lewis (Clarendon Press).—Mr. Lewis is a medievalist who is not blinded to the literary wood by the multiplicity of philological trees. His study is Germanic in the best sense of the term in that he imposes on a vast body of heterogeneous facts a system or structure which serves as a strait-jacket or thesis to keep the mad and unruly world of information within bounds. His acquisitive alertness brings ancient and modern literary experience within his net. Had he been a literary sensationalist of the modern publicising school his title would have been " Adultery, Sexuality, and Married Love in mediaeval literature," but although this is his theme and thesis, the substance and worth of the book lies elsewhere. The story begins with the Provençal courts of love, their standards of behaviour, their concern with the relations of poet, lady, and husband, the doctrine of passion and of appetite ; it goes on to the function and nature of allegory, to an analysis of the " Romance of the Rose," that mediaeval bible of poetic model, places mediaeval allegory alongside of its Renaissance relation, and in a rich chapter on Chaucer and his " Troilus and Cryseide " gives ground for much exciting argument. The transmutations of conventional allegory in the waste between Chaucer and Spenser leads to a new interpretation of Spenser highly gratifying to literary patriotism. Mr. Lewis clearly has a future if he can continue to impress his kaleidoscopic and versatile mind on material so richly amenable to his methods.

Hamlet, by Harley Granville-Barker (Sidgwick & Jackson).—Much has been written on Hamlet in recent years, and most of it is irrelevant. Every approach has been used, a red leviathan has spawned a thousand red-herrings, and the bibliographical, the palaeographical, the philosophical, the psychological, the philological, and the archaeological side avenues have been explored without profit. The one approach which might have seemed just and inevitable for a work of our greatest man of the theatre, the theatrical, has, until now, been left alone. Mr. Granville-Barker, pioneer and lost leader of the modern theatre, has already issued two series of " Prefaces to Shakespeare " dealing with seven plays, notably with " Kang Lear " and " Antony and Cleopatra." Now he has devoted a whole volume to a single play. His point of view is " The play as it leaves Shakespeare's hands is not a finished product, only its performance makes it that," and therefore it is from the point of view of the producer and of the actor that he analyses the play's action **and** substance. He throws off truth in idle sparks, " Shakespeare's true concern is with *tempo*, not time," " The actor does not lose himself in the character he plays . . . he must re-pass the thought of which it is built

through the sieve of his own mind." It is with such flashes as these that he illuminates the darkest of Shakespeare's plays. His method is thorough, rigorous examination of the play step by step, its three movements as opposed to the academic five acts, he wisely probes the texture as well as the structure in the vocabulary and imagery, he contrasts the place-structure and the time-structure, and finally, with a touch of the great heresy of Shakespeare criticism, the confusion between character as puppet and character as "Golem," he examines the people of the play. If this volume is less valuable than the other two a production of the play in words, it is because he has permitted himself to be distracted in the rehearsal-room of his mind by too courteous consideration of the views of Mr. Dover Wilson, valuable as adventures in the fiction-world of Hamlet, but ill-placed in the practical world of the theatre, of which Mr. Granville-Barker is so sensitive and generous a master.

The Poems of Ben Jonson, edited by Bernard H. Newdigate (Blackwell).—Of recent years Ben Jonson has been coming into his own. The great biography and edition of the plays by Herford and Simpson, the numerous studies at home and abroad of his reputation, his circle, his influence on stage and lyric, are now supplemented by a magnificent and magnificently printed edition of his poems. It is a generous edition, since it reprints the well-known texts of the early seventeenth century, selects generously from the plays and masques, and adds an important section "Drift-Wood," of manuscript poems and dedicatory verses from books. This is the first time there has been full material for judgment of his achievement and his status. That he was a professional poet is the best commendation, since it enables him to be judged as a craftsman, whether in epigram, to which he gave new life, or pure lyric carved as exquisitely as any Renaissance gem in the classical mood, or recreating the critical canons of Horace, or singing a song in a play, or even in the more humdrum task of writing a complimentary or state poem. So much has been glibly repeated concerning his coldness, precision, formalism, and classicism alongside of the passion of Donne that it is often forgotten that there is still dispute between the admirers of Jonson and Donne concerning the authorship of certain poems, that in the pageant of literary history it is a diversion to record that the School of Donne were the friends of Ben, and that Metaphysical and Caroline lyricist alike was born of the phoenix blaze of the Mermaid grouping. To read so full an edition in its entirety is to understand the authority which endured through the troubled Restoration times until Baroque changed into Neo-Classicism where true classicism was strange, and the trembling balance of dispassionate passion no longer served to measure the other passion of a Shakespeare. Mr. Newdigate has not merely edited a poet magnificently but paved the way for a revaluation of his service to literature.

The Jacobean Drama, by U. M. Ellis-Fermor (Methuen).—Only a brave critic would cut across the academic convention that "Elizabethan drama" includes also the forty years of the reigns of James I. and Charles I., but Miss Ellis-Fermor has been not only brave but wise and illuminating in urging and proving the inner unity of the age of Chapman, Marston,

Jonson, Tourneur, Webster, Beaumont, Fletcher, and Ford. That Shakespeare strides across the two ages on colossal stilts is an explanation **but** no justification of the convention, and the full blaze of Shakespeare's presence has put his peers too much in the darkness. This book differs from the usual factual study in having many more relevant and quint-essential facts, but subordinating these to the story of the dramatist's literary and mental behaviour. The ground is prepared by an examination of the moods and preoccupations of the time, the Machiavellian and Senecal eddyings, the dance of romance, analysis, despair, and equilibrium. The variety of this drama is shown in its range from bloodshed to psychology, from jingoism to metaphysical speculation, from fairy-tale to satanic and sadistic nightmare. The dramatic structure of the age is investigated, the subtle variations in the old task of bringing the audience into a circle, the dramatic, the theatrical, the psychological conduct of the argument, the utilisation of character, of poetry, and of music. The separate dramatists are given individual attention, with a brilliant chapter on "The Shakespearean Transmutation." No richer, more generous, more alert, thought-packed, and stimulating book on English drama has appeared for many years.

Phoenix, by D. H. Lawrence (Heinemann).—The final instalment of D. H. Lawrence's unpublished and uncollected writings has now appeared in a generous volume of over 800 pages. It consists of nature and poetical pieces, studies of England, Mexico, Germany, Italy, and France, writings on sex, ethics, psychology, philosophy, and a section on literature. The variety, as well as the depth, is astonishing to those who regard Lawrence as a man of one theme and one idea. The paper on the "Whistling of Birds" is ripe and ready for the anthologies of English feeling and writing, the great pamphlet on "Pornography and Obscenity" is fit companion to the fervour of Milton's "Areopagitica," and a Savonarolan blast to those who were deceived by its title into thinking it something other than it was. One of the most considerable items, a "Study of Thomas Hardy," in over a hundred pages, is an illuminating pendant to the psycho-analytical studies published in his lifetime, the study of John Galsworthy is a powerful indictment from Mr. Edgell Rickword's brilliant collection of "Scrutinies," and the analysis of "Morality and the Novel," from the "Calendar of Modern Letters," is perhaps one of the profoundest things said on this vexed question. On every page there is new evidence of the brilliance of vision, incisiveness of statement, and ruthless integrity of the most isolated mind of his age. The philosophy may wear thin, as all philosophy must, but the sense of almost scientific accuracy in the registering of human emotion can never depart, and in an age when such sensitive concern with human accord and discord is already passing, it is good to preserve a recollection of, and even to pause to worship, a heightened human consciousness of a rare order in life, and a very Phoenix of rarity in literature.

Political Parade, by David Low (The Cresset Press).—One of the most remarkable instances of the freedom of opinion in England is the **regular appearance** in a newspaper of marked political colouring of

cartoons of a diametrically opposed tendency. Low's cartoons are a national institution, combining consummate force of line with scorching wit and analytical indignation. Artistically he combines something of the calligraphy of Hokusai with the modern political legacy of Daumier, Gavarni, and Forain. This *Political Parade* is a people's history of the past few years as opposed to a financier's or politician's or dictator's history. Low underlines his view that this is "a world of stupidity, waste, and senseless cruelty," and he emphasises the hypocrisy, the callousness, the smugness, the pompousness, the cupidity, the impertinence, the cynicism, the lying, the spurious idealism, the treachery of those who traffic in human beings for money, power, or national glory. It is possible that his cartoons may be regarded as something in the nature of a safety-valve, or even as a valuable indication of opinion by his political opponents, but this cannot explain the toleration of that quintessential figure, Colonel Blimp, presented as a confused, sentimental, idiotically ruthless and die-hard reactionary, living in a haze of cliché and automatic response. The description of Colonel Blimp in the preface is both an indictment and a confession of political faith, but Colonel Blimp in action as a marginal commentator is a grimly humorous reminder of a powerful and dangerous force. "In the profession of cartooning it is expedient, even necessary sometimes, to improvise picturesque symbols to personify the impersonal. The method has its perils in a society of human beings with literal minds." The cartoons inevitably vary in value and intensity, but unforgettable are the Baldwin "You know you can trust me," the "Let us extend our hand to Germany," the Hitler "Double Cross," the Mussolini "I no letta you in," the Slumland "Electioneering in darkest Britain," and the Sedition Bill "Nursemaids in the Park."

The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. XI.: The Imperial Peace, A.D. 70-192 (Cambridge University Press).—Gibbon suggested that the period in the history of the world when the human race was most happy and prosperous was from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus. Even though Gibbon's dictum may have been somewhat exaggerated, certain it is that the period possessed both grandeur and magnificence. Its canvas was undoubtedly splendid, and the latest volume of the "Cambridge Ancient History," though it covers the ground before Domitian and includes Commodus in its survey, does ample justice to a great theme. The volume is readable; to say that it is comprehensive in its sweep is merely to stress once more what is one of the characteristics of this literary enterprise. The emperor on the throne and the slum dweller in the narrow streets of Rome alike receive delineation. The politics of the period and its economic problems are made to live again before our eyes, and the modern reader will reflect sadly that many of the contrasts of our latest age were known in second-century Rome: loose living and senseless extravagance side by side with the common decencies of life and philosophic calm. Juvenal, for example, holds up to contempt the man who spends freely on baths, splendid buildings, and dinner parties, but will not support education. Yet there were men who became pious founders of centres of learning, leaving benefactions

or succeeding generations. Good as is every chapter in the volume, perhaps the most fascinating is Professor Duff's picture of " Social Life in tome and Italy." But every chapter is informative, whether it deals with the life and character of the Emperors who pass in and out of the scene ; the extension of the borders of the Empire and the wars that established them; the literature of the period, including as it did famous names : Seneca, Epictetus, Plutarch, Juvenal, Pliny, and the philosopher Emperor Marcus Aurelius; the thought of the age and the spread of christianity. For the student of history the volume is bound to be a sheer delight; for the ordinary reader it will be a veritable encyclopaedia affording information concerning men and affairs which have interested cultured people for generations. And both the student and the general reader will find in the volume much that will enable him to correct Gibbon's estimate of the second century as a time of great happiness and prosperity.

The King and the Imperial Crown, by A. Bemedale Keith (Longmans, Green & Co.).—In a year in which the country had three kings, and when at one time (as the pages of this issue of the ANNUAL REGISTER indicate) there was serious talk among all classes of the population about certain aspects of the monarchy, it was only fitting that a reliable volume should be published, setting forth the " Powers and Duties of His Majesty." Dr. Keith has performed his task pleasantly and efficiently; he has produced a volume full of information, illumined by many an historical episode. It has been said that on the accession of King George VI. the monarchy in England entered on a new era. All the more reason, therefore, for subjects of the Crown to know what are the functions of the king, what influence he exerts on his advisers, what is the relation of the king to his Ministers, to the Church, and to the Empire. Good as Dr. Keith is as a guide on these topics, he captures the reader's attention by many side-lights on recent political history. From these it will become clear that Dr. Keith does not deal in abstractions ; his method is to illustrate the functions and influence of the Crown by reference to the actual events of the reigns of Queen Victoria, her son, and her grandson, [he has accordingly produced a book which is interesting in the highest degree.

The Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. VIII.: The Close of the Middle Ages (Cambridge University Press).—The publication of this volume, completing as it did " The Cambridge Medieval History," the first volume of which was issued in 1911, was a landmark in the historical literature of the year 1936. The period surveyed in this volume is, broadly, the fifteenth century, and so we are brought to the epoch with which the Cambridge Modern History " opens. To say of this last volume of the Medieval History " that it is characterised by the excellences of its predecessors is to do it no more than justice. The best scholarship in the world to be found in its pages; the chapters are readable and informative ; and the reader obtains a clear conception of the quality of the fifteenth century as an age when old ideas, old political systems, and old rivalries were slowly dying, and already the newer conceptions were beginning to take their place. Dr. C. W. Previte-Orton's " Epilogue " is a masterly

summary of the volume as a whole. For details the reader turns to the separate chapters, and as he reads he marvels at the breadth and comprehensiveness of the picture—John Hus, typifying the zealous critic of things as they are; the decay of the Empire and the rise of independent states determined to assert their individuality, notably England and France; a fascinating study of the petty despots in Northern Italy, attractive rascals with a sense of the picturesque; the thought of the age and its superstition; the art of war and the arts of peace—education, learning, painting, sculpture. Every chapter is illuminating, and the pleasure that the general reader will find in them is well-earned testimony to the skill of the editors and the contributors. Three things must once more be commended for their excellence : the portfolio of maps, the index, and the comprehensive bibliographies.

Lord Palmerston, by Herbert C. F. Bell, 2 vols. (Longmans, Green & Co.).—Not often do we receive so generous a gift from America as this nearly 1,000-page study of the political and diplomatic achievements of the great Foreign Minister. The danger of this age of bright biography is to crowd out with a sneer the massive results of clear and document-sifting research. Professor Bell is not only a master of archives, many of which are employed here for the first time, but a readable stylist, with a shrewd sense of humour and an incisive wielder of phrases. From the book emerges, by means of a detailed, almost day-to-day scrutiny of Palmerston's activities, a picture of the function and reputation of England in the European diplomatic dog-fight. His personal vigour, his biting wit, his insatiable appetite, his seigneurial watchfulness over England, his bluntness and rudeness, his roughriding over diplomatic usages, his temper, his impertinence, his meddlesomeness, his liberalism, his generosity, stand out in a giant patchwork in which there is yet to be discerned a pattern. Professor Bell describes him as essentially " the early nineteenth-century statesman-aristocrat of sporting proclivities/' with a concern for England as if it were his own property to be defended against envy and intrigue. He makes us understand why Palmerston was both feared and respected in Europe, why England's power as a schoolmaster in European politics was tolerated, why it was necessary to " regard as a British interest the maintenance of the political independence of the smallest State in Europe." The policy which fitted him to be the delegate of the newly powered middle-classes and at the same time the aggressive defender of national prestige, made him a now mythical bulwark against oppression. Not the least striking feature of his valuable book is the constant parallel implicitly drawn between Palmerston's days and our own, nowhere stressed, but always leading to a regret that England's interest in 1832 " in the welfare of all constitutional States " should have lasted a glorious hundred years, but not one year longer.

FICTION.

Education before Verdun, by Arnold Zweig (Martin Seeker & Warburg).—The war produced some great books, *The Brave Soldier*

Schweik by Hasek, *War*, by Renn, and the widest in sweep and extent, *The Case of Sergeant Grischa*, by Arnold Zweig. In that work Mr. Zweig gave a facet of the war, the Eastern front, almost unknown here, and also gave a sense of the vastness of the forces, material and individual, involved in the great organisation of the struggle. Since then many things have happened. "The confiscation of my manuscripts and my expulsion from Germany put off its publication; and the steady deterioration of my eyesight made difficult the final revision of the re-dictated manuscript." The author's note is dated from Mount Carmel in Palestine, the book was published in Amsterdam, and now comes to join *Sergeant Grischa* in English. The scene is now before Verdun, with the name of Fort Douaumont looming so large in German memory; the theme is simple. A Sergeant Kroysing is sent to death by his commander for trying to prevent his fellows from stealing the men's rations. Before he dies he tells his secret to Bertin, a private who has been guilty of giving water to thirsty French prisoners. Bertin informs the brother of the dead man, and the book grows around the vengeance of this brother on the guilty commander. The complex of individual relations, conflicts of love, interest, and friendship, the entanglement of town after town in the network of intrigue and vengeance, the growth of a revolutionary movement, the meannesses and heroisms of man enrich this story to a fit rivalry with the earlier volume. Humanity amid the storm of battle is again the central subject of the book, and when the concluding volume of this "Trilogy of the Transition" comes to be written, it will complete one of the richest tragedies of modern European fiction.

Seven Red Sundays, by Ramon J. Sender (Faber & Faber).—The younger Spanish literature is hardly known in this country, and perhaps fewer translations are published than from any other commensurate literature. The murder of the poet Lorca has brought his work to an unhappy prominence, and the present struggle has given a special prominence and importance to the work of Ramon Sender. His career is that of almost all modern Spanish writers, he was educated at a monastery school, was a law student, and while still in his teens was caught up in revolutionary activity, was later sent to prison. He has written on Mexican religious problems, a life of Santa Teresa, as well as novels on his military experiences, and his prison experiences, and a descriptive volume on Soviet Russia. In 1935 he was unanimously awarded the National Prize for Literature. His novel on the Moroccan campaign, which sowed the seeds of the present disturbance, *Earmarked for Hell*, has already been published in England, but *Seven Red Sundays* is undoubtedly his best book, in the breadth of its sympathies, its humane tone, and its revelation of the mind of the Spanish people. The theme is an abortive revolution in Madrid, the author refusing to take sides, or to make political capital, but presenting only "the truth of living humanity displayed in the convulsions of a Spanish revolutionary episode." The parties are displayed, **and** we learn much of the syndicalists, the communists, and the anarchists, but more of the individuals who fight under these sometimes gauzy banners. The heroism of organising committees, the bravery of saboteurs, the

infamy of informers and police spies, the behaviour of the police to their victims, the vagueness of idealism in youth and age, all criss-cross into a living picture of proletarian struggle, not always, as the author confesses, in the consistent sequences of a novel, but always on a level of unity, unconventional, stupid, and sublime. The author addresses the emotions and the sensibility, and dreads the label of intellectual. He suggests that the generosity of these fighters in giving themselves for no gain or return is truly and absolutely sublime. This sublimity emerges clearly from the tangle of behaviour and justly deserves the epithet of epic. This first epic of the Spanish struggle is brilliantly and sympathetically translated by the veteran Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell.

The Thinking Reed, by Rebecca West (Hutchinson).—It is said that the epic is a dead form, but modern fiction has returned to the heroic mood on two occasions. James Joyce's *Ulysses* presented a dead world in Dublin thirty years ago, and Miss West now writes the epitaph, for that is what an epic is, of a world before the slump. It is not exaggeration, but bare justice, to say that this is one of the most achieved books of our time. Character, conversation, milieu, struggle, satire, wit, and faith blend in the medium of an exquisite prose. The character of the heroine Isabelle stands out solidly and subtly; her confrontation of her four men, a shadow, a grotesque, a rock, and almost a shadow again, has a shape that is more than mere pattern; the interplay of her watchful individuality amid the jungle of society is of the very essence of epic. In thirteen instead of twelve books the action moves on massively, inexorably, with the great episodes planted in their course. In Book II. the episode of the flowers returned, the exquisite swirl of management of a luncheon, the brave announcement of a marriage, and the Homeric kicking of a behind. In Book III. the inverted monasticism of the restless wanderers of society. In Book VI. the figure of Poots the harpy. In Book VII. the castigation of the Lauriston cancer. In Book IX. the Walpurgisnacht of the Casino and the loss of Isabelle's child. Many of these pictures will be quoted in a century to come for their historical value as facets of that strange unbelievable early twentieth century. But more than anything else *The Thinking Reed* will be remembered for the brilliance and precision of its writing, the jewels strung as epic similes on the greater structure, every page adorned with some wisdom, some wit, some steel-bright illumination of phrase or epithet, pictorial or analytical, that helps to complete this memorable analysis of three nations, American, French, and English.

The Olive Field, by Ralph Bates (Jonathan Cape).—Mr. Bates has written another generous novel, which, like *Lean Men*, has a Spanish setting. The background is the Spanish Revolution, but political matters have been kept out except when they became part of the dramatic reality. The author has been concerned more with the human drama and the spiritual conflict. The distinguishing quality of Mr. Bates's writing is the richness of characterisation, the glow of description which brings countryside and individual into the most vivid actuality. So numerous are the figures invoked that, like the Russian novelists, a dictionary of

fifty persons is provided, placing the farmers, olive-workers, Civil Guards, police spies, soldiers, lawyers, bishops, guitarists, watchmen, anarchist agitators, and communists who between them weave the tapestry of passion, suffering, and heroism which is the substance of the book. This is no thesis, but an exciting contemporary story of Andalusia, Asturias, and the revolutionary rising at Oviedo in 1934. The olive field is the chief centre of conflict, and around it are draped the individuals fighting for their points of view which Mr. Bates fairly and impartially presents, the aristocrat against the worker, the Church against Communism, the Civil Guards against the miners, the inner conflict of music and revolution. The excitement of battle, the lust of destruction, the heroism of self-sacrifice, the mingling of the aesthetic sense with the necessities of political action, provide, above all in the subtle description of the destruction of Oviedo Cathedral, excitement such as is rarely seen in modern fiction. But this is no mere glorification of action; the agony of mankind, tortured individually, and betrayed in the mass, stands out in a passionate, implicit, but real cry for justice, which is the real value of this unusual book.

Collected Short Stories, by Stella Benson (Macmillan).—The death of Miss Stella Benson left a raw gap in that small group of novelists from whom sensitiveness, rigorous integrity, and rich entertainment could regularly be awaited. Her steady growth, seen in *I Pose*, *The Poor Man*, and triumphantly in *Tobit Transplanted*, her sense of place and character, her poetic delicacy of feeling and observation, and her lambent wit, were appreciated without envy by a wider public than is usual for such merit. The present volume comes like a ghost to increase our grief. We had nearly forgotten the precision of notation which shines from such a jest as *The Man who Fell in Love with the Co-operative Stores*, the care for humanity, the brave new world in a warmer nutshell which thought of *Christmas Formula*, the pathos and realism of *Tchotl*, the tempered castigation and indignation of *On the Contrary*. The technique of her stories follows no slick mechanical formula, yet *A Dream* is as mechanically perfect as a hundred inferior transatlantic masterpieces. The whole volume gives the feeling of an exact but human recorder judging and passing judgment on civilisations, settlements, groups, and individuals where mere weakness has put on a bluff of strength. Wisdom, warmth, and accuracy have seldom been so happily blended.

Til Mourn You Later, by Catherine Whitcomb (Chatto & Windus).—This is a remarkable first novel. All the ingredients so necessary to completeness and so seldom compounded together, are already here to a degree enviable in a riper novelist. Economical suggestion of atmosphere, the small town, the faded superior inhabitants, the minor functionaries, the brooding air of lunacy round the corner, mingles with wit of description, swift-sure dialogue, creation of blithe relationship in young people, the ache of passing years, the preservation of beauty, the vinegar-shock of ugliness, a bland tempo of description, and a sure but unobtrusive architecture. The characters are few, a mother, widowed and recently bereaved, a happy pair of married lovers, a lickrish brother, a sister-in-law, an idiot child; the incidents are fewer, a funeral, an accident, a seduction,

a departure for Europe, but out of these thin threads there is spun a web subtle, musical, and delicate of human character, human feeling, human relationships of the highest promise for the future of this author, as well as immediate achievement of a tender limpid order.

Eyeless in Gaza, by Aldous Huxley (Chatto & Windus).—Each new novel by Mr. Huxley is a fresh exploration of his box of puppets, and a fresh attempt to discover whether there is yet any life in them. He talks to them and makes them talk to him with the most brilliant ventriloquial virtuosity in modern fiction. It is a commonplace of criticism that his early work was in the manner of Thomas Love Peacock, and it is becoming a commonplace to say that he has transferred his allegiance to the manner of Mr. H. G. Wells whose passionate plea for the novel as the forum of ideas, and the provoker of conduct has borne much fruit in the novel of this century. This time, in his vast discussion of over 600 pages, he has investigated the technique of the cinema, the "flashback" invented by the great pioneer Griffiths, and presents his story in a counterpoint of four stages of the main figure's life, childhood in 1902, adolescence in 1912, manhood in 1926, and a presumed maturity in 1933 and 1934. Mr. Huxley's stock-in-trade is displayed with his customary brilliance, the disgust with sex deliberately flaunting his readers into a kind of fire-drill agreement, the general post and permutations of desire and assuagement, the glowing descriptions of a super-reporter bringing Mexico as part of the scenery, the kill-time intellectual conversations, and finally, a new ingredient, a hint of a personally held philosophy already expressed, as so often in his career, in essays outside the novel. The hero-puppet, Anthony Beavis, in the title's allusion has all his life been "Eyeless in Gaza at the Mill with slaves," pandered to by wealth and personal irresponsibility he has lived in a delusion of liberty until his meeting with a new kind of prophet forces him to realise this delusion and brings him to the verge of a doctrine, mainly of pacifism, which Mr. Huxley scrutinises as acutely as all other temptations offered to an earlier and more saintly Anthony. *Eyeless in Gaza* is an important milestone in Mr. Huxley's grand Circular Tour.

Sparkenbroke, by Charles Morgan (Macmillan).—In this age of speed, superficiality, and soulless passing of leisure, it is cause for gratitude now and then to find one who, calmly disdainful and aloof of all around him, pursues those "otherworldly" things which alone can bring him content. Mr. Morgan strives to communicate his preoccupation through his book, and while at intervals the spell he binds with the prose he has made his own peculiar possession does entrance us, on the whole we are left cold and unsatisfied both by the people he creates to be his mouth-pieces and by the message he fain would bring. Beauty, as always, has been ensnared in his pages, but all too often she has escaped. The theme which seeks to combine a quest for "the holiness of the Heart's affection and the truth of Imagination" with an interpretation of Art transcending Life and finding accomplishment in Death, is too complex and complicated to be made intelligible by the characters the author has chosen. As individuals, endowed with personalities, and not as mere puppets, they

are not entirely capable of existence. The overpowering vitality of Sparkenbroke endowed with genius, temperamental and exigent, but condemned as the story demands to painful and eventually fatal heart trouble, hardly creates the man, who as poet, has also to be sufficient of a lover to explain the continued devotion of that most endearing person, his long-suffering wife, as well as the tempest-tossed romantic passion of Mary, the vacillating. It is hard to condemn George Hardy, for he is so thoroughly common-sensical, but in spite of all he goes through at the hands of his friend and of his wife, a feeling will persist that the inevitable quietude which Mary will find with him is only another name for boredom. The minor characters stand out so distinctly that the whole design of the tapestry, despite the intricacy of the pattern, is vivid and streaked 'with so many gold threads, that, as always, it seems ungracious to cavil at Mr. Morgan's work. Had there been no *Fountain* perchance one would have expected less and praised more.

ART, DRAMA, CINEMA, AND MUSIC.

L ART.

THE great exhibition of the arts and industries of China which was opened at Burlington House late in the autumn of 1935 remained on view until February, 1936, and attracted crowds of interested visitors from first to last. It was a wonderful exhibition, the finest of its kind ever held in any country, and owed much to the generosity of the Chinese Government, which lent priceless treasures from their national collections and allowed them to be sent to London (it is said uninsured) in an English cruiser. This added immensely to the success of the exhibition, the attractions of which were increased by loans from the national collections and from the museums of other countries and from those of numerous connoisseurs.

Packing and despatching the vast collection of Chinese exhibits to the private and public collections from which they had been lent took a considerable time, and had not long been completed when the paintings, drawings, and sculptors' works intended by non-members for the Royal Academy's exhibition were sent in. They were fewer than in either of the two preceding years but still numerous enough to make the chances of the submitted works precarious. For example, out of 4,932 paintings in oil submitted to the judgment of the Academicians 3,723 were rejected as below the exhibiting standard, and many of the twelve hundred or so that remained in the doubtful stage failed to obtain places on the gallery walls. The water-colours submitted numbered 3,515, of which 2,931 were returned to the artists by whom they had been painted, and of the remainder only three hundred were hung. In 1936, as in other recent years, no work submitted by an outsider was accepted outright in the first examination—the actual acceptance was left to the judgment of the Hanging Committee. This was composed of Sir Walter W. Russell (the Keeper of the Royal Academy), Sir William Reid Dick, Francis Dodd, Malcolm Osborne, E. G. Dawber, C. M. Gere, E. G. Gillick, W. Monnington, and Harold Knight.

No fewer than eight purchases from the exhibition were made by the Chantrey Trustees. The highest prices paid by them were for two works by sculptors, Mr. Alfred Turner, R.A., whose exhibit in the Central Hall, No. 1,509, "The Hand-group, bianco del mare," was bought for 850l.; and Mr. Gilbert Ledward, A.R.A., for whose "Monolith," No. 1,591, in the Lecture Room, 787l. 10s. was paid. The other Chantrey purchases were all paintings. They were a representation of the escape of a bull at a sale, "Commotion in the Cattle Ring," No. 191, by Mr. James

Bateman, A.R.A., 600?.; a small landscape by Mr. Oliver Hall, R.A., No. 116, 801.; No. 368, "October," by Mr. Eliot Hodgkin, 52l. 10s.; the large landscape in Gallery Eight, by Dame Laura Knight, R.A., No. 539, "Spring in Cornwall", 400l.; No. 392 "L'Infirmifere," by the late Beatrice Howe, 105?.; and No. 601, "The Zodiac," by the late Ernest Proctor, A.R.A., 367?. 10s.

The sales at the Royal Academy other than those to the Chantrey Trustees were moderate, but perhaps as good as could be expected at the present time. They included "Armida," a portrait of a girl, by Mr. G. L. Brockhurst, A.R.A., 1250l.; "Ballet," by Dame Laura Knight, 412?.; "Four Singers of Vera, Southern Spain," by Mr. W. Russell Flint, 450l.; "Evening after Rain," by Mr. Arnesby Brown, 200?.; "Under the Ramparts of the Ben Inverlochy," by Mr. S. J. Lamorna Birch, 230?.; three landscapes by Mr. Stanhope Forbes, "The Footbridge," 105l. ; "The Grey River," 125l.; and "Autumn at the Farm," 150l.; "The Lying in State, Westminster Hall," by Mr. Frederick Elwell, 210l.; "Squally Weather," by Sir W. W. Russell, 100l.; "Winter, Bray, Ireland," by Mr. Julius Olsson, 52?. 105.; "Pension Day," by Mr. Charles Spencelayh, 84l.; and "Dover Castle," by Mr. Frederick Elwell, 100l. Among the pictures sold but unpriced were "A Farm in Suffolk," by Alfred J. Munnings; "The Wilds of Assynt," by Sir D. Y. Cameron; "I Dreamt that I Dwelt in Marble Halls," by Mr. George Belcher, and "El Dorado, the Lochy at Camraskie, Inverness-shire," by Mr. S. J. Lamorna Birch.

The principal event of the year, however, was not the show at the Royal Academy but the exhibition of paintings and drawings by Gainsborough, held in the spring for the benefit of the Great Northern Hospital at the house of Sir Philip Sassoon, in Park Lane. Among the pictures shown in this exhibition, which was open for about two months, were several lent by the King from the Royal collection, and including some of the portraits of the young Princes and Princesses (children of George III.), painted by Gainsborough at Windsor, and the sketch made for one of the great painter's masterpieces, the portrait of Mrs. Robinson, now in the Wallace Collection. The famous portrait of Miss Linley and her brother, a comparatively early work, purchased by Mr. Pierpont Morgan many years ago for 37,000?., was sent from America; and the much discussed "Morning Walk," which had not been shown for many years, was lent by Mr. Victor Rothschild, in the possession of whose family it has been for many years. Mr. Rothschild also lent his fine portrait of Mrs. Sheridan, painted about 1785; the Baroness Burton, the full length of Sir Henry Bate Dudley, the first editor of the *Morning Post*, whose contemporary notes tell us most of what we know about Gainsborough; and Lord Swathling, that notable landscape, "The Harvest Waggon." The last mentioned is the picture which Gainsborough gave to Wiltshire, the wealthy Bath carrier, in exchange for a horse presented to him by Wiltshire—the horse upon which the artist rode in 1774 when he left Bath for London.

Paintings and drawings by the French woman-painter, Berthe Morisot,

were shown in the summer at the gallery of Messrs. Knoedler, where, towards the end of the year, a collection of portraits, which included some of Queen Victoria and other members of the Royal Family, was on view. They were all painted by Winterhalter, the famous Austrian artist, and some of them were lent for exhibition by the King, including a portrait of Queen Victoria in Garter robes, and portraits of the Duke of Connaught and the Duke of Albany when children. Queen Mary lent a portrait of her mother, the Duchess of Teck, and a striking portrait of the Empress Eugenie of France was lent by M. Germain Seligmann. A good collection of paintings by Sir William Nicholson was one of the attractions at the Leicester Galleries; Messrs. Tooth showed paintings by Mr. Stanley Spencer, Gluckmann, and others, including Mr. Jacob Epstein, whose exhibition of flower paintings in water-colour was well received. An exhibition of French art, organized by the Anglo-French Art and Travel Society, was held in the late autumn at the New Burlington Galleries; Messrs. Agnew showed an interesting collection of Old Masters; Messrs. Dunthorn paintings by English artists of the eighteenth century; the Fine Art Society English water-colours, and an interesting collection of paintings, chiefly of European subjects, by a Chinese artist.

At the National Gallery the cleaning of the full-length portrait of Philip of Spain, by Velasquez, called forth many protests by artists and others, most of which were published in the *Daily Telegraph*. Some of the artists, however, thought that the picture in its new state looked better than it did before, and defended the cleaning. An interesting new departure at the Gallery was the arrangement of a number of small Dutch pictures in the rooms, until then only used for storage purposes, which overlook Trafalgar Square. A fine portrait of a woman, Madame Moitessier, painted by Ingres, and a landscape by Constable, painted in 1829, "Hadleigh Castle," were the principal acquisitions of the year. An interesting, but only temporary, attraction at the Gallery was the exhibition of a fine Group of Old Masters, lent by a famous collector, Mr. Gulbenkian, of Paris.

At Christie's the season was remarkable only for the sale of the collection of drawings by Old Masters, formed by the late Mr. Henry Oppenheim, which realized 91,9152. Other pictures sold by auction during the year were "Portrait of James Alexander Simpson when a Boy," by A. W. Devis, 3,7802.; "Pink and Yellow Roses in Glass Vase," by Fantin Latour, 9667.; "Charity Relieving Distress," by Gainsborough, 1,7012.; and a portrait of Mr. Alexander Buchanan, by Raeburn, 2,7202. At one of the last sales of the year at Christie's a picture, described as "St. Jerome at his Devotions," was put up, which had been bought by a dealer in the country for a few pounds. It was recognized at Christie's as of the Paduan School and probably by Andrea Mantegna, and after an exciting sale found a purchaser at 4,4102.

II. THE DRAMA.

Trying to account for what has happened in the theatre in a given year may be a fascinating occupation, but it is largely foredoomed to failure, for the theatre is an unaccountable place.

What reason can anybody assign, for instance, for the fact that in September, 1936, when playgoers were expected to flock into the London theatres for the opening of the autumn season, playgoers firmly refused to flock on any consideration? And what reason can there be for the other fact that just before Christmas, 1936, when playgoers were expected to follow their invariable habit for years and shun the theatre, playgoers suddenly decided to besiege the theatre in large numbers?

Perhaps it is that playgoers have their incidental vagaries, but they also have their habits, and it is clear to the close observer that those habits are undergoing a change. This change began with the advent of the talking film, and is still proceeding; and it was possible during 1936 to mark its progress especially clearly.

When the reproduction of sound on the films became tolerably life-like, the provincial theatre as it had been known for years ceased to exist. People in provincial towns—even those who lived in large villages—no longer cared to see plays acted by second-rate touring companies when they could see (and hear) world-famous stars at the local cinema. But after a while the novelty wore off a little and provincial playgoers began to seek about for chances of going to plays again.

Thus began two new developments in the history of the theatre. One was that important London managements found it once more lucrative to send out tours to the big provincial towns, so long as the tour was made by the complete company that had appeared or was to appear in London. The other development was that the smaller towns, while still declining to be fobbed off with second-rate imitations of London productions of plays, acted by unknown players, would willingly support local repertory theatres presenting productions and actors of much the same small calibre.

It may be said that 1936 set the seal on both these developments. In this year our two oldest living dramatists of international fame each contributed a new play; Barrie's *The Boy David* had its first performance at Edinburgh (King's) in conformance to the new touring system; Shaw's *The Millionairess* had its first performance at Bexhill under the aegis of the local repertory theatre at the De La Warr Pavilion.

But the repertory movement has still a long way to go, and meanwhile large districts of the country possess no theatres at all. Dwellers in these regions who want to see plays have to wait until they can come up to London. This goes far to explain why 1936, though not at all a distinguished year for the quality of its plays, and disturbed by the death of one King and the abdication of another, was still a very steadily prosperous year for the London theatres.

Two plays ran throughout the year—St. John Ervine's *Anthony and Anna* (Whitehall) and Dodie Smith's *Call it a Day* (Globe)—and a number

of the new plays produced during 1936 had, or are still having, very long runs. Most of these successful productions, however, were pieces of light weight whose entertainment value was much greater than their artistic pretensions.

A number of our established dramatists contributed plays to the list, but not one of them added anything considerable to his reputation. The production of Barrie's *The Boy David*, already mentioned, was certainly the chief theatrical event of the year, but it cannot be reckoned comparable in any way to its author's best work. It is admittedly a *piece d'occasion*, written to fit the personality and methods of Elisabeth Bergner, which happen to match very exactly the idiosyncrasies of the author.

The boy David in the play is as like Peter Pan as he is unlike the David of the Bible; and he gives the actress opportunity after opportunity for the exploitation of her special brand of childish pathos. But because Barrie has chosen to treat a big theme in a small way, he puts his play out of court when it comes to be judged by any very high standard.

But even if the play had not been as good as in fact it was, the occasion of its production would still have been important by reason of the array of talent assembled by C. B. Cochran to interpret and decorate it. Miss Bergner had a brilliant cast to support her; Augustus John and Ernst Stern designed the settings, William Walton composed the music. All the same, its run at His Majesty's was short.

No such magnificence attended the first production in England of Mr. Shaw's *The Millionairess*. Nor, to be plain, would the play have repaid such treatment. Its central figure, a woman who embodied all the material power and spiritual weakness to which those are condemned whose sole trust is in riches, was presented with Mr. Shaw's usual mixture of mental gymnastics and physical buffoonery; but she proved a bore before the evening was out. The old clear certainty was absent. Few of those who travelled to Bexhill to see a sound but undistinguished company perform the play had much hope that it would be brought to the London stage.

Of other first rank dramatists, Noel Coward and J. B. Priestley maintained their reputations, if they did little more. Mr. Coward's series of one-act plays staged under the general title of *At 8.30 p.m.* (Phoenix) made a brilliant small-scale exhibition of technical resource and versatility, but they gave little reason to hope that Mr. Coward has much more to show us than he has shown us already. With Mr. Priestley, the case was very different. His *Bees on the Boatdeck* (Lyric) was a failure with the public, but it gave serious playgoers a taste of the kind of pleasure which only the work of a major dramatist can bestow.

Rodney Ackland strengthened his position greatly with *After October* (Criterion). Mr. Ackland has all the qualities of a major dramatist, but at present his field is limited. When he sheds a certain youthful intolerance for the ordinary man, he will have few equals in our theatre.

Three established writers who ran closely to form during the year were Walter Hackett with *The Fugitives* (Apollo), Ian Hay with *Housemaster* (Apollo), and Neil Grant with *Dusty Ermine* (Comedy).

Ian Hay had, in fact, two outstanding successes during the year, the other being *The Frog* (Princes), a play based by him on a story by Edgar Wallace. Mention of this brings to mind one curious feature of the year's play-writing—namely, the large number of established writers who indulged in collaboration of one form or other. Clemence Dane, for instance, joined with the musician Richard Addinsell in preparing Max Beerbohm's *Happy Hypocrite* (His Majesty's) for the stage. This was, perhaps, produced on a scale too big for such a miniature masterpiece. It did not command much public support; but it was a success artistically. Mr. Priestley took a hand with George Billam in a cheerful and successful little play called *Spring Tide* (Duchess). James Bridie turned a play of Bruno Frank's into something as Scotch as a haggis, in *Storm in a Tea-cup* (Royalty).

R. C. Sherriff shared with Jeanne de Casalis in the praise that was honestly earned by *St Helena*. This praise arrived a little belatedly, because the play was under-rehearsed when first produced at the Old Vic, and a dragging performance did it no justice. Mr. Winston Churchill, seeing it after it had been pulled together, was moved to protest against adverse criticism and public neglect. This roused general interest in the play, which was moved to Daly's and had a fair run.

Other successful collaborations and adaptations were those of Frank Vosper with Agatha Christie in *Love from a Stranger* (New). Herbert Farjeon with his sister in the delightful Victorian fantasy *The Two Bouquets* (Ambassadors), and of Helen Jerome with Jane Austen and Charlotte Bronte respectively, in *Pride and Prejudice* (St. James's) and *Jane Eyre* (Queen's).

New writers, or writers almost new, made a satisfactory showing during the year. One of them, Barre Lyndon, actually succeeded in getting a second play (*Hell for Leather*) produced at the Phoenix while his first (*The Amazing Doctor Clitterhouse*) was still running at the Haymarket. Each in its way was a workmanlike thriller. The former was an attempt to transfer to the stage the excitements of the motor-racing which is Mr. Lyndon's special province as a journalist; the second was a more original piece of work. Terrence Rattigan, who wrote *First Episode* in collaboration when he was at Oxford, now came forward again with *French Without Tears* (Criterion), a gay and witty trifle which scored one of the year's triumphs. Dorothy L. Sayers, with the help of M. St. Clare Byrne, introduced her famous detective, Lord Peter Wimsey, to the stage in *Busman's Honeymoon* (Comedy).

Vernon Sylvaine is not exactly a new author, but *Arer't Men Beasts?* (Strand) was his first attempt at farce and also his first big-scale success.

Arthur Watkyn's play on Beethoven, *Muted Strings* (Daly's), had more serious intention and some quality, and much the same is true of Geoffroy Kerr's *Till the Cows Come Home* (St. Martin's). Max Catto's *Oreen Waters* (Vaudeville) had strength and sincerity. But easily the best piece of work from a new author was Maurice Colbourne's *Charles the King* (Lyric), which shared with *St Helena* and *Parnell* (New) the credit for being the best biographical plays of the year.

Neither *Charles the King* nor *Parnell* (which is by an American lady, Elsie T. Schauffler) was received without cavil. Against both there was levelled the particular criticism with which most biographical plays are visited by somebody—that the dramatist has falsified history. St. John Ervine, an authority on Parnell's life, would have none of Miss Schauffler, accusing her of taking unpardonable liberties with facts, and of having no understanding of character. The charge against Mr. Colbourne, less fiercely put, was that he whitewashed Charles I. and belittled Cromwell.

Both plays were very successful as plays, and it is certain that few of the playgoers who enjoyed them bothered their heads whether Charles Stuart was less pleasant or Charles Stewart Parnell less witty than the author depicted him.

Apart from the American plays already mentioned, which happened to deal with stories and settings belonging entirely to this side of the Atlantic Ocean—namely *Pride and Prejudice*, *Jane Eyre*, and *Parnell*—two widely contrasted plays dealing with purely American themes had long runs. One of these was *Whiteoaks* (Playhouse), a workmanlike adaptation by Mazo de la Roche of her widely read novel. The other was a joyous extravaganza called *Three Men on a Horse* (Wyndham's).

Importations from France were neither numerous nor particularly striking. Henry Bernstein's *Promise* (Shaftesbury) and Jacques Deval's *Mademoiselle* (Wyndham's) had good runs, but neither was more than a well-turned piece of stage machinery.

Other imports aimed higher than these, but none made any mark. The complete failure of an adaptation of Molnar's *Girl Unknown* (New) proved once again that this famous Hungarian author, popular almost everywhere else, has little appeal to English audiences. The most important production of a foreign play during the year was a revival of *The Seagull* with a glittering cast (New).

Of plays less successful, or even altogether failures, one was *Red Night* (Queen's), a war play by James Lansdale Hodson in which much good work was brought to naught by faults of construction. Another was *Ante-Room* (Queen's) in which the combined efforts of Kate O'Brien and two collaborators, with every advantage that careful production and fine acting could give them, failed to turn a distinguished novel into a play of equal distinction. To this category, perhaps, should be added *Kind Lady* (Lyric). This was an American importation of undeniable technical quality; but its story was so unrelievedly painful and characters so repellent that nobody would go to see it. Noel Streatfield's *Wisdom Teeth* (Savoy) showed a truth of insight into family life which deserved a better fate than it received; and that is particularly unfortunate as Miss Streatfield is a new dramatist worthy of every encouragement.

The Old Vic continued throughout the year to do much of the work that should be done by our non-existent National Theatre. It broke new ground with the production of *St. Helena*, already mentioned. It excited controversy by a production of *The Country Wife*. And generally, it deserved well of the serious playgoer. The Memorial Theatre at Stratford-on-Avon played a long season of Shakespeare to full houses.

The Open-Air Theatre, less fortunate in its weather than in former years, nevertheless continued its beneficent work in Regent's Park.

The experimental theatres produced a great deal of interesting work during the year. The Westminster in particular was almost always worth a visit. The Dublin Gate Theatre company gave Denis Johnston's *A Bride for the Unicorn* and Eugene O'Neil's *Ah! Wilderness*, and could probably have had a long run at the Ambassadors with the latter play but for the conflict between the Irish accents of the company and the American atmosphere of the play. Other productions of which this little theatre had reason to be proud were the long-delayed staging of Granville-Barker's *Waste*, and revivals of *A Month in the Country* and *The Wild Duck*.

The Gate Theatre continued its policy of presenting good plays which had been banned by the Censor, and, having procured a licence for *Parnell* gave London its only chance of seeing *The Children's Hour*, a sincere piece of writing from America. The Mercury, producing poetical plays, found no successor to *Murder in the Cathedral*, but had the compensating satisfaction of seeing T. S. Eliot's masterpiece transferred to a West-end theatre (Duchess) for an ordinary run. The Embassy continued to be London's chief theatrical workshop.

Of the purely commercial side of the theatre, passing reference may perhaps be made to the enormous success achieved by such pieces as Ivor Novello's *Careless Rapture* (Drury Lane), or by Leslie Henson in *Swing Along* (Gaiety), Stanley Lupino in *Over She Goes* (Saville), or Jack Buchanan in *This'll Make You Whistle* (Palace).

A rapid survey of acting in 1936 impels the belief that the year was remarkable rather for excellent all-round work than for great individual performances. In such circumstances it is a little invidious to single out any names for special commendation. But two players must be so honoured because they gave performances which brought them for the first time into the highest rank. They were Kenneth Kent, as Napoleon in *St. Helena*, and Margaret Rawlings, as Mrs. O'Shea in *Parnell*.

The brilliant versatility in partnership of Noel Coward and Gertrude Lawrence also deserved to be recorded; likewise the work of Edith Evans and John Gielgud in *The Seagull*. But the melancholy truth remains that the piece of acting which must be judged the most remarkable of the year was Eugenie Leontovich's ill-advised attempt and shattering failure to play Shakespeare's Cleopatra with none of the gifts of poetry or of presence which the part demands.

III. THE CINEMA.

The problem of colour films was very little nearer solution than it was twelve months ago. As a system Technicolor seems to have ousted all competitors and the output of the English laboratories has been doubled. But by the end of the year the process was still slow, expensive and difficult and the artistic advance was slight. The experimental stage was not yet over.

"The Trail of the Lonesome Pine," from which big things were expected,

was not popular with the public because of its rather slow-moving story. The scenery was shown to exquisite advantage, but flesh tints still presented great difficulty. At one moment an actress may be pale and interesting and her hair golden, the next she is tanned and her hair a Titian red. Later in the year Marlene Dietrich was seen in "The Garden of Allah," the desert very colourful, the picture very tearful. Two British made colour pictures were completed but not shown, "Wings of the Morning" and "Under the Red Robe." It was claimed that the English clouds and climate photograph better in colour than the American. Directors discovered that nature—especially in California—needs toning down. The colours are so sharp and variegated that they look crude on the screen. The English atmosphere provides a softening haze.

There was a great increase during 1936 in the amount of studio space available. Denham studios—the biggest in the country—were completed and work there was in full swing. At Elstree, Amalgamated Studios have added eight stages to their holdings, and the Rock Studio extension received another two floors. Pinewood, Iver, Bucks, standing in a two hundred acre estate, opened its eight stages in the summer. By the end of the year Britain had accommodation to produce a film a day.

Production received a setback in February when a disastrous fire at Elstree destroyed five acres of studio buildings occupied in part by the British and Dominions Film Corporation and in part by British International Productions. This was followed by a less serious fire at the then unfinished studios of London Film Productions, Denham.

Exhibitors were active in building. Oscar Deutsch, who owns a chain of Odeon Halls, built some fifty new halls and acquired sites for a further fifty. His biggest capture, however, was the Alhambra, Leicester Square, where the old theatre has been pulled down to make way for The Odeon. During the year he registered a hundred different companies. Union Cinemas have also been acquiring sites and promise "a super cinema for every town where one does not already exist."

In March, Carl Laemmle, veteran president of the Universal Film Corporation, sold his interest in the concern for 1,400,000L. He held more than 90 per cent, of the stock. The purchasers were the Standard Capital Co., Charles R. Rogers and C. M. Woolf, the English film magnate. This was the first time that British interests acquired important holdings in a United States concern.

Child stars continued to be the biggest box office draws. Shirley Temple signed a five year contract at 1,000Z. a week. She made an unusually large number of pictures during the year. In "These Three" the outstanding success was scored by Bonita Granville, aged twelve, playing a superlatively nasty little girl with great gusto. In England two young people were brought to the front by the clever direction of Robert Stevenson. These were Nova Pilbeam as Lady Jane Grey and Desmond Tester as Edward VI. in a picture called "Tudor Rose." It was one of the few British pictures to make a hit in America.

London Films made several ambitious pictures. Most notable was their version of the H. G. Wells's story, "Things to Come." This was a

riot for the scenic artist and the technicians, but somewhat weak in human interest. It was magnificent but dull. A second Wells story, "The Man Who Could Work Miracles," brought Roland Young back from Hollywood to play the lead. Korda closed the year with his own production of Charles Laughton in "Rembrandt." Shakespeare—or near Shakespeare—was offered in "As You Like It," with Elisabeth Bergner, and "Romeo and Juliet" with Leslie Howard and Norma Shearer. The industry suffered a great loss, and Miss Shearer a personal one, in the death of her husband, Irving Thalberg, Production chief at Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. This company decided to run their own British production unit, and Michale Balcon, formerly with Gaumont-British, will be in charge.

For the showing of "The Great Ziegfeld" in September His Majesty's Theatre was wired for sound. Charlie Chaplin in his latest picture, "Modern Times," was still silent, but made the concession of singing a little song. The comedy was a definite comment on modern civilisation and more successful with the critics than the public. Harold Lloyd made another of his careful productions in "The Milky Way," and Eddie Cantor gave us "Strike Me Pink." The most popular of all comedy stars were the Walt Disney creations. Mickey Mouse himself took a back seat. But Donald Duck, Pluto and the baby seal were public favourites. One of the most successful pictures of the year was an unpretentious Frank Capra comedy, called "Mr. Deeds Comes to Town," starring Gary Cooper. Katherine Hepburn's "Mary of Scotland" aroused indignation by its wild historical inaccuracies. "Anthony Adverse," the monumental novel, came to the screen as a monumental picture, with Frederic March in the name part. Director Alfred Hitchcock gave us "Secret Agent" and "Sabotage," efficient pictures, but adding nothing to his artistic reputation. The film censor—more broadminded than the Lord Chamberlain—allowed "Green Pastures" to be shown. This negro heaven proved reverent and touching and made a very unusual picture. Pall Mall Films persuaded Paderewski to come over here and make a picture which was directed by Lothar Mendes, and which saw the serious screen debut of Marie Tempest.

On the whole English films marked time, their big productions being much as before, the only advance shown being a slight improvement in the smaller offerings. Associated British Pictures was the only firm which attempted to create its own stars, and as a result, John Lodge is on his way to become a box office draw. Other companies were content to import ready-made stars from Hollywood.

Though artistically dull, the year was financially brisk; over 21,000,000l. of new capital was invested in the industry.

IV. MUSIC.

In London the year was one of normal activity in the concert-room and abnormal activity in the opera-house. Opera may therefore be given precedence in the present survey.

The 1935-36 season at Sadlers Wells Theatre, the institution that maintains the most constant supply of opera, was continued until April 25

with a repertory of seventeen operas. The company then went to the **Old Vic** for a fortnight; and on September 23 it resumed at Sadlers **Wells for the 1936-37** season. The first Sadlers Wells production of Verdi's "Falstaff," on March **11**, had an unexpected outcome. This "musicians' opera" actually became popular with the public and steadily drew large audiences. The bold enterprise of performing Moussorgsky's "Boris Godounov" in the original version (without Rimsky-Korsakov's emendations) was completed on April 1 by the addition of the final, or "revolutionary" scene. "Aida" was added to the repertory on October 21. "The Mastersingers," on December 2, was a trial of strength that the company overcame by its care for detail and sense of style.

The London and Provincial Opera Society, Ltd., held its annual season from April 27 to June 12, with Sir Thomas Beecham as artistic director. The repertory of fourteen operas was unadventurous, the only experiments being a revival of Charpentier's "Louise" and the inclusion of Offenbach's "Tales of Hoffman," with new stage settings, and Mr. Noel Maskelyne's co-operation in suggesting supernatural events on the stage.

The German operas were "Die Meistersinger," "Parsifal," "Der Ring des Nibelungen" (two cycles), "Tristan und Isolde," and "Der Rosenkavalier." The first three weeks of the season introduced four artists who conspicuously upheld the high standard of German operatic singing, viz., Tiana Lemnitz (Eva, Oktavian), Kerstin Thorborg (Fricka, Waltraute), Torsten Ralf (Walther, Parsifal), and Ludwig Weber (Pogner, Gurnemanz, Fasolt, Hagen). Then came the one by whom the season will be remembered. Kirsten Flagstad arrived with a great reputation, and rose above it with the brilliance and beauty of her Isolde and Briinnhilde. She became the sensation of the day, not only at Covent Garden but at Queen's Hall, where she gave a recital on June 9. Her presence was compensation for the absence of Lotte Lehmann, whose place as Sieglinde and the Marschallin was taken by Elisabeth Rethberg. For the rest, the Siegmund, Siegfried, and Tristan were again Lauritz Melchior; and the gradual penetration of British singers into the ranks of German opera was maintained by Stella Andrevá, Margery Booth, Robert Easton, Edith Furmedge, Mary Jarred, Heddle Nash, Henry Wendon, Constance Willis, and Josephine Wray.

An event without precedent was the occupation of Covent Garden by the Dresden State Opera Company, with its own scenery and its own orchestra, from November 2 to November 13. The standard of the singing was not equal to that of the Covent Garden summer season, but the Dresden company excelled in ensemble and in the general organisation of the stage. The most memorable features of the visit were a beautiful production of "Der Rosenkavalier" on the first night, a failure on **the part of** the company as a whole to adapt itself to Mozart's "Don Juan," and an accomplished performance of Strauss's "Ariadne auf Naxos," **under the** composer's direction. Other operas given were "Tristan und Isolde" and "Die Hochzeit des Figaro." **The conductor was Karl Böhm, and the producer the famous Hans Strohbach.**

Covent Garden was again occupied, from November 18 to December 12, by the newly-formed British Music Drama Opera Company. The purpose of this organisation was to engage all-British casts and give performances in English that should represent a higher standard of operatic acting than had been prevalent in this country. The artistic directors were Albert Coates as conductor and Vladimir Rosing as producer. The repertory consisted of " Boris Godounov " in the familiar Rimsky-Korsakov version ; " Madame Butterfly " ; " Pickwick," by Albert Coates, performed for the first time on November 20; and, as a double bill, " I Pagliacci " and Moussorgsky's " The Fair at Sorochinsk " in the completed version by Tcherepnin. " Pickwick," for which Mr. Coates had compiled a libretto from the original dialogue, was an opera of many scenes, sumptuously and beautifully designed by Hamish Wilson, and many characters. The numerous company did its work well in every way, and this production was viewed as the chief vindication of the claim that British artists could act as well as perform opera.

The fourth Covent Garden season of the year was given by the London and Provincial Opera Society and began on December 26. This experiment in out-of-season opera had not commended itself to the public by the end of the year, when " The Barber of Seville " (in Italian), " Tales of Hoffman " (in French), and " Hansel und Gretel " (in German) had been given to small audiences by a mixed British and foreign company. In connexion with this season the Imperial League of Opera, a national institution founded a few years ago by Sir Thomas Beecham, became operative for the first time, members of the League being enabled to purchase seats at reduced prices.

Mr. John Christie's third season at Glyndebourne, from May 25 to July 7, definitely established the popularity of this out-of-the-way venture in opera-giving. In spite of the necessarily high prices, the distance of Glyndebourne from any large centre of population, and the consequent expense of the journey, it was the rule for the theatre to be full. So great was the demand for seats that plans were made for a considerable enlargement of the auditorium for the 1937 season. The previous season having sufficiently indicated the coming tide of success, Mr. Christie had no need to change the plan or personnel of his enterprise. Fritz Busch remained conductor-in-chief, Carl Ebert was again the producer, and Hamish Wilson the designer of the scenery. The operas were all by Mozart and were given in their original languages—" Don Giovanni," " Le nozze di Figaro," and " Così fan tutte " in Italian, and " Die Zauberflöte " and " Die Entführung aus dem Serail " in German. The novelty of the season was " Don Giovanni," a complex problem of staging that was overcome by Mr. Wilson's keen eye for stage effect, fertility of invention and mechanical ingenuity. Most of the important parts in the five operas were taken by artists, British and foreign, who had previously helped to build up the reputation of Glyndebourne opera.

Ballet was performed more frequently in 1936 than in any previous year, and the demand rose with the supply. At Sadlers Wells, where two performances were given during each week of the opera season, the out-

standing additions to the repertory were "Apparitions," by Frederick Ashton, to music by Liszt; "Prometheus," by Ninette de Valois, to Beethoven's ballet music; and "Nocturne," by Ashton, to part of Delius's "Paris." On January 13 the new Markova-Dolin company, which had opened its first season at the Duke of York's Theatre at Christmas, produced "David," a Biblical ballet, to music by Maurice Jacobson, with a drop-curtain by Jacob Epstein. The "Ballets de Monte Carlo," a Russian company directed by Rene Blum, with Michel Fokine as chief choreographer, appeared at the Alhambra Theatre in May. Their most important production was "Don Juan," a ballet by Fokine to Gluck's music, first performed on June 25. The de Basil company of Russian dancers was at Covent Garden from June 15 until the end of the summer. On July 24 Leonide Massine made ballet history by the first performance of his "Symphonic Fantastique" to Berlioz's music. This, his third essay in symphony-ballet, won a wider acceptance than his earlier "Les Presages" (to Tchaikovsky's Fifth Symphony) and "Choreartium" (to Brahms's Fourth Symphony), from which it differed in having a dramatic programme already attached to the symphony by the composer.

In London concerts the most considerable event of the year was the first performance in England of "The Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk," an opera by Dmitri Shostakovich that had been performed in Russia and America and much talked about throughout the musical world. The occasion proved to be one of sense-stimulation rather than of musical experience. The young composer's talent displayed itself in vivid orchestral music that underlined but did not illuminate a plot entirely concerned with depravity, and the consequent effect was one of brilliant activity rather than of emotional force. The performance was given by the B.B.C. at Queen's Hall on March 18, with Albert Coates as conductor. The symphony "Mathis der Maler," by Paul Hindemith, consisting of three excerpts from an opera, was given under Fritz Stiedry, of Leningrad, at a Courtauld-Sargent concert on February 10. Ostensibly a trio of symphonic poems related to the three panels of a famous altar-piece by Matthias Griinewald, the work was of interest rather as absolute music in which Hindemith revealed an unwonted vein of romantic feeling. The better-known garrulous and matter-of-fact Hindemith was revealed in the early opera "Cardillac," which was performed in concert form by the B.B.C. on December 18 under Clarence Raybould.

Apart from Shostakovich and Hindemith, living foreign composers contributed next to nothing to the interest of the year's orchestral concerts in London. At a B.B.C. Queen's Hall concert on March 25 Bartok's "Cantata profana," which had previously been broadcast, added little to the composer's reputation. Kodaly's *Te Deum*, performed at Broadcasting House on November 13, was an example of the composer's skill rather than of his imagination. The outstanding modern work was the Violin Concerto composed by Alban Berg shortly before his death in 1935. It was played by Louis Krasner at a memorial concert to Berg given by the B.B.C. in its concert hall on May 1, and again at a B.B.C. Queen's Hall concert on December 9. Though written in the atonal mode of the

Viennese modernists, a mode that had long denied feeling and colour, it **was** nevertheless strongly suggestive of late nineteenth-century romance ; coming from so distinguished a composer as Berg it possibly portended a change of heart in modernism.

The outstanding new works by British composers were choral. On January 29 the B.B.C., with the Philharmonic Choir, gave the first performance of " Summer's Last Will and Testament," by Constant Lambert. The music springs in great part from the composer's imagination as a writer for the orchestra, an especially vivid example of this being the scherzo " King Pest," a picture of London in the time of the plague. On January 30 the Philharmonic Choir, at a concert of the Royal Philharmonic Society, gave the first performances in London of two short choral works : " Nocturne," by E. J. Moeran, to lines by Robert Nicholls, a study in atmospheric half-lights ; and a setting of Keats's " La belle dame sans merci," by Patrick Hadley. Five Motets by Edmund Rubbra were sung at a B.B.C. concert on April 3. " Jonah," an oratorio by Lennox Berkeley, was given by the B.B.C. on June 19. In company with Kodaly's *Te Deum*, a choral work by Vaughan Williams entitled " *Dona nobis pacem*," first performed during the Huddersfield Choral Society's centenary celebrations in October, was given its first performance in London. To serve his didactic purpose the composer drew upon all the resources of his craft without revealing any new aspect of his musical imagination. His creative spirit was, however, fully active in the " Five Tudor Portraits," the outstanding novelty of the Norwich Festival in September. The poems by the Tudor poet John Skelton characterise five highly differentiated persons unknown to history, and the music joins in the portraiture with gusto. An operetta by Vaughan Williams, " The Poisoned Kiss," was performed at Cambridge on May 12 and afterwards at Sadlers Wells. The year was not without its Bax. A new Overture, " Rogues' Comedy," was broadcast from a studio; and three new chamber works for wind and strings were performed on December 1 at a concert of the London Contemporary Music Centre.

At the principal London concerts the present-day novelties were overshadowed by works of a past age that were revived or brought to notice for the first time. These were few but important. A wave of Berlioz early in the year brought with it (between the " *Messe des Morts* " at a B.B.C. concert and " *La Damnation de Faust*" at a Philharmonic) the forgotten oratorio " *L'enfance du Christ*." The performance of this delicately-framed and most musical work accused the British choral world of neglect, for the English edition had been allowed to go out of print, so little was the demand. (The work had been revived by the Glasgow Choral Union a month before the London performance.) A later Berlioz revival was the symphony " *Romeo and Juliet*" at a Philharmonic concert on December 3.

The Bruckner cult in England was advanced during the year by three performances. Sir Hamilton Harty conducted the sixth symphony **at a London** Symphony Orchestra concert on April 6; the seventh symphony **was** given by the Vienna Orchestra under Oswald Kabasta on October

26 ; and at a Philharmonic concert on November 12 the fourth symphony, in the recently published original version, was played by the Dresden State Opera Orchestra under Karl Bohm. It is also to be noted that before the end of the year both the fourth and seventh symphonies had been recorded for the gramophone and issued by H.M.V.

On November 24 Nadia Boulanger, a Parisian musician of high repute as a musicologist, conductor, and teacher of young modernist composers, paid her first visit to England. At a Queen's Hall concert organised by the Van Wyck agency she conducted Faure's Requiem and the oratorio "The History of the Resurrection," by Schutz.

Orchestral music in London was maintained at a high level by the two most recently formed orchestras. AS will be seen by the account given above the burden of introducing new works was mainly borne by the B.B.C. orchestra under various conductors. The standard repertory was chiefly in the hands of the London Philharmonic Orchestra under the inspiring guidance of Sir Thomas Beecham. The Sunday afternoon concerts given by this orchestra were transferred for the 1936-37 season from Queen's Hall to Covent Garden Theatre, where they prospered. At Queen's Hall a Sunday series was started by a new body with an old name—the Queen's Hall Orchestra—under Sir Henry Wood. The old-established London Symphony Orchestra, whose concerts had for some years been losing the support of the public, adopted new plans ; famous soloists were admitted to the programmes, and from October 16 the concerts were given on Thursdays and Fridays instead of Mondays. The change justified itself by a notable increase in public attendance. From August 8 to October 3 the B.B.C. orchestra gave the forty-second season of Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts under Sir Henry Wood.

During the Spring the B.B.C. Orchestra made a Continental tour, including visits to Vienna and Budapest. The London Philharmonic Orchestra toured Germany in the Autumn. Two foreign orchestras came to England. The Vienna Symphony Orchestra, under Weingartner and Kabasta, toured England and Scotland from October 19 to November 1 and appeared twice at Queen's Hall. The Dresden State Opera Orchestra played at Queen's Hall under Strauss on November 7 and under Bohm on November 14.

Festivals were held at Hastings in February ; Bournemouth and Bath in March; Mountain Ash (the "Three Valleys") in May; Haslemere (the Dolmetsch festival of old music) in July; Fishguard (the National Eisteddfod) in August; Hereford (the "Three Choirs"), Folkestone, **and** Norwich in September; and Sheffield in October. Apart from festivals the chief event in the Provinces was the first performance in Britain of Berlioz's opera "Beatrice and Benedict" in March. It was given by the Glasgow Grand Opera Society.

SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

THE BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

Evolution.—The Choukoutien cave yielded three new adult skulls of *Sinanthropus* and a male left mandible with teeth, so that available relics of Peking man represent 24 individuals and include 12 lower jaws and nearly 100 teeth. The female skull shows similarities to *Pithecanthropus* and the male skull to Neanderthal man. Parts of three skulls of *Paleoanthropus* showing *Sinanthropoid* features and associated with Levalloisian culture were found in the Upper Pleistocene in Tanganyika. A Pleistocene skull of *Australopithecus* type, differing from the Taung's skull, was found near Johannesburg. At Swanscombe, in Kent, a skull regarded as a precursor of the Piltdown type was found associated with implements of St. Acheul 3 culture phase. The Predmost skeletons seem to be a variant of the Cro-Magnon race. Folsom man in America was definitely associated with prehistoric elephants. Weidenreich published "The Mandibles of *Sinanthropus Pekinensis*."

It is clear that man's evolution has been complicated and reticulate, with the persistence and recurrence of bundles of characters, and that the biological concept of race is obscure if not impracticable in any human application, having little more than methodological validity. Modern genetics necessitates a thorough revision of the basic concepts of physical anthropology. Books included Rivet's "L'Espece humaine," Lester and Millot's "Les races humaines," Montaudon's "L'Ethnie française," Guha's "Racial Affinities of the Peoples of India," Bews' "Human Ecology," Holmes' "Human Genetics and its Social Import," and Shapiro's "Heritage of the Bounty." A Bureau of Human Heredity was founded in London.

Regarding the heterogeneity of processes lumped together as "evolution" the causal value of natural selection, on a genotypic instead of a phenotypic basis, remained controversial, and palaeontologists still tended to accept orthogenesis which the zoologists largely rejected. Species may originate in various ways, and foetalisation, rate factors, and evolution as of the gene complex were emphasised; the relation of genetical mutations to specificity remained unsettled. Books included Shull's "Evolution," Robson and Richards' "Variations of Animals in Nature" and Cuenot's "L'Espece."

In numerous genetical researches on plants and animals attention was given to inter-specific and -generic hybrids; there was confirmation

of cytoplasmic influence in various crosses; and linkage was discovered in man between colour blindness and haemophilia. Kronacher published "Genetik und Tierzucht."

Chromosome study of plants tended to confirm the spiral chromonema theory but giant salivary chromosomes seem to contain ring-shaped chromomeres connected by oblique genomeres. Many researches were carried out on chromosome aberrations induced by radiations, and progress was made in gene-mapping of numerous plants and animals including man. The 4th International Congress of Experimental Cytology was held in Copenhagen and the Svalof Plant Breeding Station held its Jubilee.

Zoology.—Results of numerous oceanographic and other expeditions were published and many volumes of the monumental German systematic, morphological and encyclopaedic treatises. Morphological and anatomical research filled many gaps in knowledge and helped towards a fuller understanding of animal structure and phylogeny. Books in this field included Neal and Rand's "Comparative Anatomy," Korschelt and Heider's "Vergleichende Entwicklungsgeschichte der Tiere," Bolk and Goppert's "Handbuch der vergleichenden Anatomie der Wirbeltiere, 4," Kappers *et al.* "Comparative Anatomy of the Nervous System of Vertebrates," Detwiler's "Neuroembryology," Dalcq's "L'Organisation de l'œuf chez les chordes," Pincus' "Eggs of Mammals," Greene's "Anatomy of the Rat," and Kolmer and Lauber's "Mikroskopische Anatomie des Auges." Tate Regan published a general "Natural History."

Important Russian work classified the zoogeographical divisions of the Palearctic region, and Rensch's "Die Geschichte des Sundabogens" emphasised the significance of "Wallace's Line" and supported Wegener's theory of continental drift. Zoogeographical and ecological books included Newbigin's "Plant and Animal Geography," de Balsac's "Biogéographie des Mammifères et des Oiseaux de l'Afrique du Nord," Thamdrupe's "Ökologie der Wattenfauna," Rintoul and Baxter's "Vertebrate Fauna of Forth," Bailey's "Mammals and Life Zones of Oregon," and Phillip's "Mammals of Ceylon." Slijper published "Die Cetaceen," and books on fossil mammalogy included Colbert's "Sivalik Mammals," Scott and Jepsen's "Insectivora and Carnivora of the White River Oligocene" and Osborn's "Proboscidea I."

Treatises on birds included Murphy's "Oceanic Birds of S. America," Chasen's "Handlist of Malaysian Birds," Robinson and Chasen's "Birds of the Malay Peninsula, 3," Bannerman's "Birds of Tropical W. Africa, 4," and Reis *et al.* "Doenjas des Aves." Smith published "Reptiles and Amphibians of British India."

Books on fishes included Barnhart's "Marine Fishes of S. California," Marchand's "S. African Marine Fishes," Fowler's "Marine Fishes of W. Africa," Arnold and Ahl's "Freilandische Süßwasserfische," Ehrenbaum's "Naturgeschichte und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Seefische Nordeuropas," and Steinmann's "Die fische der Schweiz." An interesting departure from morphology and taxonomy was in the attention paid to fish behaviour in relation to environmental factors. Fisheries research paid special attention to the salmon, whose migrations prove more

extensive than had been realised, the herring, lobster, periwinkle, oyster, **and** mussel. Much work was done on the distribution, abundance and fluctuations of plankton in relation to fish populations, and on sub-surface daylight in relation to the photosynthesis of phytoplankton and the movements of zooplankton.

A vast amount of detailed morphological, taxonomic and economic research was done in entomology but welcome attention was also given to insect physiology and ecology. Phase variation was found in grasshoppers ; and an astonishing lice fauna on the Tinamous. Systematic treatises included Sevenet's "Les anopheles de la France," Killington's "British Neuroptera," Warren's "Erebia," Bryk's "Parnassiinae," Hubbell's "Ceuthophilus," Ferris' "Sucking Lice," and Marcus' "Tartigrada." Of more biological interest were Swynnerton's "Tsetse Flies of E. Africa," Hopkins' "Mosquitoes of the Ethiopian Region," and Shedl's "Der Schwammspinner"; whilst economic works included Doane *et al.* "Forest Insects," Herrick's "Insect Enemies of Shade Trees" ; Miles' "Insect Pests of Glasshouse Crops," and Sweetman's "Biological Control of Insects."

Yonge's study of the Tridacnidae revealed one of the most highly evolved symbiotic partnerships known. Treatises on the lower invertebrates included Van Name's "American Land and Freshwater Isopod Crustacea," and Joyeux and Baer's "Cestodes."

Much attention was given to the study of animal integration and behaviour, with a general recognition of the validity of a biological level, and a conception of organisms as historical systems with reactions determined by their surroundings, their momentary states, which are largely conditioned by hormones, and their previous experiences. Books in this general field included Needham's "Order and Life," Savory's "Mechanistic Biology and Animal Behaviour," Ritchie's "Natural History of Mind," Howard's "Nature of a Bird's World," and Maier and Schneirla's "Principles of Animal Psychology." An Institute for the Study of Animal Behaviour was founded in England.

General Physiology.—The most significant field of biological science to-day is that ill-defined region into which zoology, botany, chemistry and physics merge. Botanical and zoological researches are largely the detailed filling in of fairly well-defined schemes but, in "general physiology," fundamental discoveries are being made and boundaries are breaking down. In the investigation of bodily and mental co-ordinations, hormones, vitamins, embryological development, sex, cancer, and other problems the scientific fields are merging into each other or coinciding, and the researches are revolutionary both in their intrinsic values and in their wider implications. Only a few years ago this field was largely an inchoate mass of detail, but now this detail is fitting together like a jigsaw puzzle and the general outlines of the picture are becoming visible.

By the use of the Svedberg centrifuge, X-ray and mathematico-physical methods, advance was made towards an understanding of the molecular architecture of the cell.

In neurology, the theory of humoral transmission and cholinergic and

adrenergic classification was firmly established : evidence indicated that acetylcholine acts as a direct stimulant of the nerve cell. The ties between chemical action, nervous control and emotional attitudes were found to be ever closer and more intelligible. Breathing and other rhythms of the body were shown to be due to the rhythmic activity of the central nervous system, and the rhythmic electrical potentials from the head were studied. The dependence of man's intellectual development and motility on the constancy of the factors of his internal environment, especially in relation to his cerebrum, was made clear ; as also the way in which the visceral nerves prepare the body for sudden emergency. Books in this field included Cold Spring Harbour Symposia on " Quantitative Biology, 3 and 4," Parker's " Colour Changes in Animals in Relation to Nervous Activity," and Terman and Miles' " Sex and Personality."

Hormones, vitamins, embryology and cancer research are now practically one field of study. Synthetic (Estrogenic hydrocarbons can act as organisers of the nervous system in the embryo ; carcinogens can excite oestrus and cestrin can have carcinogenic effects; vitamin E can impose order on what would otherwise be a disorderly growth, just as vitamin D controls irregular ossification ; the chick embryo synthesises vitamin C, just as it synthesises its own thyroxine and perhaps its own organisers ; vitamin D is formed in the skin by irradiation with ultra-violet light, just as insulin is formed in the pancreas ; oestrogens are found in plants, and human oestrin can determine plant development. The change in conception is fundamental.

Hormone production in higher primates was shown to be very similar to that in man, and the thymus and pineal were definitely proved to be endocrine glands. There was an increased realisation of the vast complexity of the endocrine mechanisms ; e.g., the anterior lobe of the pituitary produces at least nine hormones ; the testis can secrete a female hormone and the ovary a male hormone, and the male hormones possess important properties of the female hormones ; 13 substances are known in the male sex hormone group and 17 in the female sex hormone group. There was also a greater understanding of the excitory powers of hormones and the responsive powers of tissues, the latter giving promise of a new pharmacology.

In their biochemistry, hormones and vitamins still seem curiously irrational; adrenaline and acetylcholine are very simple, vitamin A and the sex hormones very complex; physiologically similar vitamins such as B₁ and B₂ are utterly unlike chemically, whilst certain biologically dissimilar sex hormones have almost identical structural formulae. Certain hormones were isolated, defined and artificially prepared, and at least 12 hormones are now obtainable in accurately standardised and stable form. Books on hormones included Asher's " Physiologie der innere Sekretion," the American Medical Association's " Glandular Physiology and Therapy," Rolleston's " Endocrine Organs in Health and Disease," Hill and Howitt's " Insulin," Broderick's " Ergebnisse der Vitamin und Hormonforschung," Gaddum's " Gefasserweiternde Stoffe der Gewebe," and Van Dyke's " Physiology and Pharmacology of the Pituitary Body."

An enormous amount of research was done on the distribution, isolation, chemical determination, testing, and artificial preparation of the vitamins; the structural formula of five more prominent ones is known, and vitamin B_1 was synthesised, the fourth to be produced from inactive organic reagents by purely chemical means. The complexity of vitamins grows apace; the vitamin B complex contains at least six entities, eight forms of vitamin D are known, and there was discovered a new vitamin "K," which acts as an anti-haemorrhagic factor.

It was recognised that cancer is a complex of diverse causation. The focus of interest shifted from transplanted tumours to carcinogenesis, a problem which has merged in an astonishing way with experimental and chemical embryology, vitamins, and hormones. Throughout this wider field the primary importance of the sterol group became clearer; sterol derivatives include carcinogenic compounds, anti-rachitic compounds, cardiac glucosides, male and female sex hormones and the organisers that direct embryonic development. With the exception of the Shope rabbit papilloma the virus etiology of mammalian tumours remained unproven; it is now clear that both heredity and environment are concerned in carcinogenesis. Normal tissues contain two factors, one inhibiting and the other augmenting cell multiplication. An English survey was made of the regional distribution of different types of cancer.

In experimental embryology, increased use was made of the field concept, and organisers, already known in birds, amphibia and fish, were found in the rabbit. Sexual periodicity is regulated by endocrine factors, and exteroceptive factors, more especially light, which through the intermediation of the nervous system act upon and modify the endocrine factors. Biological tests for early pregnancy are now well known but progress was made in finding a chemical test. An interesting experimental result was the normal development and birth of a transplanted unfertilized egg of a rabbit. An interesting book was Muller's "Out of the Night."

Closely related to the above subjects are problems of tissue-culture in which considerable progress was made. New techniques were devised for testing vitamins in chicken tissue culture, and for the cultivation of large quantities of adult tissue in fluid media, the latter opening up new avenues of exploration in physiology. Books included Waddington's "How Animals Develop" and Buchsbaum and Loosli's "Methods of Tissue Culture."

In blood studies the evidence indicated that the blood groups are mutations and their development a case of convergent evolution; a new technique enabled the blood groups of ancient skeletal material to be determined. An important Russian discovery was the use of cadaver blood for transfusion. Books included Anrep's "Cardiovascular Regulation," Landsteiner's "Specificity of Serological Reactions," Katzenelbogen's "Cerebrospinal Fluid and its Relation to the Blood," Riviere and Kossovitch's "Les Groupes Sanguins," and Roche's "La biochimie generale et compare des pigments respiratoires."

Rapid advance continued in the science of nutrition which now stands on a rational basis instead of being an empirical art. Important pub-

lications included various Reports of the League of Nations and of the Medical Research Council, Cannon's "Digestion and Health," Verzar's "Absorption from the Intestine," and Fearon's "Nutritional Factors in Disease." In pharmacology advance was made in the search for active principles of biological products, and in the understanding of the chemical and physical bases of pharmacological action. New isolates from ergot proved to be ergometrine. Books included Wiese's "Digitalis."

Interesting research on the physiological effects of pressure showed that relatively small pressures speed up processes and higher pressures depress activities, cause an irreversible polymerization of proteins and inactivate enzymes, toxins, antibodies and viruses. There is apparently a pressure-time threshold varying with different organisms and tissues. Mitogenetic rays remained unproven; neutron rays seem to be about ten times as effective as X-rays.

Books indicating other lines of progress included Seifriz' "Protoplasm," Lison's "Histochemie animale," Bomer *et al* "Handbuch der Lebensmittelchemie, 3," Laurens' "Physiological Effects of Radiant Energy," Duggar's "Biological Effects of Radiation," Crile's "Phenomena of Life: a Radio Electrical Interpretation," Dublin and Lotka's "Length of Life," Schubert's "Physiologie des Menschen im Flugzeug," Steindler's "Mechanics of Normal and Pathological Locomotion in Man," and Noiyy's "Biological Time."

Botany.—Volumes were issued of Floras of the U.R.S.S., Arabia, W. Tropical Africa, Madras, Jamaica, S.E. Polynesia, and Indo-China; other systematic works included Snowdon's "Cultivated Races of Sorghum," Ohwi's "Cyperaceae Japonica, 1," and various parts of "Pascher," "Engler and Prantl," "Kirchner," and "Hegi." A notable feature of taxonomic research was its correlation with ecology, cytogenetics, and biochemistry. In morphology there was a tendency to return to typological unity as a guiding principle. Books included Eames' "Morphology of Vascular Plants: Lower Groups," Troll's "Vegetationsorgane," and Wodehouse's "Pollen Grains."

Ecological works included Korovin's "Flora of C. Asia and S. Kazakstan," Reynaud-Beauverie's "Le milieu et la vie en commun des plantes," Braun-Blanquet and Rubel's "Flora von Graubunden, 4," Gradmann's "Das Pflanzenleben der Schwabischen Alp," Van Leeuwen's "Krakatau, 1883-1933," and Buchli's "Okologie der Ackerunkrauter der Nordostschweiz." In applied ecology much attention was given to grassland associations—see Stapledon's "Survey of the Agricultural and Waste Lands of Wales"—and to soil erosion which is rapidly becoming one of the world's major agricultural problems—see Ayres' "Soil Erosion and its Control," Burges' "Soil Erosion Control," and Chase's "Rich Land and Poor Land."

In plant physiology an unusual amount of important work was published. The formation and distribution of plant pigments was further elucidated; leaves contain at least 12 xanthophylls and the flavonals are of vitamin nature and play an important rôle in animal life. Hormones were successfully used in shoot regeneration and seed germination. Study

of the fundamental water relations of plants showed that the moisture of soil, plant and air may be treated as a single dynamic system whose performance is controlled by pressure gradients. Leaf temperature studies showed rapid and considerable thermal fluctuations due primarily to direct infra-red radiations. Light researches showed that light of about 6,700 Angstroms is best for plant growth, and that tropical plants have a higher photosynthetic light requirement than similar species of temperate climes. The photoperiod of a plant can be modified by temperature and striking rejuvenation effects obtained by repeated temperature and photoperiod contrasts. Cotton physiologists showed that nitrogen and sugar may travel simultaneously in opposite directions through phloem; Rumanian work showed a negative migration of minerals to the soil. The use and limitations of vernalisation became clearer; it was shown that its cause inheres in the embryo, and that the potent factor is low temperature. Great attention was paid, especially in Russia, to the phasic development of crop plants. Other lines of work in which advances were made were Swedish studies of mycotropic plants; English studies of gas storage, the effects of the ripening of one fruit on another, and vitamin deterioration in fruit storage; injection for supplying deficiency of particular nutrients in fruit trees; and the inhibition of yeast budding by magnetism. Physiological books included Boysen-Jensen's "Growth Hormones in Plants", Stiles' "Principles of Plant Physiology," MacDougal's "Studies in Tree Growth by the Dendrographic Method," Iwanoff's "Biochemistry of Cultivated Plants," Tressler and Evans' "Freezing Preservation of Fruits," Russell and Voelcker's "Fifty Years of Field Experiments at the Woburn Experimental Station" and Waksman's "Humus."

Algal studies showed the importance of the Lithothamnionese in the building of coral reefs. Interesting work was done on the distribution and seasonal succession of Japanese diatoms and on the ecology and biology of soil algae. A rich algal flora was found in permanently frozen sub-soil in Siberia.

The fungi and bacteria received much attention especially from the disease point of view. There was advance in the understanding of the proteolytic enzyme system of fungi, in the biological relation between parasitic fungi and their hosts, and in the relation of fungus diseases to meteorological conditions. It was shown that the nodule bacteria secretion not only curls the root hairs but increases their number and length, and that leafy galls in various plants may be due to bacterial causation. The wasting disease of eel-grass remained unsolved. Books included Dodge's "Medical Mycology," Wolf's "Tobacco Diseases and Decays," Sharpies' "Diseases and Pests of the Rubber Tree," and Rikers' "Introduction to Research on Plant Diseases."

Books on economic botany included Fincke's "Handbuch der Kakaoerzeugnisse," von Bernegg's "Tropische und sudtropische Weltwirtschaftspflanzen," Sampson's "Cultivated Crop Plants of the British Empire," Boeuf's "Les bases scientifiques de l'amelioration des plantes," Department of Agriculture, U.S.A., "The Western Range," Keeble and Rawes'

" Hardy Fruit Growing," Taylor's " Apples of England," Standley and Record's " Forests and Flora of British Honduras," Battiscombe's " Trees and Shrubs of Kenya Colony," McMinn and Maino's " Manual of Pacific Coast Trees," and Champion's " Forest Types of India and Burma." Other books were Hill *et al.* " Botany " and Bedevian's " Polyglottic Dictionary of Plant Names."

Microbiology and Disease.—Progress was made in protective and curative immunology in whooping cough, pneumonia, plague, yellow fever, cerebrospinal fever and streptococcal infections and, in veterinary science, in the various anaerobic infections. Advance was made in the understanding of the photodynamic inactivation of viruses and bacteria, the parallelism between nutritional requirements and pathogenicity of bacteria, the life cycles of bacteria, and the significance of serological and cultural types of pathogenic microbes in relation to epidemic outbreaks. Experimental epidemiologists showed the importance of latent and sub-lethal infection and also that virulence and infectivity are separable bacterial characters that can vary independently. In virology, two discoveries overshadowed all others; the isolation of a new, purely saprophytic, group of filterable organisms, and the isolation of a crystalline, chemically well defined, protein with the properties of the tobacco mosaic virus. A bacteriophage of the nodule bacteria of legumes was found.

Publications included the Medical Research Council's Reports on " Experimental Epidemiology " and " Bacterial Nutrition," Gray *et al.* " Agents of Disease and Host Resistance," Rischkow's " Virus Diseases of Plants," and McCulloch's " Disinfection and Sterilisation." The 2nd International Congress of Microbiology was held in London.

General.—1936 presented interesting general features. Racial delusions continued in face of the clear scientific position that in the comparison of individuals, of social classes, and of ethnic groups it is impossible to assert that any observed difference in characterisation is a reflection of some fundamental genetic dissimilarity until it has been shown that it is not due to the impress of different environmental conditions. Scientifically, racial theories are merely rationalisations of personal and political prejudice.

There was an awakening to the importance of population problems; a general realisation that population problems lie at the root of social, economic, and political states and that there can be no constructive statecraft in the absence of exact knowledge of the quantities and trends of people. Important books on this subject included Carr-Saunders' " World Population," Kuczynski's " Population Movements," and Glass' " Struggle for Population."

Attention was given to the social importance of nutrition due to the realisation that sub-optimum nutrition is common and widespread, that faulty nutrition is a dominant factor in ill-health and that its root is poverty. Important publications on this subject included League of Nations' Reports on " The Problem of Nutrition," Orr's " Food, Health and Income," and M'Gonigle and Kirby's " Poverty and Public Health."

It was widely realised that the structure of science is lop-sided; not

that there is too much research in the inorganic sciences but that there is not nearly enough in the biological sciences, in physiology, psychology, economics and sociology, and that this has led to the position where our social and economic system remains on the basis of a pre-scientific age unadjusted and out of phase with 1936 science. The scientific study of mankind is imperative if man and society are to advance.

There was a growing disquiet among scientists at the frustration and prostitution of science for asocial and anti-social ends, an increasing recognition by scientists that the man of science can no longer remain in his laboratory secreting knowledge without bothering about its purpose, and a crystallising out of the point of view that scientific advances must be socially controlled to social ends and that human and social values must take priority over the mere advancement of science.

Finally, there was a clear realisation that advance in scientific thought can only come through intellectual freedom and criticism.

THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES.

The year was not marked by any very notable discoveries, and none of the many thousands of papers which appeared seemed to be of outstanding interest or importance.

Much work was done on the transmutation of matter and induced radioactivity. The fundamental principles were described in a very simple manner by Andrade in his book "The New Chemistry" (Bell), and Cockcroft described some of the main results in a manner only a little more technical in the Kelvin Lecture to the Institution of Electrical Engineers published in the November number of the *Journal* of that Institution.

In January Shankland (*Phys. Rev.*) reported the results of experiments in which air, beryllium, paraffin and other substances were bombarded by gamma rays. He found that the distribution of the scattered photons and the recoil electrons was quite unlike that predicted by A. H. Compton's simple collision theory of the scattering process, and Dirac (*Nature*) pointed out that his results implied that energy and momentum are not conserved in atomic processes involving velocities comparable with that of light. Such may indeed be the case, but later experimental work by Crane, Gaertner and Turin (*Phys. Rev.*), by E. J. Williams and Pickup (*Nature*) and by Jacobsen Bothe, and Maier-Leibnitz (*Nature* and *Zeit f. Physik.*) failed to confirm Shankland's results and indicated rather that the photon theory of scattering is valid. Williams gave a general account of the passage of alpha and beta particles through matter in *Science Progress* (July).

Moon (*Proc. Phys. Soc.*) showed that, if the neutron carries any charge at all, it is less than one ten-millionth of that of the electron. Halban and Preiswerk (*C.R.*) succeeded in demonstrating the diffraction of the waves associated with neutrons, and J. H. and E. O. Lawrence (*Proc. Nat. Acad. Sci.*) described some of the biological effects of neutron bombardment. They found their effect on the blood of the rat to be much

greater than that of X-rays (for equal rontgen values), so that the protection of workers against their effects needed consideration.

Although the neutrino again eluded the skill of the experimenter it retained its theoretical importance. Stueckelberg (*Helv. Phys. Acta*) suggested that the electron and neutrino are merely two different quantum states of the same elementary particle. Jordan (*Zeit. f. Physik.*) worked out a neutrino theory of light in which he was led to assume the existence of two types of neutrinos analogous to electrons and positrons in that one type could be regarded as consisting of "holes" in the negative energy states. J. J. Thomson (*Nature*) suggested that a photon is a circular line of force travelling at right angles to its plane, and showed that Maxwell's field equations are satisfied by harmonic trains of such rings. De Broglie (*C.R.*) developed his theory that photons consist of two complementary particles of equal mass. Ionescu (*C.R.*) supposed the electron to be an annulus of electric charge which rolls without slipping, and the photon two annular masses with equal and opposite charges also rolling without slip. Proca (*C.R.*) gave theoretical reasons for the existence of a particle with an electric charge but no mass.

Recent determinations of the viscosity of air removed the discrepancy between the values of the electronic charge e obtained directly by the oil-drop method and from measurements based on the X-ray spectrum of calcite, but Birge (*Nature*) pointed out that the substitution of well-established values for e/m and h/e in the Bohr formula for the Rydberg constant gives a value for e nearly half of 1 per cent, less than the others.

Paneth, Gluckauf and Loleit (*Roy. Soc. Proc.*) describes how, for the first time, they had succeeded in obtaining a measurable amount of one element by the transmutation of another. They bombarded the methyl ester of boric acid with neutrons obtained from a mixture of radiothorium and beryllium and so produced first 10^{-9} c.c. of helium, which was measured spectroscopically, and later, about 2.5×10^{-7} c.c. measured with a Pirani gauge.

Bjerge (*Nature*) obtained a radioactive form of helium by bombarding beryllium with fast neutrons. It was presumed to be ${}^6_2\text{He}$ which disintegrates forming ${}^6_3\text{Li}$ with the emission of beta particles. Livingood and Seaborg (*Phys. Rev.*) formed a radioactive isotope of bismuth ${}^{210}_{83}\text{Bi}$ by bombarding ${}^{209}_{83}\text{Bi}$ with 5 million volt deuterons. This isotope appeared to be identical with radium E, and if the identification is correct a natural radioactive element has at last been produced by artificial means.

Aston (*Nature*) confirmed the values of the atomic masses of elements of small atomic number which he had determined in 1935; in particular the value for ${}^1\text{H}$ (1.00812 ± 0.00004) mentioned in the ANNUAL REGISTER last year (Pt. II., p. 59). Oliphant (*Nature*) gave the masses of the light elements as far as fluorine from data supplied by Aston and by transformation experiments. The mass of the neutron was found to be 1.0091, a value which confirmed that obtained by Chadwick and Goldhaber in 1935 (ANNUAL REGISTER, *loc. cit.*). This mass is, however, so much greater than that of the proton that it is difficult to understand how the

proton and neutron can be convertible elementary particles. His results indicated the possibility of the existence of a helium isotope ${}^5\text{He}$ of mass 5.0125.

Reviewing the results of recent investigations of cosmic rays Compton (*Rev. Sci. Inst.*) stated that at sea-level they consist mainly of positrons and electrons with a small proportion of rays of great penetrating power which may consist of protons. At high altitudes there are, in addition, rays, possibly alpha particles, which are easily absorbed, but the proportion of uncharged particles, *i.e.*, photons and neutrons, is everywhere very small. Swann and his collaborators (*Phys. Rev.*) concluded that at sea-level the number of protons does not exceed 5 per cent, of the total number of "rays." Blackett and Brode (*Roy. Soc. Proc.*) used a cloud chamber to measure the energy of the rays and found that particles with energies in excess of 10^{10} electron volts were mainly positrons. Pollett and Crawshaw (*Roy. Soc. Proc.*) concluded that a large proportion of the rays which penetrate 30 metres of London clay are electrons and positrons. Millikan and Neher (*Phys. Rev.*) organised a world survey of the intensity of the rays which showed that the intensity drops from 8 to 12 per cent, as the equator is approached along different lines of longitude but, from results they obtained in conjunction with Bowen and others, it appeared that this longitude effect does not persist at 26,000 ft. At the conference on Atomic Physics held at Copenhagen in June, Heisenberg gave a quantum mechanical explanation of the formation of the showers of secondary particles produced by the rays (*Nature*, July 4).

In his Rhodes Memorial lectures, Hubble (*Nature*, Dec. 12) discussed two possible explanations of the redward shift in the spectra of the nebulae. One of these—the expanding universe hypothesis (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1931, Pt. II., p. 59)—assumes that the nebulae are receiving from us with velocities proportional to their distance, the other supposes a static universe in which the frequency of a light quantum varies uniformly with distance. Counts of the nebulae show that on the first hypothesis their spatial distribution is centrally symmetrical about our galactic system with increasing spatial density outwards, while the second leads to a uniform distribution up to the limits of the counts. Hubble considered the first distribution unlikely, and for that, and other reasons, regarded the second explanation as being the more feasible.

Mineur (*C.R., Astrophys. J.*) concluded, from considerations of equipartition of energy, that the stars cannot be more than 10^{10} years old—a result at variance with the theory of stellar evolution. Wrigley (*Science Progress*, July) gave an account of Kuiper's investigation of the white dwarf star A.C. + 70°, 8247, from which it appeared that its density may be as great as 620 tons per cubic inch, *i.e.*, a thousand times that of Sirius B hitherto the densest star known. Page (*Nature*) discussed the chemical composition of the planetary nebulae as revealed by the "forbidden" lines in their spectra. He found for the two nebulae investigated that the proportion of neon to oxygen was 10^8 times as great as on earth and the proportion of argon to oxygen 10^3 times as great.

The existence of the minor planet Anteros first detected by Reinmuth

in 1932 was confirmed by Delporte in February. From a detailed discussion by Crommelin (*J. Brit. Ast. Assoc.*) it appeared that its diameter is about a third of a mile and that its orbit brings it to within a million miles of the earth. Actual collision is quite improbable, but there may be a very close approach in February, 1954.

The solar eclipse of June 19 was observed by two British expeditions. One led by Prof. F. J. M. Stratton was situated at Kamishari in North Japan and the other, led by Prof. J. A. Carroll, at Omsk in Siberia. The Omsk party had a clear view and were able to carry out their programme, but clouds interfered with the work of Prof. Stratton's party during the second phase of the eclipse and completely obscured the corona. Observers from other countries also had a considerable measure of success, but radio observations were complicated by a world-wide magnetic disturbance which started three hours before totality.

Scheibe and Adelsberger (*Phys. Zeit.*) described the comparison of three "quartz" clocks with the mean astronomical time obtained from three observatories during the 30 months ending June, 1935. The clocks proved to be more consistent than the astronomical time and showed, in particular, an increased rate of 0.004 sec. per day in June, 1934, the inference being that the angular velocity of the earth increased by 1 part in 20 million during that period.

In his presidential address to the Royal Society on November 30, Sir William Bragg referred to the practical utility of the increase in the accuracy of X-ray crystal analysis. For example, the lattice constants of metals have been measured with an accuracy of 1 or 2 parts in 40,000 so that such measurements may be expected to serve as the most reliable indicator of the purity of metals. Determination of the distance between the atoms in the unit cell is more difficult but an accuracy of 1 per cent, is possible, and valuable information concerning the nature of valency linkage has been obtained, *e.g.*, for such substances as diamond, benzene and oxalic acid. Ingold and his collaborators (*Chem. Soc. J.*) published an important series of papers dealing with the structure of benzene. Their results indicated a plane regular hexagonal structure.

The Sixth Report of the Committee on Atomic Weights of the International Union of Chemistry (*Am. Chem. Soc. J.*) proposed three changes in the table of atomic weights, namely, the insertion of protoactinium, A.W. 231, and the alteration of the atomic weight of tantalum from 181.4 to 180.88 and of radium from 225.97 to 226.05

Finch and Quarrell (*Nature*) discussed the effect of polishing metal surfaces. Electron diffraction experiments have shown that the crystalline films of foreign metals deposited on the metal surface are dissolved by it if it is polished but not if it is etched. In this respect therefore the polished surface behaves like a liquid and the surface layer is certainly amorphous, as Beilby contended from his microscopical investigations during the period 1902-20. Electron diffraction examination of engine cylinders showed that a substantial Beilby layer is formed by "the running in" process.

Andrade (*Science Progress*) gave an account of the factors which appear

to determine the ultimate strength of metals and Mott discussed the "theory of the properties of metals and alloys" from the view-point of quantum mechanics in a book bearing that title (Clarendon Press). Chiong (*Roy. Soc. Proc.*) found Andrade's viscosity formulae to hold for sodium and potassium from temperatures in the immediate neighbourhood of their melting-points to 360° C.

W. H. Keesom and Miss A. P. Keesom (*Physica*) gave a preliminary account of their work on the thermal conductivity of liquid helium. The value at 3.3° K. is 6×10^{-5} c.g.s. centigrade units; but between 14° and 1.75° K. the conductivity of helium II appears to be 190 in the same units, i.e., two hundred times that of copper and the highest yet observed. Kurti, Laine, Rollin and Simon (*C.R.*) found that at 0.009° K. ferric and chrome alum and several other paramagnetic salts become ferromagnetic.

Roebuck (*Phys. Rev.*) used Joule-Thomson effect data obtained by himself and his colleagues together with known values of the volume and pressure coefficients of air, helium and nitrogen to calculate the ice-point on the thermodynamic scale. The results differed slightly for the different gases but the "most probable" value was $273.16 \pm 0.02^\circ$. Jacyna (*Acta Physica Polonica*) and Keesom and Tuyn (*Leiden Comm.*) discussed the same problem from different aspects. E. A. Owen and his collaborators (*Phi. Mag.*) published the results of determination of the thermal expansion of several metals by measurements of their crystal lattices over a considerable range of temperature above the normal, and Adenstedt (*Ann. d. Physik*) used the Fizeau interference method to determine thermal expansions at low temperatures. The latter was unable to confirm the anomalies in the expansion of iron, copper and nickel reported by Simon and Bergmann but found that caespar has a negative coefficient below — 172° C. and zinc blende a similar coefficient in the neighbourhood of — 253° C. Boys, in his Guthrie lecture to the Physical Society, described a new form of gas calorimeter capable of results of very high accuracy and, in its commercial form, simple, robust and of exceptionally long working life.

Beth (*Phys. Rev.*) gave a detailed account of his work on the angular momentum of circularly polarised light. His result confirmed that reported by Holburn (*Nature*) and showed that each quantum possesses an angular momentum of $\hbar/2$. Larson (*Zeit. f. Physik*) found that the refractive index of deuterium is less than that of hydrogen and that the dispersion curve is flatter. Cuthbertson (*Roy. Soc. Proc.*) obtained a similar result for the vapour of heavy water as compared with steam.

Coblentz and Stair (*J. of Research*) investigated the distribution of energy in the ultra-violet solar spectrum and showed that, when the data are corrected for atmospheric absorption, the distribution curve is quite unlike that characteristic of a black body at 6,000° K. as is sometimes assumed. Atkins and Poole (*Roy. Soc. Proc.*) used a selenium cell to find the luminous efficiency of daylight. On an average it was found to give 100 lumens per watt of total radiant energy. Skylight gave from 158 lumens per watt for light blue to 48 for heavy grey and direct sunlight up to 120 for high sun in summer. Richardson (*J. Sci. Inst.*) devised

an automatic photoelectric cell method for finding the concentration of finely divided solids undergoing analysis by sedimentation.

Lecturing at the Royal Institution in January Mees gave a detailed account of the use of sensitising dyes in photography. Xenocyanine, first obtained in 1932, made it possible to photograph the spectrum down to a wave-length of 11,000 Å., while using a new penta-carbocyanine, due largely to König of Dresden, Dr. Babcock at Mount Wilson photographed the solar spectrum as far as 13,000-14,000 Å.

Land (*Nature*, Aug. 22) developed a new device for producing plane polarised light. Available commercially under the name Polaroid it consisted of a layer of ultramicroscopic needle-shaped crystals of herapathite (an iodosulphate of quinine possessing the same properties as tourmaline) oriented with their axes parallel on a cellulose film.

Much work was done on the formation of electron images, *e.g.*, on the production of an extended image by Zworykin and Morton (*J.O.S.A.*) and on the electron equivalent of the immersion lens by Brüche and Poole (*Zeit.f. tech. Physik*).

H. Fletcher (*J. Franklin Inst.*) showed that the loudness of a musical note depends on its intensity, frequency and overtone structure, that its pitch depends on its frequency and its loudness, and that the timbre may be changed by large changes in intensity. Snow (*J. Acoustical Soc. of Am.*) found that for the frequency range 75-1,000 cycles per sec. and loudness levels from 20 to 120 decibels increase of the loudness of a note lowers its pitch.

A Departmental Committee of the Ministry of Transport issued a report proposing limitations of the noise made by various types of motor vehicles. In particular it was suggested that an overall loudness of 90 phons at a lateral distance of 18 ft. should be the maximum permitted for a private car running on full throttle at 30 m.p.h.

L. C. and C. M. van Atta, Northrup and van de Graaff (*Phys. Rev.*) described the Round Hill revolving belt electrostatic machine and the electrostatic voltmeter used with it. The machine gives a potential difference of about 5 million volts before sparking occurs and a current output of 1-1 milliamperes. Ulrey (*Physics*) describes various new types of electron tubes and their uses, as for example the "ignitron" gas triode used in the welding industry which passes currents up to 2,000 amperes. Barlow (*Proc. Phys. Soc.*) showed that the electrical resistance of thin gold films increases very slightly at current densities in excess of 2 million amperes per sq. cm. and that the increase becomes greater as the temperature rises. Curtis, Moon and Sparks (*J. of Research*) described a very elaborate re-determination of the "absolute" ohm and considered that they had attained an accuracy within 1 part in 50,000. Caldwell (*Elect. J.*) investigated the velocity of ground radio waves. His preliminary results indicated a velocity about two-thirds that of light.

The B.B.C. commenced to broadcast vision and sound from the new transmitter at the Alexandra Palace on November 2, using, for vision, a peak power of 17 kilowatts at 100 per cent, modulation. Several firms placed suitable receiving sets on the market but their necessarily high

price (about 85 guineas) put reception beyond the means of the general public.

The meeting of the British Association opened at Blackpool on September 9 when Sir Josiah Stamp gave his presidential address entitled " The Impact of Science upon Society."

Other meetings held during the year where the International Congress of Refrigeration in Holland (June), the World Power Conference at Washington (September), the International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics in Edinburgh (September), the Harvard Tercentenary (September), and a conference on Atmospheric Ozone organised by the Royal Meteorological Society at Oxford (September).

FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN 1936.

WITH few exceptions economic recovery made marked progress in the world in 1936. In Great Britain employment reached the highest point on record, as many as 11,132,000 insured workers being in employment, while the number of unemployed workers dropped from 1,868,565 to 1,628,719, which compares with 2,955,000, the peak figure recorded in January, 1933. In some industries there was a definite shortage of skilled labour towards the close of the year. Business activity in 1936 was on the whole about 8 per cent, greater than in 1935, the previous best year. Production of steel reached the unprecedentedly high total of 11,600,000 tons which compares with 9,858,700 tons in 1935. This record production was absorbed mainly by domestic users, for exports dropped to half the 1929 figure. No industry of importance failed to share in the recovery movement. The long depressed coal industry increased its output to the highest figure since 1930, and its prospects were brighter at the close of 1936 than they had been for years, thanks to internal reorganisation and planning. The Lancashire cotton industry, which like the coal industry had found adaptation to post-war conditions extremely difficult, made a better show in 1936, thanks to measures of rationalisation including price-fixing agreements. The electric supply industry is probably as good an index of industrial and commercial experience as any ; in 1936 the output of energy by the Grid was 15 per cent, greater than in 1935, the total units produced and sold being 20,220,000,000, an unprecedented figure. A striking improvement took place in the shipping and shipbuilding industries. The rise in wheat and other commodities which was the outstanding event during the year had a markedly stimulating effect on the movement of international trade, even though this was still restricted to cash or barter transactions, the suspension of international financing making trade on credit virtually impossible outside bilateral or compensation agreements, such as Germany negotiated with a number of countries. There were several factors at work which caused the rise in prices of primary products. The intense domestic activity in countries like Britain and America meant larger buying of raw materials, drought and restriction schemes in the United States and other countries reduced the production of wheat, maize, and other products ; and as prices rose the greater became the anxiety of buyers to fulfil their requirements before prices rose still further. The increased purchasing power of the primary producing countries which resulted from the higher prices they received for their products led to larger purchases of manufactured goods and the demand for shipping space therefore increased in both directions. The larger absorption of tonnage put new

heart into the shipowning fraternity, who proceeded to order new ships with more freedom than they had done for years. That the year was a good one for trade and industry is apparent from the results of some 2,000 companies whose accounts were examined at the close of the year. These showed an increase in profits of about 13 per cent, over those recorded in 1935. In the monetary sphere the most important event of the year was the break-up of the gold bloc in September. The immediate cause of the break-up was the growing embarrassment of the French Government led by M. Blum. This Government had resolutely opposed devaluation, while at the same time pursuing a policy which was bound sooner or later to lead to devaluation. It introduced a social and industrial policy of a revolutionary character which increased the price of labour and the costs of production in every industry and trade, and as French prices were already above world prices it was a foregone conclusion that the franc would have to be reduced in value in order that French business should become profitable once more. In September M. Blum's Government decided to devalue the franc, and contrived to persuade both the United States and Great Britain to join with France in making her action appear like an international movement towards the stabilisation of currencies. France passed a monetary law, not definitely fixing the gold value of the new franc but giving the Government power to fix it somewhere between 43 and 49 milligrammes of gold. Through her Exchange Fund France pegged the rate at about 46 milligrammes. This proved to be a mistake, for such was the lack of confidence in French policy that every one assumed that the franc would fall to the lower figure. Consequently the huge amounts of French capital which had flown from the country, estimated at about 1,000,000,000l., refused to return, and the object of M. Blum's Government in devaluing the franc was defeated. Later the Government was compelled to modify its policy and to adopt a less hostile attitude towards Capital. The three Governments issued a declaration that they would refrain from competitive currency depreciation, would work towards greater stability of the exchanges, and towards the freedom of international trade. These declarations were later adhered to by the Swiss, Dutch, and Belgian Governments, and an entirely new experiment in controlling the world's chief exchanges was started. The first four months' working was highly satisfactory, but it failed to stop the flight of French capital, which continued to leave the country in large amounts. As time passed it was perceived by those closely associated with the enterprise that there were dangers and risks inherent in this type of exchange control. The more skilful the technical control of the exchanges the greater became the danger that the real tendencies of economic movements might be obscured. The defect of a managed exchange is that it may be so successfully worked as to hide the very things it should expose. A better judgment on the results of internationally managed exchanges should be possible after a full year's working. Fortune favoured operations in the first part of the period, but it may not always do so. Another important development in monetary affairs was the action of the American banking authorities

in reducing the risks of an inflationary movement by increasing the reserve requirements of the banks so as to reduce the basis of credit. They also took steps to sterilise gold imports in order to prevent a further extension of the credit base. In this matter they were largely guided by the principles and practices of the Bank of England in controlling credit. The real interest in this development lay in the fact that it represented a complete reversal of American ideas. At first, in 1933, the Federal Reserve Board was anxious to make money as plentiful and cheap as possible. In 1936 they realised the danger of carrying this policy too far, and took steps to restrict the abundance of credit.

Business recovery in America in 1936 was very marked. The recovery movement dated from May, 1935, when the Supreme Court of the United States declared invalid the National Industrial Recovery Act, and thereby released American business from the fears that had overwhelmed it. Enterprise replaced stagnation. Two great droughts and the Government's crop reduction measures had got rid of surplus crops, and this freshened the whole life of agriculture. As agriculture improved its position, industry, especially heavy industry, revived. A substantial start was made in 1936 in re-equipping and modernising railway rolling stock. Residential building increased rapidly. Steel production in November was higher than in any month since September, 1929, and at the end of the year the order books of the steel companies were fuller than they had been for seven years. The motor-car industry produced 3,120,000 cars or 23 per cent, more than in 1935. The textile industries enjoyed a boom. Unemployment was reduced by more than one million. The peak figure was 16,000,000 in March, 1933, and at the close of 1936 the total had dropped to less than 9,000,000. This, however, showed a big increase on the average in 1929 which was only 1,132,000. The various Government agencies gave employment on emergency works to about 3,500,000. The income of the farming community was put at 9,530,000,000 dollars. The country's gold stock rose to still higher figures, and at the close of the year exceeded 10,000,000,000 dollars (2,000,000,000l.). Naturally interest rates remained very low with such an abundance of money. The Government was able to borrow on 13-17 year bonds at 2¼ per cent., and on 5 year notes at 1¼ per cent. Railway revenues increased by 17 per cent., and net revenues by over 30 per cent. Public utility companies increased their revenues by 10 per cent. The index of Stock Exchange securities rose from 112 to 145.

In France the story of 1936 is very different. The New Popular Government, headed by M. Blum, introduced new labour, economic, and financial policies which were very disturbing to business interests, especially as they were followed by labour troubles of various kinds. Wholesale prices rose sharply from 347 in 1935 to 473 by November, 1936, a part of this rise, about 40 points, being due to the devaluation of the franc. Although unemployment figures dropped from 439,260 to 410,780 during the year, trade, especially foreign trade, was depressed and unremunerative. The adverse trade balance was double as large as in 1935. The Finance Minister introduced a Budget indicating a deficit of about 45,000,000l.,

which had a depressing influence on sentiment. In Germany the chief feature of the year was an intensification of domestic activity, largely on armament and road work, and a further deterioration of the foreign trade position. In most other European countries 1936 was a period of unsensational recovery.

Money Market and Banking.—There was not much change in monetary conditions in Lombard Street in 1936. Money was very abundant and rates remained very low. Long term rates, however, stopped falling. The banks did not have to add much to their already large investment holdings, and the ordinary investor found the yields on Government stocks too low to be tempting. Consequently the gilt-edged market was increasingly neglected, and prices declined. Deposits of the banks increased from month to month with marked regularity for the greater part of the year, and at the close they stood at record figures. This expansion was due chiefly to imports of gold, mostly from France. The turnover of the London Bankers' Clearing House rose by 3,056,823,000l. (or 8.1 per cent.) to 40,616,574,000l., a clear indication of the increase in trade and business generally. The Bank of England's note circulation rose considerably, and on December 23 reached 474,115,561l., a new high record. Part of this increase was due to French hoarding of Bank of England notes and part was due to more employment at home necessitating the use of more notes to pay wages. In December the Bank of England announced an exceptional gold purchase, 65,000,000l. in one day; 60,000,000l. was used to reduce the fiduciary issue from 260,000,000l. to 200,000,000l. The British Government issued a 2³/₄ per cent. Funding Loan at 98½ in November for 100,000,000l. for the purpose of reducing the floating debt. It met with a poor response. The banks had a more prosperous year in 1936, thanks to larger deposits and a better demand for loans which at the close of the year were about 80,000,000l. more than in 1935, but the banks were unable to increase their dividends.

MONEY AND DISCOUNT RATES.

1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
BANK RATE AVERAGE.				
£ s. d. 3 0 4	£ s. d. 2 0 0	1 £ s. d. 2 0 0	1 £ s. d. 2 0 0	£ s. d. 2 0 0
DISCOUNT RATE (THREE MONTHS BANK BILLS) AVERAGE.				
1 17 3	0 13 8	0 16 4	0 11 7	0 11 10
BANKS* DEPOSIT RATE AVERAGE.				
1 5 4	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0
SHORT LOAN RATE AVERAGE.				
1 17 3	0 16 9	0 17 1	0 10 0	0 10 0
TREASURY BILL (TENDER) RATE AVERAGE.				
1 13 2.9	0 11 9.37	0 14 6.19	0 10 6.44	0 11 6.83

BANK OF ENGLAND RETURNS.

	End Dec., 1936.	End Dec., 1935.	End Dec., 1934.
Coin and bullion -	314,212,259	200,609,014	192,788,779
Note circulation -	467,406,210	411,750,338	405,163,800
Public deposits -	12,134,969	9,966,051	9,878,364
Other deposits:—			
Bankers' -	150,580,188	30,542,800	89,139,575
Other accounts	39,191,159	37,289,950	36,404,582
Reserve (notes and coin)	46,806,049	48,858,676	47,624,979
Ratio	23 ³ / ₁₆ per cent	27½ per cent.	35 ³ / ₁₆ per cent.
Government securities	134,480,883	110,365,001	87,541,413
Other securities:—			
Discounts and advances -	17,467,197	23,655,425	7,578,577
Securities	21,156,924	12,953,346	10,667,289

LONDON BANKERS' CLEARING HOUSE RETURNS.

	1936.	1935.	Inc. or Dec.
£	£	£	£
Grand total	40,616,574,000	37,559,751,000	3,056,823,000 (8.1 per cent.)
Town clearing -	35,039,356,000	32,443,575,000	2,595,781,000 (8.0 per cent.)
Metropolitan clearing	2,039,620,000	1,887,112,000	152,508,000 (8.0 per cent.)
Country clearing	3,537,598,000	3,229,064,000	308,534,000 (9.5 per cent.)

LONDON CLEARING BANKS' MONTHLY RETURNS.

		(000's omitted.)			
		Deposits.	Bills discounted.	Advances.	Investments.
1936		£	£	£	£
January		2,164,238	345,955	811,810	630,443
February		2,122,507	294,452	824,120	629,409
March		2,108,283	252,038	849,161	635,051
April		2,153,623	268,332	864,331	636,855
May.		2,185,256	209,198	865,437	639,482
June-		2,228,676	328,953	873,579	643,977
July-		2,243,644	348,474	879,855	638,762
August		2,245,889	345,211	872,115	641,047
September		2,256,638	343,558	877,330	648,102
October		2,280,415	350,680	887,881	655,412
November		2,287,210	328,642	890,224	655,565
December		2,315,366	322,237	884,583	659,809

PROVINCIAL CLEARING FIGURES.

Town.	Amount, 1936.	Increase on 1935.	
			per cent,
Birmingham -	139,647,000	17,945,000	or 14.7
Bradford	51,430,000	4,381,000	9.3
Bristol	66,606,000	5,248,000	8.5
Hull	42,837,000	3,778,000	9.6
Leeds	48,321,000	1,893,000	4
Leicester -	38,013,000	3,490,000	10.1
Liverpool	325,767,000	30,896,000	10.4
Manchester	533,679,000	32,124,000	6.4
Newcastle-on-Tyne	69,218,000	1,007,000	1.4
Nottingham	26,337,000	1,954,000	8
Sheffield	52,226,000	7,969,000	18

Floating Debt.	Dec. 31, 1936.	Dec. 31, 1935.
	£	£
Ways and Means Advances:—		
From the Bank of England -	57,000,000	37,000,000
From Public Depts. -	27,790,000	33,075,000
Treasury Bills	766,195,000	865,920,000
Total -	850,985,000	935,995,000

New Capital Issues.—There was a marked increase in activity in the new capital issue market. The total amount of new money raised was 217,222,000l., against 182,824,000l. in 1935. In 1931, when the depression was at its worst, the total was only 88,600,000l., but in 1928, a year of activity, the total was 362,519,000l.

	1936.	1935.	1934.
	£	£	£
United Kingdom	190,808,000	161,934,000	106,741,000
India and Ceylon	1,090,000	828,000	1,133,000
Other British Countries -	22,264,000	17,210,000	39,258,000
Foreign Countries	3,060,000	2,852,000	3,058,000
Total -	217,222,000	182,824,000	150,190,000
Percentage for Oversea Borrowers	12.2	11.4	28.9

The Foreign Exchanges.—The chief event of the year was the breakdown of the gold *bloc*, and the signing of a monetary declaration by Britain, France, and the United States to co-operate towards exchange stability. Belgium, Switzerland, and Holland have declared their adherence to this declaration under which each country with the help of an Exchange Fund, tries to keep its currency stable in terms of the others. Latvia left the gold standard with the breakdown of the gold *bloc*, and

linked her currency to sterling at 25.22 lats to the pound. Greece did the same thing, and fixed her exchange against the pound instead of the franc at 545 drachma to the pound. Turkey also adopted the pound instead of the franc as the basis of her currency. Italy devalued her currency, the gold par of which was reduced from 7.919 grammes of fine

Place.	December 31, 1935.	December 31, 1935.	Highest, 1936.	Lowest 1936.
New York	4.91 ¹ / ₈	4.93	5.07 ¹ / ₄ (23/9)	4.87 ¹ / ₈
Montreal -	4.90 ⁷ / ₈	4.95 ⁷ / ₈	5.06 ¹ / ₂ (9/9)	4.86 ¹ / ₄ (10/11)
Paris	105 ⁹ / ₆₄	74 ²⁹ / ₆₄	106* (22/10)	74 ³ / ₈ (1/1)
Brussels -	2915	29.25	3002 (23/9)	28.80 (6/11)
Milan	935 ¹ / ₁₆	61 ¹ / ₄	93.50 (8/10)	61* (1/1)
Switzerland	21.37 ¹ / ₂	15.15 ¹ / ₂	21.57 (30/9)	15.06 (18/2)
Athens	547*	519	560 (7/10)	515 (20/3)
Helsingfors	226 ³ / ₄	227 ¹ / ₈	227 ¹ / ₂ (16/1)	226 (6/11)
Madrid	Nom.	35 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	62 (10/9)	35* (1/1)
Lisbon	no*	110*	110 ¹ / ₂ (24/11)	109 ⁷ / ₈ (1/1)
Amsterdam	8.96 ³ / ₄	7.25 ¹ / ₂	9.40 (5/10)	7.24 ¹ / ₂ (1/1)
Berlin	12.20	12.24 ¹ / ₂	12.90 (28/9)	12.10 (6/11)
Vienna	26*	26*	28 (11/6)	25* (1/1)
Budapest -	16 ¹ / ₂	16 ¹ / ₂	28 (6/7)	25* (29/9)
Prague	140*	118*	140* (28/12)	118* (1/1)
Danzig	26	26*	27* (8/9)	25* (8/10)
Warsaw -	26	26*	27 ¹ / ₈ (8/10)	25* (28/9)
Riga	25*	15*	25 ¹ / ₂ (30/9)	14 ¹ / ₂ (24/9)
Bucharest	670	665	685 (3/10)	657 (11/11)
Istanbul -	6.13	6.14	6.34 (29/9)	6.11 (28/11)
Belgrade -	213	216	228 (16/6)	208 (7/11)
Kovno	29	29*	30* (16/6)	28* (6/11)
Sofia	405	400	430 (15/9)	385 a/1
Tallinn -	181 ¹ / ₄	18 ¹ / ₄	18 ¹ / ₂ (1/1)	17 ¹ / ₂ (1/1)
Oslo	19.90	19.90	19.95 (1/1)	19.86 (1/1)
Stockholm	19.40	19.40	19.45 (1/1)	19.35 (1/1)
Copenhagen	22.40	22.40	22.45 (1/1)	22.35 (1/1)
Alexandria	97*	97 ¹ / ₂	97 ¹ / ₈ (1/1)	97 ³ / ₈ (1/1)
Bombay -	1/6 ⁵ / ₃₂	1/6*	1/6 ³ / ₁₆ (1/1)	1/6* (29/1)
Calcutta -	1/6 ⁵ / ₃₂	1/6*	1/6* (1/1)	1/6 ³ / ₃₂ (29/1)
Madras	1/6*	1/6*	1/6* (1/1)	1/6 ³ / ₃₂ (29/1)
Hong-Kong	1/2	1/3 ³ / ₄	1/4 (11/1)	1/2** (12/9)
Kobe	1/1 ²⁵ / ₃₂	1/2*	1/2* (26/5)	1/1 ³ / ₄ (31/12)
Shanghai -	1/2 ³⁵ / ₆₄	1/2*	1/2 ⁷ / ₈ (1/1)	1/2 ³ / ₁₆ (22/9)
Singapore -	2/4*	2/4*	2/4 ¹ / ₄ (3/1)	2/4 (1/1)
Batavia -	8.91 ¹ / ₂	7.22 ³ / ₄	9.37 (5/10)	7.78 (29/9)
Rio de Janeiro	2 ¹⁵ / ₁₆ d.	2 ²¹ / ₃₂ d.	2 ³¹ / ₃₂ d (7/12)	2 ³ / ₈ d. (1/1)
Buenos Aires -	1605	18.25/32d.	18.90 (3/7)	1600 (17/12)
Valparaiso	131 ¹ / ₂	127	136 (27/5)	127 (1/1)
Montevideo	26 ¹ / ₄ d.	22 ¹ / ₄ d.	39 ⁷ / ₈ 9/1*	38 ¹ / ₄ d (9/9)*
Lima	19.50	19.85	20.50 (9/9)	19.00 (28/12)
Mexico	18	17 ³ / ₄	18-90 (27/8)	17.25 (1/1)
Manila	2/0 ¹³ / ₁₆	2/0 ¹ / ₄	2/0 ¹³ / ₁₆ (18/11)	1/11 ¹ / ₁₆ (9/9)

gold per 100 lire to 4.677 grammes. There was a notable improvement in the value of Argentine currency during the year owing to the improvement in the cereal markets, and the Brazilian milreis also appreciated.

Gold and Silver.—The highest price of gold during the year 1936 was 142s. 8¹/₂d. an ounce (November 9), and the lowest 137s. 2¹/₂d. (September 23).

* Official rate.

The amount sold in the open bullion market was 91,737,000?. against 107,408,000l. in 1935. The Bank of England bought 113,609,863?. of gold from the Exchange Equalisation Fund. Total imports of gold amounted to 314,295,000?. against 244,091,000?, while exports dropped from 174,025,000?. to 86,620,000?. There was again considerable buying of gold by foreigners chiefly for hoarding purposes. Hoarded stocks of privately owned gold were estimated at about 200,000,000?. Silver fluctuated between 19d. and 22¹⁵/₁₆d. an ounce. The highest price in 1935 was 36¹/₄d. when American buying was at its height. Shipments were smaller than in 1935. Imports totalled 17,058,000?. against 40,506,000?. in 1935, and exports were 18,656,000?. against 54,896,000?. Shipments to America dropped from 52,350,000?. to 7,008,000?. Indian buying of silver revived on a fairly large scale, her imports rising from 687,000?. in 1935 to 9,402,000?. in 1936.

Stock Exchange.—On the Stock Exchange the year was very active with business at times on a record level. Apart from British Government and other fixed interest stocks the year was a period of rising prices. In short fortune smiled broadly on investors and speculators alike. Taking the value of 365 representative securities comprising the *Bankers' Magazine* list, this showed an appreciation on the year of 370,664,000l. or 5.3 per cent, on a total of 7,394,653,000l. The level of values at the close of 1936 was the highest for 15 years. The number of new companies registered in 1936 was larger than in any previous year. The total was 13,742 or 639 more than the previous record in 1935. The total amount of capital of these new companies was 179,800,000?.

Commodity Prices.—The year was essentially a commodity year, for the level of wholesale prices reached the highest figure since 1930. On December 31 *The Times* index number of wholesale prices was 120.8 (1913=100) and represented a rise of 33.8 per cent, above the low level of 90.3 recorded in June, 1932. Down to 1933 prices had fallen almost continuously since 1924. In 1936 prices rose 12.4 per cent, following a rise of 6.8 per cent, in 1935. The cause of this rise was increased consumption of the primary products which brought about a marked improvement in the statistical position. The rise was most marked in industrial materials, but cereals had a strong rise partly owing to crop failures in North America. The table on the following page is taken from *The Times Annual Financial and Commercial Review*.

Tin-plates.—The general improvement in trade and industry was reflected in the tinplate industry. World production and export trade was greater than in 1935, and Great Britain's share of the latter increased from 330,000 tons to 352,000 tons.

Shipbuilding and Shipping.—The shipbuilding and shipping industries experienced the best year they have had since 1930. Construction work begun during the year amounted to 1,081,000 tons (excluding considerable naval work); in 1935 the corresponding figure was 682,000 tons. Total home tonnage launched amounted to 855,000 tons. It is interesting to compare this figure with those for 1935, 1930, and 1913, which were,

Commodities.	Dec. 30,1936.	Dec. 30,1935.	Average, 1913.
FOOD.			
Wheat, Eng., Gaz. Av. •	• 1121b.	9s. <i>1d.</i>	7s. 5d.
„ No. 2, N.Man. -	• 496 1b.	52* <i>ed.</i>	37* <i>3d.</i>
Flour, Ldn. Straights •	- 280 1b.	40s. <i>6d.</i>	27* <i>ed.</i>
Barley, Eng., Gaz. Av. -	- 112 1b.	9s. 9d.	7s. 8d.
Oats, Eng., Gaz. A.T. •	• 112 1b.	7s. <i>2d.</i>	6s. 10d.
Maize, La Plata, ex-ship	- 4801b.	24s. 9d.	24* <i>3d.</i>
Rice, No. 2, Burma	- cwt.	9s. 9d.	9s. 9d.
Beef, English sides	- 81b.	4* <i>2d.</i>	4* <i>3d.</i>
„ S.A., chilled hqr. -	.. 81b.	3s. 8d.	3* <i>5c?</i>
Mutton, N.Z., frozen	- 81b.	3* <i>8c?</i>	3* <i>3d.</i>
Bacon, Irish lean -	- cwt.	95*	77*
„ Danish	- cwt.	92*	77*
Fish	• stone	5*	3* <i>3d.</i>
Eggs, English	- 120	17*	12*
Sugar, Eng., ref., cubes -	- cwt.	23s. 1½d.	18* <i>3d.</i>
„ W. Ind. cryst.	- cwt.	18*	16*
Tea, N. Ind., Auctn. Avg.	. lb.	1s. 0½d.	9½d.
Cocoa, f.f., Accra, f.o.b. -	- cwt.	48* <i>9c?</i>	55*
Cheese, Eng., Cheddar, fine	- cwt.	80*	73s. 9d.
Butter, Danish,	- cwt.	108*	125*
Lard, Amer., ref., boxes	- cwt.	73* <i>3d.</i>	56* <i>3d.</i>
Potatoes, English, good •	- ton	7l. 10s.	3l. 19s. 3d.
MATERIALS.			
Pig iron, Hemt., M'bro*	- ton	97* <i>ed.</i>	72s. 8d.
„ Cleve'd, No. 3	- ton	81*	58* <i>2d.</i>
Iron, marked bars, Staff.	- ton	13/.	9l. 12s. 6d.
„ Crown bars -	- ton	10l. 10s.	7l. 15s.
Steel rails, heavy -	- ton	8/ 10*.	6/ 12*
„ boiler plates	- ton	10l.	8/ 16* <i>3d.</i>
„ galvzd., sheets	- ton	13/ 15*.	11l. 7s.
„ tinplates	- box	19* <i>9c?</i>	13* <i>ed.</i>
Copper, electrolytic	- ton	53l.	71l. 15s.
„ strong sheets	- ton	81/.	85/.
Tin, stand., cash -	- ton	233/ 5*.	200/ 2* <i>ed.</i>
Lead, English	- ton	30/.	19/ 2* <i>ed.</i>
Spelter, foreign	- ton	19l. 17s. 6d.	22l. 10s.
Coal, Lge. steam, Cardiff	- ton	19s. 4½d.	20* <i>ed.</i>
„ best gas, Durham -	• ton	16s 6d.	15* <i>3d.</i>
„ best hse., Yorks -	- ton	23*	17s. 6d.
Pet'l'm., Amer., rfd., brl.	•	9½d.	<i>Sid.</i>
Cotton, Am., mid.	• lb.	7.04d.	7.12d.
„ Egypt, f.g.f., Sak.	- lb.	10.14d.	9.84d.
„ yarn, 32's twist -	- lb.	11¾d.	10½d.
„ 60's „ Egpt. •	- lb.	18½d.	17½d.
„ shirtings, 8¾ lb. •	• piece	9s. 8d.	8*.
prnt., 17 X 17.32 in.	125		
yards	- piece	25*.	19*.
Wool, gsy., merino, 60%	. lb.	15½d.	10¾d.
„ gsy., crossbd., 46%	- lb.	12¾d.	11½d.
„ tops, 64'8 warp -	- lb.	37.	29c/.
„ tops, 40's prepd.	- lb.	20id.	15¾d.
Flax, Livonian, Z.K.	• ton	71l.	38/.
Hemp, Grade K •	- ton	34/ 15*.	29/.
Jute, first marks, shipmt.	- ton	19l. 1s. 3d.	30/ 15*.
Hides, Eng., Ox, first	. lb.	6¾d.	<i>lid.</i>
„ Cape, dry	- lb.	8½d.	11½d.
Timber, gd. deal, 3 x 9 -	• stand	19/ 10*.	15/.
„ W'cot, oak, 1 in.	- foot	1s. 3d.	10d.
Cement, best Portland •	- ton	11 19s.	36*.
Rubber, Plant, sheet	- lb.	10½/16d.	3s. 1d.
Linseed oil -	• ton	30/ 10*.	24l. 15s.
Soda crystals, bags	• ton	5l. 5s.	2l. 2s. 6d.
Index number, Food		123.5	100
Index number, Materials		119.3	100
Total index number		120.8	100

respectively, 499,000 tons, 1,479,000 tons, and 1,932,000 tons. One of the less desirable aspects of the industry is the very small and shrinking quantity (70,220 tons out of a total of 963,000 tons) of work for foreign—including Empire—registration. The improvement in shipping was very marked in the latter part of the year. The extremely wet weather prevalent in South America during the first half of the year hampered shipments of grain from that country. Tonnage lay idle for weeks awaiting loading and serious losses were sustained. In the northern hemisphere the rains continued and so completely ruined crops that all the big exporting countries were forced to become importers. As a result the large wheat reserves of Canada were drawn upon, and combined with the activity which was occasioned by the dry weather which came at midsummer to the Argentine, tonnage was in brisk demand and rates had to be revised. The minimum and maximum rates obtained for the year were 79.05 in February (1929 = 100) and 127.50 in December.

Iron and Steel.—1936 was a record year for the production of steel in Great Britain. The total for the year was 11,698,200 tons, absorbed for the most part domestically, and, in particular, by the re-armament programmes, transport industries, and the building trade. The production of pig iron increased by 1,261,600 tons to 7,685,000 tons.

Coal.—The estimated output of coal was 228,000,000 tons, an increase of 5,800,000 tons. Exports declined from 55,500,000 tons to 50,200,000 tons. A favourable balance of roughly 10,000,000l. was shown by the industry on the working for the year, one of the major contributory causes being a better relationship between prices and production costs.

Insurance.—The popularity of insurance did not diminish during 1936, in spite of the anticipated reduction in the scales of bonuses and such adverse events as the increase in income tax. On the contrary the life offices recorded new records for new contracts.

Textiles.—The wool industry enjoyed a further improvement in its position. Fixed price retailing had the effect of producing an increase in blended products to offset rising production costs. There was an increase in the production of finished goods for export, whereas in every other class of export products, business declined. The total fall was from 56,143,000 lb. to 46,567,000 lb. Net imports of wool amounted to 649,575,000 lb. against 605,023,000 lb. in 1935. While domestic business in the cotton industry improved during the year, Lancashire failed to regain any important proportion of her one-time enormous export trade. Both imports and exports of rayon were down on the previous year. This unfortunate setback to a promising industry was traceable in part to the bad weather of the summer. Manufacturers reduced quality and price in the hope of stimulating trade, but this policy was carried so far that even low prices were not able to mitigate the very poor quality of many products. The public, therefore, turned its attention to wool, and its by-products, and to cotton.

Oil and Rubber.—The production of petroleum further increased from 225,632,000 tons in 1935 to 243,415,000 tons (approximately). In 1921

world production totalled only 105,019,000 tons. There was a distinct improvement in the rubber position. Stocks were reduced by 173,000 tons. The Regulation Scheme was responsible for the improvement, for it met increased demands in a regular way.

Motor, Aircraft, and Films.—The motor industry continued to flourish, and it was necessary to import labour from the distressed areas to cope with requirements. Registration of vehicles increased from 397,488 to 449,339. Exports also increased, amounting to 51,213, valued at 5,816,261l. against 43,914 and 5,479,678l. in 1935. These values do not include the export of accessories, etc., which were more than equal to these sums. Exports of motor cycles increased from 18,044 to 20,461 vehicles. The aircraft industry continued to expand, but not so much in the way of civil production as in the capacity to produce. This was done in response to the demands made by the extensive re-armament programme. Owing to the dual demands in this direction for both capacity and different construction, companies found themselves unable to deliver all orders for commercial and private machines so that in some cases these went abroad.

The film industry is still prone to the "growing pains" of youth, but when it is observed that the total footage of film produced amounted to 48,852,187—Great Britain's share being 10,030,183 feet—and that in 1928 it barely touched 5,000,000 feet, it is obvious that in spite of its besetting problems it is a rapidly expanding industry. It is an unfortunate fact that the standard of British films remains low, but it is hoped that the report of the Moyne Committee will eliminate this fault and thereby purge the market of "quota quickies," large quantities of which atrocities were produced at the instigation of American concerns in order to comply with the quota laid down for exhibition in British cinemas.

The Balance of Payments.—The outstanding feature of Britain's foreign commerce in 1936 was a considerable increase in imports with only a slight increase in exports. Higher prices for cereals and other primary products were largely responsible for the big increase in import values. The year's excess of imports over exports was 347,000,0002., the highest figure since 1931. The Board of Trade, however, estimated that the improvement in shipping added 20,000,0002. to the nation's invisible income, and that Britain's investments abroad yielded in interest and dividends 15,000,000l. more than in 1935. Royalties on foreign films, chiefly American, cost the country between 5,000,0002. and 6,000,0002. The net result of the country's international trading and financial transactions in 1936 was a deficit of 19,000,0002., compared with a favourable balance in 1935 of 33,000,0002.

Results for the past three years (1934 and 1935 figures adjusted) are shown in the following table :—

BALANCES OF CREDITS AND DEBITS IN THE TRANSACTIONS (OTHER THAN THE LENDING AND REPAYMENT OF CAPITAL) BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND ALL OTHER COUNTRIES.

Particulars.	In Million £.		
	1934.	1936.	1936.
Excess of imports of merchandise and silver bullion and specie	294	260	347
Estimated excess of Government payments made overseas *		2	2
Total	294	262	349
Estimated excess of Government receipts from overseas *	7		
Estimated net national shipping income †	70	76	96
Estimated net income from overseas investments	170	180	196
Estimated net receipts from commissions, etc.	30	30	30
Estimated net receipts from other sources	10	10	10
Total	287	296	330
Estimated total credit or debit balance on items specified above	- 7	+ 33	- 19

* Including some items on loan accounts.

† Including disbursements by foreign ships in British ports.

LAW.

THE year 1936 was less eventful from the legal than from the general standpoint. The decline in King's Bench actions continued, arrears in that Division were practically wiped out, and the state of business was such that there proved to be no necessity for any curtailment of the Long Vacation. In the lists of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division, however, there were, at the close of 1936, heavy Divorce arrears, in some part due, doubtless, to the fact that demands were made on the time of the President of the Division by the sitting of a third Court of Appeal.

The year saw no changes in the Law Lords or in the personnel of the Supreme Court, but three well-known past holders of office passed away in the persons of Lord Trevethin, for a short time Lord Chief Justice, Lord Hanworth, who had just a year earlier resigned the Mastership of the Rolls, and the veteran Lord Darling, a former puisne judge of the King's Bench Division. The Lord Chancellor, Lord Hailsham, was ill during the greater part of the year, and Sir Thomas Inskip, K.C., exchanged the post of Attorney-General for that of Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence, being succeeded in the senior law officership by Sir Donald Somervell, the then Solicitor-General, who, in turn, was succeeded by Sir Terence O'Connor.

Early in the year the Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Peel reported very thoroughly on King's Bench business, making a number of more or less drastic recommendations. To these no effect was given, except in so far as the appointment of additional committees was concerned, the urgency for reorganisation having been in some degree lessened by the state of affairs already referred to. The Commission took as the core of their terms of reference the promotion of greater despatch, and, although interpreting the term sufficiently liberally to cover the " regular and even flow " of business, did not feel justified in discussing reforms, such as a reduction in the cost of litigation, which did not bear directly on despatch. Their general conclusion was that, while the administration of justice in the Division had reached a very high level, improved method and system was a pressing need. The more even spread of circuit work was recommended, as making possible improved organisation in London, to the compassing of which end the Commission recommended, *inter alia*, fixed dates for trials. The most controversial of their recommendations, and one which found little favour with the Profession as a whole, was the appointment by the Lord Chancellor of a whole-time administrative expert as managerial officer, to be responsible, under the direction of the Lord Chief Justice, for the organisation of business. As

likely to cut down the length of trials, they favoured a restriction of the issues to those seriously contested, a restriction of the material produced as evidence and some relaxation in the rules of evidence. As far as devolution was concerned, the Commission were, in common with the Business of Courts Committee of three years before, opposed to any increase of County Court jurisdiction, but thought that, given legally qualified chairmen, there might be matter for investigation in the case of Quarter Sessions. Committees set up later in the year reported in favour of certain Assize changes and of the addition to Quarter Sessions jurisdiction, if and when chairmen should be legally qualified, of certain offences, including bigamy. The findings of a third Committee owing its origin to the report of the Commission, that on shorthand writers in the High Court, were not made public in 1936.

In the spring of the year an enquiry into Budget disclosures under the Tribunals of Inquiry (Evidence) Act, was entrusted to Mr. Justice Porter, as chairman, Mr. Gavin Simonds, K.C., and Mr. Roland Oliver, K.C., and the publication of their lucid report was followed by the resignation from office and from the House of Commons of Mr. J. H. Thomas, Dominions Secretary. An inquiry of much more ancient origin and very different character—the Court of Claims—sat later to adjudge on claims to perform various services at the Coronation. The vexed question of Tithe Rentcharge and the extraordinary difficult one of Income Tax simplification and codification were the subjects of reports, the former being in substance implemented by legislation to be referred to later, which ended a system containing ineradicable difficulties.

At the very close of the year there was published an important report, the fifth in all, of the Law Revision Committee, a permanent Committee of distinguished lawyers whose function it is to refashion legal doctrine, where necessary, so that it may consort with present-day conditions. Their subject on this occasion was the Statutes of Limitation, with their many diversities. They made more than a score of recommendations, of which the following may be cited as important examples : that the period of limitation for all actions founded in tort or simple contract should be six years, the present distinction between different classes of tort, as, for example that relating to actions for slander, to be extinguished, and the period for actions upon instruments under seal, twelve years ; that there should be a uniform period of twelve years for all claims against personal representatives ; that the present rule should be abolished by which a defendant cannot be sued while he is absent " beyond the seas " ; that an acknowledgment signed by an agent should be effective in all cases to extend the period against his principal ; that in all cases where the action is founded on the fraud of the defendant or his agent or where a cause of action is fraudulently concealed by either of them, time should only run against the plaintiff from the time of his discovery of the fraud or the time when he could with reasonable diligence have discovered it : **and that the period of limitation under the Public Authorities Protection Act, 1893, should be extended from six to twelve months.**

The legislation of the year was significant, not only in bulk—among

several codifying statutes were monumental National Health, Old Age and Contributory Pensions Acts—but also in content. Amongst Acts arising out of urgent circumstances first place, must of course, be given to the Abdication Act passed on December 11. This Act gave effect to the desire of Edward VIII. to renounce the Throne, and barred him, his issue and their descendants from any right, title or interest in or to the succession. Apart from the supreme importance of this provision, this piece of legislation is of great interest, first, on account of its vindication of the power of Parliament over the Crown, and, second, on account of the unanimity displayed by the whole British Commonwealth. It exemplified the practical working of the Statute of Westminster, passed, curiously enough, just five years earlier, to the day, the preamble of which contained the following paragraph: ". . . Inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, it would be of accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another that any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom." A second Act of more transitory importance, passed through Parliament with comparable speed a week earlier, illustrates also the inter-relations of members of the Commonwealth. The Merchant Shipping (Carriage of Munitions to Spain) Act, applying also to India and the Colonies, prohibited such carriage by all British ships except those registered in the Dominions. As a result largely of the provocative tactics and semi-military organisation of one new political party there was passed a Public Order Act. In this statute, which operated from January 1, 1937, power was taken not merely to deal drastically with the maintenance by private persons of organisations of this character "organised or trained or equipped" to enable them to be employed in usurping the functions of the police or the armed forces or for the display of physical force in the promotion of political objects, and with the wearing of political uniforms, but also to regulate more closely all public meetings and processions of a political complexion, the test being throughout the risk of public disorder.

Two Acts call for special notice. The Tithe Act, as already stated, extinguishes tithe rentcharge and extraordinary tithe rentcharge, and makes provision through a Tithe Redemption Commission, for the compensation of persons interested by the issue of "redemption stock" charged on the Consolidated Fund; it also reduces the rate of payment, pending extinguishment. The Trunk Roads Act, with a view to greater uniformity and greater road safety, transferred to the Minister of Transport the ultimate control and maintenance of a number of the most important roads, such as the Great North Road, running from end to end of the country and previously coming under the purview of a number of different highway authorities with varying standards and resources.

To social legislation the year made notable contributions in the Education Act, the outstanding provision of which was the raising of the

compulsory school age, as from September, 1939, to fifteen, subject to exemption on the Local Authority's certifying, after investigation of hours, prospects, etc., the existence of "beneficial" employment; the Unemployment Insurance (Agriculture) Act, including agriculture in the scheme with reduced scales of contribution and benefit; the Midwives Act, requiring Local Authorities to provide an adequate service of maternity nurses for attendance on women in their own homes after childbirth; and, in a compartment by itself, the Special Areas Reconstruction (Agreement) Act, authorising payments by the Treasury to a company formed with the object of offering certain financial facilities to persons anxious to set up or carry on in these areas businesses with reasonable expectation of economic success.

Finally, a statute of importance both to the legal profession and the public was the Solicitors Act, which increased still further the powers of the Law Society. It concerned itself with entry into and training for the solicitors' branch, enacting that, unless by special leave of the Society, a solicitor must not take an articled clerk till he has been in practice for five years, and that those wishing to enter into articles must furnish such evidence of good character and suitability as it may require. It empowers the Society, also, in certain circumstances to discharge articles. One interesting item of legislation in the Committee stage at the close of 1936 was a private Marriage Bill, which seeks not only to amend the conditions for the granting of a divorce but also to make divorce impossible until after five years of marriage.

The year 1936 cannot be said to be remarkable for decisions of the courts making legal history, so to speak, but there were several of considerable general interest and not devoid of importance. Among such was *Beresford v. General Assurance Company*, which at the end of the year was entered for appeal, in which it was held in King's Bench that public policy did not require the forfeiture of interest in a policy of insurance because the insured deliberately committed suicide within a few minutes of its expiration. The defendants relied on a case over a century old, but Mr. Justice Swift emphasised that ideas of what was good for the community changed. It would be of no service to society at large that the representatives of the deceased should receive nothing on the policies and the insurers keep the money for themselves. An interesting decision for citizens as income tax payers was given in *Rex v. Commissioners: ex parte Elmhirsty* in which the court pronounced that income tax cases so differed from ordinary litigation in the matter of the basis of appeal that, once a taxpayer appealed, he could not withdraw. Further cases raised the point of the liability of nursing institutions to their patients. The House of Lords in *Marshall v. Lindsey County Council* awarded substantial damages against the Local Authority, who were held negligent in general administrative duties in that a patient was received into a maternity home where puerperal fever infection was present and contracted the disease. In contrast was *Strangeways-Lesmere v. Clayton*, where a husband failed to obtain damages against the hospital, but only against two nurses, in respect of his wife's death through the administration by a nurse of

a grossly excessive quantity of a drug prescribed. The court held that it was for the hospital to see that their nurses were duly qualified, but the nurses were skilled persons doing their own work, and not as servants of the hospital authority.

As it so chanced, a larger proportion than usual of the more important decisions treated of relations between husband and wife. *Herd v. Herd* confirms the legal hardship in the position of an English wife married in this country to an Englishman who has deserted her and acquired a domicile of choice elsewhere and has committed adultery. Despite his failure to appear and object to the jurisdiction on the ground that he is no longer domiciled here, she cannot institute divorce proceedings against him in this country. In this connexion there was quoted a dictum of the late Lord Haldane to the effect that nothing short of a full juridical domicile within the jurisdiction could justify a British court in pronouncing a decree of divorce. There could only be one real domicile; otherwise, proceedings for dissolution might be carried through in two jurisdictions, possibly with different results. In *Dodworth v. Dale* the question was whether after a decree of nullity a marriage was void ab initio for all purposes. A novel claim was made by the Revenue authorities, who sought repayment from a husband whose marriage had been annulled of the married man's allowance which he had been granted in the ordinary way. This claim was held not valid; what was done during the continuance of the de facto marriage could not be undone, and the Revenue had no power to make assessments with reference to any years following on facts which came into existence after such years. *Kirk v. Eustace* in the Court of Appeal was also curious. There a widow claimed to continue to enforce after her husband's death the terms of a separation deed under which he had agreed, on condition, inter alia, of their living apart, to pay her maintenance during her life. The court, in holding nothing more was payable, proceeded, briefly, on the line of reasoning that the parties could not be said to be living apart when one of the two was dead.

A group of cases of great professional interest, also in connexion with husband and wife, dealt with the limits of application of the so-called Russell Rule which excludes all evidence from a spouse which in its result tends to bastardise a child prima facie born in wedlock. The effect of *Farnham v. Farnham* and *Burgess v. Burgess* is that the rule has no application to nullity suits for incapacity, and that of *Stafford v. Kidd* that it does not apply where the parties are living apart under a deed of separation.

In Criminal Law there was one company prospectus trial, on the lines of the Kysant case but arising out of an attempt to corner the pepper market, which was of some popular interest: *Rex v. Bishirgian*. There a prospectus purported to invite persons to become shareholders in an old-established business which, with a view to obtaining additional capital, wanted to acquire two similar businesses, but did not disclose that one of these had large gambling commitments in connexion with an attempt to corner the market in pepper, to which commodity there was no reference whatever. The Court of Criminal Appeal held that the omission

made the prospectus false within the meaning of the Larceny Act of 1861. Two other cases, *Rex v. Sheridan* and *Rex v. Grant*, related to the right of justices to commit for trial by a higher court after commencing to deal summarily with an indictable offence. It was held in the former case that they might properly inquire into the record and antecedents of the accused before deciding whether to deal summarily with him or not, and only deprived themselves of the right to commit if they proceeded to convict or acquit or announce their intention so to do. In the second, *Rex v. Grant*, the principle was established that where the accused has pleaded guilty he has been convicted on his own confession, and justices have no jurisdiction thereafter to commit for trial.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

I.

SOVIET CONSTITUTION.

DECISION OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE U.S.S.R. ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.S.R.

Having heard the report of the Chairman of the Constitution Commission, Comrade Stalin, on the draft of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the Presidium of the C.E.C. of the U.S.S.R. has decided :

1. To approve the draft of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. submitted by the Constitution Commission of the C.E.C. of the U.S.S.R.
2. To call an AU-Union Congress of Soviets to consider the draft of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.
3. To convene the All Union Congress of Soviets on November 25, 1936.
4. To publish the draft of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. for discussion by the whole population.

*Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the
U.S.S.R.—M. KALININ.*

*Acting Secretary of the Central Executive Committee
of the U.S.S.R.—I. UNSCHLIKHT.*

Moscow, Kremlin, June 11, 1936.

Draft of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., submitted by the Constitution Commission of the C.E.C. of the U.S.S.R. and approved by the Presidium of the C.E.C. of the U.S.S.R. to be Presented for consideration by the All-Union Congress of Soviets.

CONSTITUTION (BASIC LAW) OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Chapter I

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

Article 1.—The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of workers and peasants.

Article 2.—The political foundation of the U.S.S.R. is formed by the

Soviets of toilers' deputies which have grown and become strong as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists and the conquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Article 3.—All power in the U.S.S.R. belongs to the toilers of the town and village in the form of Soviets of toilers' deputies.

Article 4.—The economic foundation of the U.S.S.R. consists in the socialist system of economy and socialist ownership of the implements and means of production, firmly established as a result of the liquidation of the capitalist system of economy, the abolition of private ownership of the instruments and means of production, and the abolition of exploitation of man by man.

Article 5.—Socialist ownership in the U.S.S.R. has either the form of state ownership (public property) or the form of co-operative and collective farm ownership (property of individual collective farms, property of co-operative associations).

Article 6.—The land, its minerals, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, railways, water and air transport, banks, means of communication, large agricultural enterprises organised by the State (State farms, machine and tractor stations, and so on), as well as the essential part of housing in the cities and industrial centres, is State property, that is, public property.

Article 7.—Public enterprises in collective farms and co-operative organisations, with their livestock and implements, products produced by the collective farms and co-operative organisations, as well as their public buildings, constitute the public, socialist property of the collective farms and co-operative organisations.

Each collective farm household has for its own use a plot of land attached to the household and, as individual property, subsidiary establishments on the land attached to the household, a house, productive livestock and poultry, and minor agricultural implements—in accordance with the statutes of the agricultural artel.

Article 8.—The land occupied by collective farms is secured to them for use without time limit, that is, in perpetuity.

Article 9.—Alongside the socialist system of economy, which is the eominant form of economy in the U.S.S.R., the law allows small private economy of individual peasants and handicraftsmen based on individual labour and excluding the exploitation of the labour of others.

Article 10.—The personal ownership by citizens of their income from work and savings, home and auxiliary household economy, of objects of domestic and household economy as well as objects of personal use and comfort is protected by law.

Article 11.—The economic life of the U.S.S.R. is determined and directed by the national economic State plan for the purposes of increasing public wealth, of a steady rise in the material and cultural level of the toilers, of strengthening the independence of the U.S.S.R. and its defence capacity.

Article 12.—Work in the U.S.S.R. is the obligation of each citizen capable of working, according to the principle : " He who does not work

shall not eat." In the U.S.S.R. the principle of socialism is being realised:
 " From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Chapter II

STATE ORGANISATION

Article 13.—The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a federal State, formed on the basis of the voluntary association of the Soviet Socialist Republics with equal rights :—

Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

White Russian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic.

Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic.

Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic.

Tadzhik Soviet Socialist Republic.

Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic.

Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic.

Article 14.—The jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as represented by its supreme organs of power and organs of State administration, extends to :—

(a) representation of the Union in international relations, conclusion and ratification of treaties with other States ;

(b) questions of war and peace ;

(c) admission of new republics into the U.S.S.R.;

(d) supervision of the observance of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and ensuring conformity of the constitutions of the Union republics with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.;

(e) approval of alterations of boundaries between Union republics ;

(f) organisation of the defence of the U.S.S.R. and the direction of all the armed forces of the U.S.S.R.;

(g) foreign trade on the basis of the State monopoly ;

(h) protection of State security ;

(i) establishment of the national economic plans of the U.S.S.R.;

(j) approval of the unified State budget of the U.S.S.R. as well as the taxes and revenues entering into the U.S.S.R., Union-republic and local budgets;

(k) administration of banks, industrial and agricultural establishments as well as trading enterprises of all-Union importance ;

(l) administration of transport and means of communication ;

(m) direction of the monetary and credit system ;

(n) organisation of the State insurance of property;

(o) contracting and granting loans ;

(p) establishment of the fundamental principles for the use of land as well as the exploitation of minerals, forests and waters ;

(q) establishment of the fundamental principles in the field of education and protection of public health ;

(r) organisation of a unified system of national economic accounting ;

(s) establishment of basic labour laws ;

(t) legislation on judicature and legal procedure, criminal and civil codes;

(u) laws on citizenship of the union, laws on the rights of foreigners ;

(v) passing all-Union amnesty acts.

Article 15.—The sovereignty of the Union republics is restricted only within the limits set forth in Article 14 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. Outside of these limits, each Union republic exercises independently its State power. The U.S.S.R. protects the sovereign rights of the Union Republics.

Article 16.—Every Union republic has its own constitution, which takes into account the specific features of the republic and is drawn up in full conformity with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

Article 17.—Each Union republic retains its right freely to secede from the U.S.S.R.

Article 18.—The territory of the Union republics may not be changed without their consent.

Article 19.—The laws of the U.S.S.R. have the same force in the territories of all-Union republics.

Article 20.—In the event of a law of a Union republic differing from an all-Union law, the all-Union law is operative.

Article 21.—A single Union citizenship is established for all citizens of the U.S.S.R. Every citizen of a Union republic is a citizen of the U.S.S.R.

Article 22.—The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic consists of the following Territories : Azov-Black Sea, Far East, West Siberia, Krasnoyarsk, North Caucasus; Provinces: Voronezh, East Siberia, Gorky, Western, Ivanovo, Kalinin, Kirov, Kuibyshev, Kursk, Leningrad, Moscow, Omsk, Orenburg, Saratov, Sverdlovsk, Northern, Stalingrad, Chelyabinsk, Yaroslavl; Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics : Tartar, Bashkir, Daghestan, Buryat-Mongolia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Kalmuck, Karelia, Komi, Crimea, Marii, Mordva, Volga German, North Osetia, Udmurt, Chechen-Ingush, Chuvash, Yakut; Autonomous Provinces : Adygei, Jewish, Karachayev, Oirat, Khakass, Cherkess.

Article 23.—The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic consists of the following provinces : Vinnitsa, Dniepropetrovsk, Donetz, Kiev, Odessa, Kharkov, Chernigov and the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

Article 24.—The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province.

Article 25.—The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Abkhazian A.S.S.R., Adjarian A.S.S.R., South Osetian Autonomous Province.

Article 26.—The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Karakalpak A.S.S.R.

Article 27.—The Tadzhik Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Province.

Article 28.—The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic consists of the following provinces : Aktyubinsk, Alma-Ata, East Kazakhstan, West Kazakhstan, Karaganda, South Kazakhstan.

Article 29.—The Armenian S.S.R., White Russian S.S.R., Turkmen S.S.R. and Kirghiz S.S.R. do not include any autonomous republics or territories and provinces.

Chapter III

THE SUPREME ORGANS OF STATE POWER OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Article 30.—The supreme organ of State power of the U.S.S.R. is the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.

Article 31.—The Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. exercises all rights vested in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics according to Article 14 of the Constitution, in so far as they do not enter, by virtue of the Constitution, into the competence of those organs of the U.S.S.R. subordinate to the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. : the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., and the People's Commissariats of the U.S.S.R.

Article 32.—The legislative power of the U.S.S.R. is exercised exclusively by the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.

Article 33.—The Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. consists of two chambers : the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities.

Article 34.—The Council of the Union is elected by the citizens of the U.S.S.R. on the basis of one deputy per 300,000 of population.

Article 35.—The Council of Nationalities consists of deputies appointed by the Supreme Councils of the Union and autonomous republics and Soviets of toilers' deputies in the autonomous provinces : on the basis of 10 deputies from each Union republic, five deputies from each autonomous republic and two deputies from each autonomous province.

Article 36.—The Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. is elected for a period of four years.

Article 37.—Both chambers of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., the Council of the Union and Council of Nationalities, have equal rights.

Article 38.—Legislative initiative belongs in equal degree to the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities.

Article 39.—A law is considered approved if adopted by both chambers of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. by simple majority vote in each.

Article 40.—Laws adopted by the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. are published over the signatures of the Chairman and Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.

Article 41.—Sessions of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities begin and terminate concurrently.

Article 42.—The Council of the Union elects the chairman of the Council of the Union and two vice-chairmen.

Article 43.—The Council of Nationalities elects the chairman of the Council of Nationalities and two vice-chairmen.

Article 44.—The chairmen of the Council of the Union and of the Council of Nationalities direct the sessions of the corresponding chambers and regulate their internal arrangements.

Article 45.—Joint sessions of both chambers of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. are directed in turn by the chairman of the Council of the Union and the chairman of the Council of Nationalities.

Article 46.—Sessions of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. twice a year.

Extraordinary sessions are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. at its discretion or on the demand of one of the Union republics.

Article 47.—In case of disagreement between the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities the question is referred for settlement to a conciliation commission established on the basis of equal representation. If the conciliation commission does not come to an agreement upon a decision, or if its decision does not satisfy one of the chambers, the question is considered for a second time in the chambers. In the event of the two chambers not agreeing upon a decision, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. dissolves the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. and fixes new elections.

Article 48.—The Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. elects, at a joint session of both chambers, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., composed of the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., four Vice-Chairmen, the Secretary of the Presidium and 31 members of the Presidium.

The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. is accountable to the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. in all its activities.

Article 49.—The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.

(a) Convenes sessions of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.;

(b) Interprets laws in operation by issuing appropriate instructions ;

(c) Dissolves the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. on the basis of Article 47 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and fixes new elections ;

(d) Conducts a referendum on its own initiative or the demand of one of the Union republics ;

(e) Rescinds decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Councils of People's Commissars of the republics in the event of their not being in accordance with the law ;

(f) Between sessions of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., relieves of their duties and appoints the various People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. at the instance of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., to be later submitted for confirmation by the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.;

(g) Awards decorations of the U.S.S.R.;

(A) Exercises the rights of pardon ;

(i) Appoints and replaces the supreme command of the armed forces of the U.S.S.R.;

(j) Between sessions of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. declares a state of war in the event of an armed attack on the U.S.S.R.;

(k) Declares general or partial mobilisation ;

(l) Ratifies international treaties ;

(m) Appoints and recalls plenipotentiary representatives of the U.S.S.R. to foreign States ;

(n) Accepts the credentials of diplomatic representatives of foreign States.

Article 50.—The Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities elect Credential Commissions which verify the authorisation of the deputies of each chamber.

On representation from the Credential Commission the chambers decide either to recognise the authorisation or annul the elections of the individual deputies.

Article 51.—The Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. appoints, when it deems necessary, investigating and auditing commissions on any question.

All institutions and officials are obliged to comply with the demands of these commissions and to supply them with the necessary materials and documents.

Article 52.—A member of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. cannot be prosecuted or arrested without the consent of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. and, in the period when the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. is not in session, without the agreement of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.

Article 53.—After the authority of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. has expired or after the Supreme Council has been dissolved before the expiration of its term, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. preserves its authority until the formation by the newly-elected Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. of a new Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.

Article 54.—When the authority of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. expires or in the event of its dissolution before the expiration of its term, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. fixes new elections within a period of not more than two months from the date of the expiration of its authority or the dissolution of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.

Article 55.—The newly-elected Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. is convened by the former Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. not later than a month after the elections.

Article 56.—The Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. at a joint session of both chambers forms the Government of the U.S.S.R.—the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

Chapter IV

SUPREME ORGANS OF STATE POWER OF THE UNION REPUBLICS

Article 57.—The supreme organ of state power of a union republic is the Supreme Council of the Union republic.

Article 58.—The Supreme Council of the Union republic is elected by citizens of the republic for a period of four years.

The ratio of representation is determined by the constitutions of the Union republics.

Article 59.—The Supreme Council of the Union republic is the sole legislative organ of the republic.

Article 60.—The Supreme Council of the Union republic :

(a) adopts the Constitution of the republic and amends it in accordance with Article 16 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.;

(b) ratifies the constitutions of the autonomous republics belonging to it and defines the boundaries of their territories ;

(c) approves the national economic plan and budget of the republic ;

(d) exercises the right of amnesty and pardon to citizens sentenced by judicial organs of the Union republic.

Article 61.—The Supreme Court of the Union republic elects a Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Union republic composed of: the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Union republic, his deputies, and members of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Union republic.

The powers of the presidium of the Supreme Council of a Union republic are determined by the constitution of the Union republic.

Article 62.—The Supreme Council of the Union republic elects the chairman and his deputies to conduct its meetings.

Article 63.—The Supreme Council of the Union republic forms the government of the Union republic—the Council of People's Commissars of the Union republic.

Chapter V

ORGANS OF STATE ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Article 64.—The Supreme executive and administrative organ of State power in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

Article 65.—The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. is responsible to the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. and accountable to it.

Article 66.—The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. issues decisions and orders on the basis of and in fulfilment of laws in force and supervises their execution.

Article 67.—Decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. have obligatory force and must be carried out throughout the entire territory of the U.S.S.R.

Article 68.—The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

(a) unites and directs the work of the all-Union and Union-republic people's commissariats of the U.S.S.R. and of other economic and cultural institutions under its jurisdiction ;

(b) takes measures to realise the national economic plan and State budget and to strengthen the monetary-credit system ;

(c) takes measures to ensure public order, to defend the interests of the State, and to safeguard the rights of citizens ;

(d) exercises general directions in the realm of relations with foreign states;

(e) determines the annual contingent of citizens subject to be called up for active military service and directs the general upbuilding of the armed forces of the country.

Article 69.—The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. has the right in respect to those branches of administration and economy which fall within the jurisdiction of the U.S.S.R. to suspend decisions and orders of the Councils of People's Commissars of the Union republics and to annul orders and instructions of the People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

Article 70.—The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. is formed by the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. and is composed as follows :—

The Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.;

The Vice-Chairmen of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.;

The Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R.;

The Chairman of the Soviet Control Commission ;

The People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.;

The Chairman of the Committee for Purchasing Agricultural Products ;

The Chairman of the Art Committee ;

The Chairman of the Committee for Higher Education.

Article 71.—The Government of the U.S.S.R. or the People's Commissar of the U.S.S.R. to whom any question of a member of the Supreme Council is addressed is obliged to give an oral or written reply in the respective chamber within a period of not more than three days.

Article 72.—People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. direct the branches of State administration which come within the jurisdiction of the U.S.S.R.

Article 73.—The People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. issue within the limits of jurisdiction of the respective People's Commissariats orders and instructions on the basis of and in fulfilment of laws in force, as well as of decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and verify their fulfilment.

Article 74.—The People's Commissariats of the U.S.S.R. are either All-Union or Union-republic

Article 75.—The All-Union People's Commissariats direct the branch of State administration entrusted to them on the entire territory of the U.S.S.R. either directly or through organs assigned to them.

Article 76.—Union-republic People's Commissariats direct the branch of State administration entrusted to them through identically named People's Commissariats of the Union republics.

Article 77.—The following People's Commissariats comprise the All-Union People's Commissariats :—

Defence;

Foreign Affairs;

Foreign Trade;
Railways;
Communications;
Water Transport;
Heavy Industry.

Article 78.—The following People's Commissariats comprise the Union-republic People's Commissariats :—

Food Industry;
Light Industry;
Timber Industry;
Agriculture;
State Grain and Livestock Farms ;
Finance;
Home Trade;
Home Affairs;
Justice;
Health.

Chapter VI

ORGANS OF STATE ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNION REPUBLICS

Article 79.—The supreme executive and administrative organ of State power of a Union republic is the Council of People's Commissars of the Union republic.

Article 80.—The Council of People's Commissars of a Union republic is responsible to the Supreme Council of the Union republic and is accountable to it.

Article 81.—The Council of People's Commissars of a Union republic issues decisions and orders on the basis of and in fulfilment of the laws in force in the U.S.S.R. and the Union republic, and of decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., and verifies their execution.

Article 82.—The Council of People's Commissars of a Union republic has the right to suspend decisions and orders of the Councils of People's Commissars of autonomous republics and to rescind decisions and orders of executive committees of Soviets of toilers' deputies of territories, provinces and autonomous provinces.

Article 83.—The Council of People's Commissars of a Union republic is formed by the Supreme Council of the Union republic and is composed of—

The Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union republic;

The Vice-Chairmen;

The Chairman of the State Planning Commission;

People's Commissars:

Of the Food Industry ;

Of Light Industry;

Of the Timber Industry ;

Of Agriculture;

Of State Grain and Livestock Farms ;
Of Finance;
Of Home Trade;
Of Home Affairs ;
Of Justice ;
Of Health;
Of Education;
Of Local Industry;
Of Communal Economy;
Of Social Welfare ;

A representative of the Committee for Purchasing Agricultural Products ;

Chief of the Art Administration ;

Representatives of the All-Union People's Commissariats.

Article 84.—The People's Commissars of a Union republic administer branches of the State administration which come within the jurisdiction of the Union republic.

Article 85.—The People's Commissars of a Union republic issue within the limits of jurisdiction or respective People's Commissariats, orders and instructions on the basis of and in fulfilment of the laws of the U.S.S.R. and the Union republic, decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Union republic, and of orders and instructions of the Union-republic People's Commissariats of the U.S.S.R.

Article 86.—The People's Commissariats of a Union republic are either Union-republic or republic.

Article 87.—Union-republic People's Commissariats administer the branch of State administration entrusted to them, being subordinate both to the Council of People's Commissars of the Union republic and corresponding Union-republic People's Commissariat of the U.S.S.R.

Article 88.—Republic People's Commissariats administer the branch of State administration entrusted to them, being subordinated directly to the Council of People's Commissars of the Union republic.

Chapter VII

THE SUPREME ORGANS OF STATE POWER OF THE AUTONOMOUS SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Article 89.—The supreme organ of State power of an autonomous republic is its Supreme Council.

Article 90.—The Supreme Council of an autonomous republic is elected by the citizens of the republic for a period of four years in the ratio of representation established by the constitution of the autonomous republic.

Article 91.—The Supreme Council of an autonomous republic is the sole legislative organ of the republic.

Article 92.—Each autonomous republic has its own constitution which takes into account the specific features of the autonomous republic and is drawn up in full conformity with the constitution of the Union republic.

Article 93.—The Supreme Council of an autonomous republic elects the Presidium of its own Supreme Council and forms a Council of People's Commissars of the autonomous republic, in accordance with its constitution.

Chapter VIII

LOCAL ORGANS OF STATE POWER

Article 94.—The organs of State power in territories, provinces, autonomous provinces, regions, districts, cities and villages (stanitsas, khutors, kishlaks, aul) are Soviets of toilers' deputies.

Article 95.—The Soviets of toilers' deputies of territories, provinces, autonomous provinces, regions, districts, cities and villages (stanitsas, khutors, kishlaks, auls) are elected by the toilers of the respective territory, province, autonomous province, region, district, city or village for a period of two years.

Article 96.—The ratio of representation in the Soviets of toilers' deputies are determined by the constitutions of the Union republics.

Article 97.—The Soviets of toilers' deputies direct the activities of the organs of administration subordinated to them, ensure the maintenance of State order, observation of the laws and the protection of the rights of citizens, carry out local economic and cultural construction and draw up the local budget.

Article 98.—The Soviets of toilers' deputies adopt decisions and issue orders within the limits of the powers vested in them by the laws of the U.S.S.R. and the Union republic.

Article 99.—The executive and administrative organs of the Soviets of toilers' deputies of the territories, provinces, autonomous provinces, regions, districts and cities are the executive committees elected by them, composed of the chairman, the vice-chairmen and members.

Article 100.—The executive and administrative organ of village Soviets of toilers' deputies in small localities, in accordance with the constitutions of the Union republics, are the chairman, vice-chairmen and members elected by them.

Article 101.—The executive organs of the Soviets of toilers' deputies are directly accountable both to the Soviets of toilers' deputies which elected them and to the executive organ of the higher soviet of toilers' deputies.

Chapter IX

COURTS AND PROSECUTION

Article 102.—Justice in the U.S.S.R. is administered by the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., the supreme courts of the Union republics, territory and province courts, courts of the autonomous republics and autonomous provinces, special courts of the U.S.S.R. which are created by decisions of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., and People's Courts.

Article 103.—In all courts, cases are tried with the participation of the people's associate judges, with the exception of cases specially provided for by law.

Article 104.—The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. is the highest judicial organ. It is charged with supervision of the activity of all judicial organs of the U.S.S.R. and Union republics.

Article 105.—The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. and special courts of the U.S.S.R. are elected by the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. for a period of five years.

Article 106.—The supreme courts of Union republics are elected by the Supreme Councils of the Union republics for a period of five years.

Article 107.—The supreme courts of autonomous republics are elected by the Supreme Council of the autonomous republics for a period of five years.

Article 108.—Territory and province courts, and courts of the autonomous provinces are elected by territory or province Soviets of toilers' deputies or by Soviets of toilers' deputies of the autonomous provinces for a period of five years.

Article 109.—People's Courts are elected by secret ballot for a period of three years by citizens of the district, on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage.

Article 110.—Court proceedings are conducted in the language of the Union or autonomous republic or autonomous province, persons not knowing this language being ensured the possibility of fully acquainting themselves with the material of the case through an interpreter as well as having the right to address the court in their native language.

Article 111.—In all courts of the U.S.S.R. cases are heard openly, except when otherwise provided for by law, and the accused person is ensured the right of defence.

Article 112.—Judges are independent and subject only to the law.

Article 113.—Highest supervision of the exact observance of the laws by all People's Commissariats and institutions under them, as well as by individual persons holding official posts, and also by citizens of the U.S.S.R. is vested in the Prosecutor of the U.S.S.R.

Article 114.—The Prosecutor of the U.S.S.R. is appointed by the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. for a period of seven years.

Article 115.—Prosecutors of republics, territories and provinces as well as prosecutors of autonomous republics and autonomous provinces, are appointed by the Prosecutor of the U.S.S.R. for a period of five years.

Article 116.—District prosecutors are appointed for a period of five years by the prosecutors of the Union republics with the approval of the Prosecutor of the U.S.S.R.

Article 117.—The organs of prosecution perform their functions independently of any local organs whatsoever, being responsible to the Prosecutor of the U.S.S.R. alone.

Chapter X

BASIC RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF CITIZENS

Article 118.—Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to work—the right to receive guaranteed work with payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organisation of national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the absence of economic crises, and the abolition of unemployment.

Article 119.—Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to rest.

The right to rest is ensured by the reduction of the working day to seven hours for the overwhelming majority of the workers, establishment of annual holidays with pay for workers and employees and provision of a wide network of sanatoriums, rest homes and clubs for the accommodation of the toilers.

Article 120.—Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to material security in old age as well as in the event of sickness and loss of capacity to work.

This right is ensured by the wide development of social insurance of workers and employees at the expense of the State, free medical aid, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the toilers.

Article 121.—Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to education.

This right is ensured by universal compulsory elementary education, free of charge, as well as higher education, by the system of State stipends for the everwhelming majority of students in higher schools, instruction in schools in the native languages, and orgamsation of free industrial, technical and agronomic education for the toilers at the factories, State farms, machine and tractor stations and collective farms.

Article 122.—Women in the U.S.S.R. are accorded equal rights with men in all fields of economic, State, cultural, social and political life.

The possibility of realising these rights of women is ensured by affording women equally with men the right to work, payment for work, rest, social insurance and education, State protection of the interests of mother and child, granting pregnancy leave with pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

Article 123.—The equality of the rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of their nationality or race, in all fields of economic, State, cultural, social and political life, is an irrevocable law.

Any direct or indirect restriction of these rights, or conversely the establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of the race or nationality to which they belong, as well as any propagation of racial or national exceptionalism or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law.

Article 124.—To ensure to citizens freedom of conscience the church in the U.S.S.R. is separated from the State and the school from the church. Freedom to perform religious rites and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognised for all citizens.

Article 125.—In accordance with the interests of the toilers, for the purpose of strengthening the socialist system, the citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed:—

- (a) freedom of speech ;
- (b) freedom of the press ;
- (c) freedom of assembly and meetings ;
- (d) freedom of street processions and demonstrations

These rights of the citizens are ensured by placing at the disposal of the toilers and their organisations printing presses, supplies of paper, public buildings, streets, means of communication and other material conditions necessary for their realisation.

Article 126.—In accordance with the interests of the toilers and for the purpose of developing the organisational self-expression and political activity of the masses of the people, citizens of the U.S.S.R. are ensured the right of combining in public organisations : trade unions, co-operative associations, youth organisations, sport and defence organisations, cultural, technical and scientific societies, and for the most active and conscientious citizens from the ranks of the working class and other strata of the toilers, of uniting in the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., which is the vanguard of the toilers in their struggle for strengthening and developing the socialist system and which represents the leading nucleus of all organisations of the toilers, both public and State.

Article 127.—The citizens of the U.S.S.R. are ensured the inviolability of the person. No one may be subjected to arrest except upon the decision of a court or with the sanction of the prosecutor.

Article 128.—The inviolability of the homes of citizens and the secrecy of correspondence are protected by law.

Article 129.—The U.S.S.R. grants the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interests of the toilers or for their scientific activity or for their struggle for national liberation.

Article 130.—Every citizen of the U.S.S.R. is obliged to observe the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to carry out the laws, observe labour discipline, honestly fulfil his social duties, and respect the rules of the socialist community.

Article 131.—Every citizen of the U.S.S.R. is obliged to safeguard and consolidate public, socialist property as the sacred inviolable foundation of the Soviet system, as the source of wealth and might of the fatherland, as the source of the prosperous cultural life of all the toilers. Persons attempting to steal or destroy public socialist property are enemies of the people.

Article 132.—Universal military service is the law. Military service in the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army represents the honourable duty of the citizens of the U.S.S.R.

Article 133.—The defence of the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R. Treason to the fatherland : violation of oath, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military might of the State, or espionage for a foreign state, is punishable with the full severity of the law as the most heinous crime.

Chapter XI

ELECTORAL SYSTEM

Article 134.—Deputies to all Soviets of toilers' deputies, the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., Supreme Councils of the Union republics, territorial and province Soviets of toilers' deputies, Supreme Councils of

autonomous republics, Soviets of toilers' deputies of autonomous provinces, regional, district, city and village Soviets of toilers' deputies (stanitas, derevnys, khutors, kishlaks, auls), are elected by the electors on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Article 135.—Elections of the deputies are universal: all citizens of the U.S.S.R. who in the year of the elections reach the age of 18 have the right to participate in elections of deputies and to be elected, with the exception of the mentally deficient and persons deprived of electoral rights by the courts.

Article 136.—Elections of deputies are equal: every citizen has the right to elect and be elected irrespective of his race or nationality, his religion, educational qualifications, residential qualifications, his social origin, property status and past activity.

Article 137.—Women have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with men.

Article 138.—Citizens serving in the ranks of the Red Army have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all other citizens.

Articles 139.—Elections of deputies are direct: elections to all Soviets of toilers' deputies from the village and city Soviets of toilers' deputies up to the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. are effected by the citizens voting directly.

Article 140.—Voting at elections of deputies is secret.

Article 141.—Candidates are put forward for election according to electoral districts.

The right to put forward candidates is granted to social organisations and societies of the toilers : Communist Party organisations, trade unions, co-operatives, youth organisations and cultural societies.

Article 142.—Every deputy is obliged to render account to the electors of his work and the work of the soviet of toilers' deputies, and he may at any time be recalled in the manner established by law upon decision of a majority of the electors.

Chapter XII

EMBLEM, FLAG, CAPITAL

Article 143.—The State emblem of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics consists of a hammer and sickle against a globe depicted in rays of the sun and surrounded by ears of grain with the inscription " Workers of the World, Unite ! " in the languages of the Union republics. Above the emblem is a five-pointed star.

Article 144.—The State flag of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is red cloth with the hammer and sickle depicted in gold in the upper corner near the staff and above them a five-pointed red star bordered in gold. The relation of the width to the length is 1 : 2.

Article 145.—The capital of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the city of Moscow.

Chapter XIII

PROCEDURE FOR AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION

Article 146.—Amendment of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. is effected only by the decision of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. when adopted by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes in each of its chambers.

II.

TREATY OF ALLIANCE¹

BETWEEN HIS MAJESTY, IN RESPECT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, AND HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF EGYPT.

LONDON, AUGUST 26, 1936. RATIFIED DECEMBER 22, 1936.

His Majesty The King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and His Majesty the King of Egypt;

Being anxious to consolidate the friendship and the relations of good understanding between them and to co-operate in the execution of their international obligations in preserving the peace of the world ;

And considering that these objects will best be achieved by the conclusion of a treaty of friendship and alliance, which in their common interest will provide for effective co-operation in preserving peace and ensuring the defence of their respective territories, and shall govern their mutual relations in the future ;

Have agreed to conclude a treaty for this purpose, and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries :—

His Majesty The King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India (hereinafter referred to as His Majesty the King and Emperor);

For Great Britain and Northern Ireland :

The Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden, M.C, M.P., His Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The Rt. Hon. James Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., Lord President of the Council.

The Rt. Hon. Sir John Simon, G.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., O.B.E., K.C, M.P., His Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

The Rt. Hon. Viscount Halifax, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Lord Privy Seal.

Sir Miles Wedderburn Lampson, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.V.O., His High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan.

¹ This Document is reprinted from Cmd. 5270 and Document III. from Cmd. 5149, by kind permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

His Majesty the King of Egypt:

Moustapha El-Nahas Pacha, President of the Council of Ministers.
Dr. Ahmad Maher, President of the Chamber of Deputies.

Mohamed Mahmoud Pacha, former President of the Council of Ministers.

Ismail Sedki Pacha, former President of the Council of Ministers.

Abdel Fattah Yehia Pacha, former President of the Council of Ministers.

Wacyf Boutros Ghali Pacha, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Osman Moharrarn Pacha, Minister of Public Works.

Makram Ebeid Pacha, Minister of Finance.

Mahmoud Fahmy El-Nokrachy Pacha, Minister of Communications.

Ahmad Hamdy Seif El-Nasr Pacha, Minister of Agriculture.

Aly El-Chamsi Pacha, former Minister.

Mohamed Helmi Issa Pacha, former Minister.

Hafez Afifi Pacha, former Minister.

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

Article 1.—The military occupation of Egypt by the forces of His Majesty The King and Emperor is terminated.

Article 2.—His Majesty The King and Emperor will henceforth be represented at the Court of His Majesty the King of Egypt and His Majesty the King of Egypt will be represented at the Court of St. James's by Ambassadors duly accredited.

Article 3.—Egypt intends to apply for membership to the League of Nations. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, recognising Egypt as a sovereign independent State, will support any request for admission which the Egyptian Government may present in the conditions prescribed by Article 1 of the Covenant.

Article 4.—An alliance is established between the High Contracting Parties with a view to consolidating their friendship, their cordial understanding and their good relations.

Article 5.—Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes not to adopt in relation to foreign countries an attitude which is inconsistent with the alliance, nor to conclude political treaties inconsistent with the provisions of the present treaty.

Article 6.—Should any dispute with a third State produce a situation which involves a risk of a rupture with that State, the High Contracting Parties will consult each other with a view to the settlement of the said dispute by peaceful means, in accordance with the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations and of any other international obligations which may be applicable to the case.

Article 7.—Should, notwithstanding the provisions of Article 6 above, either of the High Contracting Parties become engaged in war, the other **High Contracting Party** will, subject always to the provisions of Article **10 below**, immediately come to his aid in the capacity of an ally.

The aid of His Majesty the King of Egypt in the event of war,

imminent menace of war or apprehended international emergency will consist in furnishing to His Majesty The King and Emperor on Egyptian territory, in accordance with the Egyptian system of administration and legislation, all the facilities and assistance in his power, including the use of his ports, aerodromes and means of communication. It will accordingly be for the Egyptian Government to take all the administrative and legislative measures, including the establishment of martial law and an effective censorship, necessary to render these facilities and assistance effective.

Article 8.—In view of the fact that the Suez Canal, whilst being an integral part of Egypt, is a universal means of communication as also an essential means of communication between the different parts of the British Empire, His Majesty the King of Egypt, until such times as the High Contracting Parties agree that the Egyptian Army is in a position to ensure by its own resources the liberty and entire security of navigation of the Canal, authorises His Majesty The King and Emperor to station forces in Egyptian territory in the vicinity of the Canal, in the zone specified in the Annex¹ to this Article, with a view to ensuring in co-operation with the Egyptian forces the defence of the Canal. The detailed arrangements for the carrying into effect of this Article are contained in the Annex hereto. The presence of these forces shall not constitute in any manner an occupation and will in no way prejudice the sovereign rights in Egypt.

It is understood that at the end of the period of twenty years specified in Article 16 the question whether the presence of British forces is no longer necessary owing to the fact that the Egyptian Army is in a position to ensure by its own resources the liberty and entire security of navigation of the Canal may, if the High Contracting Parties do not agree thereon, be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations for decision in accordance with the provisions of the Covenant in force at the time of signature of the present treaty or to such person or body of persons for decision in accordance with such other procedure as the High Contracting Parties may agree.

Article 9.—The immunities and privileges in jurisdictional and fiscal matters to be enjoyed by the forces of His Majesty The King and Emperor who are in Egypt in accordance with the provisions of the present treaty will be determined in a separate convention to be concluded between the Egyptian Government and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

Article 10.—Nothing in the present treaty is intended to or shall in any way prejudice the rights and obligations which devolve, or may devolve, upon either of the High Contracting Parties under the Covenant of the League of Nations or the Treaty for the Renunciation of War signed at Paris on the 27th August, 1928.²

Article 11.—1. While reserving liberty to conclude new conventions in future, modifying the agreements of the 19th January and the 10th July, 1899, the High Contracting Parties agree that the administration of the

¹ The various annexes referred to in the text will be found in Cmd. 5270.

² Treaty Series No. 29 (1929) (Cmd. 3410)

Sudan shall continue to be that resulting from the said agreements. The Governor-General shall continue to exercise on the joint behalf of the High Contracting Parties the powers conferred upon him by the said agreements.

The High Contracting Parties agree that the primary aim of their administration in the Sudan must be the welfare of the Sudanese.

Nothing in this article prejudices the question of sovereignty over the Sudan.

2. Appointments and promotions of officials in the Sudan will in consequence remain vested in the Governor-General, who, in making new appointments to posts for which qualified Sudanese are not available, will select suitable candidates of British and Egyptian nationality.

3. In addition to Sudanese troops, both British and Egyptian troops shall be placed at the disposal of the Governor-General for the defence of the Sudan.

4. Egyptian immigration into the Sudan shall be unrestricted except for reasons of public order and health.

5. There shall be no discrimination in the Sudan between British subjects and Egyptian nationals in matters of commerce, immigration or the possession of property.

6. The High Contracting Parties are agreed on the provisions set out in the Annex to this Article as regards the method by which international conventions are to be made applicable to the Sudan.

Article 12.—His Majesty The King and Emperor recognises that the responsibility for the lives and property of foreigners in Egypt devolves exclusively upon the Egyptian Government, who will ensure the fulfilment of their obligations in this respect.

Article 13.—His Majesty The King and Emperor recognises that the capitulatory regime now existing in Egypt is no longer in accordance with the spirit of the times and with the present state of Egypt.

His Majesty the King of Egypt desires the abolition of this regime without delay.

Both High Contracting Parties are agreed upon the arrangements with regard to this matter as set forth in the Annex to this Article.

Article 14.—The present treaty abrogates any existing agreements or other instruments whose continued existence is inconsistent with its provisions. Should either High Contracting Party so request, a list of the agreements and instruments thus abrogated shall be drawn up in agreement between them within six months of the coming into force of the present treaty.

Article 15.—The High Contracting Parties agree that any difference on the subject of the application or interpretation of the provisions of the present treaty which they are unable to settle by direct negotiation shall be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article 16.—At any time after the expiration of a period of twenty years from the coming into force of the treaty, the High Contracting Parties will, at the request of either of them, enter into negotiations with a view to such revision of its terms by agreement between them as may be appropriate in the circumstances as they then exist. In case of the High

Contracting Parties being unable to agree upon the terms of the revised treaty, the difference will be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations for decision in accordance with the Provisions of the Covenant in force at the time of signature of the present treaty or to such other person or body of persons for decision in accordance with such procedure as the High Contracting Parties may agree. It is agreed that any revision of this treaty will provide for the continuation of the Alliance between the High Contracting Parties in accordance with the principles contained in Articles 4, 5, 6 and 7. Nevertheless, with the consent of both High Contracting Parties, negotiations may be entered into at any time after the expiration of a period of ten years after the coming into force of the treaty, with a view to such revision as aforesaid.

Article 17.—The present treaty is subject to ratification. Ratifications shall be exchanged in Cairo as soon as possible. The treaty shall come into force on the date of the exchange of ratifications, and shall thereupon be registered with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

In witness whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty and affixed thereto their seals.

Done at London in duplicate this 26th day of August, 1936.

(L.8.) ANTHONY EDEN.
(L.S.) J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.
(L.S.) JOHN SIMON.
(L.S.) HALIFAX.
(L.S.) MILES W. LAMPSON.
(L.S.) MOUSTAPHA EL-NAHAS.
(L.S.) AHMAD MAHER.
(L.S.) M. MAHMOUD.
(L.S.) I. SEDKI.
(L.S.) A. YEHIA.
(L.S.) WACYF BOUTROS GHALI.
(L.S.) O. MOHARRAM.
(L.S.) MAKRAM EBEID.
(L.S.) MAHMOUD FAHMY EL-NOKRACHY.
(L.S.) A. HAMDYSEIF EL-NASR.
(L.S.) ALY EL-CHAMSI.
(L.S.) M. H. ISSA.
(L.S.) HAFEZ AFIFI.

III.

GUARANTEES BY BRITAIN TO FRANCE AND BELGIUM.

(APRIL 1, 1936.)

The text of the letters relating to the London proposals of March 19, exchanged between the Foreign Secretary and the French and Belgian Ambassadors is as follows. The letters are dated April 1 ;—

Mr. Eden to the French Ambassador.

I.

I have the honour to hand herewith to your Excellency the letter contemplated in the Text of Proposals drawn up on March 19 by the representatives of Belgium, France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and Italy. Your Excellency will appreciate that the delivery of this letter in no way implies that in the view of his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom the effort of conciliation referred to in this letter has failed. As you are aware, we have to-day received from the German Government certain proposals which we have communicated to your Government and to which we are giving our immediate consideration.

Meanwhile, his Majesty's Government are willing, in accordance with paragraph III. of the Proposals, to instruct their General Staffs forthwith to enter into contact with the French General Staffs, with a view to arranging the technical conditions in which the obligations referred to in that paragraph should be carried out in case of unprovoked aggression.

On behalf of his Majesty's Government I have the honour to state that it is understood that this contact between the General Staffs cannot give rise in respect of either Government to any political undertaking, nor to any obligation regarding the organisation of national defence. I shall be glad to have your Excellency's confirmation that this is likewise the understanding of your Government.

His Majesty's Government propose that the conversations between the General Staffs of the two countries, necessary for establishing the contacts in question, should be begun in London.

I am addressing a similar letter to the Belgian Ambassador.

II.

With reference to the "Text of Proposals drawn up by the Representatives of Belgium, France, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and Italy," dated March 19, 1936, I am authorised to give you the official assurance that, if the effort of conciliation attempted in the arrangement there proposed should fail, his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom:—

1.—(a) Will at once consider in consultation with your Government and the Belgian Government, the steps to be taken to meet the new situation thus created;

(b) Will immediately come to the assistance of your Government, in accordance with the Treaty of Locarno, in respect of any measures which shall be jointly decided upon;

(c) Will, in return for reciprocal assurances from your Government, take, in consultation with your Government, all practical measures available to his Majesty's Government for the purpose of ensuring the security of your country against unprovoked aggression ;

(d) Will, for this purpose, establish or continue the contact between the General Staffs of our two countries contemplated in paragraph III. (2) of the said arrangement;

2.—And, furthermore, will subsequently endeavour at the Council of the League of Nations to secure the formulation by the latter of all useful recommendations for the maintenance of peace and the respect for international law.

Letters in identical terms were sent to the Belgian Ambassador.

AMBASSADORS' REPLIES.

The French Ambassador to Mr. Eden (translation).

You were so good as to inform me by your letter of April 1 that his Majesty's Government, in accordance with paragraphs III. of the Text of Proposals drawn up in London on the 19th March last by the representatives of Belgium, Prance, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and Italy, are willing to instruct their General Staffs forthwith to enter into contact with the representatives of the French General Staff, with a view to arranging the technical conditions in which the obligations referred to in that paragraph should be carried out in case of unprovoked aggression.

On behalf of the Government of the Republic, I have the honour to state that it is understood between the two Governments that this contact cannot give rise in respect of either of the interested parties to any political undertaking nor to any obligation regarding the organisation of national defence.

The French Government agrees that the conversations in question should be begun in London.

The Belgian Ambassador to Mr. Eden (translation).

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of to-day's date regarding the contact to be established between the British and Belgian General Staffs in accordance with paragraph III. of the Text of Proposals drawn up in London on March 19, 1936, by the representatives of Belgium, France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and Italy.

I am instructed by my Government to put on record their agreement with the contemplated procedure, and to confirm that it is understood that this contact cannot give rise, in respect of either Government, to any political undertaking nor to any obligation regarding the organisation of national defence.

OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1936.

JANUARY.

2. Frederick N. Charrington, temperance reformer, was born in the East End of London on February 4, 1850, the son of the wealthy brewer of that name, and was educated at Marlborough and Brighton College. After leaving school he took a post in his father's business but soon resigned it, sacrificing a fortune, estimated at 1,250,000l., to devote himself to the cause of temperance and the amelioration of social conditions in the East End of London. For sixty-five years he carried on at the Great Assembly Hall, Mile End Road, where nightly meetings were held of some 4,000 people, the work of the Tower Hamlets mission. In 1887 the Lord Mayor of London and the Sheriffs gave a tea and entertainment at the Guildhall to between two and three thousand of Mr. Charrington's guests. This became an annual event, and at the forty-ninth gathering, in 1930, Mr. Charrington was presented with a portrait of himself to mark the completion of sixty years' work in the East End. Another annual event at the Great Assembly Hall was the Sunday tea, first given in 1909 by King George V., when he was Prince of Wales, while every Sunday at 5 o'clock Mr. Charrington provided a free tea for hungry men and women. His propaganda led to his figuring in many remarkable scenes, of which, perhaps, the most spectacular was on May 18, 1915, when he dashed into the House of Commons, seized the Mace and began to protest against the continuance of the drinking bar for the use of members inside the lobby. Charrington was one of the original members of the London County Council and made the first speech at the first sitting of the Council in Spring Gardens. He was also a member of the Mile End Guardians and Vestry, and later of the Stepney Borough Council. He left his body to the London Hospital.

10. Allan Monkhouse, journalist, dramatist, and novelist, was born at Barnard Castle, Durham, in 1859, and after being educated privately entered the cotton trade and was soon writing market reports for the *Manchester Guardian*. Presently he began to write leading articles for that journal, then became one of its dramatic critics, and finally its literary editor, holding the position until he retired in 1932, after which he contributed a weekly article called "A Bookman's Notes." He was closely connected with the repertory theatre movement in Manchester, and most of his eleven plays were produced either there or at Liverpool or Birmingham. The first, *Reaping the Whirlwind*, was produced in 1908. *The Conquering Hero* (Aldwych Theatre, 1924), the one which attracted most attention, was a study of a pacifist from a novel point of view. His common theme, which he developed with tolerance and understanding, was the conflict of ideas in two generations. In his novels Monkhouse generally combined a quiet realism with the interest of some conflict of ideals, as in "My Daughter Helen" (1922). In "Farewell, Manchester" (1931), the conflict was between

belief in business and sentimental socialism. In 1929 he received the degree of D.Litt. from Manchester University. He was twice married; first, in 1893, his wife dying in 1894; secondly, in 1902, to Elisabeth Dorothy (youngest daughter of James Fildes Pearson), by whom he had two sons and two daughters.

15. Lord Forster (Henry William Forster), politician and sportsman, was born on January 31, 1866, and educated at Eton and New College, Oxford. At the age of 26 he was elected Conservative member of Parliament for Sevenoaks, holding the seat for nearly twenty-eight years, with the exception of a few months as member for Bromley. From 1902 to 1905 he was Junior Lord of the Treasury and a Unionist Whip, and in the succeeding Liberal Administration he was an Opposition Whip until 1911, when he resigned in order to study the Insurance Bill and lead the opposition against it. On the formation of the Coalition Government in 1915 he was appointed Financial Secretary of the War Office, holding the post until December, 1919, when he resigned on account of ill-health and was created Baron Forster of Lepe. As supporters of his coat of arms he took a second lieutenant of the K.R.R.C. and a lieutenant of the Royal Scots Greys in memory of his two sons. With the same object he presented to the Borough of Lewisham, for perpetual use, a park of 24½ acres and a river walk across his property in Catford, the gift being known as the Forster Memorial Park. In June, 1920, he was appointed Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia, holding the office for five years with great success. A skilful sportsman, after taking his degree at Oxford he played cricket for Kent and for Hampshire, of which he was captain in 1889, and in 1918 he was elected President of the M.C.C. He was captain of the Royal and Ancient Golf Club in 1917 and was a member of the Royal Yacht Club. Lord Forster, who was made a Privy Councillor in 1917, was also a G.C.M.G., an official verderer of the New Forest, an honorary D.C.L., an honorary Fellow of New College, Oxford, a county alderman and a magistrate for Hampshire. He married, in 1890, the Hon. Rachel Cecily Douglas-Scott-Montagu, daughter of the first Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, and had two sons, who were killed in the war, and two daughters.

16. Shapurji Saklatvala, a Parsi, the first Communist member of the House of Commons, was born at Bombay on March 28, 1874, and educated at St. Xavier's School and College and was a member of Lincoln's Inn. Joining the firm of Tata Sons—his mother was a sister of J. N. Tata—he spent three years on exploration work in the Indian jungle, searching for coal, iron, and limestone, and this led to the foundation of the Tata iron and steel works in India. Afterwards he did welfare work in plague hospitals and the slums of Bombay. He resigned his position as departmental manager of Tata's in September, 1925. Coming to England in 1905 he joined the Liberal Party, but by 1910 was an active member of the Independent Labour Party, and in 1922 was elected as Labour member for North Battersea. Defeated in 1923, he was successful as a Communist in 1924, and sat in the House till 1929. He had become a member of the British Communist Party after the failure of the I.L.P. to affiliate with the Third International. Saklatvala married Sehri, daughter of Henry Marsh, of Tansley, Derbyshire, and had three sons and two daughters.

18. Rudyard Kipling, renowned as poet and story-teller, was born at Bombay on December 30, 1865, the son of John Lockwood Kipling, a designer of Staffordshire pottery, and of his wife Alice, daughter of the Rev. G. B. Macdonald, and sister of Lady Burne-Jones, Lady Poynter, and Mrs. Alfred Baldwin, who was the mother of Mr. Stanley Baldwin. At the age of 6 Rudyard was sent to England. Of his careless treatment during the next few years, which nearly resulted in blindness, he left a poignant account in "Baa, Baa, Black Sheep." Later he went to the United Services College at Westward Ho! the school which figures in "Stalky and Co.," Kipling himself being Beetle, the boy with the beetling eyebrows and giglamps. Returning to India while still in his teens, he joined

the staff of the *Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore*. His experiences there he pictured vividly in "The Man Who Would Be King." In 1886 he issued the first edition of "Departmental Ditties." Next came a book of stories, "Plain Tales from the Hills" (1887), to be followed during 1888-89 by "Soldiers Three," "In Black and White," "The Story of the Gadsbys," "Under the Deodars," "The Phantom Rickshaw," and "Wee Willie Winkie," in all of which the British in India saw themselves in a mirror that every one admitted was brilliant, but many condemned as distorting. Towards the end of 1889 he settled in England and became famous after *The Times*, on March 25, 1890, published an article on his work. In that year he met a young American author, Wolcott Balestier (whose sister, Caroline Starr Balestier, he married in 1892), and together they wrote "The Naulakha." In 1891 he published "The Light that Failed," and paid his first visit to South Africa. "Barrack-Room Ballads" appeared in 1892, the year in which the Kiplings went to live on Mrs. Kipling's property at Brattleboro, Vermont, where, in a little bungalow, he finished "Many Inventions" (1893), began "The Jungle Books" (1894 and 1895), and wrote some of the poems of "The Seven Seas" (1896). Later, in a queer house which they built and called "The Naulakha," he wrote "Captains Courageous" (1897). In 1896 they returned to England to settle in Torquay. After a cruise with the Channel Fleet Kipling wrote the brilliant series of articles "A Fleet in Being." Early in 1898, which saw the issue of "The Day's Work," he went with his family to New York where his elder daughter (in whose memory he wrote the "Just So Stories" and "They") died, and where he himself had a very narrow escape from death by double pneumonia. This proved a turning-point in his career, although he was still to write "Kim" (1901), "Puck of Pook's Hill" (1906), and "Rewards and Fairies" (1910). Two of his greatest achievements in poetry were "Recessional," written after the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria, and "If," written in memory of Sir Starr Jameson. When the Boer War broke out he went to South Africa, edited a newspaper as near to the fighting as the authorities would permit, and wrote "The Absent-Minded Beggar," which brought in thousands of pounds for the soldiers' relief. Presently he began to alienate those who tolerated his literature but could not endure his politics, because into politics more and more of his energy was turned and his vision of "the white man's burden" grew more and more urgent. By 1905 he was supporting Lord Roberts about the fear of invasion from Germany; from Canada in 1907 he wrote vivid and imperialistic "Letters to the Family"; in 1911 his bitter opposition to the Woman Suffrage Movement found vent in the poem "The Female of the Species is More Deadly than the Male"; and in 1912 he wrote a poem on Ulster for which certain members of Parliament demanded his prosecution for sedition. In spite of his increasing political activities he found time to write two plays, *The Harbour Watch* (Royalty Theatre, 1913) and *The Return of Imray* (Court Theatre, 1914), neither of which met with much success. When the Great War came Kipling flung himself into work for his country and her Allies, describing "The New Army in Training" (1914), pleading for bands for the drilling armies—to the great increase of recruiting, and writing "France at War." In memory of his only son, John Kipling, of the Irish Guards, he endowed the sounding of the Last Post every night at the Menin Gate and edited a history of the "Irish Guards in the Great War" (2 vols., 1923). He was one of the first members of the Imperial War Graves Commission, and chose the words "Their Name Liveth for Evermore" which were erected in every British War cemetery in France. At the 1920 Empire Day dinner of the Royal Society of St. George he gave a striking address on the English spirit, taking as his text Defoe's line "A man akin to all the universe." In 1923 he published "Land and Sea Tales for Scouts and Guides," describing himself on the title-page as "Commissioner, Boy Scouts." Next came "Debits and Credits" (1926), "Thy Servant a Dog" (1930), and "Limits and Renewals" (1932). In 1922 he was elected Rector of St. Andrews University, to which he presented the manuscript of "Action and Reaction" (1909). Early in 1923 he addressed the Royal College of Surgeons on the

mystery of life, defining man as " an imperfectly denatured animal intermittently subject to the unpredictable reactions of an unlocated spiritual area." In 1925 when admitted to the freedom and livery of the Stationers' Company he suggested in an entertaining speech that the world might have been happier if stationery had never been invented, and the " Eleventh Plague " of paper and print had not been launched on suffering humanity. In 1926 he was awarded the gold medal of the Royal Society of Literature, which only Scott, Meredith, and Hardy had received before him. He had received the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1907, but had declined the O.M. In 1927 the Kipling Society was founded with Major General Dunsterville (the original of Stalky) as president and G. C. Beresford (McTurk) as one of its members. Kipling had honours from the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Durham, McGill, Athens, Paris, and Strasburg, and was honorary fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. The Athenaeum elected him a member under Rule II. in 1897 and in 1933 he was elected a foreign associate member of the French Academie des Sciences et Politiques. In that year he was induced to broadcast for the first time at a luncheon given by the Royal Society of Literature to members of the Canadian Authors' Association.

20. King George V. (George Frederick Ernest Albert) was born on June 3, 1865, the second son of King Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra, then Prince and Princess of Wales. At an early age he and his elder brother, the Duke of Clarence (born 1864), were placed under the tutorship of the Rev. J. N. (afterwards Canon) Dalton, curate of Sandringham. In 1877 the brothers went to the *Britannia* as cadets, joined the *Bacchante* in 1879, and were rated midshipmen in 1880. Then followed a prolonged cruise (described in " The Cruise of the *Bacchante*" edited by J. N. Dalton) to South America, South Africa, Australia, the Fiji Islands, Japan, Ceylon, Egypt, Palestine, and Greece—the first of many voyages which made Prince George the most travelled of all English Sovereigns. In 1884, having been made a sub-lieutenant on his nineteenth birthday, and raised to the dignity of a Knight of the Garter, he entered the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, where he gained a first-class in seamanship, torpedo work, and gunnery ; and on October 8, 1885, was promoted lieutenant, in which capacity he joined the *Thunderer* on January 14, 1886. On June 21, 1887, he was appointed Personal Naval Aide-de-Camp to Queen Victoria. During the summer of 1889 he received his first independent command of Torpedo-boat No. 79, and was admitted to the Freedom of the City of London by right of patrimony. Although in his 25th year he was still only a lieutenant, but on May 6, 1890, he was offered a command in the gunboat *Thrush* and was promoted commander after the ship had paid off on August 24, 1891. Subsequently he was promoted captain (1893), rear-admiral (1901), vice-admiral (1903), admiral (1907), and admiral of the fleet (1910), but hope of further advancement in the active ranks of the Navy was necessarily abandoned when he became heir-presumptive on the death of the Duke of Clarence, January 14, 1892. In May of that year he was created Duke of York, Earl of Inverness, and Baron Killarney.

On July 6, 1893, he married Princess Victoria Mary (daughter of the Duke of Teck and Princess Mary), who had previously been betrothed to the Duke of Clarence. A sign of the change which was taking place in the relations between Royalty and the public was the garden party given a few days before the wedding by the Duchess of Teck at White Lodge, Richmond, when local residents were among the guests invited to view the 3,500 presents. After the wedding they were exhibited to the general public at the Imperial Institute. Their eldest son, Edward, the Prince of Wales, was born on June 23, 1894; Prince George came on December 14, 1895, and was followed by Princess Mary (1897), Prince Henry, Duke of Gloucester (1900), Prince George, Duke of Kent (1902) and Prince John, who died at the age of 13 (1905).

On September 18, 1900, it was announced that the Duke and Duchess of York would go to Australia (which was to become a Commonwealth on January 1, 1901) to open in the name of Queen Victoria the first Australian Parliament.

In the midst of the preparations for the visit the Queen died, but as she had been so much interested in the project, it was decided to fulfil her wishes without delay; the royal party sailed from Portsmouth on March 16, 1901, and the Duke opened the first Federal Parliament of Australia at Melbourne on May 9. A detailed account of the tour, which ended on November 1 after a journey of 50,000 miles, was published in "The Web of Empire." At a Guildhall luncheon on December 5, 1901, the Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester as the future King had become on November 9, delivered his memorable "Wake up, England!" speech: "... the Old Country must wake up if she intends to maintain her old position of pre-eminence in her Colonial trade against foreign competitors." In 1902 when the relations between Great Britain and Germany were somewhat strained as the result of a speech made at Edinburgh by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, then Colonial Secretary, the Prince of Wales visited Berlin to take part in the birthday celebrations of the Emperor William, who received him with great cordiality. During the winter of 1905-6 the Prince and Princess visited India and Egypt, travelling 9,000 miles in four months. In 1908 the Prince paid his sixth visit to Canada, this time for the tercentenary of the founding of Quebec. He succeeded to the Throne on the death of his father, on May 6, 1910, and at the Coronation, which took place on June 22, 1911, it was observed that, departing from the precedent of King Edward's Coronation, the Archbishop of Canterbury crowned both the King and the Queen. A few days before the Thanksgiving Service at St. Paul's Cathedral, the King and Queen gave a fete at Crystal Palace to 100,000 London school children; held a review of Officers Training Corps; and a rally of 40,000 Boy Scouts in Windsor Park, three innovations which were very popular. There were also a Naval Review at Spithead on June 24 and State visits to Dublin, Edinburgh, and Wales, where, at Carnarvon, the Prince of Wales was publicly installed with picturesque ceremonial.

If the first year of the reign was one of great events, it was also one of great anxieties. Abroad, Germany's action in Morocco brought the peace of Europe into danger; at home a dock strike in London threw 100,000 men idle and developed into the most extensive railway strike the country had ever known; in Parliament feeling ran high during the passage of the Parliament Bill. On November 11, 1911, the King and Queen left for India on the first visit of the British Sovereign to a country within the British Empire. Reaching Bombay on December 2 they were received by the Governor-General (Lord Hardinge) at the Apollo Bunder, where a "Gateway of India" in the form of a Saracenic pavilion had been erected. On December 7 the King-Emperor and his consort made their State entry into the Imperial city of Delhi, and on December 12 the Coronation Durbar was held in the presence of 100,000 people. Before the solemn and significant proceedings ended, the King-Emperor announced to the astonished company (so successfully had the secret been kept) two momentous changes—the transfer of the capital to Delhi, and the practical reversal of the partition of Bengal. On February 6, 1912, the day after their Majesties returned, a Thanksgiving Service was held at St. Paul's Cathedral.

In May the King took a long trip under water in the submarine D4; in June he visited, with the Queen, the industrial areas of South Wales, and later the West Riding of Yorkshire, where the King went down a pit at the Elsecar Colliery. In May, 1913, their Majesties visited Berlin for the marriage of Princess Victoria Louise with Prince Ernest Augustus of Cumberland. In November the King entertained at the Holborn Restaurant the 500 workmen who had been refacing the Mall front of Buckingham Palace, the first time a body of workmen had been entertained in England by the Sovereign. In April, 1914, a State visit, which was regarded as an event of high significance, was paid to the President of the French Republic, M. Poincare. A new feature of the King's birthday in that year was his receipt of 50,000 letters from school children.

In spite of an unprecedented passage in the King's Speech at the opening of the Parliamentary Session, in which he expressed his earnest wish for the goodwill and co-operation of all parties and creeds in settling the Irish question, matters

were fast reaching a deadlock when the King summoned a conference of two representatives of each of the parties to the controversy to meet at Buckingham Palace. But after holding four meetings the conference failed to agree either in principle or in detail upon a definition of the area of Ireland to be excluded from the Home Rule Bill.

When the Great War began the King, who had been striving to avert the catastrophe, sent a message to the Emperor William by Prince Henry of Prussia and on August 1 telegraphed to the Tsar a personal appeal "to leave open grounds for negotiation and possible peace." But the Tsar replied that the German Government had declared war that very afternoon. On November 29 the King left for a visit to the Front, spent a week at Headquarters, and invested the King of the Belgians with the Order of the Garter. During the spring of 1915 attention having been drawn to the evil effects on the output of war material of excessive drinking by workmen, the King set an example by giving up alcoholic liquor and issued orders (April 6) against its consumption in the Royal Household. On October 28, while on another visit to the Army in France, the King's horse reared, slipped, and fell upon its rider, pinning him down. No bones were broken but he was severely bruised. On his way home in the hospital train he tried to decorate with the Victoria Cross a lance-sergeant in the Coldstream Guards, but was too weak unaided to pin the ribbon to the thick khaki uniform. A few months later the King gave to the Exchequer 100,000*l.* to be applied in whatever manner the Government deemed best. In July, 1917, the King and Queen spent ten days in France and Belgium, the first time for six centuries that the King and Queen of England had been at a seat of war together.

About that time His Majesty abolished all German titles and dignities in the Royal Family, and assumed the family name of Windsor. The style of "Royal Highness" was restricted to children of the Sovereign and to his grandchildren in the male line only. The titles of "Prince" and "Princess" were similarly limited.

In May, 1918, he reviewed at Buckingham Palace a regiment of the United States National Army, each soldier of which had received on disembarkation a facsimile Message of Welcome. In July the King and Queen celebrated their Silver Wedding by a visit to the City and a special service in St. Paul's. At the Guildhall the Lord Mayor, on behalf of the citizens, presented to the King a cheque for 53,000*£.*, to be devoted to such charities as he might desire. On November 12 the King and Queen attended in State the Armistice Service of Thanksgiving at St. Paul's. Soon afterwards the King visited the Fleet at Rosyth and reviewed in Hyde Park a large number of men wearing the Silver Badge for Services Rendered. Next, accompanied by the Prince of Wales and Prince Albert, he paid an official visit to France and conferred on Marshal Foch the Order of Merit. Returning to London he received President Wilson on his arrival in Europe for the Peace Settlement. On February 5, 1919, the King and Queen attended the Guards' Memorial Service at St. Paul's; in March the King reviewed the Household Cavalry and the Guards; in May he took the salute in front of Buckingham Palace from 12,000 men of the Canadian, Australian, New Zealand, and Newfoundland Forces; and on June 28 (Peace Day) he appeared, with other members of the Royal family, on the balcony of Buckingham Palace to say to the cheering multitude that peace had been signed. At the Armistice Day celebrations in 1920 the King unveiled the Cenotaph in Whitehall and attended the burial of the Unknown Warrior in Westminster Abbey, the last of the great ceremonies connected with the war.

In February, 1922, the King and Queen were present at the marriage in Westminster Abbey of their only daughter Princess Mary to Viscount Lascelles, afterwards Earl of Harewood; and in April, 1923, at that of their second son (created Duke of York in 1920) to Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon.

In 1923 the King on his own initiative summoned Mr. Baldwin to succeed Mr. Bonar Law as Prime Minister, although by precedent the choice should have fallen on Lord Curzon, in whose biography the incident was revealed for the first

time. The new Government did not last long and was followed by the first purely Labour Administration (Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald), which was, however, heavily defeated within a year. In November, 1928, the King contracted a cold which rapidly developed into toxæmia, giving rise to great anxiety, and it was not until February, 1929, that he could be removed to Bognor. During his illness the Royal authority was vested in a Commission consisting of the Queen, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Prime Minister as " Counsellors of State." In November, 1930, the King opened the first Round Table Conference on the Indian Constitutional Reforms.

Next year, 1931, brought a grave national crisis. The second Labour Government, which took office in 1929, faced with an enormous Budget deficit, realised that drastic steps to restore confidence were necessary. The King returned from Balmoral by special train on August 23, and following a consultation with the party leaders it was agreed to form a National Government, to assist which the King later reduced the Civil List by 50,000l. On December 25, 1932, he broadcast the first of four Christmas Day messages to the Empire. Early in 1933 a cold prevented His Majesty from holding the first levee, but he opened the extension of the National Portrait Gallery and reviewed at Aldershot the 1st Battalion of The Royal Scots. In May an attack of rheumatism caused his absence from the Courts and the ceremony of Trooping the Colour, but he was able to fulfil his other engagements, and in June he opened the World Economic Conference. In 1934 after a State visit to the Palace of Holyrood, Edinburgh, the King and Queen visited Lancashire to open the Mersey Tunnel joining Liverpool and Birkenhead. Later they were present at the launching of the Cunard liner *Queen Mary*, which the Queen had christened, and in November they attended in Westminster Abbey the wedding of the Duke of Kent and Princess Marina of Greece.

Then came 1935 and the preparations for the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the King's accession to the Throne, in which the whole nation participated with genuine enthusiasm and which culminated on May 6 in a great Thanksgiving Service at St. Paul's. After the strain of the Jubilee the King suffered from bronchial catarrh, and was unable to attend the London County Council reception and the Garter ceremony at Windsor, which had to be cancelled. The year ended with the marriage in Buckingham Palace Chapel of the Duke of Gloucester to Lady Alice Scott, daughter of the Duke of Buccleugh, who died shortly before the wedding; and the death of the King's sister, Princess Victoria. On Friday January 17, 1936, the newspaper posters announced " The King: A Cold " ; at 9.25 P.M. on Monday, January 20, a bulletin was issued reading, " The King's life is moving peacefully towards its close " ; and shortly after midnight another bulletin stated, " Death came peacefully to the King at 11.55 P.M. "

23. Dame Clara Butt, famous as a contralto, was born on February 1, 1873, and after being trained by Daniel Rootham, of Bristol, where she was brought up, and by J. H. Blower, she competed in 1889 for an open scholarship at the Royal College of Music, where her contralto voice was instantly recognised as one of the best of its kind. She made her debut at the Albert Hall in Sullivan's cantata *The Golden Legend*, and about the same time ended her career at the Royal College of Music by singing the principal part in Gluck's *Orpheus* in a students' performance under Stanford's direction at the Lyceum Theatre. Soon she was taking part in Albert Hall oratorios, the Handel festivals at the Crystal Palace, and the great provincial festivals, where she excelled in the singing of " O thou that tellest," " He was despised," " O rest in the Lord," and " Abide with Me." She was not attracted to the work of modern composers but formed a repertory of her own, which included a few samples of the classics, such as Gluck's " Divinites du Styx," some of the more directly melodious of the German *Lieder*, and a number of English " royalty ballads," many of which were written for her. In 1899, however, she introduced Elgar's " Sea Pictures," five songs for her voice and orchestra, at the Norwich Festival, and this may be recorded as her chief con-

tribution to the advancement of contemporary music During the war she gave her services freely in support of the Red Cross Fund for which in 1916 she arranged a Red Cross Week of Elgar's music at Queen's Hall, she herself singing the part of the Angel in *The Dream of Gerontius*. In 1920—in which year she was created a D.B.E.—she appeared at the request of Sir Thomas Beecham at the reopening of Covent Garden in the part in Gluck's *Orphic*, with which she had begun her career nearly thirty years before. In February, 1931, she met with an accident from which she never fully recovered. She married, in 1900, Kennerley Rumford, with whom she made several world tours.

31. General Kondylis, an outstanding figure in Greek politics, was born at Proussos, Southern Eurytania, in 1879. In 1896 he joined the Cretan insurgents who were in arms against the Turks, and in the following year served as a private soldier in the Greek Army in Thessaly. Then for a time he was a schoolmaster, but soon was a soldier again. From 1905 to 1908 he took part in the ferocious band-warfare in Macedonia, after which he became a non-commissioned officer in the Greek Army and served as a subaltern in the First and Second Balkan Wars in 1912 and 1913. In 1916 he supported the Provisional Government under the Triumvirate set up by M. Venizelos with Allied assistance, in Salonika in opposition to King Constantine, and was promoted major for gallantry in the field. Next year he was made lieutenant-colonel, and served with the 3rd Infantry Regiment against the Bolsheviks in Southern Russia in 1919. Later in that year he served with distinction against the Turks in Anatolia. When King Constantine was restored in 1920, Kondylis resigned his commission and retired to Constantinople where he became a leading figure in the "National Defence" organised by the supporters of M. Venizelos among the Greeks in Turkey. Three years later he was once more in the midst of active warfare. When an insurrection was started against the Revolutionary Government in October, 1923, he took command of a division at Kilkish in Macedonia and won the nickname of *Keraunos*, the Thunderbolt, by the rapidity and effectiveness of his action in crushing that revolt. Thereafter he became an ardent Republican, helped to depose King George II., and took office in March, 1924, as Minister for War under M. Papanastassiou in the first Cabinet of the Republic with the support of a party of his own, the National Republicans. He resigned, however, in June as a protest against the Cabinet's weakness in dealing with strikes and Communist agitation, but returned to office as Minister of the Interior under M. Michalakopoulos in October. When General Pangalos made himself Dictator in June, 1925, Kondylis protested against his violation of the Constitution and was sent as a prisoner to Santorin in February, 1926. Released under an amnesty in April, he returned to Athens and brought off a successful and bloodless *coup* (*Vitat* on August 22, which overthrew the dictatorship and restored Admiral Konduriotis to the Presidency, with himself as Prime Minister. After the General Election of November, however, he handed over the administration to M. Zaimis, dissolved the National Republican Party and retired from politics, in accordance with a promise given in October a few days after he had publicly advocated the burial of the feud with Bulgaria and the formation of a Balkan federation. But early in May, 1927, he called the National Republicans together again and re-entered politics. As Minister for War he showed great energy and decision in crushing the Venizelist revolt of March, 1935. He was hailed as the "Saviour of Greece," but soon announced that the Republic had failed and that the only hope of restoring domestic peace and national unity lay in a restoration of the constitutional Monarchy. He became Deputy Prime Minister, and finding that his chief, M. Tsaldaris, was too much bound by Parliamentary and political traditions, carried out another *coup d'etat* on October 10, 1935, as a result of which he was elected Prime Minister for a second time, proclaimed himself Regent, and in November effected the restoration of King George I.

FEBRUARY.

2. Sir Owen Seaman, Bart., poet, critic, and editor of *Punch*, was born on September 18, 1861, and educated at Mill Hill, Shrewsbury, and Clare College, Cambridge, where he won the Porson Prize for Greek verse in 1882 and was placed in the first class of the Classical Tripos in 1883. After a short time as a master at Rossall, he was appointed Professor of Literature at the Durham College of Science, Newcastle. In 1897 he joined the staff of *Punch*, succeeding Sir Francis Burnand as its fifth editor in 1906, and held the post until he retired in 1932. On his writing a competent critic declared that "he left the imprint of his scholarly, kindly, generous, great-hearted personality." He was a governor of Shrewsbury School, an honorary Fellow of Clare College, and an honorary graduate of Oxford, Edinburgh, and Durham. His publications, which began in 1888 with "With Double Pipe," included volumes of poems such as "In Cap and Bells" (1899) and "Borrowed Plumes" (1902), and a volume of reminiscences, "Interludes of an Editor" (1929). He was knighted in 1914 and created a baronet in 1933. He was unmarried and the title became extinct.

8. Sir Charles Alfred Ballance, a distinguished scientific surgeon, was born on August 30, 1856, and educated at St. Thomas's Hospital. At the London University examinations he gained gold medals for the degrees of B.S. and M.S. in 1880 and 1881. In due course he joined the staff of St. Thomas's Hospital; was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of England in 1882, served on the Council from 1910 to 1926, was vice-president in 1920, and a member of the court of examiners, 1909-19. He delivered the Bradshaw lecture in 1919, the Vicary lecture in 1921, and the Lister memorial lecture in 1933, in which year he received the Lister memorial medal. At Glasgow he gave the Macewan memorial lecture on the surgery of the temporal bone. From 1912 to 1926 he was chief surgeon to the Metropolitan Police. During the war he served in the Mediterranean as Colonel, A.M.S., and was thrice mentioned in despatches. A true disciple of John Hunter, while waiting for practice he began in 1885 an investigation into the changes which take place in the coats of large arteries when they have been tied without previous division, publishing the results, with Walter Edmunds, in 1891 under the title of "A Treatise on the Ligation of the Great Arteries in their Continuity, with Observations on the Nature, Progress, and Treatment of Aneurism." In 1901 he collaborated with Sir James Purves Stewart in a preliminary work showing the exact process by which peripheral nerves became re-united after division, and in 1919 he published "Essays on the Surgery of the Brain," a profusely illustrated monograph in two volumes. He was made M.V.O. in 1906, C.B. (Mil.) in 1916, K.C.M.G. in 1918, and was also a Knight of Grace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, an honorary LL.D. of Glasgow University, and an honorary M.D. of Malta. He married, in 1883, Sophia Annie, daughter of Alfred Smart, and had five daughters.

— Charles Curtis, Vice-President of the United States, 1929 to 1933, was born in 1859. Through his mother he was descended from the Kansas Red Indian tribe of the Kaws, and was thus the first man of Indian ancestry to occupy the office of Vice-President. Left an orphan soon after his birth, he was brought up on the Indian reservation by his maternal grandmother, Julie Poppin, daughter of White Plume, chief of the tribe. One night after his paternal grandmother had pleaded with him to live among his own people, who could trace their English ancestry back more than 300 years, he left the reservation, never to return to it as his home, although he never forgot his Indian ancestry. His experience with horses led to his first job as a jockey, after which he sold newspapers in the streets, and for a time drove coaches for hire. With the money he saved by denying himself luxuries of any kind, he qualified as a lawyer and set up in practice near Topeka, Kansas, eventually becoming State Attorney for Shawnee County, where

he lived. So successful was his prosecution of every form of vice and crime that he was nominated for Congress and elected to the House of Representatives at Washington as a Republican. In November, 1906, at the age of 47, he was elected Senator for the State, being re-elected in 1912, 1918, and 1924. In 1928 his name was mentioned as a possible candidate for the Presidency, but Mr. Hoover was chosen and Mr. Curtis eventually became Vice-President. He created something of a stir in Washington when he claimed that his sister, Mrs. Edward E. Gann, who acted as his hostess, should have precedence after the wife of the President.

10. **Mrs. Sidgwick** (*nee* Eleanor Mildred Balfour), Principal of Newnham College, Cambridge, from 1892 to 1910, was born on March 11, 1845. Her active concern with women's education began when she became interested through her brother (the first Earl of Balfour) in the lectures for women and the house of residence in connexion with them established in 1870 by Henry Sidgwick (whom she married a few years later), in co-operation with other members of the University. In 1875 she went to Cambridge and became a member of the Council of the Newnham Hall Company, afterwards Newnham College, of which she was Treasurer from 1876 to 1919, Vice-Principal in charge of a hall of forty students from 1880 to 1882, Principal from 1892 to 1910, and a member of the Council and Governing Body until her death. During the time of her connexion with the College it grew from a hall of residence for twenty-five women students to a college providing for 230. It was calculated that Mrs. Sidgwick's own gifts to the college amounted to over 30,000l. For some years she spent her leisure in working at Physics in the Cavendish Laboratory, publishing three papers jointly with her brother-in-law, the third Lord Rayleigh, in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*. In 1893 she was one of the three women appointed on the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, the first occasion on which women were included in a Royal Commission. Keenly interested in psychical research, she became a member of the Council and co-honorary secretary of the Psychical Research Society, of which she was President in 1908 and 1909, and wrote numerous articles on various branches of the subject, including the article on Spiritualism in the "Encyclopaedia Britannica." She also wrote a memoir of Professor Sidgwick in collaboration with Arthur Sidgwick. She received the degrees of Litt.D. from Manchester University and LL.D. from Birmingham, and was President of Roedean School, Brighton.

14. **Sir Theodore Morison**, Director of the British Institute in Paris, and one of the interpreters of Moslem life and sentiment in India, was born on May 9, 1863, the son of Cotter Morison, the Positivist author of "The Service of Man," and was educated at Westminster School and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he gained a second class in the Classical Tripos. After taking his degree in 1885 he went to Nowgong in Bundelkhand to be tutor of two minor Ruling Princes of Central India, the Maharajahs of Chhatarpur and Charkhari. In 1889 he joined the staff of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh—founded by Sir Sayid Ahmad Khan, whom he regarded as the greatest man he ever met—becoming Principal (1899-1905). For two years he was a member of Lord Curzon's Legislative Council and he presided over the All-India Mohammedan Educational Conference of 1904. In 1906 he published "The Industrial Organisation of an Indian Province" (the United Provinces), and in 1911, at the suggestion of Lord Morley, a wider survey, entitled "The Economic Transition in India." At the end of 1906 Lord Morley appointed him to the Council of India, the first selection in the fifty years' existence of the Council made outside the civil or military Services, commerce or banking. In 1913 he was appointed by Lord Crewe to the Royal Commission on the Indian Public Services which reported in 1915. Anxious to serve in the war, Morison tendered his resignation of the India Council but withdrew it, at the request of Sir Austen Chamberlain, and after securing an arrangement whereby he refunded to Indian revenues two-thirds of his salary during his war service, and taking a commission, was attached, at the request of General

Smuts, to the East African Expeditionary Force. From October, 1917, he was **senior political** officer in charge of **the** southern area, German East Africa, with **the honorary rank** of lieutenant-colonel. A few months after demobilisation he went to Newcastle as Principal of Armstrong College, remaining there ten years, **for two of** which he was Vice-Chancellor of Durham University. In 1933 when nearly 70 he became Director of the British Institute in Paris, of which he had been a member of the Committee since it was formed in 1926. He was made K.C.I.E. (1910), K.C.S.I. (1917), and C.B.E. (1919). In 1895 he married Margaret, daughter of the Right Hon. Arthur Cohen, K.C., and had one son and one daughter.

19. Sir Charles Harding Firth, Professor of Modern History at Oxford (1904-25), whose special province was the period of the Civil War and the Protectorate, was born on March 16, 1857, and educated at Clifton and New College Oxford, from which in 1876 he migrated to Balliol with a Brackenbury scholarship in Modern History. In 1877 he obtained the Stanhope Prize for an essay on the Marquess Wellesley; in 1878 he was placed in the first class of the History School; in 1887 he obtained a history tutorship at Pembroke; and in 1901 he was elected to a Research Fellowship at All Souls. Meanwhile he edited the biographies of Colonel Hutchinson (1885) and the Duke of Newcastle (1886), and the memoirs of Edmund Ludlow (1894); and published the Clarke Papers on the military organisation of Puritanism (1891-1901) and a series of documents illustrating the state of Scotland under the Commonwealth (1895-99). But his most arduous labours were in connexion with "The Dictionary of National Biography," for which he wrote 222 articles, including 31 pages on Oliver Cromwell. His last service to the Dictionary was a notice of S. R. Gardiner in the Second Supplement (1912). Firth further enhanced his reputation when he published a life of Cromwell in the "Heroes of the Nations" series (1900), which Lord Acton commended as "the highest authority on its subject," and his Ford lectures on "Cromwell's Army" (1902). To the fourth and fifth volumes of "The Cambridge Modern History" (1906-8), he wrote chapters on the history of England in the ten years after Cromwell's death. His later publications included "The Last Years of the Protectorate" (1909), "The House of Lords during the Civil War" (1910), "Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum," edited with Professor Rait (1911), and "An American Garland" (1915), a collection of ballads relating to America from 1563 to 1759. When in 1904 he succeeded York Powell as Regius-Professor, with a Fellowship of Oriel College attached to the Chair, he made an outspoken attack on Oxford methods of teaching, with special reference to the school of Modern History, stating that a man might obtain the highest honours in that school without any training in the methods of research or in the ancillary sciences which are indispensable to the professed historian. These criticisms were immediately answered in a pamphlet signed by many members of the History Faculty. Firth was actively interested in the School of English Literature and in the study of modern languages at Oxford, on the growth of which, from 1724 to 1929, he published an interesting record. He was a member of the Historical MSS. Commission and for a time was a trustee of the National Portrait Gallery. He was knighted in 1922 and was an honorary doctor of Cambridge, Manchester, Sheffield, Aberdeen, and Durham. In 1880 he married Frances, daughter of the Rev. H. Ashington.

— **Sir William Schooling**, one of the founders of the National Savings movement, was born on December 16, 1860. A journalistic expert on insurance and a popular exponent of statistical problems, he placed his services at the disposal of the Government when the War Savings Committee was formed, and for many years he was one of the ablest henchmen of Sir Robert Kindersley and, afterwards, of General Seely (Lord Mottistone), the Chairman of it and of its successor, the National Savings Committee. Schooling's writings were chiefly **journalistic**, but he published works on "Value for Money" and "Life Assurance

Explained.* For the Hudson's Bay Company he wrote a history of its activities from 1670 to 1920; for the Alliance Insurance Company its centenary record, 1824 to 1924, and for the Standard Life Assurance Company its record from 1825 to 1925. He was a C.B.E. (1918), a K.B.E. (1920), and a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society.

27. Professor Ivan Petrovitch Pavlov, a great Russian physiologist, was born on September 27, 1849, the son of a village priest, and educated first at a theological seminary and then in St. Petersburg, in general Science at the University and in Medicine at the Military Academy. Taking the degree of M.D. in 1883 he became scientific assistant in charge of work on animal experimentation to the clinician Botkin, after which he spent two years in Germany under Ludwig and Heidenhain. In 1891 he was appointed director of the physiological department of the new Institute of Experimental Medicine. In 1897 he became Professor of Physiology at the Military Academy, and in 1907 one of the four scientific members of the St. Petersburg Academy, so that, until 1890, he was in control of three laboratories. His first important work was on the physiology of circulation. With great patience he sought to eliminate the disturbing factors due to anaesthetics, pain, and discomfort which had given misleading results, and to this end he trained a dog to allow the insertion of a cannula in a small artery in its knee. These experiments led to novel results as to the influence of digestion and the inhibition of large quantities of fluid on blood pressure. His next and more fruitful work was on digestion. By making fistulous apertures into the stomach and oesophagus, and maintaining these while the animal recovered to a normal condition, he was able to obtain pure gastric juice and to work out the whole process of secretion and the mental and physiological stimuli which induced it. These researches reformed all notions of the processes of digestion and were the foundation of modern knowledge of the subject. In the third phase of his investigations he found not only that the secretion of saliva and gastric juice followed as reflexes when tasty substances were placed in the mouth of a hungry dog but also that the secretion of saliva or gastric juice could be produced merely by the sound of a bell without the presence of the tasty material, and he also discovered that these conditional reflexes could be transmitted to the next generation. His general conclusion was that different kinds of habits based on training, discipline, and education were nothing but a chain of conditioned reflexes and that associations once established could be automatised and reproduced. Later he began to study the higher nervous activity of man, using individuals with functionally and sometimes automatically diseased brains. Like other Russian scientists he suffered much during the first years of the revolution, but with the introduction of the New Economic Policy conditions improved, and Lenin personally saw to it that Pavlov's laboratory was furnished with all that he required. On his 85th birthday the Soviet Government gave him 1,000,000 roubles for the extension of his laboratories, and an annual pension of 20,000 roubles. He received many distinctions from foreign universities and academies, and was a foreign member of the Royal Society, receiving its Copley medal in 1915. In 1904 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for his researches on digestion. In 1928, on the occasion of the Harvey tercentenary he was made an honorary Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. He married the daughter of a village priest and had four children.

MARCH.

3. George Augustin Macmillan, publisher and classical scholar, was born on August 1, 1855, second son of Alexander Macmillan, and after being educated at Eton entered the family publishing business, becoming a partner in 1879 and a director when it was converted into a limited company. A visit to Greece in 1877 quickened his interest in Greek studies, and when the Hellenic Society was founded in 1879 he was appointed honorary secretary, holding the post for forty

years, after which, until 1934, he was honorary treasurer. When the British School of Archaeology was established in Athens he was a member of the management committee and ultimately succeeded Professor Jebb as Chairman. His many services to the school, at which he founded the Macmillan studentship, were commemorated by giving the name Macmillan Hostel to the students' residence. He took a leading part in the Cretan Exploration Fund, of which he was treasurer, and was associated with the British School at Rome and the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. Next to the classics he was a keen music lover, being honorary secretary of the Royal College of Music, a member of the Bach choir, and a director of Stainer & Bell, the music publishers. A practical agriculturist, he raised one of the finest herds of Jersey cattle in England, owned many exhibition black-faced sheep, and was President of the Danby Agricultural Society, and an enthusiastic member of the Floral and Horticultural Society. He was also Chairman of the Brompton Hospital for Consumption, Vice-President of the Whitby and District War Memorial Cottage Hospital, a strong supporter of the Gordon Boys' Home, and a member of the Athenaeum and of the Dilettanti Society. He received the honorary degree of D.Litt. from Oxford and was an honorary Fellow of Lincoln College. In 1879 he married Margaret Helen, youngest daughter of Joseph Lucas, and had one son and one daughter.

6. **Dr. Conwy Lloyd Morgan, D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S.**, the first Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bristol, was born on February 6, 1852, and educated at the Royal Grammar School, Guildford, and the Royal College of Mines, where he was Duke of Cornwall Scholar, Murchison Medallist, and De la Beche Medallist, and where he gained the Associateship in Mining and Metallurgy. After completing his college course he spent several months touring in America, during which he acquired a keen interest in biological science. Returning to London he went back to the School of Mines, attracted there by the personality of Huxley, under whom he studied for two sessions and on whose advice he began to specialise in the subject on which he became a leading authority—instinct in animals. In 1878 he accepted a lectureship in Rondebosch College, South Africa, but tiring of colonial life came back to England in 1883 to the Chair of Geology and Biology in the University College of Bristol, where he spent the remainder of his life, succeeding Sir William Ramsay as Principal in 1887. When, in 1910, the institution became a University Morgan accepted an interim appointment as Vice-Chancellor, after which he filled the new Chair of Psychology and Ethics, retiring in 1919 at the age of 67. Besides monographs on geology and some manuals of psychology he published important works on animal instinct, such as "Animal Life and Intelligence" (1890), "Habit and Instinct" (1896), and "Animal Behaviour" (1900). His Gifford Lectures were published as "Emergent Evolution" (1923) and "Life, Mind, and Spirit" (1926). "Mind at the Crossway" appeared in 1930, "the crossway" being the connexions set up between a "sensory field" and another. He married Emily, daughter of the Rev. H. W. Maddock, and had one son.

11. **Admiral of the Fleet Earl (David) Beatty, O.M.**, was born at Nantwich, Cheshire, on January 17, 1871, the son of Captain, D. L. Beatty of the 4th Hussars. Entering the Navy in January, 1884, he was advanced to midshipman on May 15, 1886, to sub-lieutenant in 1890 and to lieutenant in 1893. In 1896 he was second-in-command of a naval brigade on the Nile, in co-operation with the Egyptian Army under Sir Herbert Kitchener, and at the action of Hafiz, when the commanding officer was wounded Beatty took his place and was rewarded with the D.S.O. Two years later, after having been in command of the *Ranger*, one of the earliest torpedo-boat destroyers, he was again on the Nile in the Sudan Expedition, when he took part in the battles of Atbara and Khartoum, was mentioned in despatches, and in addition to being awarded the 4th class of the Medjidieh, was promoted to commander at the age of 27 with six years' seniority as lieutenant. In April, 1899, he joined the *Barfleur* on the China

station and saw active service during the Boxer rebellion, being severely wounded at the defence of Tientsin. Again he was mentioned in despatches, and in November, 1900, was promoted to captain. In 1907-8, after commands in home waters and in the Mediterranean and periods on half-pay, he served as Naval Adviser to the Army Council. Resuming sea duty in December, 1908, he commanded the battleship *Queen* in the Atlantic Fleet until January 1, 1910, when, by an Order in Council, he was promoted rear-admiral. He had completed little more than four of the six years required in command at sea, but liberal allowance was made for his having been unable to serve owing to the wounds he had received in China. Declining the offer of the first flag appointment suited to his new rank, he became Naval Secretary of Mr. Winston Churchill, then First Lord, and when the First Battle Squadron was formed in 1913 was appointed over the heads of all to command it, hoisting his flag on board the *Lion* on March 1. On the outbreak of hostilities he was made an acting vice-admiral, in which capacity he served throughout the war, showing his quality first in the action at Heligoland Bight, then at the Dogger Bank, and finally at the Battle of Jutland. The crowning act of his command at sea was the reception of the surrender of the German Fleet (Nov. 21, 1918). In November, 1916, he succeeded Admiral Jellicoe as Commander-in-Chief, remaining in command of the Grand Fleet until it was dispersed in 1919, when he was promoted Admiral of the Fleet. He was the principal officer of the Navy at the Peace celebrations, and among the many honours he received was the unusual one of being the guest of the men of the Lower Deck at a dinner at Portsmouth. On November 1, 1919, he was made First Sea Lord, holding the appointment for the unprecedented period of seven years and nine months. He was elected President of the Society for Nautical Research in 1925, having been a member since its inception in 1910; was Lord Rector of Edinburgh University in 1927; was a Trustee of the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich; and held office as Chief Sea Scout. After his retirement from the Admiralty he indulged in his favourite recreation of fox-hunting, in many seasons going out with the hounds regularly four or five times a week. He also bred and raced thoroughbreds, winning several races; he became a member of the Jockey Club in 1933. In 1919 he received an Earldom and a grant of 100,000/., taking the titles of Earl Beatty of the North Sea and of Brooksby (his Leicester-shire seat) and Viscount Borodale of Wexford, after the home of his family. He was made a G.C.B., as from May 31, 1916; a G.C.V.O. on June 25, 1917; and received the O.M. on June 3, 1919. He also received nine foreign orders. He married, in 1901, Ethel Field, only daughter of the Chicago millionaire, Marshall Field, and had two sons.

14. Professor John Scott Haldane, C.H., F.R.S., a great physiologist and authority on respiration, was born on May 2, 1860, and educated in Edinburgh at the Academy and at the University, after which he studied for a time at the University of Jena. Graduating in medicine at Edinburgh in 1884 he became demonstrator to Professor Carnelly at University College, Dundee, with whom he took part in an extensive investigation into the organic and inorganic impurities of the air of dwellings, schools, and sewers, of which accounts were published in 1887. After a few months in Berlin studying physiological chemistry Haldane, in 1887, was invited by his uncle, Sir John Burdon Sanderson, Professor of Physiology in the University of Oxford, to become one of his demonstrators. Soon after this he showed that the symptoms actually produced by exposure to black-damp and after-damp in mines were different from those given in the text-books. In 1896 he investigated for the Home Office the cause of death in three colliery explosions, his report being translated into several languages. Between 1892 and 1900 he introduced a number of new methods for investigating various aspects of the respiratory functions, and the apparatus which he designed, described in "Methods of Air Analysis" (1912), continued to be widely used. In 1905 he published, with Dr. Priestley, the most important and fundamental of his physiological researches, in which he showed that the regulation of the breathing is

normally determined by the tension of carbon dioxide in the respiratory centre in the brain, and that this nervous centre is exquisitely sensitive to variations in the tension of carbon dioxide in the arterial blood which reaches it. He also demonstrated the importance of wet-bulb temperature in limiting the power of man to withstand a high environmental temperature. In 1911 he led a scientific expedition to Pike's Peak, Colorado, to study the effects of low barometric pressure and the process of acclimatisation to high altitudes. From 1896 onwards he served on a number of Departmental Committees, and it was due to his work as a member of a Committee appointed by the Admiralty to investigate the problem of deep diving that the risks of caisson disease were practically abolished. Some years before the war his investigations into the physiological effects of food, training, and clothing on the soldier resulted in a radical alteration in the scale of rations for active service. When poison gas was introduced during the war, Haldane, at the request of the Secretary of State for War, went to the Front where he verified the type of gas used and the nature of the effects produced by it, and on returning to England speeded up the production of anti-gas equipment. In 1912 he became director of a research laboratory founded by the Doncaster Coal-owners, and when in 1921 the laboratory was transferred to Birmingham University he was made an honorary Professor in that University. In 1924 he was elected President of the Institution of Mining Engineers, a signal honour for a physiologist. For many years he served as one of the gas referees under the Board of Trade. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1897 and was awarded a Royal medal for his researches in respiration in 1916. He was also awarded gold medals by the Institution of Mining and Metallurgy, the Institution of Mining Engineers, and the Royal Society of Medicine, the Baly medal of the Royal College of Physicians, and the medal of the North of England Institute of Mining Engineers. In 1901 he was elected a Fellow of New College, and from 1907 to 1913 was Reader in Physiology at Oxford. In 1916 he delivered at Yale the Silliman Lectures, published under the title of "Respiration" in 1922. His Gifford Lectures at Glasgow in 1928 were published as "The Sciences and Philosophy" and his Donnellan Lectures at Dublin in 1931 as "The Philosophical Basis of Biology." He also wrote "Life and Personality" (1913), "Gases and Liquids" (1928), "The Theory of Heat Engines" (1930), and "Materialism" (1932). He was created a Companion of Honour in 1928 and was LL.D. of Edinburgh and Birmingham, D.Sc. of Oxford and Leeds, Sc.D. of Cambridge and Dublin, and D.Sc. Engineering, of Witwatersrand. He married, in 1891, Louisa Kathleen, daughter of Coutts Trotter, and had one son, Professor John Burdon Sanderson Haldane, F.R.S., and one daughter, Mrs. Naomi Margaret Mitchison, the novelist.

18. Eleutherios Venizelos, the Greek statesman, was born in Crete on August 23, 1864, and educated at Syra and Athens, where he qualified as a lawyer. Returning to Crete he entered the Assembly in 1887, became Leader of the local Liberal Party, and was prominent in the rising against the Turks in 1897. When Prince George of Greece was appointed High Commissioner of Crete, Venizelos was made his Councillor of Justice, but eventually was dismissed and, becoming Leader of the Opposition, in 1905 took to the mountains at Therisso with an armed band. A year later Prince George left the island. At the beginning of 1910 the Greek military officers who had carried out a *pronunciamiento* appealed to Venizelos for aid. Arriving in Athens, he made known his idea of a Revisionary Assembly to complete the programme of the Military League, thus enabling that body to retire from politics without loss of prestige. At the same time he declared for the exclusion of the Cretan Deputies from the new Parliament and so obviated the danger of war with Turkey. He was elected Deputy for Athens and a few months later the King called him to office. In the election which followed he became Minister of War, and of Marine, and in two years had revised the Constitution, reorganised the Army, the Navy, and the Police, and founded the Balkan Alliance. When the Great War began he urged that Greece should join the Allies, but King Constantino, who had succeeded to the Throne in 1913, did not support

him and he resigned. He was returned to office in 1915, but as the King still remained firm, he resigned again. On September 25, 1916, he left Athens with General Danglis and Admiral Konduriotis and set up a provisional Government in Salonika over the Greek territories controlled by the forces of the Entente. When King Constantine was forced to abdicate in June, 1917, Venizelos became Prime Minister and Greece formally entered the war. At the Peace Conference he was brilliantly successful, securing for Greece large tracts of the Turkish Empire, but his attempts to colonise Turkish Asia Minor met with disaster, his prestige waned and in Paris on August 12, 1919, he was slightly wounded by shots fired by two Royalists. King Constantine returned to the Throne on the death, from a monkey bite, of the young King Alexander, and at the General Election in 1920 the Royalists gained a sweeping victory. Venizelos represented his country at the Peace Conference at Lausanne, and early in 1924 again became Prime Minister. But he could not prevent the proclamation of a Republic, and after three weeks he retired broken in health to Cannes. Returning to politics in 1928 he took office once more, regained much of his popularity by a pact of friendship with Italy and an agreement with Yugoslavia on the question of the Free Zone at Salonika, and with two brief intervals he held the premiership until 1933 when, on the elections going against the Venizelists, his friend General Plastiras declared a dictatorship which lasted, not without bloodshed, for fourteen hours. There was a demand that Venizelos should be tried for complicity, but an attempt to assassinate him, during which his wife was wounded, produced a partial revulsion of feeling in his favour. In March, 1935, he again came into prominence. A revolt in Athens by his sympathisers led to a similar one in Crete, where he was living in retirement. For a time he controlled Crete with the Provisional Government, but the revolt collapsed and he fled to Paris. When the restoration of King George took place in November, 1935, he made no protest, and on the King's insistence, his name was included in the proclamation of an amnesty. After the election early in 1936 he recommended the formation of a National Government in face of the difficult situation in Europe at that time. In September, 1921, Venizelos, who had been left a widower with two sons in 1895, married Miss Helena Schilizzi, a member of a Chiot family settled in England.

20. Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham, author and traveller, was born in Scotland in 1852, of Spanish ancestry, a nephew of the 14th Lord Elphinstone, and a claimant to the Kingship of Scotland by descent from Robert I I. After two years at Harrow, he went to South America, where he ranched in Argentina and enlisted in the Uruguayan Army. Later he farmed on the Mexican border and met his friend Buffalo Bill, with whom he came to know "the buffalo, the Appaches, and the tribes of the Rio Grande." In the early 'eighties he settled down on his ancestral estate of Gartmore and Ardoch, in Perthshire, hoping to avert the sale which became inevitable in 1898. He contested N.W. Lanarkshire as a Liberal in 1882 and 1886, the second time successfully, but soon developed into a Socialist in the House, though he once prophesied ironically of the time when "all shall sit, appparelled in one livery, at little tables drinking some kind of not too diuretic table water, approved by the County Council, and reading expurgated Bibles." At the end of the session of 1887 he was suspended, being described as the first man who said "damn" in the Commons. In November he was associated with John Burns in the Trafalgar Square riots, incurred a sword cut on the head from a guardsman and was sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment. In 1892 he was again suspended, and soon afterwards his Parliamentary career ended, though he tried to re-enter at the next General Election and again in 1918. Among his books, which placed him in literature between Martin Hume and Borrow, were "A Vanished Arcadia," concerning Paraguay (1901), accounts of Hernando de Soto (1903), Bernal del Castillo (1915), and the Brazilian mystic, Antonio Conselheiro (1920). "Mogreb-el-Acksa" (1897), his most important travel book, described an attempted journey through Southern Morocco, disguised as a Turkish doctor. His "Guide to the Menteith District" was considered

the best guide-book in any language, and his translation of his wife's " St. Teresa " into Spanish remained the solitary Spanish classic written by an English author. He was a master of the art of writing a preface, the decay of which he attributed to advertisements. During the war he was engaged in buying horses for the British Government in the markets of Argentina and cattle in Colombia, and in writing a book on Cartagena. Bernard Shaw used him as the type of Saranoff, " the Bulgarian braggadocio " in *Arms and the Man*, and in *Captain Brassbound's Conversion*. Many artists painted him, but he was never better portrayed than as a Don Quixote by Sir John Lavery. Graham was the first President of the National Party of Scotland, founded in 1928, and the first Chairman of the Scottish Parliamentary Labour Party. In the election for the Lord Rectorship of Glasgow University in 1928 he was defeated by Mr. Baldwin, then Prime Minister, by only 66 votes. In 1879 he married a Chilean lady, Gabriela de la Balmondiere, a poetess, water-colour painter, botanist, and mystic, who collaborated with him in his second book, " Father Archangel of Scotland " (1896).

21. **Dr. Arthur Shadwell, M.D., F.R.C.P.**, noted as a sociologist, was born on September 21, 1854, and educated at Uppingham School and Keble College, Oxford, where he graduated in 1877. Turning to medicine he went to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, took the M.B. degree in 1883 and for several years practised at Brighton, where he was assistant physician to the Sussex County Hospital. He made several researches into epidemic diseases, notably an account of plague in Oporto. In 1892 he began a life-long association with *The Times*, acting as Special Correspondent to investigate an epidemic of cholera in Germany and Russia. He published "The London Water Supply" (1899), "Drink, Temperance, and Legislation" (1902), "Industrial Efficiency" (1906), "The Socialist Movement" (1925), and "Typhosus: or the Future of Socialism" (1929). He believed in the swing of the pendulum between a relative individualism and a relative collectivism, the latter reviving in bad times but tending to diminish in good. He was made M.D. at Oxford in 1901; a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in 1907, and L.L.D. of Birmingham University in 1909. He was twice married; first to Bertha, daughter of W. P. James of Cardiff; secondly to Alice Louise, daughter of R. Theobald of Almondesbury.

28. **Sir Archibald Edward Garrod, F.R.S.**, Regius Professor of Medicine in the University of Oxford (1920-27) and Consulting Physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, was born on November 25, 1857, and educated at Marlborough and at Christ Church, Oxford, where he gained the Johnson Memorial Prize with an essay on " The History of Successive Stages of our Knowledge of Nebulae, Nebulous Stars, and Star Clusters from the time of Sir William Herschel." In 1880 he took a first class in Natural Science and then went to St. Bartholomew's Hospital where he won the Brackenbury Scholarship in Medicine. At St. Bartholomew's he became successively physician, the first director of the Medical Clinic, and finally consulting physician. By similar steps he was promoted at the Great Ormond Street Hospital for Sick Children. On the outbreak of the war he was attached to the 1st London General Hospital (T.F.). In 1915 as colonel, A.M.S., he went to Malta, and after serving four years as consulting physician to the Mediterranean Forces returned to St. Bartholomew's to undertake the organisation of the newly formed medical unit. In 1920 he succeeded Sir William Osier as Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford, where he lived until his resignation at the age of 70. His chief work was concerned with metabolic changes in disease. In 1924 he delivered the Harveian Oration in which he urged the necessity for clinical teaching as well as laboratory work, and in 1927 he gave the Huxley lecture on " Inborn Defects." He served on the Medical Research Council and was Osier Memorial Medallist at Oxford in 1925. He was author of " Inborn Errors of Metabolism " and " The Inborn Factors in Disease." In 1886 he took the degree of M.D. at Oxford and in 1891 was elected F.R.C.P. He was elected F.R.S. in 1910; created C.M.G. in 1916, and promoted K.C.M.G. in 1918; and received

honorary University degrees from Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dublin, Malta, and Padua. He married, in 1886, Laura Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Smith, Bart., and had three sons and a daughter.

31. Sir Joseph Ernest Petavel, D.Sc., F.R.S., Director of the National Physical Laboratory, was born on August 14, 1873, and received his early scientific training at University College, London, under Sir Ambrose Fleming, with whom he carried out his first scientific research, on the alternating current arc. He was awarded an 1851 Exhibition research scholarship and continued his investigations at the Royal Institution and Davy-Faraday Laboratory, where he studied the dissipation of heat from platinum at high temperatures, and carried out work on the possibility of a standard of light based on the brightness of incandescent molten platinum. In 1900 he went to Owens College, Manchester, as John Harling Research Fellow. In 1904 he was the scientific manager of the liquid air plant which the British Royal Commission showed at the St. Louis Exhibition. During this period he collaborated in collecting data on the temperature of the upper air by kite soundings, and designed an anemometer. In 1908 he became Professor of Engineering and Director of the Whitworth Laboratories of Manchester University, where he carried out work on the attainment of very high pressures, which formed his most important original contribution to physical science. He was appointed a member of the Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (afterwards the Aeronautical Research Committee) when it was formed in 1909, and to obtain practical experience qualified as a pilot, but a serious accident prevented him from continuing to fly. When the Aerodynamics Sub-Committee was set up in 1917 he was made Chairman and was largely responsible for the great impetus given to aerodynamic research. From 1911 to 1916 he was a member of the General Board of the National Physical Laboratory, becoming director in 1919 on the retirement of Sir Richard Glazebrook. He served on numerous Government Committees and for several years was Chairman of the Engineering Co-ordinating Research Board of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research and a member of the Radio Research Board. He also served on the Councils of the British Electrical and Allied Industries Research Association and of the British Standards Institution, and was a member of the Board of Visitors of Greenwich Observatory, of the National Radium Commission, and of the Board of Studies of London University in Civil and Mechanical Engineering and a past President of the Engineering Section of the British Association. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1907 and created a K.B.E. in 1920, in which year he was elected a member of the Athenaeum under Rule I I. He was unmarried.

APRIL.

1. Dr. Thomas Ethelbert Page, political critic and classical editor, was born on March 27, 1850, and educated at Shrewsbury and St. John's College, Cambridge, taking his degree in 1873 after being Porson prizeman in 1870, Porson scholar in 1871, Davies scholar in 1872, Browne medallist in 1870, 1871, and 1872, and Chancellor's medallist in 1872. At once elected a Fellow of St. John's, he became sixth form master at Charterhouse where he remained for thirty-seven years until, in 1910, he was appointed editor-in-chief of the famous Loeb Classical Library. In 1911 he tried unsuccessfully to enter Parliament at a by-election as an independent for Cambridge University. A Liberal by conviction, he was throughout his life a student of politics and a writer on public affairs, and as early as 1924 advocated a National Government of the type which took shape in 1931. From its first number he was a regular contributor to *The Times Educational Supplement*. He was a member of the Surrey County Council and Education Committee and served for thirty years on the Town Council of Godalming, of which he was an honorary freeman. He was a Governor of Charterhouse and

a member of the governing body of the school and also of Shrewsbury School. In 1903 he was President of the Association of Assistant Masters. In 1927 his portrait—showing him in the "Oxford bags" which he originated generations before they became fashionable—was presented to him by his fellow-members and hung in the Reform Club. On his 80th birthday he received a Latin address of congratulation, bearing the signature of 500 men eminent in politics, scholarship, art, and literature. He was created a Companion of Honour in 1934 and was an honorary Litt.D. of Manchester University. He married the daughter of E. Toynbee, of Lincoln, and had two daughters.

4. The Right Hon. Sir George Herbert Murray, a distinguished Civil Servant, was born on September 27, 1849, and educated at Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford, of which in 1913 he was elected an honorary student in recognition of his eminent services to the State. After taking his degree in 1873 he entered the Foreign Office where he remained until 1880, when he was transferred to the Department with which his name was associated—the Treasury, to which he returned in 1903 as Joint Permanent Secretary, retiring in 1911. He was private secretary to Mr. Gladstone from 1892 to 1894, when he became private secretary to Lord Rosebery. He was secretary to Lord Herschell's Gold and Silver Commission (1885), drafting, it was said, both the majority and minority reports, and to the Commission appointed two years later, which inquired into the conditions of the Western Highlands and the Islands of Scotland. In 1897 he was appointed Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue and in 1899 Secretary of the General Post Office. He was created a K.C.B. in 1899, promoted G.C.B. in 1908, sworn of the Privy Council in 1910, and made a G.C.V.O. in 1920. In 1879 he married the Hon. Helen Mulholland, daughter of the first Lord Dunleath, and had one son, Sir Evelyn Murray, himself a Civil Servant of distinction.

9. Professor Ferdinand Tönnies, pioneer of German sociology, was born on his father's farm in Schleswig in 1855, and studied social science at Jena, Leipzig, Bonn, Berlin, Tübingen, and Kiel, where in 1881 he began his career as teacher of sociology. In 1913 he was appointed to the Chair, not of Sociology, but of Political Economy and Statistics. In 1933 he retired by order of the Nazi Minister of Culture. His principal work was "Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft," first published in 1887, but he was also known for his study of Hobbes in his book, "Hobbes' Leben und Lehre" (1896), and for his remarkably erudite "Kritik der öffentlichen Meinung" (1922). His "Einführung in die Soziologie" (1931) bore witness to his wide reading and deep thought and enjoyed a wide public. So did his "Geist der Neuzeit" (1935), published in his eightieth year.

10. The Hon. Stephen William Buchanan Coleridge, anti-vivisectionist and man of letters, was born on May 31, 1854, second son of the famous Lord Chief Justice and a kinsman of Samuel Taylor and Hartley Coleridge. After taking his degree at Trinity College, Cambridge, he became private secretary to his father, during which time he was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple. In 1890 he was appointed Clerk of Assize for the South Wales Circuit. He was one of the founders of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, President of the League for the Prohibition of Cruel Sports, and a director of the National Anti-Vivisection Society, for which cause he was an indefatigable worker. Besides "Memories," "The Idolatry of Science," and similar works in which he maintained that "knowledge and reason have always been, and must always be, miserable bases on which to build conduct, character, and life," he published several volumes of literary appreciation, including "A Morning in My Library," "An Evening in My Library among the English Poets," "The Chobham Book of English Prose," "Quiet Hours in the Temple," "Quiet Hours in Poets' Corner," and four volumes of letters to a grandson. He was a skilful amateur painter, contributing to the Royal Academy and the R.B.A. and holding one-man exhibitions in London. He was twice married: first to Geraldine Beatrice

(daughter and co-heir of Charles Manners Lushington), who died in 1910, leaving three sons ; and secondly, in 1911, to Susan, daughter of Allan Duncan Stewart.

23. **Major-General Sir Wilmot Parker Herringham**, consulting physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital and Vice-Chancellor of the University of London, 1912-15, was born on April 17, 1855, and educated at Winchester and Keble College, Oxford, taking honours in the classical schools. He then entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn, but later decided to become a doctor and studied at St. Bartholomew's and in Vienna. Returning to Oxford he graduated M.B. in 1882 and M.D. in 1888, qualified as M.R.C.S. and M.B.C.P. and became F.R.C.P. in 1889. In the war, with the rank of major-general, he was consulting physician at G.H.Q. and later to the Third Army, and was mentioned in despatches. At the University of London he was Vice-Chancellor, 1912-15, and Chairman of the Council of Bedford College for Women. He was also Chairman of the General Nursing Council for England and Wales, 1922-26; a member of the University Grants Committee, and Chairman of the Old Vic Governors, 1921-29. Besides contributions to the "Proceedings" of the Royal Society, to the "Reports" of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and to other scientific periodicals he wrote "A Physician in France," an outspoken anecdotal account of his experiences during the war. He was knighted in 1914 and later created C.B. and K.C.M.G., and was an honorary Fellow of Keble College, Oxford, and an honorary M.D. of Trinity College, Dublin. He married, in 1880, Christina Jane (daughter of T. W. Powell), an artist whose anonymous gift of 200*l.* enabled the National Art Collections Fund to come into being, and had one son.

27. Dr. Karl Pearson, F.R.S., Emeritus Professor of Eugenics and formerly Director of the Francis Galton Laboratory for National Eugenics, University of London, was born in 1857 and educated at University College School and King's College, Cambridge, where he was elected a Fellow after taking a first class in the Mathematical Tripos in 1879, and an honorary Fellow in 1903. In 1885 he was appointed to the Chair of Applied Mathematics at University College, London, where he made biometry—the application of mathematical methods to the study of biological problems—his chief interest, thereby antagonising biologists, who resented the application of mathematics to their subject; physicians, who resented his attacks on their neglect of statistical methods, and philanthropists, who objected to his scorn of environmental betterment. To one and all he vigorously replied. In 1911 he became Professor of Eugenics and was thus enabled to continue his favourite studies. By the general reader he was best known as the author of "The Grammar of Science," although his monumental "Life and Letters of Francis Galton" was brilliantly written, as was his early volumes of essays, particularly "The Ethic of Free Thought." He was elected F.R.S. in 1896 and was awarded the Society's Darwin Medal in 1898, and the Huxley Medal of the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1908. He was an honorary Fellow of the Royal Society of Medicine and a member of various foreign learned societies, an honorary D.Sc. of London, an honorary LL.D. of St. Andrews, and an honorary Fellow of University College, London. He was twice married and had one son and two daughters.

28. Ahmed **Fuad**, successively Sultan and King of Egypt, was born on March 26, 1868, of Albanian and Turkish descent, the youngest son of Ismail the Magnificent and great grandson of Mohamed Ali, who founded the dynasty. When Ismail abdicated in 1879 and took up his residence in Italy, Fuad accompanied him, studying first at the Tudisium Institute at Geneva and afterwards at the International Institute at Turin, where seven years later he joined the Military Academy, being admitted to the Italian Army as a lieutenant of artillery. In 1890 Sultan Abdul Hamid II. appointed him military attaché at the Ottoman Embassy in Vienna, but in 1892 he was recalled to Egypt by his nephew, Abbas Hilmy, who had succeeded his father, Tewfik, as Khedive, and was appointed

as his aide-de-camp in chief. Three years later Fuad resigned and withdrew from politics in order to become an active patron of scientific studies, and until his fiftieth year lived a retired and unostentatious life, although in 1913 he made an unsuccessful claim to the vacant Throne of Albania. On the death, in 1917, of Prince Hussein Kamel (whom the British Government had substituted for the Khedive Abbas Hilmy on the entry of Turkey into the Great War), his son, Prince Kamel ed-Din, declined to accept the succession, which was then offered to Prince Fuad, but it was not until the British Declaration of February 28, 1922, had recognised the independence of Egypt that Fuad was able to make his influence felt. He immediately assumed the title of King and under the new Constitution was given a suspensory vote in legislation; could appoint and dismiss Ministers, and could dissolve Parliament. From the first, however, he had trouble with the Wafd, or Nationalist Party, and it was not until after the death of its leader, Saad Pasha Zaghlul, that he was able to make headway. In 1930 he dissolved the Egyptian Parliament, and under a Ministry appointed by himself, promulgated a new electoral law, which, while nominally retaining universal suffrage, instituted an indirect system of election which put the real choice of representation in the hands of the more responsible section of the community. This "Palace Dictatorship," as it was described, caused such serious discontent that towards the end of 1934 the King was forced to restore the Constitution of 1923. King Fuad, who for forty years had suffered from a wound in the throat caused by a shot fired by Prince Ahmed Seif-ed-Din, the brother of his first wife, married, secondly, Queen Nazli, daughter of Abdel Rahim Sabry Pasha. The heir to the Throne, Prince Farouk, was born in 1920.

30. Professor Alfred Edward Housman, poet and classical scholar, was born on March 26, 1859, and educated at Bromsgrove School and St. John's College, Oxford, of which he was afterwards an honorary Fellow. From 1882 to 1892 he was a higher division clerk in H.M. Patent Office, but he soon began to show his true bent, and by the time he was thirty had contributed some extraordinarily acute papers on the texts of Horace, AEschylus, and Propertius to the *Journal of Philology*. In 1892 he accepted the Chair of Latin in University College, London, remaining there until 1911 when he was elected to the Professorship of Latin at Cambridge and to a Fellowship at Trinity College. In 1903 he startled the learned world with a critical edition of the first book of the astrologer Manilius, the remaining four books appearing at long intervals, and in 1906 by his edition of Juvenal. In his prefaces and elsewhere he mercilessly satirised and exposed fellow-editors of the classics, often pillorying them by name, in a kind of "Dunciad." His fame, however, rests on two volumes of poems, 104 in all: "A Shropshire Lad" (1896) and "Last Poems" (1922), the latter containing the well-known "Epitaph on an Army of Mercenaries," written in 1914. Housman, who was described as "a typical Cambridge don, prim in manner, silent and rather shy, and conventional in dress," declined all honours, including, it was said, the Order of Merit.

MAY.

1. Harold Cox, economist and journalist, who was born in 1860 and educated at Tonbridge School and Jesus College, Cambridge, started his career as a University Extension Lecturer. Among the influences which moulded him were the personality of Edward Carpenter, his actual work as an agricultural labourer, and his contact with India, where for two years he was a teacher (at the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh). Then, after a brief spell of reading for the Bar at Gray's Inn, he took to journalism. He was Secretary of the Cobden Club, 1899 to 1904, and entered Parliament two years later as Liberal member for Preston. But his independence and his reluctance to obey the party machine were too much for his constituents, who refused to adopt him in 1909.

In 1910 a dinner was given in his honour by the British Constitutional Association "in recognition of his services to the cause of personal liberty and personal responsibility." For three years he was an Alderman of the London County Council. In 1912 he was appointed editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, holding the post until 1929. An admirable writer with an uncontrollable conscience, which no party and no newspaper could subdue, some of his best work was done in the Press Gallery of the House of Commons for the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Westminster Gazette*, and the *Daily Chronicle*. In his later years he wrote for the *Sunday Times*, his articles appearing up to the last week of his life. He was one of the foremost champions of individualism in his generation and accordingly a foe to Socialism. Among his publications were "Land Nationalisation," "Economic Liberty," and "The Problem of Population." He was a member of the Bryce Commission (1915), the Committee on Public Retrenchment (1916), and the Royal Commission on Decimal Currency (1919). He was also a member of the Atheneum Club and of the Court of the Clothworkers' Company. He married Helen Clegg.

8. Dr. Oswald Spengler, German philosopher, was born at Blankenburg, on May 29, 1880, and studied at the Universities of Munich and Berlin. For a few years he was a teacher of mathematics and physics at Hamburg, but since 1911 had devoted himself to his private studies, living in Munich in close retirement. In 1914 he wrote the first volume of his best-known work, "Der Untergang des Abendlandes" (published in 1918), which created a stir among thinking people in Germany for its revolutionary pessimism. But a deeper interpretation of modern German mentality and its reflexes on Europe was "Preussentum und Sozialismus," in which he condemned Marxist Socialism as being un-German. In several shorter books and pamphlets he passed pessimistic comment on the trend of development in Germany and the world after the Peace Treaty. In "Mensch und Technik" (1931) Spengler wrote in praise of barbarism, and foreshadowed what he regarded as the inevitable conflict between western civilisation and the Yellow races. "Deutschland in Gefahr" (1932) was a grave warning against the lawlessness arising in that country, and in the first volume of "Jahre der Entscheidung" (1933) he made a scathing attack on the new rulers in Germany. Yet Spengler condemned democracy and advocated dictatorships; scorned the workers and admired the captains of industry. Indeed, he was termed the philosopher of the possessing classes, and his writings may be said to have prepared the ground for the coming of National Socialism in Germany.

13. Sir Felix Otto Schuster, Bt., banker, was born on April 21, 1854, at Frankfurt-on-the-Main, and was educated there and at Geneva, continuing his studies at Owens College, Manchester, when his family migrated to England. He then entered the firm of Schuster, Son & Co., and in 1887, when part of the business was taken over by the Union Bank of London, he was elected a director. In 1893 he was elected deputy governor and, two years later, governor. At the end of the nineteenth century, feeling that the private banks were ill-fitted to withstand the strain of economic development, he negotiated with the proprietors of Smith, Payne & Smiths who, in 1902, amalgamated with the Union Bank. Similar operations followed until, in 1919, Schuster, with Lord Inchcape, matured a scheme for welding together in one institution the National Provincial Bank of England and the Union of London and Smith's Bank. An enthusiastic Free Trader, he stood as candidate for the City of London in 1906 but was defeated. For many years he was Finance Member of the Council of India. He served on a number of Government Commissions and assisted in the management of several hospitals, of University College, and of the London School of Economics. During the war he worked on the Foreign Exchange Committee, and it was largely due to him that the Resolution on World Restoration, the precursor of the Dawse Plan, was finally passed. As one of the greatest authorities on banking in the United Kingdom he had held all the leading offices of honour in the banking world.

He was a keen mountaineer, being for many years a member of the Alpine Club, of which at one time he was honorary secretary and, subsequently, vice-president. He was also interested in music, being a liveryman of the Musicians' Company and a skilful pianist. He was created a baronet in 1906. He married a daughter of Sir Hermann Weber and had one son and two daughters.

14. Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby of Megiddo and of Felixstowe (Edward Henry Hynman Allenby), nicknamed "The Bull" on account of his massive stature, was born on April 23, 1861, and educated at Haileybury College and the Royal Military College, from which he was gazetted to the 6th (Inniskilling) Dragoons on May 10, 1882. In 1884 he was with his squadron quelling an insurrection in Bechuanaland, and in 1888, then an adjutant, was repressing armed disturbances in Zululand. In 1896 he passed into the Staff College, gaining a high place in the open competitive examination. From March, 1898, to October, 1899, he was adjutant to a cavalry brigade. When the South African War broke out his regiment, which formed part of the Cavalry Division under Major-General French (later Field-Marshal the Earl of Ypres), took part in the relief of Kimberley. In April, 1900, Allenby obtained temporary command of the 6th Dragoons and in November received a brevet lieutenant-colonelcy, followed in January, 1901, by the command of an independent column. At the end of the South African War he received a brevet colonelcy, was created C.B. and was given command of the 5th Lancers. In October, 1905, he became substantive colonel and brigadier-general and was appointed to command the Fourth Cavalry Brigade in the Eastern Counties. He was promoted major-general in September, 1909, and less than a year later was appointed Inspector of Cavalry, a position which he was holding on the outbreak of the Great War. When trench warfare set in and the cavalry were condemned to a period of complete inactivity, Allenby was transferred to the command of the Fifth Army Corps, six months later, in October, 1915, being given the command of the newly formed Third Army, with the rank of temporary general, which he held until July, 1917, when he assumed command of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force. In that capacity he found ample scope for his genius in the wholly successful and splendid campaign in Palestine. After the Armistice, Allenby showed by his handling of the difficult problem of the control of the captured territories that he was an able administrator, and when disorder occurred in Egypt in 1919 he was appointed British High Commissioner in that country. Returning to England at the conclusion of his term of office, he became President of the British National Cadet Association. He was also Chairman of the King's Roll National Committee. He was promoted K.C.B. in 1915 and created a G.C.M.G. in 1917 and a G.C.B. in 1918 and appointed colonel of the 1st Life Guards in January, 1920. He received honorary degrees at both Oxford and Cambridge. In October, 1919, he received the thanks of Parliament and a grant of £50,000; was promoted field-marshal and raised to the peerage as Viscount Allenby of Megiddo and of Felixstowe, with a special remainder to his brother and his heirs male. He also received many foreign decorations and was a Knight of Grace of St. John of Jerusalem. In 1935 when elected Rector of Edinburgh University he referred to the gains of war as Dead Sea fruit. He married, in 1896, Adelaide Mabel, daughter of H. E. Chapman, and had one son, who died of wounds received in action in 1917.

17. Sir Philip Ben Greet, actor and producer, was born on September 24, 1857, in a Thames recruiting ship of which his father was in command. It was intended that he should follow his father's profession but after a time he became a schoolmaster and then went on the stage, making his debut at Southampton on November 1, 1879. He first appeared in London at the Gaiety Theatre on March 28, 1883, as " Caius Lucius " in *Cymbeline*. In 1886 he went into management and gave a series of open-air performances which continued for two decades. In 1895 he produced a number of plays for the Shakespeare Festival at Stratford-on-Avon. From 1890 to 1902, when he went to America,

he toured with his own company which included H. B. Irving, Dorothea Baird, Robert Loraine, Mrs. Patrick Campbell, Irene Rooke, Sybil Thorndike and Leon Quartermaine. He was also connected with many Drury Lane melodramas and with *The Belle of New York* and other light operas. At one period he had twenty-three companies on tour at the same time. After being associated with William Poel, of the Elizabethan Stage Society, in the production of *Everyman* in 1902, he took the play on tour in the United States, where he remained until 1914. On his return to England he was engaged at the Old Vic, continuing there until 1918, during which time he produced twenty-three of Shakespeare's plays, including *Hamlet* in its entirety. From 1924 to 1926 he was associated with Mr. W. Edward Stirling in the production of plays in France and was partly instrumental in establishing in Paris a permanent English theatre for the production of the classics (1925-27). Greet, who was unmarried, was knighted in 1929.

20. Alfred Palmer, benefactor of Reading University, was born in 1852, second son of George Palmer, M.P., who founded the biscuit firm of Huntley & Palmer. At an early age Alfred Palmer entered the business and devoted many years to its management. In 1903-4 when Reading University College was only ten years old and unable to obtain a larger site, Palmer, who was a member of the Council, proposed that the College should migrate to "The Acacias," the home of his family. The offer was accepted, and thenceforward he was identified with every phase of the movement. In 1911 he gave 50,000l. and additional land towards the endowment fund of 200,000l., the rest being contributed by his brother, G. W. Palmer, and by Lady Wantage. In the same year he became Chairman of the Council of the College, and when the University came into existence in 1926, President of its Council, holding the office until he retired in 1930. To his generosity the University owed St. Andrew's Hall, the largest of its halls of residence for women, and he, with other members of his family, endowed a University Library as a memorial to his brother. Subsequently he also gave 5,000Z. to the fund for new University buildings. In 1927 by a unanimous vote, the Council and Senate of the University made him a Doctor of Science, *honoris causa*, which was a deliberate departure from the declared policy to grant no honorary degrees until the position of the University was firmly established. In 1934 he was made an honorary freeman of the Borough of Reading. He took much interest in the breeding of cattle and won many first prizes at agricultural shows. He married, in 1877, Alice Maria, daughter of William Exall, J.P., and had one son and one daughter.

25. Sir Robert Sangster Rait, Scottish historian, formerly Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Glasgow, was born in Leicestershire of Aberdeen stock, on February 10, 1874. Twenty years later he graduated at the University of Aberdeen, of which he wrote a history while engaged for a time as assistant to the Professor of Logic. In 1896 he gained an exhibition in modern history at New College, Oxford, where he remained for seventeen years. In 1899 he took a first class in the Honour School of Modern History; was awarded the Stanhope Essay Prize; and was elected a Fellow of New College. He was appointed Lecturer in Modern History, Tutor in 1903, and Librarian in 1908, and for three years he served as Dean of the College. For many years he was treasurer of the Union. In 1913 he was appointed the first occupant of the Chair of Scottish History and Literature at Glasgow University, holding the post for sixteen years, but was absent on leave for three years during the war, when he gave his services to the War Trade Intelligence Department. In 1924 he was appointed Chairman of the Library Association and President of the Scottish Text Society. Later he became President of the Scottish History Society, and in 1932 was appointed Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Scottish National Library in Edinburgh. During 1928 he was in the United States as visiting Professor at the University of California. In 1929 he resigned the post of

Historiographer Royal, which he had held since 1919 to become Principal of Glasgow University. His interests were chiefly in medieval and Scottish history. He wrote a manual for the Cambridge University Press on "Life at Medieval Universities," an introductory study on the Scottish Parliament, and a study of the relations between Scotland and England. With Sir Charles Firth he produced "Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660," and he edited "Lusus Regius," unpublished writings of King James I. He also wrote the biographies of Field-Marshal Viscount Gough and Sir F. P. Haines and studies of John Knox and Andrew Melville. In 1920 he published, with Professor A. V. Dicey, a series of studies on the Union of Scotland with England, and five years after he edited and published some memorials of his collaborator. His chief work on the Parliaments of Scotland, the most authoritative on the subject, appeared in 1924. Most of his other work was done in conjunction with others, notably "King James's Secret," a study of the relations of King James with his mother, Mary Queen of Scots, which he wrote with Miss Annie Cameron in 1927. In 1934 he contributed a full sketch of Scotland to the time of the Union to a history of the country which he wrote with a former student of his, George S. Pryde. He was made a C.B.E. in 1918 and a knight in 1933. Several universities bestowed honorary degrees upon him and his old college elected him an honorary Fellow. He married, in 1908, Ruth Edith Mary, eldest daughter of J. C. E. Bridge, and had two daughters.

29. Lord (Charles John) Darling, Judge of the King's Bench Division, was born on December 6, 1849, and educated privately, acquiring a remarkable knowledge of the French language and literature. After a short time in a solicitor's office in Birmingham, he was called to the Bar in 1874 by the Inner Temple (of which he became a Bencher in 1892), joined the Oxford Circuit and took silk in 1885. In 1888 he was elected Conservative Member of Parliament for Deptford after being twice defeated in South Hackney by Sir Charles Russell, Q.C., afterwards Lord Russell of Killowen. During his nine years in the House of Commons Darling made so little impression on his fellow-members that every one was astonished when, in 1897, Lord Halsbury made him a Judge of the Queen's Bench Division. The choice, however, soon proved to have been a wise one, and throughout Darling's twenty-six years on the Bench very few of his judgments were upset on appeal, while to the general public he became widely known as a humorist. Among his most notable trials were those of Steinie Morrison for the Clapham Common murder and the Pemberton Billing libel case; in the Court of Criminal Appeal he heard the appeals of Crippen and of Roger Casement. When Lord Reading went to America as plenipotentiary during the war, Darling, as senior Judge of the King's Bench Division, served as deputy Lord Chief Justice, his work being recognised with the unusual honour of a Privy Councillorship. It was thought that he would succeed Lord Reading as Lord Chief Justice, but he was passed over; characteristically, he remarked that he supposed it was because he was not old enough. He retired from the Bench on November 12, 1923, the event being marked by a public ceremonial in the Court of the Lord Chief Justice, and a few months later he was created Baron Darling of Langham in the County of Essex. He toured Canada in 1926 as the guest of the Canadian Bar Association, and in the same year he piloted through the House of Lords the Bill to prevent the inclusion in the reports of law cases of matter calculated to injure public morals. He was a member of the Royal Commission on the King's Bench in 1912 and Chairman of the Committee on Courts-Martial in 1919, and of the National Mark Committee in 1928. Among his numerous publications may be mentioned "Scintilla Juris," "Meditations in the Tea Room," "On the Oxford Circuit," "Reconsidered Rimes," and "Autumn Leaves." He married, in 1886, Mary Caroline, eldest daughter of Major-General W. W. H. Greathed, C.B., and had one son and two daughters.

JUNE.

1. **Sir Frederick Orridge Macmillan**, publisher, was born on October 5, 1851, the eldest son of Daniel Macmillan, joint-founder of Macmillan & Company, and after being educated at Uppingham, joined the firm at its Cambridge headquarters, subsequently undergoing a five years' course in America, where a branch had been opened in New York in 1869. In 1874 he was admitted to partnership, and two years later returned to England, where the headquarters of the business was then at 16 Bedford Street, Covent Garden. In 1895 the business was turned into a limited company, of which Sir Frederick became Chairman. He was President of the Publishers' Association in 1900, 1901, 1911, and 1912 and was largely responsible for the introduction of the "net" system. He was a trustee of the Booksellers' Provident Institution and a member of the Council of the Royal Literary Fund and Chairman of the Board of Management of the National Hospital for Paralysis. He was also a member of the Royal Commission on Paper (1916) and was a J.P. and D.L. for Hertfordshire. Knighted in 1909, he was created C.V.O. in 1928. In 1874 he married Georgiana, daughter of Thomas Warrin, of Long Island. They had no children.

3. **Sir Alfred William Watson**, K.C.B., Government Actuary, was born on March 11, 1870, and educated at Nottingham High School, after which he entered the office of his grandfather, a consulting actuary. In 1893 he was admitted a Fellow of the Institute of Actuaries and rapidly became the leading authority on questions relating to sickness insurance, his classic investigation being that into the sickness and mortality experience of the Manchester Unity of Odd-fellows for 1893-97 period. In 1896 he was a member of Lord Rothschild's Committee on Old Age Pensions. In 1910 he transferred his consulting practice to London, and shortly afterwards was widely consulted on the National Insurance Bill, becoming Chief Actuary to the National Health Insurance Joint Committee. In 1917 he was appointed the first Government Actuary. He was a member of the Royal Commission on Decimal Coinage in 1918, and National Health Insurance in 1926, and a large number of Departmental Committees. He was President of the Institute of Actuaries, 1920-22, and served on the Council of the Royal Statistical Society and was Chairman of the Permanent Consultative Committee on Official Statistics since its formation in 1921. He was knighted in 1915 and created a K.C.B. in 1920. In 1895 he married Edith, daughter of R. W. Moffrey, and had one son, who died in boyhood, and two daughters.

10. **Dame Henrietta Octavia Barnett** (*nee* Rowland), social reformer, was born on May 4, 1851, and at the age of 21 married Canon S. A. Barnett, then vicar of St. Jude's, Whitechapel. Beginning with parish work, she became, in 1875, a manager of the Forest Gate District School, holding the post until 1897. Between 1876 and 1898 she was honorary secretary of the Whitechapel branch of the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants. Meanwhile, she was engaged in promoting homes for workhouse and feeble-minded girls, and in 1878 she started the Children's Country Holiday Movement by sending nine poor children for a stay in the country. In 1884 she founded the London Pupil Teachers' Association, of which she was President from 1891 to 1907. She co-operated with her husband in establishing the Toynbee Hall Settlement, introduced the movement into the United States, and by 1920 was President of an American Federation of 480 Settlements. She also helped in the creation of the Whitechapel Art Gallery, which was opened by Lord Rosebery in 1901. In 1896 she was instrumental in forming the State Children's Association, designed to improve the conditions under which the children in workhouses were living. In connexion with her Garden Suburb scheme she began by raising 43,000/. in order to save for the public 80 acres of land for the protection and enlargement of Hampstead Heath. Then came the Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust which,

for 112,000l., bought a further 240 acres; in 1907 she cut the first sod of the Garden Suburb. At the age of 72, without having studied art, she had an oil painting accepted by the Royal Academy, while two others were exhibited at the Royal Amateur Society's Exhibition. She was at one time or other actively associated with the National Association for the Welfare of the Feeble-Minded, the National Union of Women Workers, Barnett Home, Oxford, the Henrietta Barnett School, the Play and Pageant Union, the League of Nations Union, the Social and Political Education League, and the International Conference on Settlements. In 1918 she published the "Life, Work, and Friends of Canon Barnett." She was made a Commander of the Order of the British Empire in 1917 and a Dame of the Order in 1924.

12. Dr. Montague Rhodes James, O.M., Provost of Eton and formerly Provost of King's College, Cambridge, was born on August 1, 1862, and educated at Eton, and King's College, Cambridge. There he took the Carus Divinity prize (1882), the Bell scholarship (1883), and the Craven scholarship and Jeremie prize (Septuagint) in 1884, in which year he received a first class in the first division of the Tripos. He took his degree in 1885 and wrote for the Fellowship to which he was elected in 1887 a dissertation on "The Apocalypse of St. Peter." In 1886 he was Chancellor's medallist and became assistant director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, succeeding Professor Middleton as director in 1893, and holding the post until 1908. At King's College he was Divinity Lecturer, Dean, Tutor (for a short time) and from 1905, Provost. In 1918 he succeeded Dr. Warre as Provost of Eton. His numerous publications comprised many editions of apocryphal writings and mediaeval manuscripts, culminating in 1924 in "The Apocryphal New Testament." He also wrote a number of ghost stories, such as "Ghost Stories of an Antiquary," "A Warning to the Curious," and "Twelve Medieval Ghost Stories" (1922). In 1926 he published "Eton and King's," a volume of reminiscences. Dr. James, who received the Order of Merit in 1930, was honorary Litt.D. and D.D. of Cambridge, D.C.L. of Oxford, D.Litt. of Dublin, and LL.D. of St. Andrews. The Bibliographical Society gave him its gold medal. He was a Fellow of the British Academy, a trustee of the British Museum, one of the Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851, and an original "Friend of Canterbury Cathedral," and he served on the Royal Commissions on Public Records, the Universities, and Historical Monuments. He was unmarried.

14. Gilbert Keith Chesterton, poet, novelist, critic, and laughing philosopher, was born in 1874, the elder son of an English father and a French-Swiss mother, and was educated at St. Paul's School, leaving in 1892 with the prize for English verse. Then for a few months he studied art at the Slade School to improve the talent for drawing which never left him, but soon he began to review books and to make his name as a writer and after-dinner speaker whose chief artifice was paradox. He also quickly acquired a personal reputation by his Johnsonian figure and became the butt of the cartoonist. With amazing energy and versatility he wrote countless articles on art, religion, philosophy, and current affairs in the *Bookman* and the *Speaker*, and for over a generation he contributed a weekly essay to the *Illustrated London News*. Latterly he edited his own review, *G. K.'s Weekly*. Several volumes of his essays were published under titles such as "What's Wrong with the World," "All I Survey," and "Tremendous Trifles." His earliest book was "Greybeards at Play," a collection of nonsense verses. As a novelist, beginning in 1904 with "The Napoleon of Notting Hill," he was equally successful, while in "The Innocence of Father Brown" (1911) he created a new type of detective. As a literary critic he wrote studies of Chaucer, Browning, Stevenson, St. Francis of Assisi, and Bernard Shaw, as well as one of the best books on Dickens. Before he was middle-aged, books and innumerable articles were written about him by younger men. Shortly before his death he finished his autobiography. In 1922 he was received into the Church of Rome. He married, in 1901, Frances Blogg.

18. **Maxim Gorky** (Alexei Maximovitch Pyeshkoff) was born on March 14, 1868, the son of an upholsterer. Gorky had no education except a few months' schooling at the age of seven. Apprenticed to a shoemaker, he worked at various trades—as a clerk in a draughtsman's office, scullery hand on board a Volga steamer, in a biscuit factory (vividly described in "Twenty-six Men and Another"), chorister in a travelling opera company, street hawker, lawyer's secretary, railway porter, and navy. His first published work, "Makar Chudra," appeared in the Tiflis journal, *Kavkaz*, in 1892, while the short story, "Chelkash," was printed a year later in the influential monthly, *Russhoye Bogatstvo*. But it was not until 1898 that his stories were published in book form, when they had an immediate and extravagant success. His first long novel, "Foma Gordeyeff," overweighted with second-hand Nietzschean philosophy, appeared in 1900, and was followed between 1906 and 1913, when he lived abroad, by a number of stories which did little to enhance his reputation as a writer. In 1913 he attacked Dostoevsky in a letter afterwards reprinted in "The Annihilation of Personality," as being Russia's evil genius, holding that she must turn from the selfless submissiveness of the East and look to the West for the practical civilisation which could alone raise her from barbarism. This was followed in 1922 by an attack on the Russian peasants whom he described as a "semi-savage community." He had had revolutionary sympathies ever since his youth; in 1902 his election to the Imperial Academy of Science was annulled by the Government, owing to his connexion with the revolutionary movement. But he always remained outside rather than of the movement. When the split in the Social Democratic Party took place he appealed for a reconciliation of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, but after the establishment of Bolshevik dictatorship, Gorky threw in his lot with the ruling power. He was instrumental in the foundation of the "House of Scholars," where literary men made a series of universal translations. In 1922 he went to live in Capri, but in 1932 was recalled to Russia, returning in triumph. A special series of stamps were issued bearing his portrait, Nijni Novgorod was renamed "Gorky City," a Gorky Literary Institute was established, and many of his plays and films were produced all over the Union. Among his best-known works are "The Outcasts" (1902), which was seen in wellnigh every European capital; "Comrades" (1907); "In the World" (1917).

26. Professor Christiaan Snouck **Hurgronje**, a famous Dutch Orientalist, was born in 1855 and educated at the University of Leyden, receiving in 1880 his degree as doctor of Semetic language and literature with a dissertation on the Feast of Mecca. Continuing his studies at Strasburg, he was afterwards appointed teacher in Arabic and the religious institutions of Islam at the Municipal School of Leyden for training Dutch-Indian officials. In the summer of 1884 he went to Jiddah to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the manners and devotions of pilgrims, and so equip himself to enter the holy places of Islam. Under the name of Abd al-Ghaffar he arrived at Mecca on February 21, 1885, remaining there until August, when he was expelled through a misunderstanding with the Turkish authorities. Three years later he published at Leyden in German his famous book "Mekka." Before that he had published a study of Meccan proverbs and phrases. Only a few of his writings appeared in French, such as "Une Nouvelle Biographie de Mohammed" (1894). In 1889 the Government at The Hague sent him to the Dutch East Indies for two years as adviser on Moslem institutions in Java, but he remained many more years, afterwards carrying out similar work at Achin, the results of which he published in 1893-94. In 1906 he accepted the professorship of Arabic at Leyden and continued to follow with keen interest all events in the Moslem world. He presided at the 18th International Congress of Orientalists at Leyden in 1931, being one of the few survivors of the last congress held at Leyden in 1883.

JULY.

2. Sir Lionel Phillips, Bt., the South African mining magnate, was born in London on August 26, 1855. At the age of 20 he went to South Africa, where he started by keeping accounts and sorting diamonds for Sir (then Mr.) J. B. Robinson. After six years he became managing director of the Griqualand West Diamond Company. In 1888 he visited the Woodbush Mountain in the Northern Transvaal (where long afterwards he farmed two of the finest estates) and a year later, on Beit's invitation, he became mining advisor to H. Eckstein & Company, in Johannesburg, and established his own fortune by acquiring for 10,000l. half the claims in the Bonanza Mine. On the death of Hermann Eckstein he became head of the firm, with a partnership. As Chairman of the Chamber of Mines he was the acknowledged leader of the industry in the agitation against President Kruger's policy towards the goldfields. He was no less a powerful influence in the counsels of the Reform Committee, and was the prime mover in the scheme which the Jameson Raid was intended to support. For his connexion with that movement he was fined 25,000/., after having been sentenced to death and reprieved. A decree of banishment was mitigated on his giving an undertaking to abstain from political activity in the affairs of the Republic. Midway between the Raid and the South African War he bought an establishment in Hampshire where he intended to settle, but the call of South Africa was too strong, and in 1910 he was elected to the first Union Parliament, representing Yeoville, a Johannesburg constituency as a supporter of Sir Starr Jameson. Having now the leisure and the means, he indulged his love of farming, became President of the Witwatersrand Agricultural Society, which he promoted, and helped in the establishment of Kirstenbosch Botanical Garden on a slope of Table Mountain. When the Great War broke out he was appointed Controller of the Department for the Development of Mineral Resources under the Ministry of Munitions. In 1924 he resigned Chairmanship of the Central Mining Corporation, but he continued to be Chairman of the London Committee of the 1820 Memorial Settlers' Association. He published an entertaining account of his life under the title "Some Reminiscences." In 1933 he had a narrow escape from death when he fell while mountaineering, injuring an eye which had to be removed. In 1913 he was shot and severely wounded during the Rand Strike, and years previously he had been nearly killed in a mining accident. He was knighted in 1912. He married, in 1885, Dorothea Alexandra, daughter of Albert Ortlepp, of Colesberg, and had two sons and one daughter.

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7. Georgli Vasilievitch Tchitcherin, Russian People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, 1918-30, was born in 1872, the youngest of three children of upper middle-class parents who had been strongly impressed by the evangelical teachings of Lord Radstock. He was educated at the Classical Secondary School in Tambov, and in the University of St. Petersburg, where he studied history. After leaving the University he entered the Record Department of the Russian Foreign Office, and under the direction of Pavlov Silvansky, he helped to prepare the centenary official history of that Ministry, contributing the chapter on the Crimean War. In 1904 he became a revolutionary and left the service and Russia, living in a sanatorium near Berlin. In 1908 he was expelled from Prussia on political grounds. During the latter part of the Great War he lived in London, holding the post of secretary of the Russian Communist Club. In 1917 he was for a time imprisoned in Brixton Gaol. Later in the year he returned to Russia to assist Trotsky, then Bolshevik Foreign Minister, and took an active part in the preparation of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. On May 30, 1918, he became People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, holding the post until he resigned at his own request in 1930. His place in the Bolshevik hierarchy was a peculiar one in that until his return to Russia he had not belonged to the Com-

munist Party, being an Internationalist of the Martov group, but he was invaluable to his Government through his acquaintance with the past of the Foreign Office and with the principal factors of European diplomacy.

21. **Brigadier-General Sir Charles Crewe, K.C.M.G., C.B.**, a distinguished South African politician and soldier, was born on January 11, 1858, and educated at a private school in Portsmouth. At the age of 20 he ran away from home, sailed to Cape Town, and joined the Cape Mounted Rifles, seeing active service in the Kaffir and Basuto Wars. Later he became a bank clerk, farmer, and manager of a Rand mine. After his marriage to the daughter of a wealthy farmer, he turned to active politics, took over the work of Jameson's Progressive Party in the Eastern Province, and entered the Cape House in 1899, sitting until 1910, when he was one of the protagonists of Union. As a member of the Unionist Party, and later of the Botha-Smuts South African Party Coalition, he represented East London in the Union Parliament until 1917. He was Colonial Secretary, 1904-7, and Secretary for Agriculture, 1907-8. Later he was organiser of the Unionist Party which formed the Opposition to General Botha's Government in the first Union Parliament (1910). A considerable measure of his influence in his party was derived from his control of newspaper interests, he being the governing director of the company owning the *East London Daily Dispatch*. Although he guardedly approved of the coalition between the Nationalists and the South African Party at the beginning of 1933, he was against the fusion of the parties which took place a year later. In the South African War he raised and commanded the Border Horse (1900), and later led a mobile column. On the outbreak of the Great War he was appointed Chief Recruiting Officer for the Union (1915), and afterwards took the field in German East Africa. As Brigadier-General he commanded the British and Belgian advance to Tabora (1916). He passed most of his life in the Ciskei, the scene of the early settlers' pioneering, and believing that "reinforcement of the Whites is vital" he became the first Chairman of the Executive of the 1820 Memorial Settlers' Association, resigning his seat in the Union Parliament (1919) in order to free himself for the work. He married, in 1888, Helen, daughter of Joseph Orpen, M.L.A., and had one son.

24. Sir Arnold **Theiler**, distinguished as a South African veterinary scientist, was born in Switzerland on March 26, 1867, and went to the Transvaal after obtaining the degree of Doctor of Veterinary Medicine at Berne. At first his work in South Africa met with every discouragement, but after a bad outbreak of glanders and later of the rinderpest plague, President Kruger appointed him veterinary surgeon to the Republic (1896). With the coming of the South African War his work stopped, but the British Army staffs soon recognised his ability and gave him fairly adequate laboratory facilities at Daspoort. A few years later a greatly enlarged experimental station was established at Onderstepoort. His work threw a flood of light on East Coast fever, horse sickness, heartwater, blue tongue, lamziekte, and biliary fever. In 1907 he was created C.M.G., and in the following year was elected an Honorary Associate of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons of England, an honour rarely awarded. After the Union of the four South African Colonies in 1910, he became the first Director of the new division of Veterinary Research, and in 1914 he was made K.C.M.G. In 1920 he organised the new South African Veterinary College, as the Veterinary Faculty of the University of South Africa, of which he was the first Dean. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society of South Africa, and was the first recipient of the grant and medal awarded by the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, and of the Scott Medal of the South African Biological Society. He was also hon. D.Sc. of the Cape and Syracuse Universities. Throughout his career he was disabled by the loss of his left hand. He married, in 1893, Emma Jegge, and had two sons and two daughters.

25. **Sir Henry Solomon Wellcome, D.Sc, F.R.S.**, the inventor of "Tabloids," was born in Wisconsin, U.S.A., in 1854, and spent his early childhood among the Dakota Indian tribes, attending schools of the Western log school-house type. After studying chemistry and pharmacy in Chicago and Philadelphia, he went to New York, where he contributed to scientific journals. He travelled widely in North America and South America and studied the native cinchona (quinine) forests. Coming to England, the home of his ancestors, he joined S. M. Burroughs with whom, in 1880, he established the firm of Burroughs Wellcome & Company, manufacturers of fine chemicals, alkaloids, and pharmaceutical products. They also produced drugs in solid and compressed form which they sold under the registered name of "Tabloids." In 1913 the business became the Wellcome foundation, with Mr. Wellcome as the governing director. In 1894 he founded a physiological research laboratory at Beckenham; in 1896 a chemical research laboratory; in 1913 a medical research museum to include tropical medicine and hygiene with anthropology; and in 1915 an entomological field research centre at Claremont. On November 25, 1931, the Wellcome Research Institution, housing all these establishments under one roof, was opened in Euston Road, London. In 1900 he founded the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories in connexion with the Gordon Memorial College at Khartoum, and attached a floating research laboratory which cruised through the waterways of the Nile and its tributaries in the Sudan. Some years later he helped in founding the Gorgas Tropical Research Laboratories on the Panama Canal in memory of Surgeon-General Gorgas, of the United States Medical Service. He also founded the Lady Stanley Maternity Hospital, a medical hospital and dispensary at Uganda, and a fund under the control of the Medical Missionary Association, for translating into Chinese the various textbooks required by native medical students. During the Great War he constructed, equipped, and supplied to the British Army Medical Service a chemical and bacteriological motor field research laboratory. As an archaeologist he personally conducted explorations in the Upper Nile in 1901 and in 1910. He was knighted in 1932, received the Legion of Honour, and was a D.Sc, LL.D, of the University of Edinburgh, a Fellow of the Royal Society, an honorary Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. In 1885 he was awarded the medal of the Royal Humane Society for life-saving. He married a daughter of Dr. Barnardo, the founder of Barnardo's Homes, and had one son.

30. Lieutenant-General Sir Alfred Keogh was born on July 3, 1857, a son of the Resident Magistrate of Roscommon, Ireland. He was educated at Queen's College, Galway, and took his medical degree at the Royal University of Ireland. Coming to London he entered the Army medical service in 1880. At Netley he was Herbert prizeman and Martin gold medallist. He then served as surgeon to the Royal Arsenal at Woolwich, and was promoted surgeon-major in 1892. During the South African War he was in charge of a general hospital and for his services was mentioned in despatches, created C.B., and received special promotion to Lieutenant-Colonel in 1900, besides gaining the Queen's medal with four clasps. From 1902 to 1905 he was Deputy Director-General A.M.S., and from 1905 to 1910, Director-General. In 1914 he returned and held the post jointly with Sir Arthur Slogett, who was in France, until 1918. He was instrumental in 1908 in enlisting the services of consulting physicians and surgeons in the formation of a Territorial Medical Force, by means of which during the Great War large general hospitals were established and staffed without difficulty or delay. From 1913 to 1922 he was honorary Colonel, R.A.M.C, of the 2nd London Territorial Division, and from 1921 to 1927 he was Colonel-Commandant A.M.S. In 1910 he was appointed Rector of the Imperial College of Science and Technology, South Kensington, holding the post until 1922. In 1913 he became a member of the Council for Science Museums, and in 1922, on his retirement, was awarded the gold medal of the Institution of Mining and Metallurgy, of which he was

already an honorary member. He was promoted to K.C.B. in 1906 and to G.C.B. in 1917, and was nominated a Companion of Honour in 1918. The Royal University of Ireland conferred upon him the degrees of M.D., M.Ch., and D.Sc. He was an honorary M.D. of Dublin, honorary LL.D. of Aberdeen and Edinburgh, D.Sc. of Oxford and Leeds, F.R.C.P. of London, and a Fellow of the Royal Colleges of Surgeons of England, Edinburgh, and Ireland. In France he was a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour and in Belgium of the Order of the Crown. He also held the first class of the Order of the White Eagle of Serbia and was a Knight of Grace of St. John of Jerusalem and a Commissioner for the Red Cross Society. He was twice married, first, in 1880, to Elizabeth, daughter of St. George Williams, M.D., I.M.S. She died in 1887. Secondly, he married, in 1888, Camilla Porterfield, daughter of Captain William Hamilton Hart. By his first wife he had a son and by his second wife, two daughters.

AUGUST.

1. Louis Bleriot, a French pioneer of aviation, was born at Cambrai on July 1, 1872, and was trained as an engineer at the Ecole Centrale des Arts et Metiers. As early as 1896 he began building aeroplane models, and carrying out aeronautical experiments, financed by the income he derived from his invention in that year of a searchlight for motor-cars fed by current from a generator driven off the motor-car engine. In 1906 he founded the first aeroplane factory in France, at Issy-les-Moulineaux, and soon afterwards he began to fly. In October, 1908, he covered in a monoplane a distance of nearly 60 miles with one intermediate landing. The following year in a 600 lb. machine with a 22 h.p. engine he flew across the English Channel, landing in a North Foreland meadow. Two months later, at a luncheon given in his honour at the House of Commons, he prophesied a new domination of affairs from the air. During the Great War he turned out a great number of military machines at the rate of twelve a day, and a few years before his death he claimed to have designed 200 different models and built not fewer than 10,000 aeroplanes. In 1927 he drew up plans for a regular air mail service between Paris and New York by way of the Azores. One section of the route, between Bermuda and New York, was opened experimentally in 1936.

2. Sir Richard Lodge, Emeritus Professor of History at Edinburgh University, and brother of Sir Oliver Lodge, was born at Penkhill, Staffordshire, on June 20, 1855, and educated at Christ's Hospital and Balliol College, Oxford. In 1875 he won the Stanhope prize for an essay on Cardinal Beaufort, and in 1876 the Lothian prize for an essay on "The Causes of the Failure of Parliamentary Institutions in Spain and France as compared with their success in England." In 1877 he was placed in the first class in the School of Modern History, and in the following year was elected a Fellow and Lecturer of Brasenose College. He was tutor from 1883 to 1894, was appointed Vice-Principal in 1891, and elected an honorary Fellow in 1911. In 1894 he was appointed the first Professor of History at Glasgow University, holding the Chair for five years until he was appointed to the Chair of History at Edinburgh, from which he retired in 1925. He was Ford Lecturer in English History at Oxford in 1921. His publications included a "History of Modern Europe," "The Close of the Middle Ages," "English Political History, 1660-1702," "Great Britain and Prussia in the Eighteenth Century," "Studies in Eighteenth Century Diplomacy, 1740-48," and "Private Correspondence of Sir Benjamin Keene, K.B." He received honorary degrees from Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Manchester and was knighted in 1917. He was survived by his widow, one son, and three daughters.

3. **Professor Herbert Somerton Foxwell**, M.A., F.B.A., Emeritus Professor of Political Economy in the University of London, was born at Shepton Mallet on June 17, 1849, and was educated at Queen's College, Taunton, from which he

graduated at the University of London, and at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he was senior in the Moral Sciences Tripos (1870). In 1872 he obtained the senior Whewell Scholarship in International Law; in 1874 he became a Fellow of St. John's, and a year later Lecturer in Moral Sciences. In addition to his Cambridge labours he assumed heavy duties in London, succeeding Jevons in 1882 in the Chair of Political Economy at University College and becoming Lecturer on Currency and Banking at the London School of Economics on its establishment in 1896. In 1884 he edited, with an introduction, Jevons's "Investigations in Currency and Finance"; in 1886 he published a study of "Irregularity of Employment and Fluctuations of Prices"; in 1899 an introduction and bibliography to the English translation of Anton Menger's "Right to the Whole Produce of Labour," and in 1919 "Papers on Current Finance." He also contributed prefaces to the translations of Andreades's "History of the Bank of England" (1909), Bisschop's "The Rise of the London Money Market" (1910), and Philippovich's "History of the Bank of England and its Financial Service to the State" (1911). He regarded as the main work of his life the collection, study, and classification of the material for an English economic history and bibliography, begun with Lardner's "Railway Economy," which he bought for 6d. at a bookstall in 1874. Subsequently the 50,000 volumes and pamphlets were purchased by the Goldsmith's Company for 10,000l. and in 1903 presented to the University of London. Foxwell's own account of the collection appeared in the appendix to Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy" under the heading "Economic Libraries." His pronounced views in favour of bimetallism, his refusal to sign without qualification the manifesto of the Cambridge professors in favour of free trade, or rather free imports, and his rejection of the tariff reform programme probably cost him in 1908, much to his disappointment, the professorship of Political Economy at Cambridge. He was made an honorary Governor of the London School of Economics on his retirement in 1922; was the *doyen* of the Political Economy Club, to which he was elected as honorary member in 1882; a Fellow of the British Academy, and a member of many learned societies at home and abroad. From 1927 to 1930 he was President of the Royal Economic Society, of which he was one of the founders and an original honorary secretary. He married, in 1898, Olive, daughter of W. E. Dorrington, of Manchester, and had two daughters.

— **Lord Trevethin** (Alfred Tristram Lawrence), Lord Chief Justice of England (1921-22), was born on November 24, 1843, the son of David Lawrence, surgeon, of Pontypool. At a comparatively early age he left school to study medicine, but deciding instead to go to the Bar he went up to Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and was placed second in the first class in the Law Tripos of 1866. Called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1869, he joined the Oxford Circuit. In 1882 he was made Junior Counsel to the Admiralty, and in 1885 Recorder of Windsor, holding the office until his elevation to the Bench. He took silk in 1897. He was appointed Commissioner of Assize on the North-Eastern Circuit in 1903, and on the Northern Circuit in 1904, in which year he became a Judge. In April, 1921, at the age of 78, he was appointed Lord Chief Justice of England, sworn of the Privy Council and created Lord Trevethin of Blaengawney, but he resigned a year later. He was President of the Railway and Canal Commission, President of the War Compensation Court, 1920-22, and later was President of the Admiralty Transport Arbitration Board. In 1892 he was made a Bencher of the Middle Temple, of which he had been Treasurer; in 1908 he was made an honorary Fellow of Trinity Hall. He was a J.P. for Monmouthshire and Deputy Lieutenant for the County of Nairn. In 1875 he married his cousin, Jessie Elizabeth, daughter of George Lawrence, and had four sons and one daughter. A lifelong devotee of sport in its many forms, he died while salmon-fishing in the River Wye.

5. **The Right Hon. Sir Louis du Pan Mallet, a former British Ambassador to Turkey, who was born on July 10, 1864,** was descended from a French Huguenot

family settled at Geneva. He was the third son of Sir Louis Mallet, sometime Under-Secretary of State for India and brother of Sir Bernard Mallet. He was educated privately and at Balliol College, Oxford. In June, 1888, he obtained a clerkship in the Foreign Office where he remained for 25 years. From April, 1903, to December, 1905, he was precis-writer to Lord Lansdowne, a post which brought him into close contact with the Secretary of State. He was private secretary to Sir Edward Grey during the first five years of the latter's tenure of office, and in 1907 was promoted Assistant Under-Secretary of State, in charge of Near and Middle Eastern affairs. In 1913 at the age of 49 he succeeded Sir George Lowther as Ambassador at Constantinople. As British influence had waned while that of Germany had increased, the Secretary of State considered it wise to have an Ambassador in Constantinople without prepossessions derived from former experience there. Sir Louis remained in Constantinople until Turkey joined the Central Powers in November, 1914. For a short time in 1918 he acted as Assistant Under-Secretary of State in the Foreign Office, and he was attached to the Peace Delegation in Paris. He retired in 1920 and thenceforward lived in the South of France. Already a K.C.M.G., and a Privy Councillor, he was promoted G.C.M.G., in 1915. He was unmarried.

9. **Charles Aitken**, Director of the National Gallery, Millbank (Tate Gallery), 1911-30, was born at York on September 12, 1869, and educated at Clifton and New College, Oxford. After some years of teaching, he was, in 1900, made director of the Whitechapel Art Gallery. In 1911 he succeeded D. S. MacColl as Director of the Tate Gallery, retiring in 1930. When the Gallery was flooded in January, 1928, Aitken waded into the water and saved many paintings and drawings from destruction. He was a trustee of the Whitechapel Art Gallery and a member of the executive committees of the National Art-Collections Fund and the Contemporary Art Society. He was made a C.B. in 1931. He was unmarried.

12. **Marshall Stevens**, one of the founders of the Manchester Ship Canal, was born in 1852, the son of a Plymouth shipping merchant, and educated at Exeter. Before he was 20 he passed through the German lines, and entered Paris during the siege of 1871 with the object of buying hides, but he found they had all been eaten. Shortly after his marriage in 1872 he left his father's business to seek his fortune in the North. He was believed to be the last survivor of those who attended the meeting, in 1882, at Daniel Adamson's house at Didsbury (afterwards the Shirley Institute) at which it was decided to convert Manchester into a seaport, and he was one of the chief witnesses for the Manchester Ship Canal Bill. His appointment as provisional manager of the Canal undertaking necessitated his giving up his own shipping business, and he continued in the post and as first general manager during the period of construction and for two years after the opening of the Canal for traffic on January 1, 1894. When he retired from the service of the Canal Company in 1896 he became the first Managing Director of Trafford Park Estates, Ltd. He was also interested in the Port of Manchester Warehouses, Ltd., and was appointed permanent member of the International Commission on Navigation. From 1918 to 1922 he was Coalition Unionist member for the Eccles Division and an advocate of free trade but not free imports. He had five sons, three of whom survived him.

15. **Sir Henry Alfred Lytton**, the veteran Savoyard, was born on January 3, 1867, and educated at St. Mark's College, Chelsea. His ambition was in the direction of painting but he was early attracted to the theatre, and at the age of 17, after a stage-door courtship, he secretly married Louie Henri, then playing in the opera-bouffe, *Olivette*. Soon afterwards his wife obtained for the two of them (posing as brother and sister) an engagement in the chorus of the D'Oyly Carte touring company playing *Princess Ida*. In 1887 he was selected to under study George Grossmith, the elder, for the original production of *Buddigore**

Grossmith falling ill within a week of the opening, gave Lytton an **opportunity to** score one of his greatest successes as Robin Oakapple. His next big success was as Jack Point in the provincial production of *The Yeomen of the Guard* (1888). Thereafter—although, as he confessed, he could not read a line of music—he played until 1901 a great variety of parts, notably Dr. Daly in *The Sorcerer*, Grosvenor in *Patience*, and Captain Corcoran in *H.M.S. Pinafore*. From 1901 to 1909 he consolidated his reputation at the Savoy by his playing in *The Rose of Persia*, *Merrie England*, and *The Emerald Isle*. Then for a period he appeared in musical comedies such as *The Earl and Girl*, *The Spring Chicken*, and *The Little Michus*. From 1909 onwards he played exclusively in the Gilbert and Sullivan operas, filling by the end of his life a total of thirty parts, the most memorable being those of the title part in *The Mikado*, Dick Dead-Eye in *H.M.S. Pinafore*, and Bunthorne in *Patience*. In 1927 he published "The Secrets of a Savoyard" and in 1933 "A Wandering Minstrel." He was knighted in 1930 and retired in 1934, the Jubilee year of his first appearance on the stage. He had two sons and two daughters.

19. **Harry Plunket Greene**, singer, was born on Juno 24, 1865, the son of an Irish barrister. On his mother's side he was descended from the first Lord Plunket, the Irish Lord Chancellor. He was educated at Bassett's Day School in Dublin and at Clifton, but his school career was cut short by an accident in the football field, and instead of going to Oxford he spent a few years on the Continent, studying singing at Stuttgart and in Italy. His masters were Barracrough of Dublin, Alfred Blume, a German musician, and Francis Korbay, a Hungarian, in the interpretation of whose melodies he scored some of his greatest successes. Notable in his very large repertory were "Shepherd, See Thy Horse's Foaming Mane" and "More was Lost on Mohacs Field." Early in his career he sang in opera, appearing at Covent Garden as the Commendatore in *Don Giovanni* and the Duke in *Romeo et Juliette*. He then became associated with the Three Choirs Festivals, and at Gloucester in 1892 he scored heavily in the part of Job in a new oratorio by Sir Hubert Parry. A year later he joined the pianist, Leonard Borwick, with whom he took part in a long series of vocal and piano-forte recitals. In later years, with Samuel Liddle as accompanist, he introduced many songs specially written for him by Parry and Stanford. He sang the bass parts in Elgar's *Dream of Gerontius* at the first performance at Birmingham in 1900. He was also associated with Stanford's and Newbolt's "Songs of the Sea" (Leeds Festival, 1904), "Songs of the Fleet," "Der Doppelganger," and "Loughareema." His book, "Interpretation in Song," remained a valuable guide to singers. He also published "Where the Bright Waters Meet," a book about fishing, and a "Life of Sir Charles Villiers Stanford." For some years he was Professor of Singing at the Royal Academy and the Royal College of Music, of which he was a Fellow. In April, 1936, he was appointed a member of the B.B.C. Music Advisory Committee. He was the creator of the modern song recital, and it was largely due to him that the English song composers from Parry and Stanford onwards gained an immediate and adequate hearing. He married, in 1899, Gwendolen Maud, the younger daughter of Sir Hubert Parry, and had two sons and one daughter.

28. **Dame Adelaide Mary Anderson**, late Principal Lady Inspector of Factories, was born in Melbourne in 1863, coming to England as a child. She was educated in Germany and France, at Queen's College, Harley Street, and at Girton College, Cambridge, where she was awarded the Gamble gold medal. She took a second class in the Moral Sciences Tripos in 1887, and at first coached girls for examinations, while lecturing at intervals to members of the Women's Co-operative Guild. In 1892 she joined the staff of the Royal Commission on Labour and two years later was appointed one of the first women Inspectors of Factories, being promoted to Principal Lady Inspector of Factories, in 1897, a post she held until 1921. Afterwards she became a member of the Commission

of Child Labour appointed by the Municipal Council of Shanghai, 1923-24, and in 1928 she published, under the title of "Humanity and Labour," an account of the work of the Commission and its sequel. She was a member of the Advisory Committee of the Foreign Office on the China Indemnity Fund, 1925, and in 1926 she revisited China with the Willingdon Mission. She also served on the mission from the International Labour Office to Nanking regarding a factory inspectorate for China, 1931, and was a member of the Universities China Committee in London, 1932-33. She was made a C.B.E. in 1918 and D.B.E. on her retirement. She was the author of "Women in the Factory: An Administrative Adventure."

SEPTEMBER.

6. The Right Hon. Sir Johannes Willielmus Wessels, Chief Justice of South Africa, was born on March 7, 1862, and educated at the Cape University, and Downing College, Cambridge (of which he was afterwards elected an honorary Fellow), and where he obtained a law scholarship and graduated in 1885 in the first class of the Law Tripos, taking also the George Long Scholarship for Roman Law and Jurisprudence. After winning a scholarship in International and Constitutional Law at the Middle Temple, he was called to the Bar in 1886. Later in the year, having returned to South Africa, he joined the Bar of the Cape Supreme Court and in the following year that of the Transvaal. Before long he came to the fore as a leading pleader in the courts, especially in connexion with the cyanide patents, in which he led for the plaintiffs, the compound gold mining companies. Although he had no liking for politics he appeared on the platform of the Transvaal National Union when it was founded in 1895, urging the claims of the Uitlanders, and he supported them up to the outbreak of the war. In July, 1900, he returned to the Transvaal as Legal Adviser first to Lord Roberts and afterwards to Lord Kitchener, but it was obvious that he could not work easily with soldiers. When the Supreme Court of the Transvaal was established, in 1902, Lord Milner raised him to the Bench as second Puisne Judge. In 1920 he became Judge President, and in 1923 was elevated to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa. In 1932 he became Chief Justice and was sworn of the Privy Council in 1933. He was knighted in 1909. In 1910 he married Helen, daughter of Colonel Benjamin Duff, and had three children. His wife died in 1925, and he married in 1928 her sister, Agnes.

7. Lord (Berkeley George Andrew) Moynihan, well known in his generation as a great surgeon, was born at Malta on October 2, 1865, the only son of an Irish V.C., and was educated at the Royal Naval School, receiving his medical training at the Leeds Medical School. In 1887 he graduated M.B. at the University of London, and in 1893 passed the examination for Master in Surgery, being awarded the gold medal. Specialising in the surgery of the stomach he travelled in the U.S.A., France, Germany, and Italy, studying the methods of the most famous surgeons. After being house surgeon at Leeds General Infirmary, he taught Anatomy in the Medical School, and in due course was elected assistant surgeon, becoming in succession surgeon, consulting surgeon, and in 1909, Professor of Clinical Surgery in Leeds University. On the outbreak of the Great War he was appointed consulting surgeon to the Northern Command, afterwards serving for two years in that capacity with the British Expeditionary Force, with the rank of Major-General, A.M.S. From 1916 to 1919 he was Chairman of the Council of Consultants. He was admitted a member of the Royal College of Surgeons of England in 1887, became a Fellow in 1890, was elected to the Council in 1912, and served as president for the unprecedentedly long period of six years (1926-32), the first provincial surgeon to attain that honour. He delivered the Bradshaw lecture and was Hunterian Orator in 1927. He was also Romanes lecturer at Oxford, and in 1926 gave the Linacre lecture at Cambridge.

His book on "Abdominal Operations" reached a fourth edition in 1925. He also wrote on duodenal ulcer (a disease of which he had personal experience), and on the spleen, the stomach, and the pancreas, and he founded the British *Journal of Surgery*. He was knighted in 1912, made C.B. in 1917, K.C.M.G. in 1918, baronet in 1922, and in March, 1929, was created Baron Moynihhan of Leeds. He received many academic honours, and was elected a Fellow or corresponding member of numerous foreign academies and societies. He was a freeman of Leeds, and was Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University in its jubilee year (1924). He served on the board of directors of Droitwich Spa and was President of the Voluntary Euthanasia Legislation Society. His portrait by Richard Jack, R.A., was presented to him in 1927, and he presented his own copy of it to the Royal College of Surgeons of England. He married, in 1895, Isabella Wellesley, daughter of Thomas Jessop, F.R.C.S., and had one son and two daughters. Lady Moynihhan died suddenly on August 31.

11. Emily Symonds ("George Paston"), novelist, biographer, and playwright, was the daughter of the Rev. Henry Symonds, Minor Canon and Precentor of Norwich Cathedral, and first cousin of John Addington Symonds, the historian of the Renaissance. Her first novel, "A Bread and Butter Miss," published in the 'nineties, was followed in the same year by "A Modern Amazon," both of which dealt with revolting daughters. Though her novels proved successful she turned her attention to biography and produced "Little Memoirs of the Eighteenth Century" (1902), following it with "Little Memoirs of the Nineteenth Century," and with a short life of Mrs. Delany, while the appearance of her learned but entertaining book, "Sidelights on the Georgian Period," and her "Life of George Romney" established her reputation as a historian and biographer. Turning playwright, she had her first play, *The Pharisee's Wife*, produced at the Duke of York's Theatre in 1904. *Nobody's Daughter*, another play with a feminist theme, appeared in 1910. Ten years later she wrote a frivolous, non-propagandist, comedy, *Clothes and the Woman* (Ambassador's Theatre). She also adapted several comedies from the French. One of her great achievements in her later years was "At John Murray's," a history of the famous publishing house.

15. Alexander Zaimis, President of the Greek Republic (1929-35), ten times Prime Minister, and for five years High Commissioner for Crete, was born in Athens on October 28, 1855, the son of Thrasybulos Zaimis, a Prime Minister under King Otho. He was educated in Greece and Paris, where he studied law and political science. Drawn to politics more from a sense of duty and tradition than by ambition, he entered the Greek Parliament as a supporter of his uncle, M. Delyannis. After the war with the Turks in 1897, in which the Greeks were decisively defeated, Zaimis, who had already been Minister of Justice and President of the Chamber, was called on to form a Cabinet. After a reconstruction of his Cabinet a year later, he fell from power in April, 1899, but became Prime Minister for the third time in November, 1901, to be defeated in December, 1902, by his uncle, from whom he had dissociated himself. In 1906 he succeeded Prince George, the younger son of the King, as High Commissioner for Crete, remaining there until 1911. From 1913 to October, 1915, he was Governor of the National Bank of Greece. Then he became Prime Minister for the fourth time, but remained in office only one month. He was Prime Minister again for short periods in 1916 and 1917, after which he returned to the National Bank where he stayed until 1920, being removed on the restoration of King Constantine. In September, 1922, the King was driven out again, and Zaimis was asked to become Prime Minister under King George II., but he refused. Within eighteen months King George II. retired in face of a demand for Republican Government, and it was thought that Zaimis would be the first President but he did not hold any prominent position until 1926, after the overthrow of the dictatorship of General Pangalos, for the seventh time he formed a Cabinet—an "oecumenical"

coalition in which all the party leaders were included—which was reconstituted after resignations in August, 1927, and February and May, 1928. When Venizelos returned a political crisis ensued, and on June 29 Zaimis resigned but soon afterwards was elected President of the Senate established under the new Constitution. On the retirement of Admiral Kondouriotis (December 14, 1929) Zaimis was elected President of the Hellenic Republic, holding the office until October 10, 1935, when he was deposed by General Kondylis as a preliminary to the restoration of King George II.

17. Dr. Jean Baptiste Etienne Auguste Charcot, a French explorer who perished with thirty-eight others in the wreck of the *Pourquoi Pas* ? off the coast of Iceland, was born at Neuilly in 1867, the son of Professor J. M. Charcot, a disciple of Pasteur, and was trained for a medical career. For a time he was attached to the Pasteur Institute in Paris, and he wrote several medical works. His first expedition, in the *Français*, was undertaken originally for the relief of Dr. Otto Nordenskjöld, but that proving unnecessary, he proceeded on independent exploration in the region to the south of Graham Land, remaining there during the summers of 1903-4 and 1904-5. The expedition pushed on to Alexander Island, 68 deg. S., after discovering a fragment of land to which the name of President Loubet was given. During his next expedition (1908-10) in the *Pourquoi Pas* ? over the same ground he discovered that the Loubet Land was really an extension of Graham Land. In about 70 deg. S. and 74 deg. W. new territory (Charcot Land) was sighted, but impenetrable pack prevented an approach. Some geographical exploration was conducted on the South Shetlands, and at Bridgman Island on which Dr. Charcot claimed he was the first to land. In 1921, again in the *Pourquoi Pas* ?, he succeeded in landing on the so-called lost island of Rockall, 300 miles west of the Hebrides. In 1928 he took part in an attempt to find Commander Guilbaud and Captain Amundsen. Among the many honours awarded to Charcot was the Patron's Medal of the Royal Geographical Society. He married Meg, daughter of Leon Clery, and had two daughters.

19. Thomas Campbell Black, a famous air-pilot, was born at Brighton in 1889, son of Alderman H. Milner Black, and educated at Brighton College and the Naval College, Greenwich. During the war he served in the Royal Naval Air Service and in the Royal Air Force. Afterwards he made thirteen flights between England and Kenya, where he farmed, and was the founder of Wilson Airways, Limited. In 1929, with a mechanic and a woman passenger, he flew from Nairobi to England in the fastest time of eight days. He acted as temporary pilot to King Edward VIII. during his visit, as Prince of Wales, to East Africa in 1930, and was also private pilot to Lord Furness. In April, 1930, he pioneered the first non-stop flight from Zanzibar to Nairobi, completing the journey (which usually took two days) in 5 hours and 20 minutes. On this flight he made the first aeroplane landing on the island of Zanzibar, besides linking up by air the capitals of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, and Zanzibar. In March, 1931, he rescued the famous German pilot, Ernst Udet, who had been missing in the Sudan. Later in the year he set up a new world Puss-Moth record by covering 1,600 miles in one day. In 1935 he registered Campbell Black (Aviation) Limited, with his wife, Florence Desmond, whom he had married in March, as co-director. He was awarded the Mansfield Robinson Trophy by the Aero Club of East Africa for the most meritorious flight in each of the years of 1929 and 1930, and received from the Royal Aeronautical Society the Britannia Trophy for 1934, and the British silver medal for outstanding achievements in aeronautical science. In August, 1935, he made an attempt on the Cape record in C. W. A. Nicholson's De Havilland Comet twin-engined aeroplane, but abandoned the flight at Cairo owing to exhaustion of the oil supply. He had, however, set up a new record by flying 2,240 miles in 11 hours 18 minutes, and had reached Cairo twenty hours quicker than the previous record. ID September, 1935, with

J. H. G. McArthur, he made another attempt in Nicholson's Comet but was forced down, through the failure of both engines, near Kabush in the Sudan. He landed safely by a parachute which his wife had persuaded him to take instead of an overcoat. He was killed at Liverpool Airport when the "Miss Liverpool," which he was to have flown in the Portsmouth-Johannesburg race on September 29, collided while taxi-ing with a R.A.F. light bomber.

29. Rear-Admiral W. S. Sims, who commanded the United States Naval forces in Europe during the Great War, was British born at Port Hope, Ontario, on October 15, 1858. He first came into public notice in the early years of the century as a commander in the Far East. Receiving no reply from the Navy Department in answer to his suggestion that radical changes should be introduced in the system of instruction in marksmanship and the methods of practice, he took the unusual step of writing direct to the President, Theodore Roosevelt, with the result that he was placed at the head of the Bureau of Target Practice where he served for six years. When visiting England in 1908 he made a sensational speech at the Guildhall in which he declared, "If the time ever comes when the British Empire is seriously menaced by an external enemy, it is my opinion that you may count on every man, every dollar, and every drop of blood of your kindred across the sea." For a time there was talk of court-martialling him but he escaped with an official reprimand. A few days before the United States officially entered the Great War, Sims came to England (as "S. W. Davidson of New York") to discover in what way the United States Navy could best assist in dealing with the German submarine campaign, and as Commander of the U.S. Naval Forces he remained in European waters until the end. He published an account of his campaign under the title, "The Victory at Sea." Returning to America he became President of the Naval War College at Newport, Rhode Island, and retired for age in 1922. King George V. created him an honorary G.C.M.G. (a rare distinction for a member of a foreign fighting force), and he was a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour. He also received Italian, Belgian, and Japanese decorations as well as honorary degrees from several universities. He married Anne, daughter of Mr. Hitchcock, formerly American Ambassador in St. Petersburg and Secretary of the Interior, and had two sons and three daughters.

OCTOBER.

6. General Julius Gombos de Jakfa, Prime Minister of Hungary since 1932, was born on December 26, 1886. A professional soldier, he served during the war as a general staff officer, being promoted major-general in 1929, lieutenant-general in 1934, and general in 1936. When Count Karolyi formed his revolutionary Government in 1918, Gombos accompanied him to Zagreb as Military Attache, but later, finding himself in disagreement with the Count, he formed a counter-revolutionary organisation of army officers and retired to Szeged, where he joined the first revolutionary "Shadow Cabinet" as Under-Secretary for War. In 1920, after the fall of Bela Kun, he was elected a deputy to the first National Assembly. A determined opponent of Hapsburg restoration, he was largely responsible in 1921 for thwarting the Emperor Charles's second attempt to recover the Throne of Hungary. He was a leader of the party of National Unity until 1923, when he separated from Count Bethlen and went into opposition as leader of the insignificant "Racist" Party. In 1928 he rejoined the Government as Under-Secretary to the Minister of Defence; a year later he was promoted Minister, a post which he retained in the 1931 Administration of Count Bethlen, whom he succeeded as Prime Minister in 1932. In 1935 he repudiated the pact he had negotiated with Count Bethlen and dissolved Parliament, but the general tenor of policy was not perceptibly changed under the new administration, although Gombos never ceased to be suspected of "totalitarian" ambitions.

13. **The Right Hon. Sir Godfrey Pattison Collins**, Secretary of State for Scotland since 1932, was born in Glasgow on June 26, 1875, and was educated for the Navy. He became a midshipman in 1890, but in 1898 he retired owing to ill-health and entered the publishing firm founded by his great-grandfather, William Collins. He was returned for Greenock at the first General Election of 1910, and held the seat continuously, first as a Liberal, then as a Coalition Liberal, and finally as a Liberal National. He was private secretary to Col. J. E. B. Seely (Lord Mottistone), Secretary of State for War, and later, in the first Coalition Government, to J. W. Gulland, Chief Liberal Whip. For a time he was a member of the War Service Supplies Committee, after which he spent two years on active service in Egypt, Gallipoli, and Mesopotamia, being promoted lieutenant-colonel in 1916. Returning to Parliament in 1917, he initiated a movement for the control of expenditure on public services which led to the appointment of a Select Committee, he himself serving as Chairman of certain of its sub-committees. In 1919 he was appointed a Junior Lord of the Treasury under Mr. Lloyd George, but in the following year, disappointed with the Government's failure to secure economy in public expenditure and its policy of reprisals in Ireland, he joined the Asquith Liberals, becoming Whip in 1924, a post which he held until Mr. Lloyd George returned in 1926. In 1931 he joined the National Government, and in 1932 became Secretary of State for Scotland. He was made a C.M.G. in 1917, and a K.B.E. in 1919. In 1900 he married Faith, daughter of J. C. A. Henderson, and had one son and one daughter.

14. Edmond Gore Alexander Holmes, educationalist, poet, and humanist, was born in Ireland on July 17, 1850, and after being educated at Merchant Taylors' School and St. John's College, Oxford, became an Inspector of Schools in 1875 and subsequently Chief Inspector of Elementary Schools. He will be remembered, however, as the author of "What Is and What Might Be"; as the founder of the society for promoting "New Ideals in Education"; and as a leading prophet of a system of freer development in education. His published works, which began with a volume of poems in 1876, included "The Creed of Christ," "The Creed of Buddha," "The Secret of the Cross," "The Secret of Happiness," a monograph prefixed to a selection of Walt Whitman's verse, and his autobiography, "In Quest of an Ideal." He married, in 1880, Florence Mary, daughter of Captain Syme, R.A., and had one son and two daughters.

20. Professor William Johnson Sollas, F.R.S., Professor of Geology at Oxford since 1897, was born in Birmingham on May 30, 1849, and educated at the City of London School, the Royal School of Mines, and at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he obtained a first class in the Natural Sciences Tripos in 1873. In 1878 he was awarded the Wollaston endowment for his researches in fossil sponges, and in 1893 the Bigsby medal for geological and palaeontological investigations. His first appointment was that of lecturer, and subsequently Professor of Geology and Zoology at University College, Bristol. From 1883 to 1897 he was Professor of Geology in the University of Dublin, when he succeeded Professor Green in the Chair of Geology at Oxford. In the 'nineties, when a controversy raged as to the origin of coral atolls, he headed an expedition sent by the Royal Society to the Pacific to investigate the problem on the spot. During the meeting of the British Association in South Africa in 1905 he undertook a journey to the Kalahari Desert to visit the last remnants of the race of Bushmen. His many and varied publications included "The Age of the Earth" (1905), and "Ancient Hunters" (1911), which became classics; the volume on the Tetractenellid Sponges in the Reports of the *Challenger* Expedition; and a work on the rocks of the Cape Colville Peninsula, New Zealand. He also provided the English translation of Suess's "Das Antlitz der Erde," which his daughter, Hertha, carried out under his direction. The methods which he devised of separating rock-minerals and of investigating the structure of fossils by means of serial sections attracted widespread attention. He was elected a

Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1882 and of University College, Oxford, in 1901. In 1889 he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society, and during 1908-9 was President of the Geological Society. He held the degrees of D.So., Cambridge, LL.D. Dublin, D.Sc., Bristol and Adelaide, and Ph.D., Christiania. He was twice married, first to Helen, daughter of W. J. Coryn; she died in 1911, leaving two daughters; and secondly, in 1914, to Amabel Nevill, widow of Professor H. N. Moseley, F.R.S.; she died in April 1928.

22. Viscount Hanworth (Ernest Murray Pollock), Master of the Rolls, 1923-35, was born on November 25, 1861, fourth son of George Frederick Pollock, Queen's Remembrancer, and grandson of the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer (whose biography he wrote) and brother of the Bishop of Norwich. Educated at Charterhouse and Trinity College, Cambridge, he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1885, took silk in 1905, became a Bencher of his Inn in 1914 and Treasurer in 1936. As a Conservative he unsuccessfully contested the Spalding Division of Lincolnshire in 1900 and 1906, but was elected for Warwick and Leamington in January, 1910. During the war he was Chairman of the Contraband Committee (1915) and was Controller of the Foreign Trade Department, 1917-19. He was Solicitor-General from 1919 to March, 1922, when he became Attorney-General, resigning in the following October. A year later he was appointed Master of the Rolls, not without criticism by members of the legal profession. His duties as custodian of the nation's records appealed strongly to his historical sense and he gave every encouragement to the movement for the preservation of local records, he himself being President of the Dugdale, the Grotius, and the Magna Carta Societies, and of the British Records Association, as well as a trustee of the British Museum. He was Chairman of the Business of the Courts Committee appointed in 1932 to report on the practicability of greater expedition in the despatch of business and greater economy in the administration of justice. The outcome of the report, which caused much controversy, was the introduction of the New Procedure Rules and the abolition of Grand Juries. He was also Chairman of the Law Revision Committee, 1934. At the annual meeting of the Canadian Bar Association at Quebec in 1929 he delivered an address on "The Evolution of the English Law of Evidence" and presented to the Association a series of legal documents, including autograph letters written to members of his family by distinguished judges. He was created K.B.E. in 1917 and baronet in 1922; was raised to the peerage as Baron Hanworth (after a Middlesex village) in 1926 and advanced to a viscountcy by letters patent dated January 17, 1936. He was a Governor of Charterhouse and Wellington, Deputy High Steward of Cambridge University, High Steward of Stratford-on-Avon, honorary freeman of Leamington, and the first honorary freeman of Warwick, an Officer of the Legion of Honour and of the Order of SS. Maurice and Lazarus, and honorary LL.D. of Cambridge and Warsaw. He married, in 1887, Laura Helen, daughter of Sir Thomas Salt, Bt., and had one daughter. He was succeeded by his grandson, David Bertram Pollock, born August 1, 1916.

28. Commander Sir Edgar Theophilus Britten, Commodore of the Cunard White Star Line and first captain of the *Queen Mary*, was born at Bradford on April 27, 1874, and educated at King Edward VI. Grammar School, Birmingham. After a brief spell in business he went to sea in a barque, remained in sail for ten years, and eventually obtained a master's certificate in both sail and steam. In 1901 he joined the Cunard Company, to which he returned after two years in the Royal Naval Reserve, and received his first command in the *Phrygia* on the Mediterranean service in 1913, in which year he was transferred to the *Lusitania* as staff captain. During the war he served in that capacity on the *Aquitania*. In 1931 he succeeded Commodore Sir Arthur Rostron as captain of the *Berengaria*, in which he continued until appointed to the *Queen Mary* in 1936. In 1935 he was made first commodore of the new Cunard White

Star Company. He was knighted in 1934. He married, in 1912, Beatrice Maud Woodend, of Liverpool, and had one daughter.

30. **Admiral Sir David Murray** Anderson, Governor of New South Wales since November, 1935, and formerly Governor of Newfoundland, was born on April 11, 1874. Entering the *Britannia* as a cadet in 1887, he went to sea two years later in the *Northumberland*. As a sub-lieutenant of the flagship *St. George*, he served in the expedition against King Koko in the River Niger in 1895 and was promoted lieutenant. In 1905 he was promoted to commander and in 1911 to captain. In March, 1913, he joined the *Hyacinth* as Flag Captain to the Commander-in-Chief on the Cape Station and remained there during the first three years of the war. Returning home in 1917 he was selected to command the *Ajax* in the Grand Fleet. He was Captain-Superintendent of Pembroke Dockyard and Senior Naval Officer, Milford Haven, from February, 1920, to April, 1922, when he was promoted to rear-admiral. From 1923 to 1925 he was Senior Naval Officer in the Yangtse and for part of the time acted as Commander-in-Chief in China. He became a vice-admiral in January, 1927, and admiral on April 20, 1931, retiring at his own request in the following year. From June to December, 1928, he was High Commissioner for South Africa, after which he spent two years at Geneva as British naval representative on the League of Nations Permanent Advisory Commission. During his term of office as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Newfoundland, to which he was appointed in September, 1932, the Constitution was suspended and he presided over the Commission which took the place of the Legislature. In November, 1935, he succeeded Sir Alexander Hore-Ruthven, V.C. (Lord Gowne), as Governor of New South Wales. Made a C.M.G., during the war, he became a C.B. in 1923 and K.C.B. in 1930. He married, in 1908, Edith Muriel, daughter of W. H. Teschemaker, of Otago.

NOVEMBER.

2. Gerald Gould, poet, essayist, and critic, was born in 1885 and educated at Norwich; University College, London, where he took first-class honours in Classics and was Quain prize essayist; and Magdalen College, Oxford, where he took a first class in *Lit. Hum.* After having been a Fellow of Merton College from 1909 to 1916, he became a leader writer on the *Daily Herald*, of which he was subsequently associate editor (1919-22). For many years he was a regular contributor to the *Observer* and the *News Chronicle*, of which he was chief novel reviewer. His publications, which were marked by humanism and learning, included collected reviews—"The English Novel of To-day" (1924), "The Future of Laughter" (1929), and "Refuge from Nightmare" (1933); "Collected Poems" (1930), containing "The Happy Tree" and the well-known anthology piece, "Wander Thirst"; a novel "Isabel" (1932); a volume of essays, "The Return to the Cabbage and Other Essays"; and, as an ardent Socialist, "The Coming Revolution" (1920) and "A Note on Trade Union Structure." He married a daughter of Professor Ayrton, F.R.S.—Barbara Bodichon Ayrton Gould, unsuccessful Labour candidate for the Hulme Division of Manchester at the last General Election—and had one son.

3. John Henry Lorimer, painter of Scottish domesticity, second son of Dr. James Lorimer, Professor of Public Law in the University of Edinburgh, was born on August 12, 1856, and educated at Edinburgh Academy and University, and trained as an artist in the Schools of the Royal Scottish Academy (under M'Taggart and Chalmers) and at Paris (under Duran). He began as a painter of portraits and flowers, exhibiting first at the Royal Scottish Academy at the age of 19, and at the Royal Academy two years later. In 1892, after some early works in pure portraiture, notably "Professor James Lorimer," he began to combine portraiture with subject interest in paintings, such as "R. C. Munro-

Ferguson," " Colonel Anstruther Thomson," " Grandmother's Birthday," and " Benedicite " (children saying grace), all of which were purchased by the French Government for the Luxembourg Museum. The French Government awarded him several medals, including a gold one at the Paris Exhibition of 1900. He was, also, a corresponding member of the Institute of France. His portrait head of his brother, Sir Robert Lorimer, as a boy, was bought by the Chantrey Trustees for the Tate Gallery. Among his other subject pictures were " Interior—Moonlight Evening," " Midsummer Eve: A Reverence to Roses," and " Hush," purchased for the Rochdale Gallery. In 1882 he was made an Associate of the Royal Scottish Academy, becoming a full member in 1900. He was a member of the Royal Society of Painters in Water-Colours and an exhibitor at the Royal Academy.

5. Dr. Charles Sanford Terry, Professor of History at Aberdeen University, 1903-30, and a distinguished musician, was born at Newport Pagnell, Bucks, on October 24, 1864, oldest son of Dr. Charles Terry. He was one of six boys out of 120 who in 1874 gained admission to the newly reorganised St. Paul's Cathedral School where, as a solo boy, he laid the foundation of his love of music. Later he went to King's College School, to Lancing and to Clare College, Cambridge, where he read history and gave all his spare time to music. From 1890 to 1898 he was Lecturer in History at the Durham College of Science, Newcastle (afterwards Armstrong College), proceeding from there to Aberdeen University, later to become (1903) the first occupant of the Burnett-Fletcher Chair of History, which he held until his retirement in 1930. Although he contributed some chapters to the Cambridge histories, Mediaeval and Modern, his published work was mainly concerned with Scottish history, and included lives of Leslie, the first Earl of Leven, Graham of Claverhouse, the Chevalier of St. George, and the Young Pretender; " The Scottish Parliament " (1906), "The Cromwelhan Union," " The Pentland Rising," a one-volume history of Scotland, and a shorter history for use in schools. At Newcastle he founded the College Choral Society and at Aberdeen the University Orchestral and Choral Society, with a choir of 150 voices and an orchestra of 70 players. When Elgar received the degree of LL.D., on the 400th anniversary of the foundation of the University, Terry composed an anthem in his honour. But his chief work in music was in connexion with the Bachs, of whom he wrote biographies, and many other works on their origins and their music, and on the 250th anniversary of the birth of J. S. Bach (1935). For this work he was awarded the degree of Ph.D. by the University of Leipzig. In 1921 he received the honorary degree of Mus.Doc. at Oxford, where he was greeted with an ode in praise of the charms of Euterpe and Clio. He was also Mus.Doc. of Edinburgh, Litt.D. of Cambridge, LL.D. of Glasgow and Aberdeen, D.Litt. of Durham, an honorary Fellow of Clare College, an honorary fellow of the Royal College of Music, and an honorary member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He married in 1901 Edith Allfrey, of Newport Pagnell.

— Sir Arthur Keysall Yapp, National Secretary of the Y.M.C.A., 1912-29, was born at Orieton, near Leominster, on March 12, 1869, his father being a farmer and his mother the daughter of a Congregational minister. At the age of 21 he gave up a business career to revive the Y.M.C.A. at Leominster, continuing this work at the Association's many centres in Lancashire until 1907, when he became the first general secretary of the new Y.M.C.A. building in Manchester. In 1912 he was appointed general secretary of the National Council of Y.M.C.A.'s, holding the post until 1929, when he became deputy president. On the outbreak of the war he planned to extend the scope of the Association, and before the end there were more than 10,000 centres of rest and recreation on every fighting front on which the British forces were engaged. To symbolise the three sides of a man's nature—mind, body, and spirit—for which these centres catered, he introduced the Red Triangle, a sign which became known and

respected throughout the world. After a good deal of persuasion by Mr. Lloyd George he became for a time Director of Food Economy. In 1917 he was made a K.B.E. He married in 1901 Alice Maude, daughter of T. Hesketh Higson, and had one son and one daughter. Sir Arthur collapsed while visiting the Woking Y.M.C.A., and died on the way to the hospital.

11. **Sir Herbert Trustram Eve**, noted authority on rating and the valuation of real property, was born on June 24, 1865, son of a Bedford estate agent, and educated at Bedford Grammar School. On the death of his father in 1902 he became head of the firm of J. R. Eve & Son, and for more than 50 years held an auctioneer's licence at the firm's cattle market in Hitchin. He became a Fellow of the Auctioneers' and Estate Agents' Institute in 1913 and served on the council as representative of the Beds, Herts, and Hunts branch for twenty years but, to the regret of his friends, he never consented to become president. He was elected a Fellow of the Surveyors' Institute in 1891 and was Chairman of the Beds, Herts, and Essex branch, 1908-11. From about 1900 to 1916 he was honorary secretary of the Herts, Beds, and Bucks Valuers* Association, becoming president in 1918 and again in 1936. He was also a past chairman and first honorary secretary of the Rating Surveyors' Association. In 1904 he was appointed an agricultural correspondent to the Board of Agriculture. In consequence of the Rating and Valuation Act, 1925, he became county valuer for Beds. He was on the panel of valuers for Herts and was retained by many rating authorities in Bucks, Essex, Notts, and Derbyshire, and by 1928 he had a staff of over 100 with offices in many counties. Until after the war he was land agent for the Beds County Council Smallholding Scheme. During the war he was Chairman of the Forage Committee of the War Office and was made a K.B.E. Elected a member of the Farmers' Club in 1900, he was honorary secretary, 1906-16, and president in 1920, the first time an honorary secretary had been elected to the office, which had been held by his father and grandfather. He also served on the Council of the Bedfordshire Agricultural Society, being chairman of the finance sub-committee and for many years he was a member of the Bedfordshire county committee of the Royal Agricultural Benevolent Institution. He was a member of the Athenaeum and Ranelagh Clubs. A lecturer to clergy all over the country on Church finance, he became Chairman of the General Purposes Committee of the Church Assembly and was a member of the Central Board of Finance since its establishment. In 1893 he married Fanny Jean, daughter of the Rev. John Turing, vicar of Edwinstowe, and had three sons and one daughter. In his later years he laughingly said he had lost his identity, being known either as the husband of Lady Eve, for 12 years a prominent member of the L.C.C., or as the father of Mr Malcolm Trustram Eve, the K.C.

— **Sir Edward German Jones** (known as Sir Edward German), composer of light operas, was born at Whitchurch, Shropshire, on February 17, 1862. While at the Royal Academy of Music studying the violin under Weist Hill and composition under Prout, he composed his first symphony and a two-act light opera, *The Rival Poets*, which was so successful when produced by the students' opera class that it was earned through a provincial tour. In 1888 he became musical director of the Globe Theatre where he wrote the incidental music to Richard Mansfield's production of *Richard III.* (1889), which led to his writing the well-known dances for Irving's *Henry VIII.* at the Lyceum (1892). About the same time he also wrote the incidental music for *As You Like It*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, and *Nell Gwynn*. He completed the music for the light opera. *The Emerald Isle*, which Sullivan had left unfinished, and, again in collaboration with Basil Hood, he wrote *Merrie England* (1902), which was followed by *A Princess of Kensington* (1903), and *Tom Jones* (1907), pieces which attained great popularity with amateur operatic societies, although *Merrie England* had a successful professional revival at the Princes Theatre in 1934. With the failure in 1909 of *Fallen Fairies* (libretto by Gilbert) his operatic career and virtually

his career as a composer came to an end. Among his other works were the Norwich Symphony in A minor, 1893, completed 1931, "The Seasons," the "Welsh Rhapsody" (Cardiff Festival, 1904) and the "Theme and Six Diversions" (Royal Philharmonic Society, 1919). In 1895 he was made a Fellow of the Royal Academy of Music and in 1901 a member of the Philharmonic Society, whose gold medal he received in 1934. Unmarried, he was knighted in 1928.

12. Mrs. Christine Hamlyn, the Mistress of Clovelly, was born in 1856, third daughter of Colonel Henry Fane and his wife Susan Hamlyn, whose family had settled at Clovelly at the end of the eighteenth century. Christine became Mistress of Clovelly ("Clausae Vallis Domina," as she was described in an inscription on her own farm buildings) on the death of her brother in 1884 and from then to the time of her death she successfully strove to defend the beauty of the village from all forms of vulgar sophistication. Besides knowing personally every man, woman, and child, she had a wide circle of friends outside, and many distinguished men became at one time or another her guests, Mr. Asquith (afterwards Earl of Oxford and Asquith) on occasions reading the lessons in Clovelly Church. Barely five feet in height, her growth having been stunted by an attack of typhoid fever, but of great strength of character and an infectious vivacity, she married in 1889 Frederick Gosling, who took the name of Hamlyn, and died in 1904.

19. Brigadier-General the Hon. Robert White, Chief Staff Officer to Sir John Willoughby in the Jameson Raid, was born on October 26, 1861, fourth son of the second Lord Annaly, and was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. During the Jameson Raid he was taken prisoner, deported to England for trial and sentenced to seven months' imprisonment which he served in Holloway. When "Bobby White's box" containing documents compromising some of the Johannesburg Reformers was captured by the Boers at Doornkop, he was blamed for his negligence in taking such papers into action. Loyal to his superior officer he remained silent for many years, and it was not till December, 1930, that it was made known that he was in no way responsible for the blunder. In a letter to *The Times* Colonel Marshall Hole stated that it was Sir John Willoughby himself who had ordered the vital papers to be packed in the despatch-box, White at the time being absent in Mafeking. In 1882 he joined The Royal Welsh Fusiliers and was on the Staff in the Nile Campaign, 1884-85, receiving the medal with clasp and the Khedive's Star. In 1890 he was promoted captain. At the age of 33 he became Staff Officer to the Rhodesia Volunteers and was appointed magistrate in Bechuanaland. In the South African War he served on the Staff, was mentioned in despatches and was promoted to brevet-major. Returning to England, he became a partner in the firm of Govett & Sons & Co., Stockbrokers. When the Great War began he raised and commanded the 10th Battalion of The Royal Fusiliers (the "Bankers' Battalion") and served in France, 1915-18. He was made C.M.G. in 1916 and C.B. in 1919. Interested in many good causes, he was one of the original members of the Borstal Association Committee and of the "Big Brother" Movement for placing English boys under the care of benevolent Australians, and was a regular weekly visitor to the Barnardo Homes. He was unmarried.

27. Sir Basil Zaharoff, financier, banker, and industrialist, was born on October 20, 1849, the son of a Greek mother and a Russian father. From small beginnings he became associated with the Nordenfelt Guns and Ammunition Company, which in 1888 amalgamated with the Maxim Gun Company. In 1897, when the Maxim works were taken over by Vickers, Zaharoff became chief Continental representative, and to carry out the million pounds' worth of contracts which he obtained for them he formed subsidiary companies all over Europe. His newspaper interests, direct and indirect were considerable, both in London and in Paris, where, during the war, he founded the Radio News,

Agency for the support of Briand and Venizelos in their Greek policy. For some time he controlled the Paris *Excelsior*, which he was said to have bought so that his daughter might have a morning paper fit for a "jeune fille" to read. At one period he was said to be bearing the cost of the Greek Army out of his own pocket and during the Great War, according to the *Temps*, he contributed 50,000,000 frs. to the Allied cause. His anonymous benefactions to the poor of Paris were believed to be on a big scale. His great hobby was aviation and he wholeheartedly supported Sir Hiram Maxim's early experimental work. In a machine with a plane surface of 4,000 square feet and a total weight of 8,000 lbs., driven by a steam boiler along a railway, Zaharoff and the inventor left the earth for a few inches and travelled about 100 yards, the first men ever to do so in a machine heavier than air. He founded Chairs of Aviation at the Imperial College of Science, London, and at the Universities of Paris and Petrograd. At Oxford he founded the Marshal Foch Chair of French Literature and at the University of Paris the Field-Marshal Haig Chair of English Literature. He was an honorary D.C.L. of Oxford and an honorary doctor of law of Paris. In 1918 he was created G.B.E. and in 1921 G.C.B., and was also a Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour. In politics he was first and foremost a Greek, an ardent Venizelist, but in the closing years of his life he observed that nearly all politicians sooner or later suffer from an exaggerated idea of their importance. Owing to his real or assumed love of privacy, little was known of his personality, and a short time before his death he burned diaries covering a period of 50 years. In 1924 he married his life-long friend the Duquesa de Villafranca de los Caballeros, who died two years later.

30. Sir Edwin Deller, Principal of the University of London (1929-36) was born at Paignton, Devon, in 1883. At the age of 19 he began his administrative career in the offices of the Kent Education Committee, then in London, and combining with his daily work the study of law in London University he graduated LL.B. with honours in 1911, proceeding to LL.D. in 1916. In 1912 he was appointed one of the secretaries in the academic department of the University. During the war he served in the Inns of Court O.T.C. as instructor in military law. In 1920 he became Assistant Secretary of the Royal Society, but returned to the University in 1921 as Academic Registrar, being appointed Principal on the resignation of Dr. Franklin Sibly in 1929. Unlike his predecessors, who had had teaching experience, his qualifications rested chiefly on his administrative ability. His immediate task was that of settling the plans for the erection of the new University buildings in Bloomsbury, the foundation-stone of which was laid by King George V. in June, 1933. In the summer of 1936 he organised the celebrations, attended by scholars from all over the world, in anticipation of the centenary of the University's first Royal Charter on November 28. He was one of the founders of the British Institute in Paris and was awarded the Legion of Honour. He was knighted in 1935 and was a Fellow of the University College and King's College and an honorary Bencher of the Inner Temple. Sir Edwin, who in 1914 married Betty Betts and had one son, died of the effects of an accident while inspecting the new buildings of the University on November 27.

DECEMBER.

1. Dr. Edgar Hartley Kettle, F.R.S., Professor of Pathology at the British Post-Graduate Medical School since 1934, was born in 1882, received his medical training at St. Mary's Hospital and graduated M.B., B.S., in the University of London in 1907 and M.D. in 1910. Having decided to devote his life to pathology he was appointed in 1907 to a junior pathological post at St. Mary's Hospital; a year later he joined the pathological staff of the Cancer Hospital and in 1911 he worked for a time under Professor Aschoff at Freiburg. In 1912 he returned

to St. Mary's where he eventually became Pathologist. He was Professor of Pathology in the University of Wales from 1924 to 1927, when he took a similar post at St. Bartholomew's, remaining there until the new British Post-Graduate Medical School was opened at Hammersmith in 1934. His many and important publications include a classical monograph on the pathology of tumours, illustrated by his own hand (1916) and an investigation of industrial silicosis and its relation to pulmonary tuberculosis, his best-known work. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in 1931 and of the Royal Society in 1935. In 1918 he married Marguerite Henrietta Pam, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., of the staff of the *Lancet* since 1919.

2. **Lord Islington** (John Poynder Dickson-Poynder), Governor of New Zealand, 1910-12, was born on October 31, 1866, son of Rear-Admiral J. B. Dickson (sixth son of the second baronet) and Sarah, daughter of Thomas Poynder of Hilmarton, Wiltshire. He succeeded his uncle as sixth baronet in 1884, taking the name and arms of Poynder on succeeding to his maternal uncle's property in 1887. Educated at Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford, he was elected as Conservative for the Chippenham Division of Wiltshire in 1892. He served in the South African War with the Imperial Yeomanry; was awarded the D.S.O. and the Queen's medal with three clasps and retired from the Army as a lieutenant-colonel of the Wiltshire Yeomanry. As a Moderate he was a member of the London County Council, 1898-1904, being Chairman of the Housing Committee. In 1903-4 he was a member of the Royal Commission on London Traffic and with Sir Robert Reid (Lord Loreburn) was responsible for its report which was long regarded as a classic of its kind. He was also a member of the committee on the feeding of school children, whose report formed the basis of the Act of 1906. In 1907 he was Chairman of the Select Committee on the Radio - Telegraphic Convention, and in 1909 a member of the Royal Commission on Trade Relations between Canada and the West Indies. Widely travelled, he was converted to Liberalism over the fiscal issue in 1905 but showed his independence by opposing the land taxation clauses in the Budget of 1907. In 1910 he was created Baron Islington on his appointment as Governor of New Zealand. From 1912 to 1914 he was in India as Chairman of the Indian Public Services Commission. In August, 1914, he joined the Government as Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and on the formation of the Coalition Government in May, 1915, he was transferred to the Indian Under-Secretaryship which he held until the beginning of 1919. He resented the tradition of the seniority of the Permanent Under-Secretary to his Parliamentary colleague, and when Mr. Montagu went to India in 1917 Lord Islington made it clear that he would not remain at the India Office in any position of subordination to the permanent officials. In later years he opposed the Indian constitutional reform policy of the National Government. He was Chairman of the Imperial Institute, 1914-21; President of the African Society in 1915-16, and Chairman of the National Savings Committee, 1920-26. He was High Sheriff of Wiltshire in 1890. He was a G.C.M.G. and G.B.E., a Privy Councillor and a Knight of Justice of the Order of St. John. In 1896 he married Annie, daughter of R. H. D. Dundas, of Glenesk, and had one daughter. The title became extinct.

7. **Sir Charles John Holmes**, painter, art critic, and Director of the National Portrait Gallery, 1909-16, and of the National Gallery, 1916-28, was born at Preston on November 11, 1868, elder son of the Rev. Charles Rivington Holmes and a nephew of Sir Richard Holmes, Librarian of Windsor Castle. Educated at Eton and Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1889 he entered the publishing firm of his cousin, Francis Rivington, and when the business was sold to Longmans, he became a compositor and proof-reader and later book-keeper at Ballantyne & Hanson's. From the Ballantyne Press he went to Nimmo's, the publishers, and from there to the Vale Press, of which he was manager for seven years. Meanwhile he shared with Roger Fry the art criticism of the *Athenoeum* until,

in 1904, he took over the then young and unsuccessful *Burlington Magazine*, becoming editor and managing director. In 1909 he was appointed Director of the National Portrait Gallery, and after spending there seven happy years was appointed, much against his will, Director of the National Gallery, of his difficulties at which he gave an account in his reminiscences, "Self and Partners" (1936). On leaving the National Gallery, in 1928 he devoted his time to writing and was for two years artistic consultant to Josiah Wedgwood & Sons. In spite of his lack of education in the art of painting he developed his talent in his meagre spare time and had pictures accepted by many galleries in Great Britain and the Dominions. Commissioned to make paintings of England in war-time he produced a remarkable series of manufacturing scenes, but it was by his pictures of the Lake country that his reputation as a painter was established. Besides his reminiscences he wrote a monograph on Hokusai, well-known works on Constable and Rembrandt, three volumes on the contents of the National Gallery, "Notes on the Science of Picture-Making," and, outside his subject, "The Tarn and the Lake," giving his thoughts on problems of race and policy. He was knighted in 1921, was made a K.C.V.O. in 1928 and was an honorary Fellow of Brasenose College and an honorary D.Litt. of Cambridge and of Leeds. He married his kinswoman, Florence Hill Rivington, violinist and composer, and had two sons.

9. Admiral Salomon Arvid Achates Lindman, leader of the Swedish Conservatives, was born on September 19, 1862, and entered the Navy at the age of 20, retiring in 1892 with the rank of captain, to join his father in the management of Osterby Bruk. Politics, however, proved more attractive, and in 1902 he was offered, but declined, the post of Minister of Finance in Hr. Bostrom's second Cabinet. In 1905 he was elected to the First Chamber and became Minister of the Navy in the short-lived Lundberg Government. A year later he accepted the King's invitation to form a moderate Conservative Government in order to prepare the way for forthcoming electoral changes, and remained in office until 1911, when he was forced to resign through moving too far towards the Right. In 1917 he became Foreign Minister in the Swartz Government, which lasted seven months, and in 1928 he formed his second administration which ended in 1930. He presided over many Royal and Parliamentary Commissions and served as Chairman of the Conservative Party's national organisation from 1912 to 1935. In 1907 he was promoted rear-admiral on the reserve list and in time came to be known as admiral. For many years he was Chancellor of the Grand Lodge of Sweden and was an honorary member of most of the principal Masonic bodies in England. Left a widower with one daughter in 1927, he was killed in an air disaster at Croydon.

10. Luigi Pirandello, Italian dramatist, was born at Girgenti, Sicily, on June 28, 1867, and after being educated in Italy, completed his studies at the University of Bonn, writing a thesis in German on his native dialect. For many years he led a secluded life, teaching history and literature in girls' secondary schools in Rome. In 1888 he attracted local attention by a volume of verse, "Mai Giocondo," and in the next few years he became well known, but never really popular, as a writer of short stories and novels of Sicilian life. With "The Late Mattia Pascal" (1904), in which the hero disappears and tries to start a new life, only to find that the resultant complications make it impossible to do so, Pirandello began to develop his favourite theme, the problem of personality, which found its fullest expression in the theatre. *Six Characters in Search of an Author* (1921), his most famous play, quickly established his position among the original playwrights of the day, and, translated into many languages, was produced all over the world. Among his other plays, in which critics began to recognise a constant re-statement of Hamlet's "There is nothing good or bad, but thinking makes it so," were *The Reason of the Others* (1915), *Man, Beast and Virtue* (1919), *Everything for the Best* (1920), *Henry IV.* (1922), *The Man with*

the Flower in his Mouth (1923), *The New Colony* (1928), *As You Desire Me* (1930), *When One is Somebody* (1933), *No One Knows How* (1935), and *The Giant of the Mountain*, which he had finished shortly before his death. Although he attempted, without success, to found a national theatre, and since 1925 had had his own company in Rome, he was chiefly appreciated by Italians on account of his foreign reputation. *The New Colony* was hissed on its first production; in 1933 Signor Mussolini ordered the withdrawal of a Pirandello play on the ground of "moral incongruity," and in 1934 Pirandello's libretto to Malipiero's opera, *The Fable of the Changeling*, caused an uproar of disapproval in the Rome Royal Opera House. It was believed that Pirandello had lived through some of his most agonising dramatic situations; his wife, who died in 1918, leaving two sons and one daughter, had been the victim of insanity in the form of jealous mania since 1904, in which year he also lost his fortune in a financial disaster. In 1934 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. At his express wish, he was given a pauper's burial, unattended by either relatives or friends. The first book on his work, giving full analyses of his plays and other writings, with a bibliography, was published by Dr. Walter Starkie in 1926.

12. Dr. John Knight Fotheringham, D.Litt., F.B.A., Reader in Ancient Astronomy and Chronology in the University of Oxford, 1912-20, was born on August 14, 1874, and educated at the City of London School and Merton College, Oxford, where he took a second class in Classical Moderations in 1894, a first class in *Lit. Hum.* in 1896 and a first class in Modern History in 1897. From 1898 to 1902 he was Senior Demy of Magdalen, spending the year 1899 as a student at the British School at Athens. In 1904 he went to King's College, London, as Lecturer in Classical Literature, and in 1909 became Lecturer in Ancient History. He made a reputation for himself as editor of the Bodleian manuscript of Jerome's version of the Chronicle of Eusebius, of which he had prepared a critical edition when elected to a Fellowship of Madgalen. He was also the author of an article on the "List of Thalassocracies in Eusebius in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* and, as a recognised authority on chronological problems involving astronomical computations, he made numerous contributions to the monthly magazine of the Royal Astronomical Society. His other writings included Volume XL (with the Hon. G. C. Brodrick) of Longmans' Political History of England (1906), "Marco Sanudo" (with L. F. R. Williams, 1915), "The Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga" (with Professor Langdon, 1928), "Historical Eclipses" (1921), and "Eusebius, Chronici Canones" (1923). In 1911 he was awarded the Johnson Prize and in the following year was appointed Reader in Ancient History in the University of London, holding the post until 1920. From 1918 to 1925 he was an assistant in the Oxford University Observatory. In 1921 he was Hatley Lecturer. He married in 1903 Mary Eleanor, daughter of Joseph Atkinson, of Westmorland.

16. The Rev. Lancelot Ridley Phelps, D.C.L., Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, 1914-29, and an authority on theoretical and practical political economy, was born at Ridley Parsonage, Sevenoaks, on November 2, 1853, and educated at Charterhouse (of which he became a governor) and at Oriel College, Oxford, at which he obtained an unofficial Fellowship after studying at Gottingen and at Vienna, under Lorenz von Stein, an account of whose political philosophy he published in the *Westminster Review*. Under the influence of Arnold Toynbee he became a member (and successively vice-chairman and chairman) of the Oxford Board of Guardians. He was also a member of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law and was Chairman of the Departmental Committee on Vagrancy. At the University he became Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, a tutor at Oriel and a member of the Hebdomadal Council, and in 1914 succeeded Dr. Shadwell as Provost of Oriel, holding the post until he resigned in 1929, when he was made an honorary Fellow. He received the honorary D.C.L. in 1926 and was pro-Vice-

Chancellor, 1921-29, **A Broad Churchman,** he took deacon's orders in 1879 and priest's in 1896. In politics he was an academic Liberal, with no great love for political parties, but above everything else he was a talker, with an immense fund of humour and anecdote. His portrait was painted for Oriel by Briton Riviere.

20. **Sir John Bland-Sutton,** famous as a great surgeon, was born on April 21, 1855. Early in life he qualified as a pupil teacher, but, a born naturalist, he soon decided on a medical career, and entered Thomas Cook's private anatomical school, where he taught the backward and lazy students for whom the school was instituted. With the money so earned he became a student at Middlesex Hospital, gained the chief prizes there, and filled in succession the offices of assistant curator of the Museum, Demonstrator and Lecturer on Anatomy, assistant surgeon from 1886, surgeon from 1905 and consulting surgeon in 1920. He was admitted M.R.C.S.Eng. in 1880 and F.R.C.S.Eng. in 1884, gaining in that year the Murchison scholarship at the Royal College of Physicians. In 1892 he received the Jacksonian prize at the Royal College of Surgeons. The subject set for the prize turned his attention to gynaecology, and in 1896 he was elected assistant surgeon to the Chelsea Hospital for Women, becoming full surgeon six months later. At the Royal College of Surgeons he was Hunterian Professor of Comparative Anatomy and Surgery, 1887-89; Erasmus Wilson Lecturer, 1885-87; Bradshaw Lecturer in 1918, and Hunterian Orator in 1923. He was elected a member of the Council in 1910, served as president from 1923-25, and was one of the trustees of the Hunterian Collection. In 1919 he was chosen as the first President of the Association of Surgeons of Great Britain, and in 1920 was elected President of the Royal Society of Medicine, having been, in 1914, President of the Medical Society of London. During the war, while attached to the 3rd London General Hospital, he made a unique collection of specimens of gunshot injuries, which were housed in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons. He was appointed prosector at the Zoological Gardens in 1881, and thereafter was closely associated with the Zoological Society. Widely travelled, he wrote in addition to purely professional works, "Man and Beast in Eastern Ethiopia," "Men and Creatures in Uganda," and "The Story of a Surgeon." In 1905 he built at the back of his house—47 Brook Street, Grosvenor Square—a copy, reduced by one-third of the Apadama, or audience chamber, at Shushan. Out of the fortune he made by his professional activities, he gave large subscriptions to medical funds, besides founding and endowing the Bland-Sutton Pathological Institute (1914). He was knighted in 1912, created a baronet in 1925, and was a Knight of Grace of St. John of Jerusalem, LL.D., of the Universities of Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Birmingham, Glasgow, and Leeds; D.Sc. of Toronto; M.D. of Bordeaux and M.Ch. of Dublin. His portrait in the full dress gown of the President of the Royal College of Surgeons of England was painted by the Hon. John Collier. He was twice married, secondly to the youngest daughter of Henry Heather-Bigg.

29. **Alfred Arthur Greenwood Hales,** author, adventurer, and the creator of "McGlusky," was born in Australia in 1870. He first came into prominence as a war correspondent for the *Daily News* in the South African War, and in the Russo-Japanese War, at the end of which he came to England to lecture on his adventures. Next, he took up mining and worked in nearly every field in the world, gathering materials for his books. McGlusky's many adventures (probably based on Hales's own experiences) which began in 1902 were followed in "McGlusky the Reformer" (1910), "The Career of McGlusky" (1917), "McGlusky's Great Adventure" (1917), "McGlusky the Peacemaker" (1923), "McGlusky the Filibuster" (1932), "McGlusky, M.P." (1934), and "McGlusky the Sea Poacher" (1935). Among his other numerous and varied publications may be mentioned "Where Angels Fear to Tread" (1918), vivid sketches and

views on a variety of topics, " Rory O'Moore " (1922), a full-blooded and romantic story of Irish life, " Poems and Ballads," " The Wanderings of a Simple Child," " Little Blue Pigeon," " Driscoll, King of Scouts," " Life of Peter Jackson," " The Crimson Passion Flower," and " Foiled by a Woman." He was twice married; first to Emmaline (daughter of William Pritchard, of Adelaide) who died in 1911, leaving four sons and one daughter; secondly in 1920 to Jean Reid, a Scotswoman.

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