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FOR THE YEAR

1937

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

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CONTENTS.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

SUMMARY.

CHAPTER I.

The War Danger, 1. Anglo-Italian Agreement, 1. .Public Dissatisfaction, 2. Replies to British Note, 2. Britain's further Steps, 2: 'Warning to Volunteers, 3. Mr. Eden on the Situation, 3. Opposition Criticism, 3. Government and Non-intervention Committee, 4. Meeting of Mr. M. MacDonald and Mr. de Valera, 4. Mr. Runciman's Visit to America, 4. Subversive Activities in the Navy, 4. Government and Secret Service, 5. Commons and Empire Migration, 5. Empire Settlement Bill, 6. Livestock Industry Bill, 6. The White Waltham Aeroplane Factory, 6. State of Country's Air Defences, 7. New Regency Bill, 7. Condition of Tramp Shipping, 8. New Factory Law, 8. Feeding of School Children, 9. Government's Physical Training Proposals, 9. Summary Courts Procedure, 10. Preservation of Natural Beauty, 10. Chancellor Announces Defence Loan, 11. Government White Paper, 11. Chancellor's Speech, 12. Debate in Commons, 13. Premier on Foreign Policy, 13. Defence Loans Bill in Commons, 14, 15. Mr. Eden on Foreign Policy, 15. House of Lords on German Demand for Colonies, 16. Lord Halifax on Foreign Policy, 16. Government and Economic Co-operation, 17. Request to M. Van Zeeland, 18. Report on Gresford Explosion, 18. Debate in Commons, 19. Labour Party and Distressed Areas, 19. Government Increases Block Grants, 19. Government Proposals for Special Areas, 20. Financial Resolution, 20. Commons Protest against Standing Order 69, 20. Debate on Resolution, 21, 22. Minister's Threat to Motorists, 22. Labour "Five-Year Programme," 23. Left-Wing United Front, 23. Socialist League Disaffiliated, 24. Labour Gains in L.C.C. Election, 24. Control Plan of Non-intervention Committee, 24. British Compliance, 25. Committee Thwarted by Italy, 25. Civil Estimates, 25. Service Estimates, 25. Sir S. Hoare on Naval Programme, 26. War Minister on Recruiting, 26. Condition of Air Force, 27. Arrangements for Coronation, 27. Electricity Supply Report, 27. Fen Floods, 27. Ransome & Rapier's Munitions Offer, 28. Tributes to Sir A. Chamberlain, 28. Protests against Addis Ababa Massacre, 28, 29. Franco-British Declaration on Belgian Neutrality, 29. Ministerial Salaries Bill, 29. Pensions Scheme for Black-coated Workers, 30. Accounts for 1936-37, 30.

CHAPTER II.

Premier Announces Impending Resignation, 31. Commons and Ministers of Crown Bill, 31. M.P.s' Salaries Increased, 31. British Navy and the Blockade of Bilbao, 32. Premier's Statement, 32. Opposition Anger, 32. Debate in Commons, 33. Mr. Eden Defends Non-intervention, 33. Protection of British Shipping, 34. Mr. Chamberlain's Budget Statement, 34. Announcement of

N.D.C., 36. Reactions of Commons, 37. Chancellor's Defence, 37. Alarm in the City, 38. Defence Loan Floated, 38. Sir T. Inskip on the Munitions Offer, 38. Visitors for the Coronation, 39. Reception to Empire Ministers, 39. Coronation Ceremony, 39, 40. New Peers, 40. Imperial Conference, 40. Statement on Foreign Affairs, 41. Mr. Chamberlain on Work of Conference, 41. Mr. Baldwin on Value of Conference, 42. Criticisms of Conference, 42. New Civil List, 43. Government and Freer Trade, 43, 44. London Bus Strike, 44, 45. Ringleaders Suspended, 40. Harworth Colliery Dispute, 46. Mineworkers' Stnke Ballot, 46. Prime Minister's Appeal, 46. Settlement of Dispute, 47. Government and Private Manufacture of Arms, 47. Food Supply Policy, 47. Resignation of Mr. Baldwin; New Ministry, 48. Withdrawal of N.D.C., 49. Government and "Gold Scare," 50. Increase of Exchange Equalisation Fund, 50. The New N.D.C., 51. Passage of Finance Bill, 52. Marriage Bill through Commons, 52. In House of Lords, 52, 53. Commons and India, 53. Factories Bill Passed, 54. Socialist League Dissolved, 54. Labour Party and National Unity Campaign, 54. Labour Manifesto, 55. Basque Children Brought to England, 55. German Bombardment of Almena, 56. British Government's Proposals, 56. Invitation to Baron von Neurath, 56. German and Italian Withdrawal from Supervision Scheme, 57. New British Proposals, 57. Prime Minister's Appeal, 58. Opposition Criticism, 58. Mr. Eden's Defence, 58. Non-intervention Committee Impasse, 59. Mr. Eden on Britain's Interest in the Mediterranean, 59. Non-intervention Committee's Proceedings, 60. New British Plan, 60. Labour Party Criticisms, 61. Labour Party Fiasco, 62. Non-intervention Committee and British Proposals, 62, 63. Deadlock Reached, 63. British Appeal to Governments, 63. Discussions Break Down, 64. Mr. Eden's Survey of World Situation, 64. Labour Vote of Censure Defeated, 64. Palestine Commission Report, 64. Government Decision, 65. Debates in Parliament, 65. Naval Agreements with Russia and Germany, 66. London Naval Treaty Ratified, 66. Criticism of Sir T. Inskip, 67. Fleet Air-Arm Decision, 67. Labour Party and Rearmament, 67. Government's Pledge on Spain, 68. Legislation of the Session, 68. By-election Results, 68. Decline of B.U.F., 68.

CHAPTER III.

Exchange of Notes between the Premier and the Duce, C9. "Piracy" in the Mediterranean, 69. Warning to General Franco, 70. Nyon Conference, 70. Italy Joins Patrol, 71. Britain and Far Eastern Conflict, 71. Warning to Combatants, 72. Shooting of British Ambassador, 72. British Indignation at Japanese Outrages, 73. Britain Joins Nine-Power Conference, 73. Railway Staff Tribunal's Award, 74. Report on Share-pooling, 74. Report of T.U.C. General Council, 74. Labour Declaration on Defence, 75. Trade Union Congress, 75. Mr. Bevin's Address, 76. Congress and Spam, 76. Forty-hour Week and Pensions, 76. Defence Policy and China, 77. Labour Party Conference, 77. Move Against Trade Union Domination, 77. Condemnation of Unity Campaign, 78. Five-Year Programme Adopted, 78. Conservative Party Conference, 79. Premier's Address, 79. Sir J. Simon on Trade Prospects, 80. New British Note on Spain, 80. Italian Rejection, 81. British Surrender to Italy, 82. Resumption of Non-intervention Committee, 82. Discussion in Parliament, 83. Standstill in the Committee, 83. National Health Services Campaign, 84.

CHAPTER IV.

King's Speech, 84. Labour Criticism, 85. Sir S. Hoare on Position of Working Classes, 85. Mr. Eden on Non-intervention, 85. Mr. O. Stanley on "Slump Talk," 86. Government and anti-British Propaganda, 86. Non-intervention Committee Accepts British Proposals, 87. Exchange of Agents with General Franco, 87, 88. Amendment of Standing Order 69, 88. Films Bill Second Reading, 88. Text of Air-raid Precautions Bill, 89. Previous Steps, 89. Commons Discussion, 90-92. In Lords, 92. Committee to Investigate Imperial

CONTENTS.

vii

Airways, 92. Dissatisfaction with Air Ministry, 92. Army Changes, 93. Relations with Germany, 93. German Invitation to Lord Halifax, 94. House of Lords Debate, 94. Lord Halifax's Report, 95. Visit of French Ministers, 95. Results, 95. Negotiations for Trade Pact with U.S., 96. F.B.I. Warning, 96. Government and Empire Migration, 96. Text of New Coal Bill, 97. Statement by Colliery Owners, 98. Second Reading in Commons, 98. Report of Special Areas Commissioner, 98. Government on Location of Industry, 99. Population Statistics Bill, 99. Armistice Day Scene, 100. Tributes to R. MacDonald, 100. Committee on Motor Traffic, 100. Labour Support of Spanish Government, 101. Mr. Attlee's Visit to Spam, 101. Decision to Send Out Commissions, 101. "Incidents" in the Far East, 102. British Protest, 102. Commons Debate on Foreign Affairs, 103. Question of anti-British Propaganda, 104. Commons and Share-pushing, 104. Commons and London Police, 105. New Cotton Trade Scheme, 105. Distributive Trades Agreements, 105. Government and Irish Free State Constitution, 106. Premier on "Prosperity," 106. Persistence of "Slump Talk," 106.

CONTENTS.

IMPERIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.	
IRELAND	page 108
CHAPTER II.	
CANADA	114
CHAPTER III.	
THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA [<i>by C. J. Saywell</i>]	127
CHAPTER IV.	
AUSTRALASIA : THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND [<i>both by E. Short</i>].	133
CHAPTER V.	
INDIA AND BURMA [<i>by Sir Frank Brown, CLE.</i>]	145

FOREIGN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.	
THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS	152
CHAPTER II.	
FRANCE [<i>by Roger Livy</i>] AND ITALY	162
CHAPTER III.	
GERMANY—AUSTRIA [<i>by O. E. R. Gedyel</i>].	179
CHAPTER IV.	
SOVIET RUSSIA—ESTONIA—LATVIA—LITHUANIA—POLAND—DANZIG—CZECHOSLOVAKIA—HUNGARY—RUMANIA—YUGOSLAVIA—TURKEY—GREECE—BULGARIA—ALBANIA	187
CHAPTER V.	
LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE : BELGIUM—LUXEMBURG—NETHERLANDS [<i>by A. E. Mendell</i>] —SWITZERLAND [<i>by Kurt Lessing, Ph.D.</i>] —SPAIN—PORTUGAL [<i>by J. N. Marsden</i>] —DENMARK—ICELAND—SWEDEN—NORWAY [<i>by Arne Giverholt</i>] —FINLAND	222
CHAPTER VI.	
THE MIDDLE EAST : IRAN (PERSIA)—AFGHANISTAN [<i>by M. Simon, M.A.</i>] —IRAQ—PALESTINE—SYRIA AND LEBANON—ARABIA [<i>all four by A. M. Hyamson</i>]	254
CHAPTER VII.	
THE FAR EAST : CHINA—JAPAN—THE NETHERLANDS INDIES [<i>by A. E. Mendell</i>]	262
CHAPTER VIII.	
MOROCCO [<i>by M. Simon, M.A.</i>] —EGYPT [<i>by A. M. Hyamson</i>]	271
CHAPTER IX.	
AMERICA : THE UNITED STATES [<i>by C. T. Halhnan</i>] —ARGENTINA—BOLIVIA—BRAZIL—CHILE—MEXICO—PARAGUAY	275

CONTENTS.

ix

PART II

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS IN 1937.	page 293
RETROSPECT OF LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE IN 1937	302
Literature [<i>by J. Isaacs, M.A.</i>], p. 302—Art [<i>by W. T. Whitley</i>], p. 330— Drama [<i>by W. A. Darlington</i>], p. 332—The Cinema [<i>by Monica Ewer</i>], p. 337—Music [<i>by W. McNaught</i>], p. 339—The Biological Sciences [<i>by</i> <i>W. B. Brierly, D.Sc.</i>], p. 345—The Physical Sciences, p. 353.	
FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN 1937.	360
LAW IN 1937.	373
PUBLIC DOCUMENTS	379
I. The Constitution of Ireland, p. 379.—II The U.S. Neutrality Act, p. 388.—III. Non-aggression Treaty between U.S.S.R. and China, p. 397.—IV. Convention regarding the abolition of the Capitulation in Egypt, p. 398.	
OBITUARY OF EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1937	402
INDEX.	458

PREFATORY NOTE.

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

MR. STANLEY BALDWIN'S THIRD ADMINISTRATION.

(TOOK OFFICE JUNE 8, 1935. MR. BALDWIN RESIGNED ON MAY 28, 1937 :
UNTIL THEN IT WAS COMPOSED AS SHOWN BELOW.)

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<i>Prune, Minister and First Lord of the Treasury</i>	Mr. Stanley Baldwin.
<i>Lord President of the Council</i>	Mr. Ramsay MacDonald.
<i>Lord Chancellor</i>	Lord Hailsham.
<i>Lord Privy Seal</i>	Viscount Halifax
<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>	Mr. Neville Chamberlain.
<i>Secretaries of State :—</i>	
<i>Home</i>	Sir John Simon.
<i>Foreign</i>	Mr. Anthony Eden.
<i>Colonies</i>	Mr. W. G. A. Omsby-Gore,
<i>Dominions</i>	Mr. Malcolm MacDonald.
<i>War</i>	Mr. A. Duff Cooper
<i>India</i>	Marquess of Zetland
<i>Air</i>	Viscount SWINTON.
<i>Scotland</i>	Mr. Walter Elliot
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<i>Board of Education</i>	Mr. Oliver Stanley
<i>First Lord of the Admiralty</i>	Sir Samuel Hoare
<i>Minister of Health</i>	Sir Kingsley Wood
<i>Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries</i>	Mr. W. S. Morrison
<i>Minister of Labour</i>	Mr. Ernest Brown.
<i>First Commissioner of Works</i>	Earl Stanhope, K.G.
<i>Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence</i>	Sir Thomas Inskip.
<i>Minister of Transport</i>	Mr. Leslie Hore-Beaham.

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<i>Postmaster-General</i>	Major G. C. Tryon.
<i>Minister of Pensions</i>	Mr. H. Ramsbotham.
<i>Attorney-General</i>	Sir D. B. Somervell.
<i>Solicitor-General</i>	Sir Terence O'Connor.
<i>Paymaster-General</i>	Lord Hutchison.
<i>Civil Lord of the Admiralty</i>	Mr. Kenneth Lindsay.
<i>Financial Secretary to the Treasury</i>	Lt.-Col. D. J. Colville.
<i>Financial Secretary to the War Office</i>	Sir Victor Warrander.
<i>Secretary for Mines</i>	Captain H. F. C. Crookshank.
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<i>Air</i>	Sir Philip Sassoon
<i>Colonies</i>	Lord De La Warr.
<i>Dominion Affairs</i>	Lord Hartington.

xii MB. BALDWIN'S THIRD ADMINISTRATION.

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		Lord Plymouth.
<i>Home</i>		Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd.
<i>India</i>		Mr. Richard Austen Butler.
<i>Scotland</i>		Mr. H. J. S. Wedderburn.
<i>War.</i>		Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal.
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<i>Agriculture and Fisheries</i>	.	Lord Feversham.
<i>Education</i>		Mr. Geoffrey Shakespeare.
<i>Health</i>		Mr. R. S. Hudson.
<i>Labour</i>		Lt.-Col. A. J. Muirhead.
<i>Post Office</i>		Sir W. J. Womersley.
<i>Board of Trade</i>	.	Dr. Edward Leslie Burgin.
<i>Overseas Trade</i>	.	Captain David Euan Wallace.
<i>Transport</i>	.	Mr. Austin U. M. Hudson.
<i>Treasury</i>		Mr. H. D. Margesson.

SCOTLAND.

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<i>Under-Secretary of State</i>	.	Mr. H. J. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn.
<i>Lord-Advocate</i>		Mr. T. M. Cooper.
<i>Solicitor-General</i>		Mr. J. S. C. Reid, K.C.

MR. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

(TOOK OFFICE MAY 28, 1937.)

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Lord Chancellor	Lord Hailsham.
Lord Privy Seal	Earl De La Warr.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Sir John Simon.
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Foreign	Mr. Anthony Eden.
Colonies	Mr. W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore.
Dominions	Mr. Malcolm MacDonald.
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Minister of Agriculture and Fishenes	Mr. W. S. Morrison.
Minister of Labour	Mr. Ernest Brown.
Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence	Sir Thomas Inskip.
Minister of Transport	Dr. Leslie Burgin.

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Postmaster-General	Major G. C. Tryon.
Minister of Pensions	Mr. H. Ramsbotham.
Attorney-General	Sir D. B. Somervell.
Solicitor-General	Sir Terence O'Connor.
Paymaster-General	Lord Hutchison.
Civil Lord of the Admiralty	Lt.-Col. J. J. Llewollin.
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Scotland	Mr. H. J. S. Wedderburn.
War.	Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal.

xiv MB. CHAMBERLAIN'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

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<i>Agriculture and Fisheries</i>		Lord Feversham.
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<i>Board of Trade</i>		Captain David Euan Wallace.
<i>Overseas Trade</i>		Mr. R. S. Hudson.
<i>Transport</i>		Mr. Austin U. M. Hudson.
<i>Treasury</i>		Mr. H. D. Margesson.

SCOTLAND.

<i>Secretary of State</i>		Mr. Walter Elliot.
<i>Under Secretary of State</i>		Mr. H. J. S. Wedderburn.
<i>Lord-Advocate</i>		Mr. T. M. Cooper.
<i>Solicitor-General</i>		Mr. J. S. C. Reid.

ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1937.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE DEFENCE LOAN.

AT the opening of the year the Spanish situation, in spite of all British efforts during the previous months on behalf of "non-intervention," was still fraught with the potentialities of a European conflict. The answers of Germany and Italy to the Franco-British proposals of December 24 for banning volunteers to Spain were being awaited in London, and while there was no certainty that they would be favourable, previous experience suggested the cynical belief that if they should prove favourable no great importance would attach to them. On the other hand, some improvement in the international situation seemed likely to result from the negotiations which Britain had shortly before begun with Italy for regulating the position in the Mediterranean, where for some time there had been serious possibilities of friction between the two countries.

This expectation was not belied, and on January 2 a declaration "concerning assurances with regard to the Mediterranean" was signed in Rome by Count Ciano and Sir Eric Drummond, the British Ambassador. Each Power recognised that the freedom of entry into, exit from, and transit through the Mediterranean was a vital interest both to the different parts of the British Empire and to Italy, and that these interests were in no way inconsistent with each other; disclaimed any desire to modify, or, so far as they were concerned, see modified the *status quo* as regards national sovereignty of territory in the Mediterranean area; and undertook to respect the other's rights and interests in that area. The declaration, it was added, was designed to further the ends of peace and was not directed against any other Power. At the

same time Italy gave renewed assurances that she had no designs on the Balearic Islands, and that as far as she was concerned the integrity of the present territories of Spain would in all cases remain intact and unmodified.

The satisfaction with which this declaration was received in England was considerably lessened when it was learnt that on the very eve of its signing a large Italian force had landed at Cadiz, presumably to assist General Franco. The Government was severely criticised for not having secured at least a "gentleman's agreement" that such a thing would not happen. Spurred on by the public outcry, it got so far as to take a "grave view" of Italy's action, and brought fresh pressure to bear on that country and on Germany to answer its proposal regarding volunteers.

The Italian and German answers were at last received on January 7. They were on the same lines, having been framed in conjunction. The two Governments repeated the thesis already put forward in August, that non-intervention, to be adequate and efficacious, must apply to all forms of interference, both direct and indirect, including financial aid and propaganda. Nevertheless they expressed a willingness to make the question of volunteers the subject of a special agreement, provided it was accepted by all Governments and subjected to an efficacious control.

If the replies did not amount to a frank acceptance of the proposals, neither did they mean a downright rejection of them, and the British Government—acting on this occasion independently of France—resolved to make them a basis for further steps. The replies received from the various Powers concerned seemed to show that there was general agreement among them in principle that immediate measures should be taken to stop the inflow of foreign volunteers into Spain, and on January 10 the Government sent a Note to France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, and Russia making suggestions for achieving this end. Pointing out that the Non-intervention Committee had elaborated a detailed scheme for supervision at the Spanish ports and on the land frontiers of Spain, it remarked that this scheme could without difficulty be extended to cover the arrival in Spain both by land and by sea of volunteers and military personnel as well as of war material—an extension which might render it more acceptable to the two parties in Spain themselves. In the meanwhile it called upon each Government to adopt within its own territories the prohibitory measures required for the exclusion of foreign volunteers and military personnel from Spain, even in advance of the establishment of a complete system of control. Should these suggestions be adopted, it was proposed that the Non-intervention Committee should fix a date on which the prohibitory measures referred to should be simultaneously put into operation.

As an earnest of its own good faith, the Government at the same time published a warning that the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act of 1870 were applicable in the case of the present conflict in Spain, and that consequently it was an offence for any British subject to engage in the conflict or induce anyone else to do so. As in the case of the Naval Search Act of the previous autumn, the Government was strongly criticised by the Labour Party and others for not having waited to see whether the other Powers would follow suit, and was again accused of secretly desiring to thwart the Spanish Government.

Mr. Eden gave the House of Commons a review of the international situation immediately after the reassembling of Parliament on January 19. He said that the modified optimism which he had expressed just before the Christmas recess (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 110) had been justified, but this did not mean that reasons for anxiety did not still exist, or that they did not need to be ceaselessly watchful to preserve peace. The danger-point was, of course, still Spain, but the risk of the conflict there involving Europe in a war, though not yet wholly removed, had been definitely diminished. Mr. Eden saw in this a proof of the wisdom of the non-intervention policy. He repeated what he had said before Christmas, that though it had not worked as they could have wished, and though breaches of it had caused much bitterness, it was, and remained, the right policy for Europe to pursue. In this connexion Mr. Eden mentioned that replies more or less satisfactory had been received from France, Russia, and Portugal to the appeal sent out by Britain on January 9 for stopping volunteers, but they were still waiting for the answers of Germany and Italy. Referring to the agreement with Italy, he said that it had been welcomed not only by France, but also by Turkey, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Egypt. In conclusion Mr. Eden declared that Britain was fully prepared to co-operate with the rest of Europe in the work of political appeasement and economic improvement, and that the eyes of the world were fixed on Germany to know whither her peculiar doctrines were going to lead her.

A different view of the non-intervention policy was presented by Mr. Attlee, who followed. It had, he said, definitely failed to prevent a situation in which there were possibilities of war, and he did not believe that there had been any genuine intention on the part of the Fascist Powers to make the agreement effective. He bitterly reproached the Government with bowing down to every whim of the dictators, and said that a time limit should be fixed for the definite acceptance and working of a scheme of control, failing which the farce of non-intervention should be done away with altogether. Sir A. Sinclair, on behalf of the Liberals, also complained that the Government were not standing up to the Nazi and Fascist dictatorships as they ought to. Lord Cranborne,

in reply, admitted that the Government were not satisfied with the situation, but maintained that their policy had the support of the overwhelming mass of public opinion in the country.

The replies of Germany and Italy to the British Note of January 9 were at last received on January 25. Though they raised certain difficulties, they were construed by the Government as an acceptance of the proposal for an effective ban on volunteers. On January 28 the Government again sent a Note to each of the five Powers consulted, in which it expressed satisfaction that a further measure of agreement had been reached upon the various questions relating to Spain. The five replies were transmitted to the Non-Intervention Committee, to which was left the task of fixing a date for the prohibition of volunteers and devising a suitable method of control.

Some excitement was caused in political circles by the fact that on January 14 Mr. de Valera, while passing through London, contrary to his usual custom, stayed over night and took the opportunity to meet Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, the Colonial Secretary, and discuss with him the questions at issue between England and the Free State. The official *communique* issued after the meeting was careful to raise no false hopes, and emphasised the fact that the conversations had been purely informal and that no negotiations were proceeding. Nevertheless it was felt that a better atmosphere had been created for dealings between the two Governments, whenever they should be resumed.

Even greater interest was aroused by an unofficial visit paid by Mr. Runciman to America about this time. During his short stay Mr. Runciman saw much of President Roosevelt and Mr. Cordell Hull, and discussed with them trade relations between the United States and England, especially the possibility of lowering trade barriers. In this case also, though no definite result followed, a hopeful feeling was created. Mr. Runciman on his return described the conversations as "useful," but stated that further exploration would be necessary before it could be determined whether there was a firm basis on which detailed negotiations could take place.

The House of Commons met on January 19, when questions were immediately asked about the recent summary dismissal of five workmen from the Devonport and Sheerness shipyards without any reason being given. The First Lord of the Admiralty, in reply, stated that these men had been under observation since the autumn; that the information collected about them had been investigated by certain experienced civilian permanent officials of high standing, some of them outside the Admiralty; and that on the strength of their report the men had been discharged. In the public interest, the Minister added, it was impossible to state publicly the reasons for discharge or to hold **a public inquiry.**

The Labour Party did not find this reply satisfactory, and on January 26 Mr. Greenwood moved that the action of the Government in discharging the men without informing them of the offence of which they were accused or affording them any opportunity of making a defence was contrary to the principles of British justice and detrimental to the best interests of the service, especially in view of the fact that under the regulations such treatment could not be meted out to salaried officials. The First Lord, in reply, explained at some length why the usual practice had been departed from in this instance. It was now about ten years, he said, since the Government had become aware that subversive activities were going on in the Navy, and to combat them they had had to organise a Secret Service. In this case the information supplied by the secret agents had been submitted to a thoroughly impartial and competent body, which had found that it had no alternative save to recommend the dismissal of the men concerned ; and the final decision had been taken by the whole Cabinet. He emphasised the fact that the men had not been penalised for their political opinions, but purely for subversive activities. On these grounds he held both that the Government had no option but to act in the way that they did and that they had taken every precaution to avoid a miscarriage of justice.

The Opposition were still far from satisfied. The Liberals proposed that some outsider in whom the whole House had confidence, such as Lord Sankey, should be asked to adjudicate on the matter. The Labour Party cast doubts on the value of Secret Service information and on the competence of the tribunal chosen, and in any case could not see why the men had not been told what was the complaint against them. The Prime Minister, in winding up the debate, pointed out that the Secret Service had been an integral part of the organisation of the Government of the country whether the Government had been Tory or Labour, and each Government in turn had given a Vote for it and protected it. He had not been able to find any other method of investigating cases where there was reason to believe that a subversive propaganda was being employed, nor could he accept the suggestion of an arbitrator, since the Government must and did take full responsibility. The question having thus been made one of confidence, the motion was rejected by 330 votes to 145.

One of the first subjects to be considered by the House of Commons was Empire migration. The existing Empire Settlement Act was due to expire *on* May 31, and a Financial Resolution was now brought forward by the Secretary for the Colonies fixing the maximum amount which the United Kingdom could thenceforth spend in any one year on migration schemes at 1,500,000*l.* instead of 3,000,000*l.* as at present, but on the other

hand empowering the Government to assist any migration scheme with a maximum percentage grant of 75, instead of 50 as at present. Mr. M. MacDonald said that the Government wished to be prepared for a time when a greater migration movement would become a need of the Empire as a whole, but that time was not yet. Conservative speakers expressed regret that a cold douche was being thrown on Empire migration precisely in the year of the Coronation, but the resolution was not opposed.

On January 25 Mr. MacDonald introduced a new Empire Settlement Bill embodying this resolution and in addition extending the Empire Settlement Act for another fifteen years. He now informed the House that the Australian Government, as the result of some inquiries which it had recently made, had come to the conclusion that there was little possibility at present of reviving assisted migration ; and the same was true of Canada and New Zealand. The Labour Party moved the rejection of the Bill on the ground that no encouragement at all should be given to emigration unless the Dominions expressed a desire for them to do so ; but this was defeated by 193 votes to 87.

On January 20 the second reading of the Livestock Industry Bill was moved by the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. W. S. Morrison. The Bill placed the Cattle Fund, first established in 1934, on a permanent basis, and provided for the payment into it of moneys voted by Parliament, not exceeding 5,000,000*l.* in any financial year, to be managed and distributed by a Commission responsible to the Minister. The Bill also contained provisions for the better marketing and central slaughtering of livestock. The Minister stated that the position of cattle producers was still desperate, as could be judged by the fact that from December, 1929, to December, 1936, the general index number of agricultural prices fell by 17 points, while fat cattle prices fell by 39 points. Something, therefore, must be done to help them, and a subsidy seemed the best way, as it assured some degree of permanence. The provisions in the Bill relating to markets and slaughtering were welcomed in all parts of the House, but the Labour Party moved an amendment regretting the absence of provisions for ascertaining the cost of production of fat cattle and condemning the subsidy as calculated to swell private profits at the public expense. After a long debate, the amendment was negatived by 240 votes to 106. Concurrently a Bill providing for a duty on imported beef and veal, in accordance with the arrangement recently made with the Argentine, was also passed.

On January 21 the Government was severely heckled in the House of Commons on a decision it had just taken to establish a new aeroplane factory at White Waltham, near Maidenhead. The plan met with opposition from all parts of the House of Commons, partly because it meant the urbanising of a rural

district, partly because it ignored the prior claims of the Special Areas. Motions of protest were handed in both by Conservative and by Labour members, but before they could be brought forward the Government thought better of the matter. On January 26 Mr. Baldwin stated that the White Waltham site had been chosen because production could begin there more quickly than anywhere in the Special Areas, but "wider considerations" had now prevailed, and a site would be sought in Lancashire. Eventually the factory was set up on the outskirts of Liverpool.

The uneasiness felt in the country over the danger of an air attack was voiced in the House of Commons on January 27 by a Conservative member, Mr. Simmonds, who moved a resolution declaring that the country's air defences continued to be inadequate, and pleading for more rapid progress both in air rearmament and in providing means of protection against air attack. He said that of the 71 new squadrons which, under the scheme of May, 1935, were to be provided for home defence by March 31, 1937, only 34 would actually have been formed by that time, and these, owing to deficiencies of personnel, would be equivalent only to about 26. This meant, he said, that the expansion programme was between one and two years in arrears—a most serious matter, since Germany was increasing her air force very rapidly. Similarly, in respect of defence against air attack, the country was in a state of great unpreparedness.

Sir T. Inskip, in reply, stated that, out of the 124 squadrons which were their objective according to the 1935 programme, 87 had now been formed, and it was expected that 100 would have been formed by the end of March, while if the Government's expectations were fulfilled the remaining 24 squadrons, or at any rate 20 of them, would be ready by July, though they might not all by that time be brought up to their full complement. To the best of his knowledge, therefore, the position was not worse than a lag of three or four months. The Minister admitted that these facts were disappointing, but added that difficulties were being surmounted and that without doubt full attainment and large production would in the end be attained. Mr. Churchill's comment on this was that they would not have parity with Germany during the whole of 1937, and he doubted whether they would have it during the whole of 1938.

On January 26 the Speaker read to the House of Commons a message from the King requesting them to make better provision than at present existed for the uninterrupted exercise of the Royal authority either during the minority of the Sovereign on his accession or during any incapacity of the Sovereign or during his absence from the realm. The message stated that King George V had, after his illness in 1928, given much thought to this matter, and that both he and King Edward VIII had intended

to call the attention of Parliament to it. In response to this request a Bill was immediately laid before Parliament providing that, in the event of the Sovereign being under the age of 18, a Regent, who should be the person next in succession to the Crown, should be appointed to perform all the Royal functions until the Sovereign should have attained that age, and during any period when the Sovereign should have been declared to be incapacitated by infirmity of body or mind. The Bill further provided that the Sovereign or the Regent might in the event of illness not amounting to incapacity or absence from the United Kingdom delegate to Counsellors of State certain of the Royal functions, which would not include the power to dissolve Parliament or grant any title of peerage.

The second reading of the Bill was taken on February 2, when it met with opposition only from three members of the extreme Left. In its further passage it underwent a not unimportant change in detail. As originally drawn, the Bill laid down that incapacity should be certified by three of six personages, of whom one was the next in the line of succession. It was pointed out that, as this one was to act as Regent, he was an interested party ; and it was therefore decided to omit him.

On February 1 the House of Commons gave a second reading to a Bill making it an offence punishable by imprisonment to take a ship to sea overloaded or to allow a ship to go to sea overloaded. Some recent losses at sea had shown that the existing rule, which merely forbade taking a ship to sea in conditions that would endanger life, was not definite enough to ensure safety. The new rule, Dr. Burgin explained, did not mean that shipping losses were becoming more severe ; on the contrary, the number of ships lost in 1936 was less than half the number lost in 1900, and the risks of ocean travel, owing to more stringent regulations and the use of wireless, had so greatly decreased that in 15 years the rate of insurance had dropped from 30s. to 15s. per cent. On the same day the tramp shipping subsidy was continued to the end of the year. Dr. Burgin stated that tramp shipping had lately been doing much better, and in December 76 more ships, totalling 285,000 tons, were in commission than in April, 1935. But he thought it wise to take precautions against any renewal of the depression, the removal of which, he claimed, had been largely due to the subsidy.

On February 2 the text was issued of a Bill to consolidate and amend the existing law on factories. The Bill abolished the distinction formerly made between factory and workshop, and also the classification of factories into textile and non-textile. The provisions for safeguarding health were strengthened and enlarged, and the amount of cubic space allowed for each person was increased from 250 to 400 cubic feet. Power was given to the Home Secretary to prescribe standards of temperature and

to prohibit unsuitable methods of heating, and the safety regulations were also tightened up. It was laid down that the hours of employment of women and young persons were not to exceed 48 a week, with permission to women and young persons over 16 to work overtime up to an aggregate of 100 hours a year. Specific obligations were also imposed on employed persons to make use of the appliances provided for their health and safety and not to do anything likely to endanger themselves or others. The Bill was to come into force on July 1, 1937. It was estimated that the Bill would involve an additional cost to the Exchequer of 25,000L to 30,000l for increases in the factory inspectorate and the clerical staff of the Home Office.

The second reading of the Bill, which was moved by the. Home Secretary, was discussed on February 12 and 16. Labour speakers welcomed it as far as it went, though they complained that its scope was too narrow. To this the Minister of Health retorted that factory workers would prefer to accept the Bill rather than wait for years for something that was not yet attainable. The Bill, he said, would open up a new chapter in factory conditions to many millions, and when it became law Great Britain would be able to claim that it led the world in legislation for the safety, health, and welfare of its industrial population.

On February 3 Mr. Shinwell submitted to the House of Commons what he called Labour's "minimum demand" that every child attending an elementary or secondary school should be provided with one free meal a day, in addition to milk, at the expense of the taxpayer. Mr. Shakespeare, on behalf of the Government, told the House that the cost of this to the taxpayer would be 40,000,000l. a year, an expenditure which he declared to be quite unnecessary. A medical survey made in 1935 had shown that 89 per cent, of the children in the schools were of normal health and physique, and it was scarcely worth while forcing free meals on all to benefit the remaining 11 per cent. As it was, he said, 235 local authorities were now providing free meals for close on half a million children. The motion was ultimately rejected by 178 votes to 126, and a Conservative amendment was carried welcoming the measures taken by the Government and the results achieved in promoting the physical welfare of children, but expressing the hope that where necessary the powers of local authorities to this end would be more fully utilised.

On February 4 a White Paper was issued containing the Government's proposals for improving the health of the nation by the extension of the facilities for physical training and recreation, in accordance with a promise made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the previous year. The Government, it was stated, did not propose to set up a completely new compulsory system, recognising that, though compulsion would be

the only way to ensure that every boy and girl on leaving school should receive some measure of physical training, it was alien to the national temper and tradition, and would involve administrative difficulties. It did not propose more, therefore, than to make full use, through the agency of the local authorities and the voluntary organisations, of the machinery which already existed. For this purpose it would set up immediately two national advisory councils, one for England and Wales, and one for Scotland, each composed of about thirty men and women with experience of organising work and with special knowledge of the problems involved ; also two grant committees of three members each who would receive and examine applications for grants find make grants subject to the approval of the responsible Minister—the President of the Board of Education in England, and the Secretary for Scotland in Scotland. Local committees would also be set up to examine the needs of their areas and distribute the grants. It was estimated provisionally that the necessary capital grants would amount to about 2,000,000*l.* spread over a period of about three years, in addition to certain continuing annual charges which might be about 150,000*l.* The Government further proposed to provide and maintain a national college of physical training administered by a suitably constituted governing body. Shortly afterwards a National Advisory Council was constituted with Lord Aberdare as Chairman, and a Grants Committee with Sir H. Pelham as Chairman ; and on April 7 the House of Commons approved a Bill giving statutory authority for those parts of the Government's scheme which were not covered by the administrative measures.

On February 5 the House of Commons gave a second reading to a private member's Bill for amending and simplifying the procedure of summary courts in matrimonial and similar domestic cases. The Bill was based on a report of a Home Office Committee on " Social Services in Courts of Summary Jurisdiction " issued in the previous year, and consequently had the support of the Government. One of the principal clauses sought to prevent the publication of objectionable details in newspaper reports of summary court proceedings relating to matrimonial disputes and the guardianship of infants, much in the same way as in the reports of divorce proceedings. On the previous day, too, attention had been called in the House to the growing practice among a certain class of newspapers of intruding upon the privacy of persons suffering a bereavement in order to obtain " copy," but, though the House showed its indignation in no uncertain manner, it was judged better to leave this matter to be dealt with by the Press itself.

On February 11 the House of Commons accepted without opposition a private member's motion deploring the destruction of beauty in town and country and asking the Government to

hold an inquiry into the powers existing or required to check it. The Government accepted the motion, though it could not deny that it was itself one of the worst offenders in certain respects. Mr. R. S. Hudson, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health, suggested that the many voluntary societies concerned with the preservation of amenities should educate local opinion more intensely, so that pressure might be put on local authorities to exercise the extensive powers they already possessed.

On February 11 the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in reply to a question from Mr. Attlee, explained to the House of Commons how he intended to raise money for the defence programme. He recalled that in his Budget speech in the previous year he had declared it to be inequitable that the whole cost of the defence programme should fall upon the revenue which had to be extracted from the people in the course of a single five-year period. The general experience of the last twelve months, he went on, had only confirmed the judgment of the situation which he then formed. The defence expenditure was growing at a pace which made it impossible to meet it entirely out of revenue. While neither the total amount to be raised nor the time over which it must be spread could at present be predicted, the Government proposed to ask for general powers to raise capital or use realised surpluses up to a sum not exceeding 400,000,000Z. spread over a period not exceeding five years.

The House was somewhat taken aback by this figure, and Mr. Attlee asked that before it should be called upon to discuss the Government's proposal it should be put in possession of the requisite data for forming a judgment. In response to this request, a White Paper was issued on February 16 amplifying the Chancellor's statement. The fact that the Government had mentioned the sum of 400,000,000l., it said, did not mean that the whole of this sum would necessarily be raised. The whole defence programme would remain flexible and subject to such modifications as circumstances might demand, whether in the direction of curtailment or of expansion. In either case, Parliament would retain full control over defence expenditure. The whole of such proposed expenditure would continue to be shown on the estimates laid before the House, and would be subject to the normal methods of Parliamentary scrutiny and authorisation.

The White Paper went on to specify the changes in the three Services which were necessary to meet altered circumstances. This programme, it said, would be spread over a period of years, and would necessarily be subject to substantial modifications as conditions changed. The total cost, therefore, could not as yet be stated, but it would be imprudent to contemplate a total expenditure on defence during the next five years of much less than 1,500,000,000l.

In accordance with his statement on February 11 the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on February 17, asked the House of Commons to authorise the Treasury, during the five years ending March 31, 1942, to raise by loans sums not exceeding 400,000,000*l.* to be applied as appropriations in aid of the moneys provided by Parliament for the Navy, Army, and Air Services for those years, with the proviso that the amount issued for any Service in any one year should not exceed the estimates of that year for the Service in question. The resolution further laid down that the sinking fund might be used for the same purpose. Mr. Chamberlain admitted that the step which he was taking was without precedent in time of peace ; he justified it on the ground that the conditions of the time were unprecedented. The reasons which had led them to undertake so vast an expenditure had made it necessary to compress that expenditure within a comparatively short period of time. It had to be borne in mind also that equipment for warlike purposes to-day was vastly more costly than it had been at the close of the Great War ; and Britain could not allow her fighting forces to go into the field to meet others better armed than themselves. He challenged the Opposition to point out where their programme was excessive or name one item mentioned in the White Paper which they would cut out if they were in the Government's place. The proposal to raise 400,000,000*l.* by loan rather than by taxation he defended on the ground, first that this amount could, in the present state of the country's finances, be borrowed without injury to the country's credit, and secondly that to raise this part of the proposed expenditure by taxation would place a crushing burden on the taxpayer and throw back the trade revival which was now so marked.

In conclusion, Mr. Chamberlain insisted that, while his proposals were on the scale of the measures taken during the Great War, they formed essentially a measure not for the prosecution of war but for the preservation of peace. No one, he said, could see the growing accumulation of burdens without a feeling of disgust and shame that civilisation was trying to break its own back instead of turning its energy to the pursuits which might bring prosperity and contentment to all. But for the time being at least they could do nothing but set their teeth and go forward with measures which they could not afford to lay aside until, in company with others who shared their views, they found a more fruitful, a saner and a worthier solution.

Mr. Chamberlain's peroration did not render his proposals any the more palatable to the Opposition, convinced as it was that only the Government's mishandling of affairs had made the present programme necessary. Mr. Pethick-Lawrence, who spoke for the Labour Party, declared that the Government were asking for more of everything—more ships, more guns, more munitions,

more factories—but gave no hint of direction or co-ordination or of planning defence as a whole, still less of correlating those vast amounts of expenditure with any clear plan of international policy. They said to the people : " You give us the money and we will do our best." The Cabinet, he thought, was divided on this as on other large questions, and the Prime Minister, in order to keep the peace, preferred to make no decision and to let the ship of state drift nearer to the calamity of another war. But supposing the Government were to be given a free hand to spend 1,500,000,000*l.* on rearmament in the next five years, Mr. Pethick-Lawrence held that it was still wrong to raise 400,000,000*l.* by loan instead of taxation, as this would probably lead to inflation, and was really a tax on the wrong people.

Sir A. Sinclair, on behalf of the Liberals, said that the policy of the dictatorship countries had made a large expenditure on armaments by Great Britain an evil and dangerous but inescapable necessity. Whether, however, the Government deserved the measure of confidence for which they were asking was doubtful, for one thing because their control over profiteering was weak and inadequate, and for another because they were not sufficiently vigorous in pursuit of a peace policy which would make a substantial part at any rate of the great armament expenditure unnecessary. He also objected to the methods by which the Government proposed to raise money, saying that if the Chancellor required borrowing powers for the next financial year, he should seek them in the Finance Bill.

The attack was renewed on the next day by Mr. Alexander, who declared that waste and profiteering were rampant in the execution of the defence programme. This was denied by Sir Thomas Inskip, who appealed to the Opposition to make it clear to the world that there was no disunion in the nation on the question of rearmament, even if they regarded the Government's proposals as being financially unsound. To this appeal the Labour speakers who followed responded, though not without heaping bitter reproaches on the National Government for having brought the country to its present pass, and expressions of grave mistrust lest the increased armaments might not be used by it for the proper purposes.

At the close of the debate the Prime Minister sought to remove this mistrust by the most explicit speech he had made on foreign policy for a long time. He first cautioned the House against exaggerating the warlike preparations proposed by the Government, pointing out that in spite of the increased liabilities on the country the Army was less and would be less than in 1914, and that the Navy in spite of the increases contemplated was far from being the great Navy in the sense in which the word was used in 1914. The great expansion was in the air, and it was being made, he believed, with the consent of the whole nation. Aircraft

defence was the branch which would demand large sums of money, and it was a far more serious thing than at the time of the last war. A large sum must also be spent on all kinds of stores. With all that there was no thought and no intention of aggression. They desired to put themselves in a position to deter aggression. Deterrence was one of their main objects, and if they believed deterrence was possible, one would believe that ineffective deterrence was worse than useless. He thought that the country now was in a position when she could finance what she was going to do without risk to what she had done and was doing for the social services, and without affecting the standard of living any more than it might be affected from time to time by the rise or fall of the prices of commodities. He agreed that the expenditure for which the Government were asking appeared enormous, but they contended that it should be a temporary expenditure, that was to say, for about a generation. The social services were there for all time, and he hoped that this and future generations might see them improved. There was enormous elasticity in the financial power of the country, and if they worked hard and pulled together, and if no unforeseen disaster occurred, there was no reason why their social life should be affected by what the Government were proposing.

Turning to the international aspect of the matter, Mr. Baldwin said that it was an entire mistake to assume that, because Mr. Chamberlain in his speech had not mentioned the League of Nations, therefore the Government had ceased to take interest in the League. They still aimed at building up, through the League, an international structure for maintaining peace. But the difficulties of building up such a structure were very great, and it might well be that in the immediate future the most hopeful prospect lay in the regional pact. Were there a pact for mutual defence against aggression between the nations of Western Europe, he hoped and believed that it could maintain the peace. The antithesis drawn by the Labour Party between collective security and national defence was a false one. Even in a collective war the brunt of the naval fighting would fall on Great Britain, and she would be the first to stand the racket in the air, if the aggressor was within a certain radius. In any case, whether for pulling her full weight with other countries in a system of collective security or for defending herself satisfactorily, the country must be properly armed.

To show their disapproval not of rearmament itself but of the method by which it was to be financed, the Opposition parties voted against the resolution, the figures being 329 for and 145 against. On February 25 the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved the second reading of the actual Defence Loans Bill authorising the Treasury to borrow money, or alternatively to apply realised Budget surpluses up to a maximum of 400,000,000?. during the

next five years towards meeting in part the expenditure of the Defence Services, and stipulating that the Defence Departments should repay the Treasury with interest at 3 per cent, within thirty years from the expiry of the borrowing period. Fears that such borrowing might weaken the national credit, raise prices, and depress the standard of living he declared to be unwarranted. During the last six years the credit of the country had been so solidly built up that it *could* deal with borrowing on a far larger scale than was now proposed ; the saving on the interest alone of the National Debt during the last three years was almost sufficient to cover the average amount of borrowing contemplated in the Bill. Also, while the prospect of a huge expenditure might cause a rise in prices, the fact that part of it was borrowed would not affect matters. To this the Opposition could only reply that they were opposed on principle to financing defence expenditure out of loan, and the second reading was passed by 307 votes to 132.

The Labour Party carried the attack into the Committee stage, and on March 1 Mr. Pethick-Lawrence moved that the amount up to which the Chancellor of the Exchequer might borrow should be reduced from 400,000,000*l.* to 200,000,000*l.* This was negatived by 199 votes to 87. The same speaker then asked the Chancellor for assurances that he would use such powers as he had in order to get the money for the nation at the lowest possible rate, that there would be no attempt to float loans at an appreciable rate of discount, such as 1 or 2 per cent., and that on no account would he resort to the pernicious practice adopted during the Great War of floating the loans by bank credit. Mr. Chamberlain replied that for himself he intended to act on these lines, but he could not bind his successors. The third reading of the Bill was carried on March 4 by 241 votes to 117.

Meanwhile, on March 2, in the House of Commons, a Labour Member, Mr. Grenfell, after pointing out the dangers of the armament race to which the country seemed to be committed, had called upon the Secretary for Foreign Affairs "to make a declaration which would give a sense of security," and proposed that a world peace convention should be called at once, before war came upon them, it might be, "like a thief in the night." Mr. Eden in his reply dealt with three points—the position in Spain, the position of the League, and Britain's rearmament. With regard to Spain, he repeated his conviction that the policy of non-intervention, for all its set-backs, had succeeded in its main object of localising the conflict; incidentally he gave the lie to a charge frequently brought forward in Opposition quarters, that France would have taken a much stronger line in support of the Spanish Government but for the British Government's opposition. Turning to the League, he maintained that, though it had been in difficulties, it was far from being entombed yet,

as had been just shown by its successful handling of the Franco-Turkish dispute over Alexandretta. For the time being, however, the League offered little guarantee of security, nor was much progress being made towards the conclusion of a Western Pact. In these circumstances the best guarantee of peace was British rearmament, and so it was universally regarded abroad, since every one knew that Britain would not engage in a war contrary to its own undertakings under the Covenant.

On February 17 the House of Lords discussed the question whether anything could or should be done by Great Britain to meet the insistent demands which were being put forward by Germany for colonial possessions. Lord Noel-Buxton, with this in his mind, brought forward a motion recommending that the Mandate system should be applied in suitable cases to British and other colonies, and that the Convention of St. Germain should be revised. To this Lord Lugard moved an amendment that the end in view should be sought not by an extension of the Mandate system but by granting participation on equal terms in the advantages of Colonial development and trade. Lord Plymouth, on behalf of the Government, declared himself unable to accept either recommendation. He pointed out that any proposal to abandon full sovereignty in favour of a mandatory status might meet with great difficulties from the side both of the Dominions and of the Colonies affected, the inhabitants of which might be greatly confused if it was proposed to substitute for loyalty to the Crown loyalty to a body at Geneva of which they had little knowledge or understanding. He admitted that if the policy of the open door in Colonial territories would merely result in an increase in international trade, there would be something to be said for it. But there were many reasons for doubting this, while certainly such a policy would have very unfavourable results if introduced in certain territories. And above all it was quite clear that Germany had no particular desire to see the principle of "equal access" extended throughout the world. For these reasons the Government could accept neither the motion nor the amendment, and preferred to await the deliberations of the Committee on Raw Materials which was shortly to meet in Geneva.

On February 24, in the House of Lords, Lord Arnold made a frontal attack on the whole principle of collective security, on the ground that it meant in practice tying Britain to the apron-strings of France. To this Lord Plymouth replied that the policy of the Government was still to strengthen and restore the authority of the League of Nations. The debate was continued on March 2 and March 3, and was concluded by Lord Halifax with a speech which defined with some precision the guiding lines of British policy. He began by rejecting certain policies which had been advocated by various speakers in the

course of the debate—the policy of extreme pacifism, the policy of the automatic invocation of military force against all infractions of the Covenant and peace, and the policy of isolation. As far as the West of Europe was concerned, he said, the Government's policy had been defined by Mr. Eden in recent months more clearly than it had ever been defined in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. With regard to the East, it had already been stated on behalf of the Government that no commitment existed under the Franco-Soviet Pact by which Britain could be involved in a European war. Beyond that, however, there was an inevitable No Man's Land of uncertainty which was incapable of antecedent definition. But if they were unable to define beforehand what might be their attitude to a hypothetical complication in Central or Eastern Europe, that was not to say that they disinterested themselves in the fate of those parts of Europe. The Government had repeatedly maintained their determination to carry out to the best of their ability their obligations under the Covenant, and if these were not capable of precise definition, that was a feature, and not an accidental feature, of the Covenant itself. Britain would always use her influence and authority to prevent conflict arising, and that influence and authority would be greatly reinforced by the steps which the Government had decided to take in rearmament.

The question whether the cause of peace could not be served by a more liberal trade policy on the part of Great Britain was brought to the attention of the Government by an influentially signed memorial on the subject of "Peace and economic co-operation" which was presented to the Prime Minister on February 8. On March 24 the Prime Minister, accompanied by Mr. Eden and Mr. Runciman, received a deputation representing the signatories and introduced by the Bishop of Winchester, who claimed that the national memorial indicated the strength and representativeness of the public demand for a vigorous constructive policy to save the peace of the world. In reply, the Prime Minister handed them a statement which showed that the Government had given very careful consideration to the problem, but held out little hope of any change in its economic policy in the direction of freer trade.

The Government, it said, fully shared the view of the signatories that the cause of world peace would be promoted by the freer exchange of goods and services across the frontiers of nations, and it attached the greatest importance to the question of what steps could usefully be taken to develop international trade. But it found its hands tied by the systems of exchange controls and quota restrictions imposed by other Governments, with whom, therefore, the initiative rested, since in Great Britain there were no exchange controls and no quota restrictions save in the case of iron and steel imports. There were tariffs, but

these had not prevented the development of trade, imports into Great Britain since 1933 having considerably increased. Suggestions had frequently been made that the Government should seek agreement with other nations with a view to creating a low-tariff group, but these were open to two fundamental objections. One was that the formation of a low-tariff group would involve discrimination against non-participating countries, and might lead to retaliation and tariff wars. Secondly, experience went to show that practical results were not likely to be achieved except by bilateral agreements. The Government did not reject the idea of multilateral agreements if it could be shown that the time was opportune. The circumstances of each country, however, differed so widely that in practice multilateral negotiations were always liable to break down.

The statement dealt finally with the proposals made in the memorial that the Government should "return to a policy of the open door for trade in all dependent territories under its control," and that it should "present and advocate to other Colonial Powers concrete proposals for the general application of a strengthened Mandate system under the League of Nations to all dependent territories not immediately ripe for self-government." To both these proposals there were grave objections. The full and immediate imposition of an open door would for a number of reasons be prejudicial to the interests of the Colonial Empire, which was greatly benefiting from the policy of Imperial preference ; while the application of a Mandate system to the British Dependencies would not be welcomed by the inhabitants themselves, who were proud of their status as British subjects, and would resent being placed in a different category from other members of the British Empire.

A few days before (March 18) Hr. Sandler, the Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs, had had an interview with Mr. Runciman in London and had urged the importance of taking up the question of trade barriers, especially quotas and exchange restrictions, "from a much wider point of view than that of bilateral negotiations." In spite of the *non-possumus* attitude adopted in the statement on March 24, the Government proved not entirely impervious to the suggestion, and on April 6, in conjunction with the French Government, presented a request to the Belgian Cabinet that the Belgian Prime Minister, M. Van Zeeland, who was a distinguished economist, should undertake an international inquiry into the possibilities of reducing the obstacles in the way of international commerce.

On February 5 a report on the colliery explosion at the Gresford pit in Denbighshire in September, 1934, in which 265 lives were lost, was issued by Sir Henry Walker, the Chief Inspector of Mines, who had been appointed by the Government to make an inquiry. The exact cause of the explosion could not be determined

with certainty, as there were parts of the mine which it was even yet not safe to reopen. The record of the evidence, however, made it clear that there had been persistent breaches of the regulations on the part of practically all concerned with the mine ; and Mr. Joseph Jones, President of the Mine-workers' Federation, who had been one of the assessors at the inquiry, held the inspectorate and the management jointly responsible for inadequate supervision.

The report revived bitter feelings which had been stirred at the time by the accident itself, and the Labour Party, and especially the miners' representatives, were anxious that the responsibility should be brought home to somebody. This desire was voiced by several Labour speakers in a debate on February 23 in the House of Commons on a motion brought forward by Mr. Grenfell, calling for the adoption of immediate and effective measures for ensuring that the coal industry was carried on under conditions of maximum safety. Sir S. Cripps suggested that the drive for output and profits was at the bottom of the disaster, and that the only way to ensure safety in mines was to give the miners themselves control of the operations. The Minister of Mines stated that the whole question of proceedings arising out of the report was under consideration by the Attorney-General, and he accepted the motion unreservedly.

Early in the year the Labour Party appointed a Commission to investigate on its behalf conditions in the distressed areas and to offer recommendations. After making a tour of inspection in West Cumberland and the North-East Coast, the Commission on January 27 issued its first interim report. It declared that there was a rising tide of indignation, in all parts of the country and all sections of the community, against " the Government's utterly disgraceful failure to show either determination, competence, or human sympathy in its handling of the question." The chief recommendation of the report was that a Minister of Cabinet rank should be charged with responsibility for all problems affecting Special Areas, with the present Commissioner for his chief executive officer, and that he should have at his disposal much greater funds and powers than the present Commissioner.

Soon afterwards (February 24) the Minister of Health introduced a Bill increasing by 5,000,000l. the block grants distributed by the Exchequer to local authorities to help in providing health and other services, and at the same time arranging that a larger share should go to the poorer areas. The chief purpose was to enable the towns in the distressed areas to reduce their rates ; the estimated relief to Merthyr Tydfil, for instance, was equivalent to a rate of 5s. in the pound. The Bill was criticised by the Labour Party as inadequate, but was allowed to pass without opposition.

On March 1 a White Paper was issued containing the Government's long-awaited proposals for dealing with the whole problem

of the Special Areas and other areas in a similar condition of distress. The Government, it said, had good reason to believe that the time had now come when, with the aid of some financial assistance directly applied, it would be possible to introduce into the areas new industrial undertakings of the "light" type, and thus provide more stable, because more diversified employment; and it had accordingly devised certain measures which, with the remission over a period of time of rates and taxes, might serve as an inducement and attraction to such undertakings to settle in the areas. Besides the Special Areas, the Government included in the purview of its intended legislation on the subject other areas which should be certified by the Minister of Labour as having for a considerable period been suffering from severe unemployment, being mainly dependent on one or more industries which were passing through a period of depression. It proposed to assist such areas through the agency of "site companies," which were described as companies limited as to dividend which should be established with a view to inducing persons to establish industrial undertakings in those areas.

The actual steps which the Government proposed to take were contained in a financial resolution, the text of which was published in the White Paper. This laid down that the Special Areas Act of 1934 was to be continued till March 31, 1939, but the powers of the Commissioners were to be enlarged in two ways. First, they should have power to let factories in the Special Areas and to contribute for periods not exceeding five years to the income tax and rates payable in respect of industrial undertakings established there. Secondly, they were to be empowered to make grants towards expenses incurred by local authorities in the repair or improvements of streets used mainly for local traffic, or by owners of agricultural land on works of field drainage. For the assistance of the certified as distinct from the Special Areas, the Treasury was to be empowered to subscribe to the share capital of site companies or to make loans to such companies to the extent of one-third of their paid-up capital. Further, the Treasury was to be authorised to provide financial assistance, not exceeding in the aggregate 2,000,000*l.*, by way of loan to persons carrying on industrial undertakings in a special area or occupying a site provided by a site company.

Apart from the merits of the Government's proposals for relieving the distressed areas, the method by which it was sought to pass them into law caused grave dissatisfaction in all quarters of the House of Commons. By the rules of the House, a financial resolution, though it could be discussed, could not be amended; it had either to be taken or left. The financial resolution in this instance already contained practically all the proposals which were to be embodied later in the substantive Bill; which meant in effect that the House, while it could discuss the proposals,

would have no power to amend them. This tyranny of the financial resolution was an old grievance with the House ; it was particularly resented on this occasion by those who desired to bring under the relief scheme other areas in addition to those envisaged by the Government.

In order to ventilate this grievance, Mr. Attlee on March 8 moved that the Standing Orders relating to public business should be amended by the omission of Standing Order No. 69, which seemed to place undue power in the hands of the Executive. Mr. Attlee said that he deemed it his duty as Leader of the Opposition to call attention to a danger of members losing their old privileges in the House, and being debarred from their proper share in the framing of legislation. Mr. Baldwin, in reply, pointed out that every Opposition wished to see the terms of financial resolutions widened, and every Government in turn desired to widen them as little as possible. In the interests of the country's finances it was essential that the Government should retain in their own hands the power of initiating proposals for expenditure, and for this reason he could not accept the motion, as the Standing Order in question had proved of great value in expediting business.

The rigid attitude taken up by the Prime Minister was not at all to the liking of the House, and evoked protests from all sides. The Labour Party were particularly indignant, although a few days before they had shown complete indifference to a Liberal member's motion calling attention to the growing tyranny of the Executive. They were strongly supported by Mr. Lloyd George, who called on the Government to get away from arid technicalities and give Parliament a chance of showing that it was capable of dealing with such issues as that before them. The Attorney-General, in closing the debate, so far responded to this appeal that he promised to discuss with the Leader of the Opposition the desirability of setting up a Select Committee to consider the working of the Standing Order. This somewhat mollified the House, and the motion was negatived by 208 votes to 136.

When the Minister of Labour rose the next day to bring forward the resolution, the Labour Party showed their resentment by refusing for a considerable time to allow him a hearing. Having made their demonstration, however, they listened patiently. Mr. Brown pointed out that the measures already taken by the Government on behalf of the distressed areas had commenced to bear fruit, and a distinct if slight improvement was noticeable. He said that demands for inclusion or for aid had come from a great variety of places outside the present scheduled areas, but as there was not an unlimited number of new areas, the Government must be careful not to dissipate their efforts to such a degree as to deprive the existing special areas of proper support. The question of the location of industry

and of the excessive growth of London, he promised, would be considered by a Royal Commission.

Mr. Brown's speech naturally did not placate the Labour Party, who still complained that the Government were only tinkering with the problem. He did succeed, however, in removing any qualms of conscience which Lord Wolmer and his dissident group of Conservatives might have had in accepting the proposals of the Government as satisfactory. When the debate was resumed on March 12, Mr. Lloyd George stigmatised the proposals as grotesquely inadequate, and laid the blame on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to whom he ascribed a complete lack of sympathy with the suffering districts. Mr. Chamberlain, in reply, protested that no man had worked harder and longer in trying to solve the problems connected with the Special Areas than he had done, but, while he believed in the possibility of an ultimate solution, he had never suggested that there was any single remedy or short cut to that solution. He had always maintained, however, that if they tried many ways of dealing with the problem they would by degrees make progress towards the restoration of normal conditions. These ways he specified as the revival of old industries, the starting of new ones, land settlement, transference, and improvement of social conditions ; and a sixth way was now presented by the Government's armament programme.

The Labour Party were allowed by the Speaker to put forward an amendment moving the appointment of a special Minister, but this was defeated by 233 votes to 124, and the resolution was then carried.

The second reading of the Special Areas Bill was moved on April 6 by the Under-Secretary for Scotland, Mr. Wedderburn. It was naturally condemned by the Labour Party as inadequate, but one or two of the Conservative "rebels" who had forced the Government's hand in November (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 98) declared that it exceeded their expectations ; and with their support the second reading was carried by 219 votes to 150.

On March 2 the Minister of Transport, in the course of a speech at a public dinner, let fall a remark that it might be necessary one day to prohibit the leaving of cars in streets, except for the immediate purpose of taking up and setting down at houses and shops. His words created great excitement in the motoring community, which saw in them some threat to its rights and prepared to defend itself. However, when questioned on the subject in Parliament on March 8, Mr. Hore-Belisha explained that he was not contemplating any fresh legislation, but was **only** urging local authorities, in view of the ever-increasing number of motor vehicles on the roads, to use to the full their powers **for** preventing obstruction and procuring a free flow **of** traffic.

On March 7 the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party, in accordance with an undertaking given at the party conference in the previous October, issued a kind of "five-year plan"—a programme of those legislative and economic measures to which a Labour Government in power would give priority, in order to carry them out during a full term of office. They were specified under the heads of finance, land, transport, coal, and power. First would come the nationalisation of the Bank of England and the creation of a national investment board which would mobilise financial resources and advise the Government on a financial plan for the full employment of the people, for carrying out large schemes of public development, including housing, electrification, transport, and the extraction of oil from coal. There would be no return to the gold standard, and the Companies Act would be amended to prevent abuses. A short Bill would be passed to enable the Government and other public authorities to acquire such land as they needed for any purpose and at a reasonable cost. A national transport board would be set up to co-ordinate transport by road, rail, air, and coastwise shipping, and to own and operate the railways and such other transport services as were suitable for transfer to public ownership. The coal industry would be unified under public ownership, while electricity and gas supply industries already partly owned by public bodies would be brought completely under public ownership. Other measures adumbrated were a shorter working week, holidays with pay, raising of the school-leaving age, and a new Workmen's Compensation Act.

The Labour Party at this time was again experiencing great trouble over a matter of party discipline. On January 14 a movement which had been going on for some months for closer co-operation between Socialists and Communists culminated in the formation of a "United Front" by the three extreme Left Wing groups in British politics—the Communists, the Independent Labour Party, and the Socialist League. A manifesto issued by the leaders of all three groups stated that they were launching a Unity Campaign to revitalise the activity and transform the policy of the Labour Movement. They professed a desire to work "within the framework of the Labour Party and the trade unions," and the one point in which they broke away definitely from the official programme of the Labour Party was in declaring "implacable opposition" to the rearmament and recruiting programme of the National Government. Otherwise the difference was rather one of tone, the manifesto emphasising the importance of working-class unity for the purpose of action and attack.

For parliamentary purposes the formation of the new *bloc* was not of any consequence, since it merely added Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. Gallacher to Mr. Maxton and the three other

members of the Independent Labour Party. But it created serious difficulties for the Labour Party. The Socialist League was affiliated to the Labour Party, which had repeatedly prohibited to its members united action with the Communists—only a few days before the National Executive of the party had published a manifesto declaring that association with "united front" or "popular front" activities conflicted with the party's policy and its interests. The League, it is true, did not number more than about 3,000 members, and of these a considerable section were not in favour of the United Front. But the serious factor in the situation was that the manifesto was signed by many of the most prominent members of the Labour Party, and had the support of a large number of the rank and file. The danger of a split therefore could not be overlooked.

On January 27 the Executive Committee of the Labour Party disaffiliated the Socialist League for disloyalty, at the same time appealing to loyal members of the League to continue their work for Socialism through the Labour Party. The more difficult problem of dealing with the disloyal individuals, and particularly Sir Stafford Cripps, was left over for a time in the hope that perhaps they might be induced to mend their ways. On March 24, however, as no sign of repentance was forthcoming, the Executive gave notice that from June 1 members of the Socialist League would no longer be allowed to belong to the Labour Party also.

To the supporters of the Labour Party the divisions in its ranks were all the more regrettable as they seemed to prevent it from making headway in the country. At any rate at a number of by-elections held in the early months of the year its poll showed a tendency to fall, though it did manage to gain one seat from the Government. On the other hand, the London County Council elections, held on March 4, brought it an unexpected success; in spite of a determined effort on the part of the Conservative Party to regain control, it not only retained the majority which it had won in 1934, but increased its representation by six seats.

Meanwhile the Non-intervention Committee, with the active support and encouragement of the British Government, had made unexpectedly good progress in the task of framing at least paper provisions against the interference of outside Powers in the Spanish conflict. Thanks to its efforts, twenty-seven Governments, from February 27, imposed a ban on their subjects going to Spain to take part in the civil war there and also on the export of munitions of war to that country. A few weeks later, after difficult and protracted negotiations, a system of supervision of the Spanish coast and the Portuguese frontier was finally agreed on, and preliminary steps were taken for putting it into operation. As before, delaying tactics were practised by Germany and Italy, nor did they finally give their consent **until**

there was good ground for believing that General Franco's victory was assured by the help which they had already sent him.

In order to facilitate the work of observation, the Government, on March 10, published a Bill providing that all British ships bound for a port or place in Spanish territory should first proceed to a prescribed place and there embark observing officers who would have the right to examine cargo, crew and passengers, with a view to discovering and reporting any breaches of the non-intervention agreement. At the same time British passports were declared invalid for Spain unless they had been specifically endorsed for travel there later than February 20. The sphere assigned for British observation was the northern coast of Spain and the Portuguese frontier.

Emboldened by its success in procuring a ban on volunteers, the Non-intervention Committee made an effort to bring about the withdrawal of the foreign troops already in Spain. The Italian representative, however, again employed delaying tactics, and at length, on March 23, declared bluntly that he was not in a position to enter on a discussion of the evacuation problem. He even went so far as to add, on the strength of his own observation, that Italy would not withdraw any of her volunteers from Spain until the war had been decided by the defeat of the Spanish " Reds." Thus the whole policy of non-intervention seemed to be once more in the melting-pot.

The Civil Estimates and the Estimates for the Revenue Departments for 1937-38 issued on February 26 showed a total (excluding the Post Office) of 421,950,205l. Allowing for the transfer, according to a new rule made in the previous year, of 22,500,000?. from road expenditure to the Votes, this meant a net increase of 15,104,491?. over the original Estimates for the previous year. Not a little of the increase was due in reality to military reasons, the Home Office being assigned some 4,000,000 for the provision of respirators and the development of emergency fire brigade services for protecting the civil population in the event of war. Another big increase was in the requirements of the Unemployment Assistance Board, which rose from 47,000,000?. to 51,260,000l.

The Defence Service Estimates, published a few days later, allowed for the Navy a gross total of 105,065,000l. ; for the Army (including Ordnance) of 90,120,000?. ; and for the Air Force of 82,500,000?. The Navy Estimates represented an increase over those of the previous year (including supplementaries) of 23,776,000l., mostly for new construction (including three battle-ships) and for maintenance. The rise in the Army Estimates was about 26,000,000l. over that of the previous year, and 39,000,000l. over that of 1935, which meant that—apart from non-effective charges—the cost of the Army had been more than doubled in two years. The increase in cost was due almost

entirely to the provision of "warlike stores" and modernisation of the Army's equipment, as the numbers remained almost stationary. Great as it was, this increase was dwarfed by that of the Air Estimates, which were 32,883,000*l.* more than those of the previous year, and more than four times as great as those of the last normal year. Of the total expenditure on the Defence Forces, it was proposed to raise 80,000,000*l.* by loan, leaving 197,685,000*z.* to be obtained from taxation.

In introducing the Navy Estimates on March 11, Sir S. Hoare stated that the new construction programme embraced 80 ships, which, with the work taken over from last year's programme, meant that by the end of the year they would have under construction no less than 148 new ships of war. Although this seemed a very big programme, he maintained that it was really a reasonable programme, because over a long period of years they had failed to make the normal replacements, with the result that they had to telescope into two or three years a programme that in the ordinary course would have taken a decade or more. The Minister went on to justify the maintenance of a large battleship fleet strategically, on the ground that the most recent experiments had shown that it could fully hold its own against aerial attack, and while not immune from loss could give as good as it got. Dealing with the political reasons, he admitted that there could be no question of England building against the United States, and that there was no danger from Germany, which was loyally adhering to its undertakings under the 1935 agreement. Their naval programme was in fact directed against no one, but it was essential that the Navy should be able to carry out the duty of keeping open the trade routes and the communications of the Empire in both the Western and the Eastern hemispheres. The Minister finally declared that the qualitative limitations on naval armament embodied in the 1936 treaty were very valuable, and expressed the hope that enough Powers would ratify it to enable him to bring it before Parliament and obtain Parliamentary approval for it.

The Minister for War, in introducing the Army Estimates on March 16, reported a gratifying improvement in recruiting for the Territorial Force, which in the past year had increased its numbers by 15,295 men and 861 officers. Even so, however, it had not kept pace with the increase in establishment required for setting up anti-aircraft divisions. The problem of finding recruits for the Regular Army continued to be troublesome and there was also a shortage of officers. The root of the trouble in the case of the rank and file seemed to be that the Army was not attractive enough as a career, and the Minister mentioned various steps which were being taken to remedy this defect.

In introducing the Air Estimates on March 15 Sir P. Sassoon administered a veiled rebuke to those who condemned the

programme as inadequate by declaring that the Government had the question of adequacy constantly under review in the light of information which could not be available to private persons. He gave an encouraging report of recruiting, saying that, great as the demand had been, the figures had been entirely satisfactory, which spoke well for the patriotism and sense of adventure of the younger generation ; the quality of the recruits had also been as great a source of satisfaction as their numbers. With regard to material, he said there had been disappointing delays in the delivery of aircraft, due to forecasts by manufacturers based on inadequate experience, but the Air Ministry were doing all in their power to overtake the arrears.

In the course of this session a number of arrangements were made in connection with the Coronation of King George VI, which had been fixed for May 12. On January 15 it was announced that the celebrations would extend from May 5, when the first Court would be held, to July 22, when there would be a garden party at Buckingham Palace. Shortly afterwards, the King proclaimed May 12 a public holiday and a Bank Holiday. On February 19 the text was issued of certain changes which were to be made in the Coronation Oath in order to adapt it to the new status of the Dominions created by the Statute of Westminster in 1926. On February 22 a Supplementary Estimate was introduced for an expenditure of over 200,000*l.* on stands, decorations and floodlighting, and it was stated that plans were being made to cope with an unprecedented influx of visitors.

At the beginning of March the Government received the report of the Committee which had been set up some time before, with Sir H. McGowan as Chairman, to advise it on the reorganisation of the electricity supply. The chief object of the Committee was to establish greater uniformity than at present prevailed in systems of supply of current, in voltages, tariffs and methods of charge, the extreme diversity in which was causing great public inconvenience. The Committee recommended a substantial reduction in the number of electricity undertakings—of which at present there were nearly 650—by the substitution, where appropriate, of larger and more economic centres of supply and distribution. They urged that definite and adequate compulsory powers should be conferred by legislation for this purpose, and that provision should be made in schemes of reorganisation for the eventual public ownership of electricity undertakings. The Minister of Transport announced in the House of Commons on March 3 that the Government had decided to adopt the report of the Committee in principle, but that there would not be time to add to the programme of the present session a Bill on the matter.

In the month of March, as a result of heavy rain and snow-falls, the river Ouse overflowed and flooded a large part of the Fen country, inflicting severe loss on the farmers in the district.

A disaster of the first magnitude was narrowly avoided, and the event focussed public attention on the danger to which the richest agricultural district of England was still exposed, in spite of the drainage works which had been carried out in 1930. The matter was discussed in Parliament on March 23, when the Government was strongly urged to make the further works which were required a national charge, as the district itself could not cope with the burden.

Early in March it was reported in the Press that the firm of Messrs. Ransome & Rapier, of Ipswich, the well-known manufacturers of agricultural machinery, which had made large quantities of shells during the Great War, had offered to supply the Government with shells at cost price, and much more cheaply than they could be obtained elsewhere, and that the offer had been declined. This statement confirmed the suspicion of the Labour Party that the Government was conniving at profiteering in the supply of munitions, and an attack was made on it in the House of Commons on this ground by Mr. Johnston on March 24. Sir Thomas Inskip in reply repeated what he had said on previous occasions about the precautions taken by the Government to prevent profiteering, and with regard to the specific case raised denied that any firm offer had been made to the War Office. On Mr. Johnston showing himself incredulous, he offered to inspect the correspondence at the War Office along with him, and it was arranged that they should do so after Easter.

On March 17 the House of Commons paid a tribute to the memory of Sir Austen Chamberlain, who had passed away the night before [*vide* under Obituaries]. The chief speaker was the Prime Minister, who described Sir Austen as being above all a great Parliamentarian, one who loved the House and its life and had been a formidable but ever chivalrous fighter. His work at the Foreign Office, said Mr. Baldwin, had not yet received the credit which history would award to it; it was remarkable, however, that his greatest influence over the House had been won during his last years when he held no office at all, the explanation being that he had ceased to be a controversialist while retaining his own special gifts of candour and wisdom. The Premier's remarks made a deep impression on the House and were cordially endorsed by Mr. Attlee, Sir A. Sinclair, Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Maxton.

Early in March prominence was given in the Press to reports of a massacre carried out by Italians in Addis Ababa in reprisal for the attempt on the life of General Graziani. When questioned on the matter in Parliament, the Government replied that, according to its own information, the reports were substantially correct. Public opinion was deeply stirred, and on March 16 the Archbishop of Canterbury took it upon himself, while disclaiming any bias against Italy and accepting the

Italian conquest of Abyssinia as an accomplished fact, to utter a public remonstrance "in the name not of Christianity only but of the common instincts of humanity."

The protest was repeated in the House of Commons on March 26 when a number of speakers from the Opposition benches urged the Government to bring the matter to the attention of the League of Nations, and expressed their abhorrence in no measured terms. The discussion was notable for an admission by the Duchess of Atholl that while she had been prepared to support the Hoare-Laval proposals in the hope that Italian rule would rid Abyssinia of slavery, she now felt that Italian rule was worse than Abyssinian, with all its shortcomings. The scope of the debate was widened by a number of speakers so as to embrace Italian activities in Spain, which were described by more than one speaker as amounting to a foreign invasion of that country, and a demand was made that the Government should bring this question also before the League of Nations. Viscount Cranborne, who replied for the Government, joined in deploring what had happened at Addis Ababa, but gave no assurance that the Government would take action, while he refused to be drawn into a discussion of the larger questions which had been incidentally raised.

On March 22 King Leopold of Belgium paid a nominally private visit to England, in the course of which he discussed with Mr. Eden the Belgian desire for a more effective safeguarding of her neutrality. Shortly afterwards (April 25), in response to a Belgian request made some time before, a Franco-British declaration was issued relieving Belgium from her Locarno obligations, while continuing in force the French and British guarantees of her safety. On the same day Mr. Eden arrived in Brussels in order to renew personal contact with the Belgian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister and to discuss with them the whole question of security in the West.

On March 24 the text was issued of a Bill embodying the Government's scheme for a revision of Ministerial salaries. It had long been recognised that the existing inequalities in the remuneration of the principal Ministerial posts, due to historical circumstances, could no longer be justified, and the only question had been at what figure the standard should be fixed. The Bill proposed that normally seventeen Ministers, apart from the Prime Minister, *viz.*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, eight Secretaries of State, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the President of the Board of Trade, the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries, the President of the Board of Education, the Minister of Health, the Minister of Labour, the Minister of Transport, and the Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence, should be regarded as holding Cabinet rank, and should receive a salary of 5,000*l.* a year. The offices of Lord President of the

Council, Lord Privy Seal, Postmaster-General, and First Commissioner of Works were to carry a salary of 3,000l. and the Ministry of Pensions 2,0002. a year, unless the holders were included in the Cabinet, in which case they would receive 5,0002. In view of the exceptional burden devolving on the Prime-Minister, his salary was increased to 10,0002. a year, with a pension of 2,0002., while the Leader of the Opposition, whose time under modern conditions was entirely claimed by Parliamentary duties, was also given a salary of 2,000l. a year. Adjustments were also made by the Bill in the salaries of junior Ministers. The Lord Chancellor was to continue to receive 10,000l.—half in virtue of his office and half as a Law Lord. The Bill also altered the existing arrangement under which two Secretaries of State and three Under-Secretaries had to be in the House of Lords by laying down that at least three Cabinet Ministers and two Under-Secretaries should be in the Upper House. It was estimated that the proposed changes would entail an additional expenditure of 37,0002.

In fulfilment of one of its promises made at the time of the General Election in 1935, the Government at the end of March introduced a Bill extending to "black-coated" workers the contributory pensions scheme connected with the Health Insurance Act. Hitherto the scheme had been available only to manual workers earning not more than 2502. a year; it was now thrown open on a voluntary basis to all persons earning up to 4002. in the case of men and 2502. in the case of women. For the first year the age limit for entry was to be 55, after that 40, and as the scheme was voluntary contributions were to vary with the age of entry, but in all cases to be less than half of their actuarial value, the State making up the difference. Exception was taken by the women members of Parliament to the differentiation made by the Bill between men and women, but the second reading was allowed to pass without opposition on April 8.

The accounts for the financial year 1936-37, published on April 1, showed that ordinary revenue had amounted to 797,280,000l., which was about 1,000,000l. less than the estimate, but about 44,000,000l. more than had been received in the previous year. Total expenditure had been 789,759,115l., against 737,513,200l. in the previous year. The surplus was thus 7,530,000l., due chiefly to the fact that large savings had been made on several supply votes.

CHAPTER II

THE CORONATION.

ON April 11, immediately after the Easter recess, Mr. Baldwin, in an address to his constituents at Bewdley, announced that he intended to retire from the Premiership soon after the Coronation. The reason he gave was that with advancing years he was beginning to feel unequal to the tripartite task which devolved on a Prime Minister in a democratic country of being head of the Government, leader of the party, and leader of the House of Commons. If, he said, a Prime Minister could have long holidays, if he could be seconded for twelve months, or if he could go to the House of Lords, he might have carried on longer, but as none of these things was possible, he thought it better to go before the strain proved too great for him. Mr. Baldwin's announcement caused no surprise, as his intention to retire had long been an open secret, as also his desire that Mr. Neville Chamberlain should succeed to the Premiership.

The second reading of the Ministers of the Crown Bill (*vide* p. 29) was moved on April 12 by Sir J. Simon, who pointed out that it was for the first time placing on the Statute-book the terms "Cabinet" and "Cabinet Minister," and giving to the Prime Minister as such a legal status. The Labour Party, in an amendment moved by Mr. Greenwood, approved of the removal of anomalies in Ministerial salaries, but objected to the increase in the aggregate paid, and pleaded that the allocation of Ministerial functions should first be considered. Sir A. Sinclair also considered the proposed remuneration too lavish, and several speakers expressed regret that the opportunity had not been taken to reduce the salaries of the Law Officers, which were generally regarded as excessive. Mr. Baldwin, in reply, emphasised the importance of placing men in high office in a position where they should be free from temptation—an example which he thought might with advantage be followed by foreign countries—and the second reading was carried by 228 votes to 136. The Bill obtained its third reading on June 3 by a small majority only.

Closely linked with the question of Ministerial salaries was that of the remuneration of members of Parliament. Complaints were made from many quarters that the existing salary of 400l. was too small—and there were undoubtedly cases of genuine hardship among members—and the Cabinet after due deliberation finally came to the conclusion that another 200l. a year was required to make it adequate. Whether by accident or design, Mr. Baldwin's announcement of this decision to the House of Commons was timed for the eve of his retirement on

May 27, and so gave it the appearance of a parting gift from his side. The increase was approved by the House on June 22, with 17 dissentients.

The difficulties confronting the Government in the Spanish situation were further complicated at the beginning of April by the attempt of the Insurgent Fleet to institute a blockade of Bilbao. The question arose whether the protection of the British Navy should be afforded to British ships carrying food to the blockaded port; and a special Cabinet meeting was held on April 11—a Sunday—to deal with it. Meanwhile the British forces off the north coast of Spain—which hitherto had consisted only of a few destroyers—were reinforced by two warships from Gibraltar, one of them being the flagship *H.M.S. Hood*. At the same time, however, four British merchant vessels bound for Bilbao were advised by the authorities to remain at St. Jean de Luz, in France, pending further instructions.

The apparent contradiction between these two steps caused some bewilderment among members of Parliament, and questions on the subject were immediately asked in the House of Commons (April 12). Mr. Baldwin explained that, having decided that they could not recognise the Spanish insurgents or concede belligerent rights to either side, they could not tolerate any interference with British shipping at sea. For that reason British warships had been moved to the danger zone. Nevertheless it had been necessary to take into account the practical aspect of the problem arising out of the efforts of the insurgent forces to invest Bilbao by sea and land. Bilbao was in close proximity to the war zone, and there was constant and serious risk of shipping in the harbour from bombing by aircraft. In addition, on account of the laying of mines by both sides in the approaches to Bilbao, there was now grave risk to any ship seeking to enter the harbour unless mine-sweeping was first carried out within Spanish territorial waters. The Government therefore were warning British ships that in view of the risks against which it was impossible at present to protect them they should not go into that area as long as present conditions prevailed.

The news that British merchant ships carrying food for the starving inhabitants of Bilbao were not to be assisted by British naval forces to reach their destination had been received with intense indignation by that section of the public which sympathised with the Spanish Government, a section which naturally included the whole of the Labour and Liberal Parties. The Opposition in Parliament were completely dissatisfied with Mr. Baldwin's excuse for the Government's inaction, and would have moved the adjournment at once to consider the question had they not been somewhat taken aback by Mr. Baldwin's reference to mines, of which they now heard for the first time. They were not long, however, in satisfying themselves that there was

no truth in his allegation, and on April 14 Mr. Attlee formally moved that the House, taking note of the Prime Minister's statement, deplored the failure of the Government to give protection to British merchant ships on their lawful occasions.

The debate which followed was marked by unusual heat and passion. Opposition speakers seized the occasion to discharge their long pent-up resentment against the Government for its handling of the Spanish situation, and one after another hurled reproaches against it for its alleged pro-Franco bias, of which this last step was but the latest manifestation. Mr. Attlee described its action as a surrender of rights which Britain had always maintained on behalf of its ships, and an acquiescence in a grave breach of international law. He read a statement from the President of the Basque republic denying that there were any mines in Bilbao harbour, nor did he shrink from advocating the use of mine-sweepers, if necessary.

The defence of the Government was made by Sir John Simon, who maintained that it could not have acted differently consistently with the policy of non-intervention. He also pointed out that in the early period of the war the Government had similarly respected the Spanish Government blockade of Ceuta and Melilla. In spite too of the Basque President's assurance, he asserted, on the strength of information given by British warships, that the dangers in Bilbao harbour were very real. To prove that the Government were actuated by no feelings of partiality towards the insurgent side, Sir John informed the House that only a few hours before they had sent a message to General Franco direct to say that no interference with British ships would be tolerated and that he would be held responsible for any damage to them—even to those which had disregarded the British Government's warning. Mr. Eden, in closing the debate, repeated this assurance, making it clear that British ships, even if proceeding in defiance of instructions, would be protected if attacked before they reached the three-mile limit.

Mr. Eden so far satisfied the Liberals that they refrained from voting, while Sir John Simon had already removed any doubts which may have been entertained by Ministerialists. The Government in consequence obtained a signal victory, the vote of censure being negatived by 345 votes to 130.

A spirited defence of the non-intervention policy was made by Mr. Eden in a speech at Liverpool on April 12. He admitted that many gibes could be hurled at that policy and at the work of the Non-Intervention Committee, that there had been flagrant breaches of the agreement, that both sides were using materials from abroad, and that foreign nationals were fighting on both sides. Yet a broad gain remained. The flow of foreign arms and men into Spain had been reduced, and, what was more important, the risks of a general war had been greatly lessened.

There was no alternative to that policy unless they were themselves willing to send men to participate in the civil war in Spain. They should therefore continue to work patiently and persistently for the limitation, and at last the cessation, of all outside intervention in Spain, for the sake both of its own people and of Europe.

The Government at this time was busily engaged in endeavouring, in conjunction with France, Italy, and Germany, to devise some form of supervision of the Spanish frontiers which would check the inflow of military reinforcements from abroad. Its patience reaped a definite reward on April 19, when the scheme of control—still, it is true, in a somewhat inchoate form—was actually brought into operation. In the meantime, however, a British merchant captain—familiarily known from the cargo he carried as "Potato Jones"—had vainly sought the protection of the British Fleet while trying to reach Bilbao; and his experiences, which attracted universal attention, had again aroused the suspicions of the Opposition in Parliament that even the limited assurances given on April 12 were not seriously meant. On April 19 they subjected the Government to a fire of questions, and, not obtaining satisfaction, returned to the charge again the next day after the Budget statement, their attack being particularly directed against the First Lord of the Admiralty. Their pertinacity at length succeeded in eliciting both from him and from Mr. Eden unequivocal statements that British shipping, if interfered with at any point outside the three-mile limit, would be protected by the British Fleet. On the strength of this assurance, some ships immediately set out from St. Jean de Luz for Bilbao. To the delight of a large part of the British public, they found the Navy as good as its word, and the satisfaction of the Opposition was further heightened when they reached Bilbao in safety and so proved the dangers of the harbour to be as imaginary as Mr. Attlee had declared them to be.

On April 20 Mr. Chamberlain, for the sixth and presumably the last time, introduced the Budget for the coming year. He began by reminding the House of what it already knew only too well, that the national finances would continue to be dominated, as they had been in the last year, by the vast expenditure on defence on which the country was engaged. Great as had been the provision made for this purpose in last year's Budget, it had proved to be insufficient, and it was the additional demands made on him in consequence which had prevented the realisation of the surplus for which he had budgeted, since revenue, broadly speaking, had fulfilled his expectations. If the receipts from income tax, surtax, and death duties had fallen below the **estimate**, by 5,750,000l., the receipts from Customs and Excise **and from Stamp Duties** had correspondingly exceeded it. This he regarded as a sign both of expanding trade and of an increase in

the purchasing power **of** the nation ; while the fact that the **gross** revenue **of** the Post Office was 2,250,000*l.* more than **had been** estimated **was** also a significant indication **of** the general business activity **of** the community.

Dealing with the coming year, the Chancellor stated that he would keep the fixed debt charge at 224,000,000*l.*, and at the **same** time, as a measure of precaution, ask for power to borrow for the payment of the contractual Sinking Fund, as also to meet the deficit left from last year's accounts. Other Consolidated Fund charges he put at 11,500,000*l.*, while Civil Votes (deducting 2,870,000*l.* for the B.B.C., which he preferred to retain in the self-balancing items) had already been fixed at 419,080,000*l.*, and defence expenditure (excluding 80,000,000*l.* which could be borrowed) at 198,268,000*l.* Adding 10,000,000*l.* as a margin for Civil Supplementary Estimates he obtained a grand total of 862,848,000*l.*

On the revenue side, in estimating the return from the existing sources, the Chancellor counted on a substantial increase in the yield from Customs and Excise, which would be enhanced by the Coronation festivities, and by the fact that beef and veal duties, which were in force for only four months of the previous year, would now be running for a full year. The total for Customs and Excise on the existing basis he reckoned at 333,000,000*l.*, or 12,000,000*l.* more than in the previous year. Income tax also, owing to the growth of profits in 1936, he put at a substantially higher figure than the yield of the previous year—275,000,000*l.* instead of 257,250,000*l.* Surtax he estimated at 58,000,000*l.* or 4,500,000*l.* more than the yield of last year, death duties again at 89,000,000*l.*, and stamp duties at 29,000,000*l.*, the actual yield of the previous year. Miscellaneous receipts, however, he judged it prudent, owing to various causes, to put at 13,600,000*l.* less than in the previous year. Altogether he calculated on obtaining from existing sources a revenue of 847,950,000*l.*, which would leave him with a prospective deficit to cover of 14,898,000*l.*

The Chancellor thus found himself, contrary to the hopes which he had cherished a year before, faced with what he called the "unwelcome task" of having to impose new burdens on the taxpayer in 1937. He drew some consolation, however, from the thought that the fact of his having to make fresh calls now, in spite of the relief afforded to the Budget by the Defence Loans Act, was the measure of the amount by which they had **been able** to accelerate their defence programme, and that though **the taxpayer** might groan and grumble at the fresh demands which **were being made** upon him, his additional contributions **represented an ever-quickenning approach to the goal of safety.**

The first of these burdens, for which the public had already fully prepared itself, was an increase of threepence in the income tax, bringing up the standard rate to 5*s.*, and unaccompanied

on this occasion with any concessions or remissions to poorer taxpayers. This was estimated to produce 13,000,000*l.* in the current year, which, along with the yield of about 150,000*l.* to be produced by certain measures for preventing tax evasion, would reduce the gap to be filled to the " trifling " figure of 1,748,000*l.*

The Chancellor, however, was not content merely to make good the deficiency of the current year. Taking a longer view, he drew attention to the fact that while under the Defence Loan they would be borrowing this year right up to the average for the five years covered by the loan, there was every reason to expect that expenditure on armaments would increase for some years yet. To provide for this increase, he had cast about for some source of revenue which would correspondingly increase automatically, and so would obviate the need of imposing fresh taxes every year. He claimed to have found such a source in the general growth of profits made by trading firms in the last two or three years, and which, due as it was in no small degree to conditions created by the Government, was likely to continue under the stimulus of the armament activity. He considered it therefore not unreasonable to ask that this growth in business profits should be made the occasion of some special and temporary contribution on the part of those concerned towards the cost of national defence ; and he proposed that this should be made by means of a tax which, in order to emphasise its purpose, he would call the National Defence Contribution. This was to be payable in respect of the growth of profits by all persons engaged in industries, trade, or business of any kind whose profits in any accounting year ended after April 5, 1937, exceeded 2,000* ; it would not, however, be applicable to professions or employments. The growth of profits could be calculated at the option of the taxpayer either on the average profits of the years 1933, 1934, and 1935, or on the capital employed in the business. The tax would be graduated according to the percentage growth of the profits. Mr. Chamberlain estimated that this tax would produce 2,000,000* in the current year, when it would only very partially come into operation, and 20,000,000*l.* to 25,000,000* next year, and thereafter according to the general prosperity of the country. The total revenue for the current year would in this way amount to 863,100,000*l.*, which gave a surplus of 252,000*l.*

Mr. Chamberlain concluded by expressing his confidence that the country, helped by the rising tide of prosperity, would be well able to stand the strain of the rearmament programme. Only two things could frustrate their expectations. One was some great world disturbance, which the Government were using all their power and influence to avoid. The other was a too reckless expenditure on objects that were not vitally necessary, which also could be avoided by wise and prudent administration.

The Chancellor's announcement of the new tax on profits took the House completely by surprise. What made the proposal even more surprising was the fact that it seemed so little in keeping with Mr. Chamberlain's known financial views ; and on this account Labour members were at first inclined to see in it a vote-catching device, designed especially to influence the results of one or two by-elections which were then pending. This of course did not diminish their satisfaction with a plan so much after their own heart. The Ministerialists, on the other hand, received it with corresponding displeasure, and the more die-hard section among the Government's supporters could scarcely contain their indignation at this latest and most flagrant manifestation of its Socialist leanings. Further examination of the proposals, however, led the majority of both sides to modify their first impressions whether in favour or against, and so to concur in the view that while the principle of taxing excess profits made out of work connected with armaments was a good one, it was very doubtful whether the Chancellor was in fact placing the burden on the right shoulders. In particular it was pointed out that the tax would fall most heavily on firms which were just recovering from a period of depression, and would hardly touch those which had been consistently making high profits for several years past.

Criticism of the proposed National Defence Contribution was freely voiced in the debate on the Budget resolutions by members of all parties, prominent among them being Sir Robert Home. Mr. Chamberlain, in replying on April 23, first of all protested that he had been actuated by no partisan motive in proposing the tax, but solely by a desire to make the country realise that they could not expect to put the cost of the rearmament programme on posterity. He did not, he said, regard it as a form of punishment or penalisation for profiteering ; in fact, he did not believe there was any considerable amount of profiteering among the main contractors for munitions. The fact remained, however, that as an indirect result of the programme, many firms were doing much better than they had been, and as they had to find a large sum of money in a short time, the fairest thing was to go to those who in consequence of the prosperity of the times were doing better than they had done, and ask them to make a special contribution. He admitted that his scheme was open to criticism in details ; this was partly due to the fact that owing to the necessity of preserving secrecy up to the last he had been unable to make the preliminary soundings and consultations as in the case of an ordinary proposal. He promised, therefore, to make further inquiries in the interval which must elapse before the Finance Bill was introduced, and allow himself a certain measure of elasticity. Meanwhile he tendered immediate relief to one hard case which had been brought to his notice by promising that

losses which had been incurred by shipping during the past four years would be allowed as a set-off against profits before considering what was subject to the new charge. He also explained that accountants and other professional men who were likely to benefit largely from the new legislation had been exempted from the tax not on grounds of equity, but simply because of the technical difficulties of assessing them.

One immediate effect of the new Budget proposals was to create a feeling bordering on panic in financial quarters in the City of London. Share prices on the Stock Exchange fell rapidly, and within a week a depreciation of nearly 300,000,000Z. was estimated to have taken place in the value of securities; the position in fact was worse than it had been at any time since the crisis of August, 1931. The Chancellor's speech on April 23 did little to restore confidence, and he was urged from many quarters to withdraw the profits tax and meet his requirements from a further increase in the income tax. On April 27, in the House of Commons, he rejected this suggestion as being at the least premature, and described the alarm which his proposals had created as being largely unjustified, and due partly to exaggeration of their effects and partly to misunderstanding. He admitted, however, that the information on which they were based was not so full as it might have been, and that in the light of further information which he was making it his business to acquire they might have to be modified considerably. Two such modifications, of considerable importance, the Chancellor announced at once. One was that the years on which profits were computed might be varied; another was that capital might be computed differently in different industries. He assured the House in conclusion that he was still seeking for information from the most authentic sources, and by it he would be guided.

On April 29 subscription lists were opened for an issue of 100,000,000Z. of Two-and-a-half per cent. National Defence Bonds, at 99£. The bonds were to be repayable before the end of 1948 at par in annual drawings of not less than 20 per cent, of the amount of the loan, the first drawing being in the autumn of 1944. The proceeds, until required for defence expenditure, were to be used to reduce the Floating Debt. The loan did not meet with an enthusiastic response from the public, and was soon quoted at a discount.

On April 21 Sir T. Inskip made public a letter which he had written to Mr. T. Johnston, M.P., containing the result of his investigations into the alleged offer made by the firm of Ransome & Rapier to provide shells for the War Office without any profit for themselves (*vide* p. 28). The conclusion he formed was that the actual offer of the firm was on a "no profit no loss" basis, that the price quoted was a good deal lower than the actual costs would have been, and that the War Office was therefore

quite justified in rejecting it. At the same time it was stated in the House of Commons that the Government would welcome similar offers, if in fact they were cheaper than ordinary tenders.

By this time public interest was almost entirely absorbed by the approaching coronation of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, preparations for which had been going on apace since the beginning of the year. Immense numbers of visitors thronged to London from the provinces and from overseas, and the metropolis was naturally en fete for several days before and after the event. The preparations made for dealing with the influx proved adequate, and prices for seats and accommodation were kept within reasonable limits. All countries showed themselves eager to participate in Britain's rejoicing, and practically every Government sent representatives of the highest distinction—where possible, royal personages—with two exceptions. The Irish Government, as in the case of the Jubilee celebrations two years before, kept ostentatiously aloof; and the Italian Government, which had taken umbrage at the hostility displayed by the British Press to its intervention in Spain, instead of sending a special delegate, was content to be represented by its Ambassador, Signor Grandi, who was already in England.

On May 8 the Bang welcomed the Empire Ministers from overseas and the delegates to the Empire Parliamentary Conference at a luncheon in Westminster Hall organised by the United Kingdom branch of the Empire Parliamentary Association. The health of the King was proposed by Lord Hailsham, who said that the hall where they were meeting had for centuries—since the reign of Henry I—been the traditional scene of coronation banquets, and that in the slow process of the centuries the Throne had become not a symbol of arbitrary power but the embodiment of their liberties and the connecting-link of the free commonwealths of the Empire with Parliamentary government fully achieved. His Majesty, in replying, also alluded to the intimate connection of Westminster Hall with the growth of Parliamentary institutions, while the Speaker and the Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons, in thanking him for his presence, dwelt on the same theme.

On May 11 loyal addresses were presented to the King from the Dominions and Colonies. In replying, His Majesty said that he stood on the threshold of a new life, in which heavy responsibilities had been suddenly and unexpectedly thrust upon him, but it gave him courage to know that he could count on their unfailing help and affection. He recalled the fact that both he and the Queen were not strangers to life overseas, and expressed the hope that they might have the good fortune to extend this personal knowledge in the years to come.

The Coronation itself was duly carried out with time-honoured ceremonial on May 12 in Westminster Abbey, between the hours

of eleven and two, in the presence of some seven thousand distinguished spectators. The sacring was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the King took the usual oath to obey the laws and to maintain the Protestant faith. Their Majesties then drove in the State Coach to Buckingham Palace through streets lined to their utmost capacity with crowds which evinced their loyalty in no uncertain fashion as they passed, and greeted Queen Mary also with almost equal fervour. The procession which followed was nearly 2 miles in length, and contained representatives of every military unit in the Empire without exception. Later in the afternoon rain caused considerable discomfort to the crowd without affecting its good humour. The only untoward incident was a breakdown which occurred in the arrangements for conveying the visitors away from the Abbey after the ceremony, about which angry complaints were made in the House of Lords some weeks later.

The list of Coronation honours included no less than eleven peerages. Among those who now went to the House of Lords were three men who had played a prominent part in the House of Commons—a Conservative, Sir R. Home, a Liberal, Sir Herbert Samuel, and a Labour member, Dr. Christopher Addison. Sir Herbert Samuel stated that he was still as strongly opposed as ever to the hereditary principle, and that the only reason for his consenting to enter the Upper House was because, while he desired to take an active part in politics, he regarded his chances of ever again obtaining a seat in the House of Commons as exceedingly doubtful.

Immediately after the Coronation—on May 14—the Imperial Conference commenced its deliberations. The delegations of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa were led by their respective Prime Ministers, who throughout conducted themselves as representatives of sovereign States on a footing of perfect equality with the mother country. The proceedings were none the less harmonious on that account, and served to cement the unity of the British Commonwealth of Nations, based on common allegiance to the Crown. In opening the conference, Mr. Baldwin declared that, meeting at a time when the international situation was difficult and even threatening, the responsibility rested upon them to see that their deliberations were not only of service to themselves but might also help in some measure towards the solution of the international problems which were perplexing the world. This aspiration, which was very widely shared, came far short of fulfilment. The conference did, it is true, enunciate certain principles of world-wide importance on which all its members were agreed; but it fought shy of any attempt to formulate a common policy on any major issue, and left it to each individual State to apply in its own way the principles to which it had given its adhesion.

The principal subjects discussed by the conference were the international situation, defence, economic co-operation, and colonial affairs. A full statement on Britain's foreign policy was made by Mr. Eden on May 19, and a description of her defence measures was given by Sir T. Inskip on May 24; while on May 27 Mr. Runciman spoke on the development of inter-Imperial trade since the Ottawa Conference. The representatives of the Dominions were, on the whole, able to endorse heartily Mr. Eden's conduct of foreign affairs, though they differed among themselves on the question of supporting the League of Nations. They also approved without reservation the British defence programme, which they promised to supplement to the best of their ability; but while wishing every success to the efforts which were on foot for securing a new Anglo-American Trade Agreement, they found themselves unable, on account of sectional interests, to venture on any declaration which would make the course of the negotiations easier.

In a statement on the subject of foreign affairs issued at the close of its proceedings, the conference declared that the first objective of each of its members was the preservation of peace, and that the settlement of differences that might arise between nations and the adjustment of national needs should be sought by methods of co-operation, joint inquiry and conciliation, and not by recourse to the use of force. They therefore declared unanimously that their respective armaments would never be used for the purposes of aggression or for any purpose inconsistent with the Covenant of the League of Nations or the Pact of Paris. At the same time, being desirous of strengthening the League by the enlargement of its membership, they united in expressing the view that this object would be facilitated by the separation of the Covenant from the Treaties of Peace. They all desired earnestly to see as wide a measure of disarmament as could be obtained, but at the same time they were agreed that they were each bound to adopt such measures of defence as they might deem essential for their security as well as for the fulfilment of their international obligations. In conclusion the members of the conference, while declaring themselves firmly attached to the principles of democracy and to Parliamentary forms of government, registered their view that differences of political creed should be no obstacle to friendly relations between Governments and countries, and that nothing would be more damaging to the hopes of international appeasement than the division, real or apparent, of the world into opposing groups.

The conference came to a close on June 15, when satisfaction was expressed from all sides with the way in which it had been conducted and the results it had achieved. Mr. Chamberlain, in a final speech, pointed out that these conferences were summoned not to solve any particular problem or to achieve any specific

result. They were rather a kind of family gathering at which the members assembled to exchange information, to examine the events of the past and the prospects of the future, and to establish personal contacts. They had in fact not been afraid to speak to one another with complete frankness, or to assert their individual opinions ; but there was no doubt that on all the big issues on which the welfare of mankind ultimately depended they thought alike. He did not hesitate therefore to declare that the conference had been a complete success, and that the members could separate with a renewed sense of friendship and comradeship and a fresh confidence in their united ability to forward the objects they had at heart.

On May 24—Empire Day—the combined Empire Societies gave a banquet to the Prime Ministers and other Imperial representatives in London, and Mr. Baldwin, speaking in public for the last time as Prime Minister, delivered an address which formed a fitting pendant to the conference. Proposing the toast of the British Commonwealth, he said that the Commonwealth or the Empire—whichever they liked to call it—was the greatest political experiment that had yet been tried in the world—an experiment the success of which might mean much to mankind, while its failure might mean disaster. How were they going to make it a success, to keep it together ? The Crown was the tangible link which they all knew. If it were broken, would the Commonwealth hold together ? Self-interest, working through trade, might help, but they really required something more profound. In the long run he believed they would not hold together unless they recognised the common idea, the common inspiration, the common love of freedom of the individual and of the body politic, and the pursuit of peace, such as now reigned throughout the whole vast area of the world which comprised the Empire, and unless they were animated not only by selfish motives of self-preservation but by an ardent desire—of which he had seen traces in the discussions they had already had at the conference, and which he had never heard before—to help the world as well as themselves, and so to show their ideals before the world that those ideals might in time triumph. The qualities they needed were loyalty, sympathy, and understanding. They should concentrate on points of agreement rather than of difference, and should beware of trying to introduce too much logic or too strict definition into political relationships.

In the House of Commons, on July 29, Mr. Pethick-Lawrence criticised the conference as having done little more than " mark time," and as having been almost barren of concrete results. A different view was taken by Sir E. Grigg, who saw in the proceedings of the conference a reaction against the tendency to Imperial disintegration which had set in soon after the war **and** which had reached its climax in the Statute of Westminster.

In three points especially the conference had shown this desire for closer union—in the discussions on British citizenship and the status of the British subject throughout the Empire, in the support given to the Ottawa Agreements, and in the willingness expressed on all sides to co-operate in the task of Imperial defence. This was a fact of which the world had taken note ; and it was quite clear that the attitude adopted by the conference in relation to Imperial defence, so different from that adopted at the conference seven years before, had made a marked impression on the situation in Europe at the present time.

Immediately after the close of the Coronation celebrations, the House of Commons, on May 24, settled the question of the Civil List. In accordance with the recommendations of the Committee which had considered the subject, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved that the total should remain at the figure at which it had been fixed in the previous reign—410,000*l.* a year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 37), but that this sum should now include an allowance of 40,000*l.* for Queen Elizabeth, of 10,000*l.* for the Duke of Gloucester, in consideration of the duties he would be called upon to perform as next brother to the King, and of 6,000*l.* for the Princess Elizabeth, which would be increased to 15,000*l.* on her attaining her majority. Mr. Attlee objected that the scale of this provision was far too "capitalistic," and, without condemning the proposed arrangement outright, moved that it should be made terminable by next April 30, in order that the King might thereafter lead a simpler life, more in touch with that of the ordinary citizen. Mr. Churchill made a spirited defence of the "pomp and circumstance" of monarchy, and the amendment was defeated by 204 votes to 102.

Undeterred by this rebuff, Mr. Greenwood, on May 27, moved as an amendment to the second reading of the Civil List Bill that "this House cannot assent to a BUI which merely accepts and continues traditional conceptions of State and ceremonial instead of recognising that greater simplicity in the daily life of the Court is essential in the modern democratic Constitution of the British Commonwealth." Mr. Chamberlain, in reply, contended that there had been in fact a considerable simplification in Court life in recent years, and that if any further simplification were required it could well be left to the discretion of their Majesties. The amendment was defeated by 240 votes to 112.

While the Imperial Conference was sitting, Free Trade speakers in the House of Commons attempted without success to obtain from the Government some definite undertaking to assist the cause of international trade. In the debate on the Board of Trade Vote on May 25, they called attention to recent utterances of the President and State Secretary of the United States in favour of reducing trade barriers, and urged the Government

to meet these approaches in a similar spirit. Mr. Runciman declared himself to be in sympathy with their objects, but held out little hope that the Government would change its policy to meet American requirements. In the conversations which he had had with American statesmen in January, he said, he had never disguised the difficulties which must naturally arise in reaching an agreement between the United States and Great Britain. Since then the Government had been trying to find a foundation on which they could build, and in private had examined the whole of the ground, which was a most laborious business ; but whether any success had so far attended, or was likely to attend these efforts, he declined to say. Dr. Burgin later supplemented this statement by asserting that the policy of bilateral negotiations had not yet reached the limit of its usefulness, and that there was no reason to think that a multi-lateral agreement was a quicker process. He also defended the Government's refusal to join the low-tariff group formed by Holland and other countries on the ground that to do so would jeopardise the trade of Britain with the greater and more important countries. A motion to reduce the vote was negatived by 142 votes to 92.

A similar attempt was made in the debate on the second reading of the Finance Bill on June 9, when the Labour and Liberal Parties sought to limit the extension of certain tariff preferences for Empire goods in order to facilitate the conclusion of a Trade Agreement with the United States. The new President of the Board of Trade now denied that the principle of Imperial Preference was incompatible with a possible Trade Agreement with the United States. He refused to believe that in order to assure the American people of their genuine desire in the matter, it was necessary to make the gesture for which the Opposition asked at the expense of the Empire producers. If the Government made an agreement with the United States, it would be not to divert to it trade which they now did with Empire countries, but to create fresh trade. In the end, the clause stabilising the existing Empire preferences for another twelve months was carried by 229 votes to 134.

During the whole of the festive period of the Coronation, London had been without any public bus service, in consequence of a dispute between the busmen and the London Passenger Transport Board. This body, after taking control a couple of years before, had commenced to introduce a process of speeding up which the drivers and conductors soon found to be injuriously affecting their health. They had therefore pressed for various improvements in their conditions of labour, especially for a reduction of the working day to seven-and-a-half hours instead of eight. The Transport Board declared itself entirely **unable** to concede this demand for financial reasons, and **after protracted**

negotiations the men's union gave notice on March 31 to terminate their wages agreement with the Board a month later—almost on the eve of the Coronation. On April 25 the Ministry of Labour intervened, but without effect, and at midnight on April 30 all the bus drivers and conductors serving the central area of London, to the number of some 27,000, came out on strike.

The Minister of Labour, acting under the Industrial Courts Act of 1919, immediately appointed a Court of Inquiry to examine the matters at issue. The Court sat for four days, May 3-6, and both sides gave evidence before it, the men's case being stated in full by Mr. Bevin, the secretary of the Transport Workers' Union, and the Board's case by Mr. Pick, the Vice-Chairman, and Lord Ashfield, the Chairman. Within three hours of the conclusion of the hearing, on May 6, the Committee issued an interim report, finding that as regards the claim for a seven-and-a-half-hour day, which was based fundamentally on grounds of injury to health, the evidence was inconclusive, but that a *prima facie* case had been made out for further investigation by a properly qualified body. The Transport Board immediately declared themselves ready to abide by the result of such an investigation. The busmen's committee, however, refused to agree to a resumption of work, even provisionally, except on a seven-and-a-half-hour day basis, and when this was refused they decided by an overwhelming majority on May 10 to continue the strike, contrary to the wishes of Mr. Bevin.

The bus stoppage in London had been accompanied by a number of similar stoppages—all unofficial—in the Home Counties, and this fact no doubt encouraged the London busmen to disregard the advice of Mr. Bevin. They also cherished strong hopes that the tramwaymen and trolley-bus men, who had grievances of their own, would eventually join them. There was indeed a strong agitation in this section for a sympathetic strike. When, however, the question was put to a delegate conference on May 20 it declined by a large majority to extend the dispute on unofficial lines, and pledged itself to take any action that the Executive Council of the Transport Workers' Union desired. In spite of this the busmen's committee were in favour of continuing the strike, but they were overruled by the Executive of the Union, which now took control. Declaring that the recommendations of the Committee of Inquiry signified a " 75 to 80 per cent, victory " for the men, this body entered into negotiations with the Ministry of Labour and the Transport Board, and finding that the offers of the latter still held good, ordered a resumption of work. The men obeyed with alacrity, and on May 28, after a stoppage of four weeks all but a day, buses once more began to run in the London thoroughfares, to the immense relief of the general public, especially of the suburban dwellers, who had suffered great inconvenience.

Although suspended, the London Central Bus Committee continued its activities, asserting its right still to represent and lead the busmen. In order to enforce discipline, the Executive Council of the Transport Union found itself compelled to take drastic measures, and on July 13 it decided to expel from the union three of the ringleaders, and to debar four others from holding office for a number of years.

Concurrently with the London bus stoppage, a dispute on a much larger scale had been proceeding in the coal-fields. Ever since the formation of the independent " Spencer " Union in Nottinghamshire in 1927 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1927, pp. 43, 75), the Miners' Federation had complained that the owners in that coal-field forced their men to join the dissident Union and prevented them from becoming attached to the Federation, and much bad blood had been generated in consequence. Matters were brought to a head at the beginning of the current year by a dispute at the colliery of Harworth in Nottinghamshire, in which the Federation accused the owners of practising intimidation and victimisation against the men. The Executive Committee of the Federation took the matter up, and on January 20 a special conference of delegates authorised it to take a ballot of the entire coal-fields on the question of resorting to strike action for the purpose of enforcing the principle of the freedom of organisation and trade union recognition for those so organised.

The Minister for Mines now endeavoured to mediate, and succeeded in bringing about a conference between representatives of the Federation and of the Spencer Union. As a result of their deliberations a draft agreement was signed on March 22 by which the Spencer Union undertook to enter the Federation on certain terms. The agreement, however, was very unfavourably received in the coal-fields, and on April 2 a delegate conference, on the recommendation of the Executive Committee, refused by a very substantial majority to accept it, and at the same time ordered that a ballot of the coal-fields should be taken " with the object of obtaining recognition of the Mine workers' Federation in the Nottinghamshire coal-field and to secure adequate assurances to prevent any victimisation of the workmen at Harworth." The ballot was taken on April 15 and 16 with the result that 444,546 votes were cast in favour of strike action and only 61,645 against. In Nottinghamshire the voting was 21,956 for and 4810 against. Efforts made by the Minister of Mines during the next few days to secure a reversal of this decision proved unavailing, and at a delegate conference on April 30 it was decided that work should terminate on May 22.

On May 5 Mr. Attlee brought the matter to the attention of the House of Commons, describing the conditions which prevailed at the Harworth colliery as a travesty of industrial democracy. The Prime Minister, who replied for the Government at the

special request of the Labour Party, expressed his agreement with Mr. Attlee on the necessity for collective bargaining, and, in a style which he had more than once before used with effect, made a personal appeal to "the handful of men with whom rests peace or war," by coming to an agreement "to give the best present to the country that could be given at that moment." Mr. Baldwin's speech made a deep impression on the House, and was by common consent accounted a fitting termination to his House of Commons career.

The parties to the dispute also showed themselves not unresponsive, and within a few days the Minister of Mines had persuaded them all to agree to another conference, and the Miners' Federation meanwhile to postpone the handing in of strike notices from May 8 to May 22. A joint meeting of the three parties concerned was held on May 21, at which it was agreed that negotiations under the presidency of a neutral Chairman should be opened forthwith for an amalgamation of Mr. Spencer's Industrial Union with the Miners' Association; and this happy result was achieved without difficulty shortly afterwards, Mr. Spencer becoming President of the new body, which took the name of the Nottinghamshire and District Miners' Federated Union. Two months later the annual conference of the Mine workers' Federation accepted in principle a resolution instructing the Executive to prepare a scheme for the formation of one national association for all mine workers.

On May 11 the Government announced the results of its consideration of the report of the Commission on the Private Manufacture of Arms, issued in September (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 89). It hailed with great satisfaction the negative conclusions of the Commission, especially its disapproval of the nationalisation of the manufacture of arms, but shelved practically the whole of its positive recommendations. On May 26 Labour and Liberal speakers in the House of Commons expressed their indignation at the continued failure of the Government to take any effective steps to prevent profiteering in armaments, and complained bitterly that the Commission might never have sat for all the good it had effected. Sir T. Inskip could only reply that the problem bristled with difficulties, and that after all the armament industry was not the only one in which scandals sometimes occurred.

In connexion with their rearmament policy, the Government had to consider the question of the country's food supply in case of war. Dealing with the subject in the House of Commons on May 27 Mr. W. S. Morrison, the Minister of Agriculture, stated that the Government in framing their agricultural policy had to choose between two objectives—of producing the maximum quantity of food to meet their requirements in time of war, or of the efficient development of their agriculture in time of peace, with

the livestock industry as its foundation. They had come to the conclusion that considerations of national defence would not justify a policy in peace time of stimulating agricultural production to such a pitch that the country would be faced with a highly artificial situation which would sooner or later have to be liquidated if the emergency did not arise. They were satisfied that the best course was to increase the productivity of the land and stock by means which were consistent with and not opposed to the normal development of their agriculture on economic lines in time of peace.

Mr. Morrison mentioned four steps which the Government proposed to take to achieve this object. One was to reduce considerably to the farmer the cost of basic slag and lime ; a second was to take measures for stabilising the prices of wheat, oats, and barley ; a third was to extend considerably the Exchequer grants for land drainage ; and a fourth to initiate a large-scale and comprehensive campaign for the eradication of animal diseases in Great Britain. The general agricultural policy of the Government was discussed by the House of Commons on June 7 and met on the whole with approval as likely to benefit the farmer and at least to prevent further decay of the agricultural industry. The specific measures outlined by the Minister on May 27 were also accepted, and early in July, in accordance with the provisions of the Livestock Bill (*vide* p. 6), a new Livestock Commission was set up, while the Milk Act (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 7) was extended for another year.

Mr. Baldwin duly handed in his resignation on May 28, and on the same day Mr. Neville Chamberlain, according to a long-standing and well-understood arrangement, took over the Premiership. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Runciman accompanied Mr. Baldwin into retirement from office, the number of Cabinet Ministers being thus reduced to eighteen. Mr. Chamberlain increased it again to twenty by the inclusion of Dr. Burgin and Earl de la Warr. As the former belonged to the National Liberal and the latter to the National Labour group, it was possible for the Premier to maintain that the "national" character of the Cabinet instituted by Mr. Baldwin was preserved intact. Further, the appointment of Sir John Simon as Chancellor of the Exchequer, the second most important post in the Government, in the face of much Conservative opposition, helped to maintain the balance of power within the Cabinet. While the personnel of the Government was changed but little, there was much reshuffling of posts (*vide* Introduction, p. xiii). Some surprise was caused by Sir S. Hoare's departure from the Admiralty, where his services had seemed to be particularly valuable at the present juncture, and criticism was also occasioned by the retention in the Cabinet of Mr. Duff Cooper, who had **not** been reckoned a success at the War Office.

The career of the new Government opened with a grave reverse for the Premier. Its first business was to bring into Parliament the Finance Bill. This measure as usual reproduced the Budget of a few weeks before, though on this occasion with some material alterations. In the interval the agitation against the National Defence Contribution had shown no signs of slackening, nor had confidence returned to the business and financial world. True to his promise, Mr. Chamberlain had consulted expert opinion, and influential deputations had laid their views before him. In consequence of the new information he thus acquired, he introduced some important modifications into the new tax, which were explained to the House of Commons by the new Chancellor of the Exchequer in moving the second reading of the Finance Bill on May 31. The most important was that in estimating the increase in his profits, the taxpayer, instead of having to take the three years 1933-35 as a basis, would have the option of taking any three out of the four years 1933-36, or any two out of the three years 1933-35. For those who preferred the percentage of capital standard, the percentage would be raised, while another concession was that the commencement of the tax year, instead of varying with different firms, would in all cases be on January 1, 1937.

The rejection of the Bill was moved by Mr. Dalton on behalf of the Labour Party on the ground that it embodied an unbalanced Budget and failed to deal adequately with profiteering in armaments or to raise an equitable share of their cost from those most able to bear the burden. These objections naturally were not shared by the Ministerialists, but they retained their antipathy to the N.D.C. almost undiminished, in spite of the concessions announced by the Chancellor. More than one Conservative speaker begged the Government not to put their faithful followers in the dilemma of either having to vote for a measure which they thoroughly disliked or, by refusing to do this, of bringing the Government itself into jeopardy. Mr. Churchill, in a witty and well-reasoned speech which greatly delighted the House, pointed out that the changes made in the tax had done little to remove the apprehensions of the financial world, and urged the Government not to let considerations of prestige stand in the way of its withdrawing the obnoxious measure, citing the example of various Chancellors of the Exchequer—himself included—who in deference to public opinion had given up some pet scheme and increased their popularity and reputation in consequence.

Mr. Chamberlain, in replying, insisted that the principle of the tax—that increased profits should be subjected to a special burden—had not been assailed. He also ventured the opinion that there was a certain amount of hysteria in the criticisms passed on his proposals by the business world. Nevertheless

he recognised that in consequence of the apprehensions aroused by them business had been held up to an extent which was very undesirable. Seeing that industry did not challenge the propriety of its finding the amount that he wanted out of its profits, he thought it would be stupid of him to persist in his own method, which would no longer bring him all he wanted, when he could get much more by simpler methods. He would therefore adopt the slogan of "a simpler tax with a larger yield," and he promised to amend the Finance Bill for the Committee stage in this sense. With this assurance the Ministerialists rallied to the Government's support, and procured the rejection of the amendment by 340 votes to 191.

In the first week of June a "gold scare" was created by persistent rumours that the American Government intended to reduce the price at which it would be willing to purchase gold, and exceptional quantities of gold—mostly from private hoards—came on the London market, where much of it was bought for the Exchange Equalisation Account. In view of this situation, pressure was brought by influential quarters on the British Government to stabilise the price of gold. The Government, however, held that the conditions on the gold market did not indicate an unhealthy credit condition, and refused to interfere with the price of gold. In a statement to the House of Commons on June 8 the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that British monetary policy remained what it was as laid down in Mr. Chamberlain's statement to the World Economic Conference of 1933, the declaration by the delegates of the British Commonwealth to the same conference, and the Tripartite Declarations of September last. This policy did not involve an obligation on them to buy gold at a fixed price, but it did involve the purchase or sale of gold to check undue fluctuations in exchange rates. He added that the arrangements made under the Tripartite Declaration had been working to the full satisfaction of the participating Governments, and no modification of them was at present under consideration.

Soon afterwards the French financial crisis and other financial disturbances in various quarters led to a great influx of capital into London which threatened to cause a sharp rise in the sterling exchange. The Exchange Equalisation Fund, which had been established in 1932 to keep the sterling exchange steady, found its resources hardly sufficient to cope with the emergency, and the Government accordingly decided to increase the Fund from 350,000,000l., at which it had stood since 1933, to 550,000,000l. A resolution to this effect was laid before the House of Commons on June 28. In introducing it, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the Fund since its inception had played a most important part in steadying the currencies, having acted as a shock-absorber for violent movements of capital which had become

a feature of modern finance. For this purpose its operations had necessarily to be conducted in profound secrecy. Nevertheless the Government judged that the time had come when, in response to a request frequently made in the House, they could safely lift the veil to a certain extent from its past transactions ; and it was intended therefore in future in June and December to publish the resources of the Fund as at the previous March and September, and also to allow the Public Accounts Committee on January 31 to examine confidentially the state of the account as at the preceding March 31, and, if it thought advisable, to report to the House upon it. The Chancellor's statement was very favourably received in all parts of the House, but in order to emphasise the dependence of the Fund on Parliament, Mr. Pethick-Lawrence on behalf of the Labour Party moved that the proposed increase should be reduced from 200,000,000l. to 150,000,000l.—a proposal which was negatived by 197 votes to 96.

On June 17 a White Paper was issued giving details of the new tax which was to take the place of the defunct National Defence Contribution. The new impost was commonly labelled " the new N.D.C.," but in fact it had nothing in common with that measure. It was a straightforward additional tax on profits over 2,000l. a year, of 5 per cent, in the case of companies, and 4 per cent, in the case of individuals and firms, professional men being exempted. It was to run for five years, and was estimated to yield 25,000,000l. a year.

As compared with the N.D.C., the new tax had the advantages of being—in appearance at any rate—exceedingly simple, and of not discriminating unfairly against the wrong parties. Had it been introduced in the Budget at the outset, it would no doubt have caused no small outcry among those to whom it applied, but now, after the terrors of the N.D.C., it seemed to them more like balm to a wound, and was greeted by them so effusively as to provoke Sir John Simon to remark a few days later that one might have thought that they were about to make a voluntary contribution. A more hopeful feeling began to prevail in the City, although, owing to other circumstances, no revival took place on the Stock Exchange.

In spite of its " simplicity," the revised N.D.C. required for its exposition five clauses and two schedules, occupying 384 lines in the Finance Bill. The new wording made clear certain points which had been left in doubt during the discussion on the Financial Resolution—that such public services as the supply of gas, water and electricity, or railway or road transport would be excluded, and that any remission of the tax granted to the Special Areas would be in addition to help given under the Special Areas Act and not an alternative method of relief.

In moving the adoption of the new tax on June 21 the

Chancellor of the Exchequer remarked that the keynote of his proposals was their simplicity, and this was the chief reason for excluding the professions from the operation of the tax. He stated that the excess profits on which the new tax was to be levied would not be subject to ordinary income tax, so the nominal yield of 25,000,000*l.* would mean an actual addition to the revenue of not much more than 18,000,000*l.* Opposition speakers described this as a very inadequate contribution to exact from excess profits towards meeting the country's needs, but the House approved the new tax by 231 votes to 98.

The re-editing of the N.D.C. made the Finance Bill practically non-contentious, and it had an easy passage. In the debate on the third reading on July 16 the Chancellor of the Exchequer described the total figure of expenditure as sobering, but not discreditable, and contrasted the terms on which the Government were borrowing now with the undefined, unlimited, and hand-to-hand borrowing of 1931. A Labour motion to reject the Bill was defeated by 171 votes to 95.

In the debate on the second reading of the Finance Bill in the House of Lords on July 26, Lord Arnold pointed out that although the National Debt was almost at the highest point ever touched and although new borrowing was being resorted to, there was still no Sinking Fund, nor even an apology for its absence. This, he said, might be a very serious matter if another war came bringing a need for gigantic borrowing. Lord Home criticised strongly the exemption of Preference shareholders from the National Defence Contribution, and also the decision of the Chancellor to make insurance companies pay the tax upon their interest from investments, and Lord Templemore promised to bring his strictures to the notice of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Marriage Bill, for reforming the law on divorce, to which the House of Commons had given a second reading towards the close of the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 102) reached its Report stage on April 16. The provisions which it contained for facilitating divorce had encountered strenuous opposition in Committee, and to secure its passage its promoters had been forced to accept an amendment making the existing law more severe by prohibiting divorce within the first five years of marriage. Several provisions were again warmly contested on the Report stage, but the Bill finally obtained its third reading on May 28 by 190 votes to 37.

The Bill aroused great interest in the Upper House, which had on more than one occasion previously shown a more liberal spirit in regard to the marriage laws than the Lower House. The second reading was moved on June 24 by Lord Eltisley, who was warmly supported by Lord Snell. Its rejection was moved by a Catholic peer, Lord Fitzalan. The two Archbishops both confessed that the Bill placed them in an awkward predicament,

since they could not help approving it on social grounds, while as Churchmen they could not concede the admissibility of divorce. They contented themselves therefore with wishing it success while refusing to vote for it, an example which was followed by most, but not all, of the Bishops. The Bill, in so far as it tended to make divorce easier to secure without resort to collusion, was warmly commended by members of the Judiciary, and it also received the strong approval of the noted physician, Lord Dawson of Penn. Its one uncompromising opponent, outside the ranks of the Catholics, was Lord Salisbury, who, however, did not challenge a division on the second reading.

In the Committee stage a determined attack was made by the strongest supporters of the Bill on what they considered to be a most serious blemish in it—the barring of divorce proceedings till five years after marriage. The clause in fact had few defenders, but for fear that its deletion might prejudice the chance of the Bill passing again in the House of Commons, a compromise was sought in an amendment that the waiting period should be reduced to three years, and that the judge should be given discretion to allow divorce proceedings even earlier in case of exceptional hardship ; and after a spirited debate this was carried by 89 votes to 74. A further amendment changed the title of the measure from the Marriage Bill to the Matrimonial Causes Bill. The third reading was passed on July 19 by 79 votes to 28.

The changes made by the Lords were discussed in the Lower House on July 23 and, on an appeal from Mr. Herbert, were accepted without a division, though not without criticism ; and Mr. Herbert received many congratulations on having secured the passage of an exceptionally controversial measure without Government assistance.

On June 17 the Prime Minister, in answer to a question from Mr. Churchill, defined with some precision the extent to which in future Ministers might be expected to answer questions about India, now that a certain measure of self-government had been conferred upon that country. He said that until Part II of the India Act, relating to Federation, had been brought into force, he did not regard the Act as having produced any such change in the relationship between the Central Government of India and Parliament as to justify or necessitate any change in the existing practice and policy as to questions and answers in the House of Commons about the activities of the Central Government. The Governor-General of India in Council remained responsible, through the Secretary of State, to Parliament in England as long as Part XIII of the Act was in operation. In the case of the Provincial Governments, however, the fact that the Ministers there were now responsible in the main to the Provincial Legislatures did seem to him to make a difference ; and he suggested that questions on Indian Provincial affairs ought not now to be asked

in Parliament unless it could be shown either that the action at issue was taken by the Governor without consulting his Ministers, or against their advice ; or, alternatively, that the Governor was in possession of powers applicable to the case which in fact he failed to exercise.

The Factories Bill (*vide* p. 8), after having been exhaustively discussed in Committee, came up for its Report stage on June 15. In order to meet the criticisms passed in Committee, the Government now proposed a number of amendments, the chief of which were that the washing facilities in factories specified by the Bill should be greatly improved, that the latest hour of employment for young persons under 16 should be 6 in the evening instead of 8, and that after ten years from the passing of the Act any workroom should be deemed to be overcrowded unless there was at least 400 cubic feet of space for every person employed in the room. The House found that the new proposals of the Government with regard to washing facilities were hedged in with too many qualifications, and insisted that these should be swept away.

On May 16 the members of the Socialist League, who had been threatened with expulsion from the Labour Party if they did not abandon the League (*vide* p. 24), met in conference at Leicester and decided to dissolve the League and terminate all membership from May 31. At the same time they protested that the action of the Labour Party Executive was "unprecedented, as against a purely propagandist body such as the League, which was accused neither of electoral opposition to the party, nor of being ancillary or subsidiary to the Communist Party or any other banned organisation, and the members of which had uniformly and whole-heartedly worked for the Labour Party in all its electoral contests"; and they declared their intention of appealing to the annual conference of the Labour Party in October to reverse the decision of the Executive.

Emboldened by the success of their assault on the Socialist League, the Executive Committee of the Labour Party proceeded to attack the National Unity Campaign Committee which had been formed six months before to bring about a "united front" between Labour and the Communists. One of its most prominent members, Mr. G. R. Strauss, was warned about this time that if he took part in a public meeting at Hull which was to be addressed by Mr. Maxton and Mr. Pollitt, he would be expelled from the Labour Party. The National Unity Campaign Committee thereupon issued a declaration which stated that, in view of the heresy hunt which had been started by the Labour Party Executive, those of them who were members of the Labour Party would withdraw from the Committee. They would, however, continue the struggle for uniting all sections of the Labour movement, and form themselves into a new Committee within the Labour Party for that purpose.

Although the extremists of the Labour party had been suppressed for the time being, their efforts to "ginger up" the Executive had not been wholly unavailing. At the beginning of June it was announced that a great campaign would be commenced immediately for increasing the voting strength of Labour by a million a year so as to secure victory in the next election. The instruments of the campaign were to be meetings, conferences, and party publications. The first pamphlet, entitled "New Socialist Millions," contained a frank admission of the party's shortcomings. Propagandists of the past, it said, had had a vision of Socialism; they had spoken to awaken a new social consciousness among the people as the first necessity for advance to a new social order. "Unfortunately," it proceeded, "the collective force of that vibrant Socialist propaganda has exhausted itself in late years. There has been a decline from that pro-socialist activity to much anti-government speechifying. . . . The hour has come for a revitalising of the movement. There must be a drenching of new millions of minds with Socialist thought. The cause must expand or it will decay."

The destruction of the Basque town of Guernica by aerial bombardment at the end of April aroused intense horror and indignation in England, and in both Houses of Parliament the Government was called upon to make a protest and to take steps for saving Bilbao from a similar fate. While sharing the feelings of the general public, the Government could do no more than promise to join in an inquiry into the event, if one were instituted, and to persevere with the efforts which it was already making to mitigate the inhumanity of the war. In fulfilment of this promise, it addressed a request to General Franco to afford facilities for the evacuation of non-combatants from Bilbao, and though the reply of the insurgent leader was unfavourable, it determined to press on with the project. In this endeavour it was zealously seconded by public opinion in the country, and on May 23 some 4,000 Basque children who had been brought from Bilbao under the protection of British warships were disembarked at Southampton and taken to a camp near by which had been prepared by voluntary efforts for their reception.

In the debate on the Whitsuntide adjournment in the House of Commons on May 6 Opposition speakers again expressed their dissatisfaction with the working of the non-intervention agreement, and Mr. Eden had to admit that foreign aircraft were in all probability still being supplied to the insurgent forces. By sea, meanwhile, the system of control was being given **a trial**, with results which proved not a little disconcerting. It was soon discovered that, while it might help to localise the conflict, the scheme brought unsuspected dangers in its train. The ships engaged in the work of control found themselves exposed to attack, either deliberate or accidental, from one side

or other, and before steps could be taken to ensure their safety, some disagreeable incidents occurred. One of these came near to wrecking the Non-intervention Committee. On May 30 two Spanish Government aeroplanes dropped bombs on the German battleship *Deutschland* in the harbour of Isvitzia, killing several men. German warships immediately bombarded the port of Almeria in retaliation, killing several non-combatants, and the German Government announced its withdrawal from the control system and the work of the Non-Intervention Committee until it should obtain some sure guarantee that such incidents as the bombing of the *Deutschland* would not be repeated. Italy associated herself with Germany in this step.

The bombardment of Almeria, which had been preceded by no protest or warning, outraged British public opinion almost as much as the destruction of Guernica. The Government, however, was less concerned to express moral indignation than to keep in being the Non-Intervention Committee. For this purpose it immediately communicated to the three other Powers associated in the work of control—France, Germany, and Italy—proposals for an extended system of safety zones in Spanish waters which the contending forces in Spain would be strictly pledged to observe. It further sought to meet the requirements of Germany by suggesting that there should be immediate consultation between the four Powers engaged in the control work in the event of a future attack on any one of them, on the ground that the fleets were performing a common international duty and had a common responsibility. The German Government showed itself rather unexpectedly accommodating, and little difficulty was experienced by the Ambassadors of the four Powers concerned in drawing up an amended control scheme on the basis of the British proposals, which was accepted by Germany and Italy on June 12.

At the same time that it wooed Germany back to the Non-intervention Committee, the British Government sought to improve Anglo-German relations in general by inviting Baron von Neurath, the German Minister for Foreign Affairs, to pay an official visit to London on June 23. The invitation was readily accepted, and an official announcement was issued by the two Foreign Offices that while no negotiations were under contemplation, it was hoped that the visit would offer an opportunity for an exchange of views on matters of common interest to the two countries, and particularly the Spanish problem.

Scarcely was the prospect of renewed German co-operation in sight when the Non-intervention Committee was once more shaken to its foundations. The German Government now alleged that on June 15 and 18 attempts had been made by Spanish Government boats to torpedo the German cruiser *Leipzig*, and at meetings held on June 19 and 21 between Mr. Eden and the

French, German, and Italian Ambassadors to consider the matter, it demanded that an immediate naval demonstration showing the flag of the four Powers should be held off the coast of Valencia. The British and French Governments declared themselves willing to take all reasonable measures for the protection of patrol ships, but in view of the fact that the Spanish Government strenuously denied the German allegations, they totally refused the demand for a naval demonstration. The German Government thereupon cancelled Baron von Neurath's visit to London, and, in conjunction with the Italian Government, announced its "final" withdrawal from the scheme of sea supervision off the Spanish coast. At the same time more German warships were moved into the Mediterranean, and the German Press boasted that Germany had obtained a "free hand"—an expression which in other countries was regarded as ominous.

At a meeting of the Chairman's Sub-Committee of the Non-intervention Committee on June 21 Lord Plymouth put forward some new British proposals for giving "speedy and practical effect to the accepted policy of the withdrawal" of foreign troops from Spain. At the same time he gave expression to the deep disappointment of the British Government with the results which had so far been achieved under the Non-Intervention Agreement. Arms and war material, he said, continued to reach both sides in Spain, and in the view of the British Government this state of affairs could not be allowed to continue if the existence of the Non-intervention Committee was to be justified and if its previous efforts were not to be wasted. If a more determined effort were not made to isolate the conflict in Spain, he hinted broadly that the British Government might have to revise its policy.

Public anxiety was somewhat relieved when, a few days later, Germany unexpectedly declared that she considered the *Leipzig* incident closed. As, however, at the same time she sent more warships into the Mediterranean, the situation remained menacing. The Opposition in Parliament again grew restive, and on June 25 Sir A. Sinclair urged that a time-limit of, say, ten days should be set for the commencement of the withdrawal of foreign troops from Spain. The Prime Minister, however, refused to accept the suggestion. While admitting that the scheme of non-intervention was certainly not working as it should do, he nevertheless maintained that they had succeeded up to that time in achieving the object which had been at the back of their policy the whole time—to prevent the conflict from spreading; and he did not think it was fantastic to suggest that they could continue that policy successfully even to the end, in view especially of the "commendable self-restraint" which had been shown by the German Government in not seeking reprisals after the *Leipzig* incident. The disappearance of German and Italian ships from the control meant that there could not be any longer any **danger of further**

incidents of that kind, and the best thing they could do now was to turn their minds to the two practical steps which had to be taken—to fill the gap in the patrol which had now been left open, and to restart their endeavours to obtain the withdrawal of foreign volunteers from Spain. Meanwhile he appealed to all who held responsible positions both in England and abroad—including the Press—to weigh their words very carefully, bearing in mind the consequences that might flow from some rash or thoughtless phrase.

Mr. Attlee declared himself profoundly disappointed with the Prime Minister's speech, showing as it did that he had totally failed to grasp the real issue raised by the Spanish conflict, which was, whether the rule of law should prevail in international affairs or the rule of lawless force. The case for non-intervention rested solely on the basis of expediency, which could be justified only by success ; and since it had not succeeded, he urged, in common with other Labour speakers, that the embargo on the sale of munitions of war to the Spanish Government should now be raised, and that the danger of the conflict being extended should be boldly faced. Mr. Lloyd George supported this suggestion in a telling speech, and declared it to be a great weakness to proclaim beforehand to the world that whatever other nations might do, at any rate so far as the majority of that House were concerned they would not countenance war. Incidentally Mr. Lloyd George now admitted that the opinion which he had formed of the good faith of the German Government after his interview with Herr Hitler twelve months before was too favourable. The trouble was, he said, that Britain had retreated from one position after another in the last five years until the dictators had come to the conclusion that they would stand at no point. He bade the Foreign Secretary to stand up to them, assuring him that then he would find that the peace of Europe would be established.

Thus challenged, Mr. Eden retorted by charging his critics with irresponsibility. Whatever they might say, the people of Great Britain and of other democracies also were insistently saying to the Government, " Do everything in your power to see that we are not embroiled in this Spanish war." The alternative to non-intervention was unlimited competition in arms and men with the attendant risks of such competition being carried on with the Governments concerned supporting one side or the other, so that the danger of a clash would be infinitely increased. Apart from that, it was by no means certain that the abolition of non-intervention would benefit the Spanish Government, seeing that in present conditions it would probably be unable to obtain aeroplanes anywhere save in Russia—which was already supplying them—and that supplies sent to it would be at the mercy of the insurgent fleet. In the light of that position, the Government, in conjunction with the French Government, would put forth

yet one more effort to see whether the non-intervention policy could not be made to succeed. In all events the Government would seek to preserve peace, if not "at any price," certainly at almost any price. The House was not greatly cheered by this statement, but a motion to reduce the Foreign Office Vote was negatived by 157 votes to 86.

The "one more effort" mentioned by Mr. Eden took shape in a proposal laid by Britain and France before the Chairman's Sub-Committee of the Non-intervention Committee on June 29, that they themselves should fill the gap left in the naval control scheme by the withdrawal of Germany and Italy, Great Britain taking over the control of the east coast of Spain while France relieved her on the north. As a guarantee of impartiality, Britain also offered to carry neutral observers on board her patrol ships. This offer was rejected by Germany and Italy, and at the next meeting of the Sub-Committee on July 2, an alternative proposal was submitted by these countries that control by sea should be abandoned while being maintained by land, and that both sides in the Spanish conflict should be granted belligerent rights. The British Government, along with the French, immediately declared such a proposal to be entirely unacceptable, chiefly on the ground that to grant General Franco belligerent rights before his foreign helpers had been withdrawn would be to confer on him an undue advantage.

Thus the British effort to find a way out of the impasse seemed to have ended in failure. Nevertheless, at the request of the Italian and German Governments, the members of the Sub-Committee undertook to refer the matter to their respective Governments. Meanwhile Mr. Eden took occasion to reassure the public on one point regarding which the proceedings of the Non-intervention Committee had made it not unjustifiably nervous. Addressing a Conservative gathering in Warwickshire on July 3, after stating once more that the chief purpose of the Government in dealing with the Spanish struggle was to confine war to the frontiers of Spain, he added significantly that Britain had another interest also of the first importance—the maintenance of the territorial integrity of Spain. He repeated what he had said in the House of Commons in November: "For us the Mediterranean is not a short cut but an arterial road." The Government's view in this respect had not been modified nor would it be. Disinterestedness in the matter of Spain's form of government must not be taken to mean disinterestedness where British interests were concerned on the land or sea frontiers of Spain or the trade routes that passed her by.

In the course of the next few days, in accordance with the decision of the Sub-Committee, members of the Non-intervention Committee consulted their respective Governments with a view to obtaining suggestions for ending the deadlock. At one point

General Franco raised hopes that a solution might be found by offering to dismiss his foreign helpers if belligerent rights were granted to him. When it turned out, however, that he desired the granting of rights to come first, the British and French Governments paid no attention to his offer.

When the full Non-intervention Committee met on July 9, the outlook for its continuance was gloomy indeed, as none of the naval control Powers had shown any sign of receding from the position it had taken up. Lord Plymouth, in opening the proceedings, repeated that the Anglo-French offer still stood, and that the "Government still found the German and Italian counter-proposals unacceptable ; they were, however, prepared to give careful consideration to any further proposals. Count Grandi then stated the Italian view that naval control had proved a failure, as it had not prevented help from coming to the Spanish Government, one principal source, according to him, being Great Britain itself. The Italian delegate was supported by the German and Portuguese delegates, but was answered with some bitterness by the Russian delegate ; while Lord Plymouth felt constrained to give a warm and categorical denial to the Italian charges against England ; if all the other Powers, he said, had observed the non-intervention agreement in the letter and the spirit as Great Britain had done, the position in Spain would have been very different from what it was. Of new concrete proposals from any source there was no sign, and the meeting was about to break up with nothing accomplished when the Dutch delegate proposed that the British Government should be invited to make yet a further effort to find a solution. The proposal was at once accepted by the meeting unanimously, and after a little hesitation the British Government consented to accede to the invitation, thus giving a respite to the Committee when it seemed at the very point of dissolution.

Working at high pressure, Mr. Eden was able within five days to draft a new scheme for closing the gaps in the Spanish control system and keeping the policy of non-intervention in being, and in fact making it more effective than heretofore. For the former purpose it was proposed that the naval patrol system should be superseded by the establishment, with the consent of both Spanish parties, of international officers in Spanish ports who should make sure that incoming ships carried authorised observers, while the supervision on the land frontiers should be restored at once and continued as before. To induce Germany and Italy to abstain from intervention it was proposed that belligerent rights should be granted to both sides ; while to prevent undue advantage accruing to the insurgents from this step, it was proposed that such rights should be granted only after the Non-intervention Committee should have assured itself that the arrangements for withdrawing foreign nationals

—who were specified in some detail—were working satisfactorily, and that the withdrawal had in fact made substantial progress. Even so, the belligerent rights to be granted would be somewhat severely circumscribed.

The proposals were prefaced with the observation that they represented a compromise between varying points of view, and that the scheme could be successful only if it was accepted by the Governments concerned in a spirit of compromise. These nations, it was stated, had now an opportunity to give practical effect to the wish which they had often expressed that non-intervention in the Spanish dispute should continue; but they were warned that unless a greater spirit of international co-operation was evident than had been achieved in the past, the scheme would fail and the nations of Europe would be faced with a new and infinitely more dangerous situation.

The British proposals were communicated to the Embassies and Legations of the States represented on the Non-intervention Committee on July 14, and published the next day. They were favourably received in all quarters in England except those sections which had made up their minds that the non-intervention policy could not possibly work and ought to be abandoned. The leaders of the Labour Party adopted this view, partly for tactical reasons, partly because their suspicions of the Government's *bona fides* had been aroused afresh by an incident which had just happened: a British warship had allowed a Spanish warship which was outside the three-mile limit to turn back a British merchant vessel which was approaching Santander, and the Government had given it right.

Accordingly on the next day (July 15), before any answers had been received from the foreign Powers, Mr. Attlee, on a motion for the adjournment, brought forward what was virtually a vote of censure on the Government for contemplating the granting of belligerent rights to General Franco. He described the proposals put forward by the Government as unjust, ill-conceived and dangerous, and as being only another of those schemes which, under the pretence of making non-intervention more effective, really gave the forces of General Franco advantages against the Spanish Government. Mr. Eden retorted by describing the opposition of the Labour Party as factious and inimical to the cause of peace. The Government, he said, were engaged on the task of promoting international collaboration at a critical juncture in European history, and the Labour Party were trying to make the execution of that task entrusted to them by every nation in Europe as difficult as possible. He went on to reply to the detailed criticisms of Mr. Attlee, pointing out especially that the granting of belligerent rights was hedged round with **proper** restrictions and that the problem of air control was beset with exceptional difficulties.

Sir A. Sinclair, on behalf of the Liberal Party, expressed his confidence in the sincerity with which Mr. Eden was pursuing the policy of peace in relation to Spain, and, while admitting that he did not like all the proposals, dissociated himself from the Labour Party's opposition to them as a whole. Mr. Churchill pointed out that if the vote were agreed to, it would make the position of the British Government in international affairs futile and ridiculous, and would strike a blow at the idea of the concert of Europe and the working together of many Powers. As the debate proceeded, the Labour leaders themselves realised that they had gone too far, and on their instructions a Labour speaker, Mr. Seymour Cocks, talked the motion out, to the great bewilderment of the rank and file of the party. Mr. Chamberlain a few days later stigmatised their action in opposing the Government's non-intervention mandate proposals as an "exhibition of reckless irresponsibility," which, if it had been successful, might have plunged Europe into a grave crisis.

A full meeting of the Non-intervention Committee was held on July 16 to consider the British proposals. Lord Plymouth, in his opening speech, explained that the proposal to place officers in Spanish ports would not in any way affect the conditions under which the actual observation of cargoes was carried out on the sea frontiers. He also explained the connexion which the Government were establishing between belligerent rights and withdrawal of foreign troops. The Government, he said, regarded the recognition of belligerent rights as something which Governments were entitled to grant or withhold as they pleased on the merits of the situation. For several months the struggle in Spain had been on a scale which would have justified the recognition of the two parties as belligerents in normal circumstances. The position, however, had been complicated by the fact that the Non-intervention Committee provided a machinery whereby arms and munitions were to be prevented from reaching either side, and to that extent rendered unnecessary the exercise of the rights of search, etc., and, secondly, that the presence of large numbers of foreigners fighting on both sides made it difficult to apply to the conflict in Spain the rules of a civil war in which other Governments are neutral. On the other hand, now that there was no united naval control by the Powers concerned, the grant of belligerent rights would have the advantage of enabling neutral Powers to define the responsibilities of their warships in the neutral zone and to maintain a real neutrality, which it seemed would preserve the advantage of granting belligerent rights without its drawbacks.

The meeting proved to be much more amicable than the previous one had been. All present congratulated the British Government on the effort which it had made and declared that the scheme it had drawn up offered a basis of discussion. It was

noticeable, however, that the representatives of Germany and Italy welcomed the proposals somewhat more warmly than those of France and Russia ; and all four declared that they would have alterations to suggest in detail.

The meeting of the technical Sub-Committee on July 20 began in an equally friendly spirit, and no difficulty was created by the first of the British proposals, that controllers should be stationed in Spanish ports. But there agreement ended. Lord Plymouth proposed that, in order to expedite matters, the Committee should consider first those points which required the consent of the parties in Spain, prominent among which was the withdrawal of volunteers. Count Grandi objected, and insisted that the order of the proposals in the British communication should be followed, which meant that the question of withdrawing volunteers would be considered almost last, and after that of granting belligerent rights. Count Grandi's proposal was supported by the German and Portuguese delegates, but the French delegate, supported by all the rest of the Committee, strongly demurred, and a deadlock ensued.

The British Government sought to break the deadlock by means of a direct appeal to the Governments represented on the Committee. It drew up a list of seven questions, covering the subject-matter of its proposals, which, at a meeting of the Chairman's Sub-Committee on July 26, it suggested should be sent to the Governments. Count Grandi at the same time submitted an alternative list of questions. The Sub-Committee, after much wrangling, in the end accepted neither list, but decided to ask the Governments to communicate in writing, " as shortly and as clearly as possible," their views on each proposal in the British plan, with the least possible delay.

The Governments responded with commendable promptitude, and on July 30 the Chairman's Sub-Committee met to consider the replies. Lord Plymouth stated that there was fairly general agreement on the restoration of sea and land control, and on the suggestions for filling certain gaps in supervision, while the proposal for the withdrawal of foreign nationals seemed to be generally accepted, but that " further elucidation " was required on the two points of vital importance—the attitude of the Soviet Government towards the proposal for granting belligerent rights to both parties in Spain, and the attitude of the Italian, German, and Portuguese Governments towards the proposal for making such recognition dependent on the withdrawal of volunteers. In the discussion which followed, Herr von Ribbentrop affirmed that General Franco would never consent to the withdrawal of volunteers until belligerent rights had been accorded to him, while M. Maisky, the Soviet representative, refused to consider the granting of such rights until all volunteers had been withdrawn. Each accused the other of being the wrecker of the

British plan, and the meeting ended without coming to any decision, the system of control round the Spanish frontiers being left at the point to which it had been brought two months before by the withdrawal of the German and Italian naval forces. A meeting of the Chairman's Sub-Committee on August 6 did little more than take note of the fact.

On July 19, on the Foreign Office Vote, Mr. Eden gave the House of Commons a "survey of the world situation" on which to meditate during the coming recess. He commenced with the trouble in the Far East which had arisen between Japan and China and which he described as "dangerous in its potentialities," though he did not despair of a solution being found. The other points on which he touched were the recent developments in the Spanish situation, the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, where he affirmed Britain's intention of maintaining her interests while respecting those of Italy, relations with Egypt, the future of the League of Nations, and British co-operation with France. In concluding his survey he remarked that the outlook was not wholly bad; while there were storm clouds there were also patches of clear sky, and on the whole the atmosphere was less tense than it had been twelve months before. Though some of the nations were violently partisan to one side or the other in the Spanish dispute none of them desired that the flames should spread, and he had therefore a greater measure of hope than had been possible a year before that the nations of Europe would yet compose their quarrels and that peace would be preserved.

On behalf of the Labour Party Mr. Dalton moved the reduction of the Vote, chiefly on the ground of the Government's Spanish policy. Incidentally he called attention to reports which were circulating that a German battery of howitzers which had been erected on the African coast dominated Gibraltar. This point was elaborated by Mr. Churchill and Mr. Lloyd George, both of whom expressed alarm at this proceeding and asked for fuller information. Lord Cranborne, in reply, stated that the Government were in possession of further details which it would not be in the national interest to make public, and that in the opinion of the Admiralty the Ceuta howitzers constituted no threat because they could be silenced by the guns from Gibraltar. The answer did not satisfy the House, but the Labour motion to reduce the Vote was defeated by 265 votes to 123.

On July 8 the Palestine Royal Commission (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, pp. 56, 77), after numerous delays, at length issued its report. As had been forecast for some time, it recommended that Palestine should be partitioned between Jews and Arabs, Jerusalem and a few other districts being reserved to the Mandatory Power. In a statement issued on the preceding day the Government had announced that it intended to accept in the main the recommendations of the Commission, being driven

to the' conclusion, in the light of experience and of the arguments adduced by the Commission, that there was an irreconcilable opposition between the aspirations of Jews and Arabs in Palestine, that these aspirations could not be satisfied under the terms of the present Mandate, and that a scheme of partition on the general lines recommended by the Commission represented the best and most hopeful solution of the deadlock. They therefore intended to take the steps rendered necessary by their treaty obligations to the League of Nations and other international instruments to obtain freedom to give effect to a scheme of partition, but meanwhile would remain responsible for peace, order, and good government in Palestine.

The Report of the Palestine Commission was at first received with a chorus of approval in the Press, praise being especially bestowed on the historical introduction. The Government immediately announced its intention of acting on the recommendations of the Commission, and gave no indication of desiring to consult Parliament on this step. The hostility, however, shown by both Jews and Arabs to the idea of partition led members to examine the Report and to look into the scheme more closely ; with the result that they became much more critical of both. A demand arose for a full Parliamentary discussion, and the Labour Party resolved to press for the appointment of a Select Committee to examine the scheme, as had been done in the case of the new Constitution for India when first published.

The Report was debated in the House of Lords on July 20 and 21, and in the House of Commons on July 21. Lord Snell, in opening the debate in the Upper House, charged the Commission with having been too hasty in coming to the conclusion that the Mandate was unworkable, and suggested that the Government should try again, and with a better will than it had shown previously. Lord Peel defended the findings of the Commission, and Lord Dufferin, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, then announced that the Government would without delay seek the consent of the Council of the League of Nations to the termination of the existing Mandates over Palestine with a view to partitioning the country as recommended by the Commission. Most of the speakers who followed viewed the prospect of partition with regret, but had no practical alternative to offer.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Ormsby-Gore opened with a long statement in defence of the Government's decision. He maintained that the growth of the nationalistic spirit among the Arabs, especially since 1929, had made the continued working of the Mandate in its present form impossible, and that the ideals of the two peoples concerned and the intolerable burden placed by the existing situation on the Government could be

resolved only by giving the Jews and Arabs sovereign independence and self-government, not over the whole of Palestine, but each over a part of it. They intended to ask the League of Nations for leave to do this, but the details of the scheme would not be worked out till the possibilities of a scheme of transfer of populations had been considered. Meanwhile the reference of the matter to a joint Select Committee, as proposed by the Labour Party, would be merely a waste of time.

In the debate which followed, most of the speakers, whether they accepted the idea of partition or not, were inclined to think that the Jews were, in Mr. Amery's words, receiving a "raw deal," and that the Government were acting with undue haste. The Labour proposal for a joint Select Committee was rejected, but the Government were not allowed to have matters their own way. Mr. Churchill moved that the proposal contained in the Report should be brought before the League of Nations with a view to enabling the Government after adequate inquiry to present to Parliament a definite scheme which should take into account all the recommendations of the Report, and this was carried with only three dissentients—the I.L.P. members.

On July 18, after negotiations extending over more than eighteen months, Great Britain concluded two Naval Agreements, one with Russia and one with Germany, by which these countries accepted in the main the provisions of the London Naval Treaty of 1936 and virtually became partners to it. In the agreement with Russia, however, a reservation was included excusing that country from furnishing information with regard to her ships constructed and employed in the Far East, and of going through a process of consultation and delay in case she felt herself threatened by Japan; and both Russia and Germany were allowed to mount a certain number of cruisers with 7-in. guns, although the Naval Treaty had fixed 6-in. as the maximum.

Soon after, the London Naval Treaty came before Parliament for ratification. In moving the second reading in the House of Lords on July 26, Earl Stanhope praised the friendly spirit which had been shown by Germany in recent negotiations, and stated that the Government attached great value to the Anglo-German Agreement of 1935, which was supplemented by the present agreement. It was hoped to conclude further agreements with Poland and Turkey, and with Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, so that they might have a general treaty to which all countries owning warships would adhere. In answer to a question from Lord Howe, he said that in view of the decision of Japan not to be limited to the 14-in. gun the Admiralty would have to consider the question of maximum calibre, and might, if need were, avail itself of the escalator clause.

In discussing the Vote for the salary of the Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence on July 27, the House of Commons

showed considerable uneasiness over the state and organisation of the national defence. Sir A. Sinclair complained that the Government was concentrating its energies too much on preparations for attack, to the neglect of what was commonly known as "the home front," and he suggested the creation of a general staff to deal with the problems of enabling the country to withstand attack. His plea was supported by Mr. Lees-Smith, Mr. Churchill and other speakers, most of whom urged the Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence to take a broader conception both of his powers and his responsibilities. Sir Thomas Inskip, in reply, once more eschewed any idea of seeking additional powers, and maintained that the national defence was being quite adequately organised by the Committee for Imperial Defence, with such assistance as he himself, with his limited staff, could provide. The debate showed that, as Mr. Amery remarked, the Minister and the House took quite different views of his proper functions. Nevertheless a motion to reduce the Vote was defeated by 306 votes to 141.

A few days after this debate (July 30) the Prime Minister announced that the Government had at last come to a decision on the much-vexed question of the control of the Fleet Air Arm, which had long been a subject of somewhat bitter controversy between the Air Ministry and the Admiralty. The solution proposed was that the aircraft borne in ships of the Royal Navy, which hitherto had been under the operational control of the Admiralty and the administrative control of the Air Ministry, should be placed under the administrative control of the Admiralty also, but that shore-based aircraft employed in co-operation with naval forces should remain as heretofore under both the administrative and the operational control of the Air Ministry. He admitted that many difficulties were involved in the practical application of this arrangement, but expressed the hope that they would be solved by amicable co-operation between the two Departments. The House, however, did not seem so confident that the bickering would cease.

The close of the session found the Labour Party still hopelessly divided over the question of rearmament. On July 21 the party held a meeting to decide whether it should oppose the Defence Estimates when they came up for final approval in the following week. The Executive Committee, led by Mr. Attlee, Mr. Greenwood, and Mr. Morrison, submitted a recommendation that the party should go into the lobby against the Estimates on the ground that it was the Opposition's duty to vote in all circumstances against the Government's foreign policy. They were opposed by Dr. Dalton on the ground that they could not well press for action which might conceivably involve the country in war and yet refuse the provision of the necessary means. After several hours of discussion, the recommendation of **the**

Executive Committee was defeated on the next day by 45 votes to 39 ; and in the division on the Appropriation Bill only a handful of Labour members voted against the Government.

On the motion for the adjournment of Parliament on July 30, Mr. Attlee once more raised the subject of foreign affairs, and, showing his usual mistrust of the Government, asked for an assurance that Parliament should be summoned before any new policy was embarked on in the event of the breakdown of the non-intervention agreement. Mr. Eden, in reply, stated once more that the British plan with regard to Spain stood or fell as a whole, and that any major modifications which would upset its balance would not be accepted. If the non-intervention scheme collapsed—which it had not done yet—a new situation would be created, and he promised that if the Government took the view that the situation was serious the Prime Minister would certainly take steps for the summoning of Parliament.

On the same day the royal assent was given to over forty Bills passed during the session, the chief of which were the Finance Act, the Factories Act, the Agriculture Act, the Physical Training Bill, the Summary Procedure (Domestic Proceedings) Act, the Matrimonial Causes Act, the London Naval Treaty Act, the Coal (Registration of Ownership) Act for establishing a register of coal owners, and the Cinematograph Films Act, prohibiting the production or exhibition of films depicting the sufferings of animals. Immediately afterwards Parliament adjourned till October 21, with the now usual proviso that it might be summoned in the interval in case of emergency.

In consequence of the new peerages and other causes, a number of by-elections, so large as to constitute a kind of miniature General Election, took place in May and June. The most significant feature which they displayed was a large decline in the total poll, which was generally interpreted as showing not so much political apathy on the part of the electorate as dissatisfaction with all the existing parties. The decline affected the Ministerialists and the Labour Party in almost equal proportions ; but the Liberal Party derived encouragement from the fact that its candidates, where they stood, improved on the results of the last election, though they did not reach the standard of 1931. The Government lost no seats, and Mr. Chamberlain was able to boast in a speech at Birmingham on July 3, soon after his assumption of the Premiership, that the electors approved the general policy of the Government and were in no mind to change over at the present juncture.

After several months of comparative quiescence, the British Union of Fascists resolved to hold a meeting in Limehouse in the east of London on July 4, and to march thence to Trafalgar Square through the Jewish quarter. To avoid a repetition of the trouble which had occurred in the previous October (*vide* ANNUAL

REGISTER, 1936, p. 84), the Government, on June 20, acting for the first time on the powers granted to it by the Public Order Act of the previous year, declared the area through which the march was to take place closed to all public demonstrations for six weeks—not without protests from rival organisations. The Fascists were, however, permitted to carry out a march on the date chosen from Kentish Town to Trafalgar Square, in spite of vigorous protests from the inhabitants of districts affected. The procession and meeting encountered a very hostile reception from the general public—though, thanks to elaborate police precautions, no disorder occurred—and their chief effect was to expose the weakness of the Fascist movement in England and its complete failure to make any headway since its signal setback in the previous October.

CHAPTER III.

THE NYON ARRANGEMENT.

JUST at this time Signor Mussolini sent a verbal message to the Prime Minister, in which he expressed his strong desire to promote friendship between Great Britain and Italy, and in particular to render more effective the agreement which had been concluded between the two countries at the beginning of the year, and which so far had failed to produce the results expected of it. Mr. Chamberlain received the Duce's advances very cordially, and immediately replied in writing in the same strain. Shortly afterwards Sir Eric Drummond, the British Ambassador in Rome, came to England on leave, and the Foreign Office took counsel with him on the means to be adopted for creating a better Anglo-Italian understanding.

Meanwhile certain activities arising out of the Spanish conflict were creating a new international problem in the Mediterranean. The attacks on merchant shipping by submarines and aeroplanes acting on behalf of one side or the other, which had hitherto been more or less sporadic, now became much more frequent, and began to constitute a grave menace to international trade. British vessels were also among the sufferers, and a demand arose for additional protection against this "piracy," as the outrages were generally called. On August 17 the Government declared itself to be "seriously perturbed at the increasing number of attacks upon shipping in Mediterranean waters and the extension of the area in which the incidents were taking place," and announced that in future if any **British merchant** ship was attacked by a submarine without warning, His Majesty's ships would be authorised to counter-attack **the submarine**. Shortly afterwards another British ship was attacked, and on

August 25 it was decided to maintain "continuously for the present" the number of British warships in the Mediterranean and a force of at least one flotilla of destroyers and two heavier ships. In spite of this, the British destroyer *Havock* was, on the night of August 31, attacked by an unknown submarine while off the Spanish coast between Alicante and Valencia; and more British destroyers were despatched to the Western Mediterranean.

At first the Government was inclined to attribute the blame for these incidents to the insurgent forces in Spain, and after protests had been made to General Franco in vain, a strong warning was sent to him on August 25 that further attacks on British shipping in the Mediterranean would not be tolerated. By this time, however, it was becoming tolerably plain that the bulk, if not the whole of the mischief in the Mediterranean was being perpetrated, not by Spanish, but by Italian ships, acting more or less under the orders of the Italian Government; and this put an end for the time being to hopes of an Anglo-Italian *rapprochement*.

In addition to taking energetic measures on its own account, the Government lent a willing ear to suggestions made to it at this time by the French Government—which was equally concerned to put down this latest form of "piracy"—for calling a conference of Mediterranean Powers to deal with the situation. On September 6, invitations to such a conference were issued by England and France jointly to the six Mediterranean Powers, viz., Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Egypt, and Albania, and in addition to the Black Sea Powers—Russia, Rumania, and Bulgaria—and to Germany, which also, as having formerly taken part in the patrol of Spanish waters, was thought to have an interest in the matter. All the Powers invited, except Germany and Italy, accepted at once; these two, after a slight delay, refused on somewhat flimsy pretexts, and proposed that the matter should be dealt with by the Non-Intervention Committee, where the possibilities of obstruction would obviously be much greater.

The British Government had already so far deferred to Italian susceptibilities as to consent to holding the conference, not at Geneva, as originally intended, but at Nyon, a small place in the neighbourhood. On this point, however, it refused to give way, for once placing British interests above Italian friendship.

The conference duly opened at Nyon on September 11 without the participation of Italy and Germany. The British Government showed how great an importance it attached to the meeting by sending a particularly strong delegation, headed by the Foreign Secretary. The conference attacked the problem in hand with a determination which contrasted strongly with the tergiversations of the Non-intervention Committee, and which of

itself acted as a deterrent to the "pirates." As a result of its deliberations, Great Britain and France undertook between them to patrol the Mediterranean, Britain contributing over thirty destroyers ; and immediately that sea again became tolerably safe for merchant shipping.

Although Italy had kept aloof from the conference, the British and French Governments nevertheless suggested that she should undertake the patrol of the Tyrrhenian Sea. Signor Mussolini rejected this offer, and demanded that Italy should be taken into the scheme on a footing of perfect equality with the other two major Powers. The French and British Governments at first ignored his demand, but subsequently they consented to the holding of a tripartite conference of experts to consider the question of Italian participation. The conference was actually held shortly afterwards, and assigned to Italy a zone between the Italian and African coasts.

While British mercantile interests were being threatened in the Mediterranean, they were suffering severe damage in the Far East at Shanghai. When the conflict between Japan and China broke out in* July, the British Government at once realised that it might involve grave danger to the general well-being, and in conjunction with the United States and French Governments, exhorted both sides to seek a peaceful solution to their differences. From the British point of view, the conflict was all the more regrettable because it meant the interruption of conversations which had just been opened with the Japanese Government for the improvement of relations and the development of trade in the Far East. So long as fighting was confined to the North of China, Britain was able to take a more or less detached view of events, but when it broke out in the neighbourhood of Shanghai, where there were thousands of British residents and millions of British capital invested, the Government became seriously perturbed. A number of Ministers returned to London to take charge of the situation, and on August 15 it was decided that a very large number of British nationals should be evacuated from Shanghai as soon as possible, and that additional British forces should be sent there. At the same time protests were made to the Chinese Government regarding the bombing by Chinese aeroplanes of the International Settlement and the British flagship *Cumberland*, and proposals were made both to the Chinese and the Japanese Governments for the withdrawal of their respective forces to a safe distance from Shanghai. These were rejected by the Japanese, and it was not long before millions of pounds worth of damage had been done to British property in Shanghai.

A further meeting of Ministers was held on August 17, at which it was decided on the one hand to endeavour to ensure a peaceful solution to the situation at Shanghai, and on the other

hand to adopt all possible measures to protect British lives and interests there ; and in pursuance of this resolution the Chinese and Japanese Governments were notified that Britain would hold them responsible for loss to either life or property incurred by British subjects during the hostilities in China, and a protest was made to Tokio in regard to British properties in the Shanghai International Settlement which had been occupied by the Japanese. At a further meeting of Ministers held on August 25, at which both Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Eden were present, the broad lines of policy already laid down were confirmed, and satisfaction was expressed at the close collaboration that had been maintained with other Governments, especially the American and French.

British rights and privileges, if not material interests, were confronted with a still more serious challenge when, on August 28, a Japanese aeroplane bombed and machine-gunned a motor-car in which the British Ambassador to China, Sir Hughe Knatchbull-Hugessen, was travelling from Nanking to Shanghai, inflicting severe wounds upon him. The attack took place at a spot far removed from any concentration of troops, so that it could not possibly be regarded as an incident of the fighting. The indignation of the British public on learning of the outrage was naturally profound, and the Government at once announced that it would take " appropriate action." After waiting two days in order to ascertain the facts, it sent a Note to the Japanese Government asking for the " fullest measure of redress " in the form of a formal apology, the punishment of those responsible for the attack, and an assurance that steps would be taken to prevent the recurrence of such an incident. No indemnity was requested, the claim for redress being based on the widest possible ground, namely the non-combatant and not merely the ambassadorial character of the victim. The Government took the opportunity " to emphasise the wider significance of the event as an outstanding example of the results to be expected from indiscriminate attack from the air and which were inseparable from the practice, as illegal as it is inhuman, of failing to draw that clear distinction between combatants and non-combatants in the conduct of hostilities which international law, no less than the conscience of mankind, has always enjoined."

On September 7 the Japanese Government sent an interim reply which gave reason to apprehend that it would not afford the satisfaction demanded by Great Britain. However, these fears proved to be groundless. The final Japanese reply, handed in on September 21, admitted Japanese liability for the incident, contained a formal expression of deep regret, and gave somewhat vague assurances that the other demands would be met also. The British Government decided to accept these as satisfactory, **and** declared the incident closed.

The bombing of Nanking and other open towns by Japanese air forces in September stirred British feeling **even more deeply** than similar outrages committed in the course of the Spanish war. On September 21, and again on the 24th, the British Ambassador in Tokio was instructed to make strong representations to the Japanese Government in regard to the bombing of non-military objectives, and to state that the British Government reserved the right to hold Japan responsible for any loss of British lives or damage to British property which might be caused by them. Three days later the Ambassador was instructed to make a further protest, and to express the horror that was felt in Britain at the loss of life among the civilian population caused by the bombardment of Canton. This was not enough for the general public, and from many quarters a demand arose for an economic boycott of Japan, a policy which was endorsed by the National Council of Labour and by the Labour Party Conference. On October 3 Mr. Attlee, on behalf of the Parliamentary Labour Party, requested the Prime Minister to call Parliament together at once to deal with the situation. A distress fund with highly influential backing was also opened for the suffering and destitute in China.

The tide of public indignation reached its height in a great protest meeting, organised by the London *News-Chronicle*, which was held at the Albert Hall on October 5. The chief speaker was the Archbishop of Canterbury, who appealed to the Government and people of Japan to restrain the actions of their naval and military commanders, and thus to vindicate their place among civilised nations. Other speakers were Professor Chang Peng-chun, of the Nankai University in Tientsin, the Rev. Sidney Berry, Secretary of the Congregational Union, Lord Lytton, Lady Bonham Carter, and Mr. Herbert Morrison. A resolution was passed recording the horror at, and emphatic condemnation of, the indiscriminate attacks upon civilian non-combatants by the Japanese forces in China, and urging the British Government to take the lead in securing such concerted action by economic measures or otherwise as might prevent their continuance. Similar meetings on a smaller scale were held throughout the country, the most notable being a demonstration organised by the Labour Party in Trafalgar Square, London, on October 18.

On October 8 Mr. Eden informed the American **Charge d'Affaires** in London of the British Government's gratification at the terms of President Roosevelt's speech a couple of days **earlier**, in which he had denounced international lawlessness, with **special** reference to Japan, saying that they regarded it as a real contribution to peace. At the same time the Government accepted with alacrity the invitation of the League of Nations to participate in a Nine-Power Conference to deal with the Far **Eastern problem**,

and also agreed to the suggestion of the Belgian Government that the conference should be held at Brussels. It was not, however, considered necessary that Parliament should be summoned before the day fixed in order to deal with the situation, as requested by Mr. Attlee.

On August 11 the Railway Staff National Tribunal issued its award on claims which had been submitted some time before by the three railway trade unions in respect of earnings, holidays, and other conditions of employment. The chief feature of the award was to restore wages in general to the level at which they had stood prior to the cuts made in 1931, the last portions of which were now wiped out. The concessions made were estimated to cost 2,900,000*l.* in a full year, an expenditure which the Tribunal justified on the ground of the increase in the net receipts of the railway companies since July, 1936, the effect of rating relief, and the prospect of increased revenue, to an annual amount exceeding 5,000,000*l.*, as a result of an increase in charges recently authorised by the Railway Rates Tribunal. The railway trade unions, which had claimed much more, expressed strong dissatisfaction with the award, but finally accepted it under protest.

On August 11 the report was published of the Committee which had been appointed in December, 1936, under the chairmanship of Sir A. Bodkin, to inquire into the evils of what was commonly known as "share-pushing." The Committee found that there had been in recent times, and especially since about 1918, a noticeable increase in the number of persons seeking to acquire shares for investment or speculative purposes, and a corresponding number of those who, in the guise of "outside brokers," sought to prey upon their credulity, finding their victims particularly among clergymen, widows, and spinsters. The Committee recommended that in future all persons desirous of transacting business as share brokers, who were not already members of some recognised Stock Exchange, should require to be registered and provide sureties for good behaviour; that the title "stock-broker" should be reserved for members of Stock Exchanges; that the section of the Companies Act of 1929 relating to the offering of shares to the public for subscription or purchase should be amended in certain important particulars; that dealers suspected of carrying on fraudulent business should be liable to police inspection; and that the sending of circulars and advertisements by unauthorised dealers should be prohibited.

The annual report of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, issued on August 22, stated that since the last Congress the General Council, in co-operation with the Labour Party, had energetically supported the cause of the Spanish trade unionists and Socialists "in their heroic resistance against the attempt to introduce a regime of dictatorship in Spain." On the one hand, it had used all the means at its disposal to seoure for

the constitutionally appointed Government of Spain the rights to which it was entitled in international law. On the other hand, it had endeavoured in conjunction with the Labour movement to obtain as much monetary help as was possible to relieve the distress occasioned by the conflict. The contributions of the British trade unions had amounted to over 37,000*l.* in cash, apart from what had been sent in kind, while in addition other funds amounting to 125,000*l.* had been collected and administered separately by affiliated trade union centres in France, Switzerland, and Sweden, and a base hospital had been established. The report also called attention to the representations which had been unsuccessfully made to the Prime Minister with respect to the introduction of the 40-hour week by the Government, as employers of labour, and the universal application of the system to industry by means of legislation.

On September 3, on the eve of the Trade Union Congress, the National Council of Labour, representing the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Labour Party, issued a declaration entitled "International Policy and Defence," defining the Labour attitude on these two matters. The declaration represented a victory for that section of the Labour movement which was in favour of supporting the Government's rearmament programme, albeit for its own ends. While describing the present international situation as "ugly and dangerous," and recognising the grave risk of a general war in the near future, it refused to regard such a war as inevitable. Only Germany, Italy, and Japan, which were already committing aggressive acts in various parts of the world, seriously threatened peace, and there was a very real danger that they might threaten it in alliance with one another. British policy therefore should be twofold. On the one hand, they should invite Powers which entertained grievances to state their case, and offer, through the League, not only to these three potential aggressors, but to all nations, a new system of political security and of economic opportunity which would banish from international relations both the fear of war and all legitimate economic grievances. On the other hand, they must, through the League, confront the aggressors with an emphatic superiority of armed force. A British Government pledged to such a policy would no doubt in time be able to bring about a general disarmament. But until the change in the international situation caused by its advent had had its effect, it would be unable to reverse the present programme of rearmament; the most it could do would be to examine immediately the whole provision made for defence in the light of the international situation and the new foreign policy which it would inaugurate.

The sixty-ninth Congress of the Trade Unions was held at Norwich from September 6 to 10, Mr. Ernest Bevin presiding.

In his opening address Mr. Bevin referred with satisfaction to the revival of membership and the virility recently displayed by the trade union movement, and made the interesting announcement that the General Council had decided to establish a Scientific Advisory Council whose purpose would be to enable the Congress and its constituent unions to secure the help and advice of leading scientists in some systematic and regular way. As the principal problem confronting the movement at the present time he singled out the position of women in industry, and as its chief objectives in the field of industrial legislation a new Workmen's Compensation Act and the institution of holidays with pay. In his review of foreign affairs he announced that the trade unions would protest with all their force against any recognition by the League of Nations of Italy's conquest of Abyssinia, and expressed their sympathies with the democratic forces in Spain and with China in her struggle against Japan. He expressed apprehensions as to what would happen to employment when the armament programme neared completion, but maintained that a slump could be avoided if proper precautions were got under way forthwith.

The problem of Spain and the Mediterranean was considered by the Congress on the second day. A report was laid before it containing a declaration of the National Council of Labour calling for the granting to the Spanish Government of the liberty to purchase munitions of war, the withholding of belligerent rights from the insurgents, and the repatriation of all non-Spanish forces. The actual resolution proposed by the General Council was, however, in a somewhat different spirit; instead of demanding action by the Government, it recommended that the question should be examined by the League of Nations. Sir Walter Citrine, in moving the resolution, obliquely criticised the declaration of the National Council on the ground that it might involve Britain in hostilities, to avoid which no plan should be left untried—a view which was fully endorsed by the Congress.

On two important points the sixty-ninth Trade Union Congress revised the policy of previous Congresses. Hitherto the hope had been cherished in the trade union movement that a 40-hour week for workers would be secured by international action at Geneva. The present Congress, without entirely abandoning that hope, and while still criticising the British Government bitterly for opposing the 40-hour week at Geneva, recommended that the unions should act individually and industry by industry to secure the desired object by voluntary agreements, which was the course advocated by the British Government itself. In the matter of pensions also the Congress regretfully gave up ideas which had long been cherished in the Labour movement. An investigation carried out by the National Council of Labour had shown that the cost of State retirement pensions of *II*. a week at 60, in addition to the cost of pensions to

widows under 60 and orphans' pensions, would over twenty years average 271,000,000l., in addition to the present expenditure of 181,000,000l., a figure which the Council described as impossibly high. In face of this disclosure, the Congress reluctantly abandoned its pet schemes, and accepted the conclusion of the National Council that any substantial improvements of the present pensions scheme must be financed on a tripartite contributory basis, and that even so the pensionable age must be 65.

At its last session on September 10, the Congress considered the declaration issued by the T.U.C. and the Labour Party on International Policy and Defence (*vide* p. 75). In moving its adoption, Sir Walter Citrine said that it had been the occasion of divisions of opinion which it would be useless to try to disguise and which were the measure of the anxiety of the Labour movement to avoid even the slightest semblance of a departure from its principles. Nor could the question be shelved. To restore the League of Nations, which was but their plain duty, would take time. Meanwhile, they were hoping for power, and it might be that when they attained power their first problem would be to face the international crisis, and they could not wait till that time before framing their policy. A number of Left Wing speakers opposed the adoption of the report, on the ground that the present Government might use its armaments rather to support than to combat Fascism, but a motion to refer it back was defeated on a card vote by 3,544,000 to 224,000.

Before separating, the Congress passed an emergency resolution expressing sympathy with the Chinese Government and people in their struggle for the defence of their country, and condemning Japanese aggression and attacks on the civilian population.

The thirty-seventh Annual Conference of the Labour Party began at Bournemouth on October 4, under the presidency of Mr. Hugh Dalton, M.P. In his opening address, the Chairman emphasised the necessity of harmony within the party if they were to win their way to power, and called for the submission of individuals to the collective will.

Before proceeding to its general business, the conference passed unanimously a resolution condemning the Japanese invasion of China, and calling for an economic boycott of Japan. It then tackled the question to which the Chairman had referred, of the relationship between the trade union section of the Labour Party membership, and the so-called "constituency" section, comprising those members who joined individually, through local Labour associations. For some time the latter section had been complaining that the trade unionists exercised an undue domination over Labour policy, and immediately after the conference of the previous year Sir Stafford Cripps had commenced an agitation for redressing the balance. To meet his requirements the

Executive Council now brought forward a number of resolutions the chief of which were that the number of representatives of the constituency parties on the Executive Committee should be increased from five to seven—thus bringing the total of the Committee up to twenty-five—and that they should be elected separately by the constituency parties themselves, and not by the whole body of the party, as hitherto. Further, it was proposed that the annual conference should be held at Whitsuntide and not, as hitherto, soon after the Trade Union Congress, and, as it were, under the shadow of that gathering. After some discussion the proposal to increase the membership of the Executive and the number of constituency party representatives was carried on a card vote by 1,408,000 votes to 1,134,000 ; the proposal for direct and separate election by 1,814,000 votes to 658,000 ; and the proposal to hold the conference at Whitsuntide by 2,194,000 to 246,000.

It was then decided by 1,886,000 votes to 466,000 that the first two of these proposals should be put into operation immediately ; and two days later an election on the new basis duly took place. The result was that two of the old constituency party members of the Executive—Mr. Jenkins and Mr. Toole, both moderates—were replaced by four members of much more advanced views : Professor Harold Laski, one of the most noted exponents in England of " Left " political theory, Mr. Noel Baker, the Labour Party's expert on foreign affairs, Sir Stafford Cripps, and Mr. D N Pritt; Mr. Herbert Morrison and Mr. Dalton, however, still headed the poll.

While the conference thus showed its appreciation of Sir Stafford Cripps personally, it gave no countenance to the cause for which he stood. The report of the Executive Committee contained a statement that the decision of the Socialist League to engage in a " Unity Campaign " (*vide* p. 23) had been taken in defiance of official pronouncements of the party, that " the campaign had had a most disturbing influence upon many sections of the party membership," and that " if the report were adopted it would be accepted as a reaffirmation of the party's rejection of ' United Front' policy." In answer to this direct challenge to his own pet activities, Sir Stafford Cripps had on the previous day (October 5) moved the reference back of the condemnation of the Unity Campaign, being supported by Professor Laski. The motion was opposed by Mr. Morrison and Mr. Clynes, and was defeated by 1,730,000 votes to 373,000. A motion to refer back the reaffirmed rejection of the United Front was defeated by an even heavier majority—2,116,000 to 431,000.

The short programme which the Executive had drawn up in the spring of measures to which legislative effect might be given by a Labour Government during its next five years of office (*vide* p. 23) was unanimously approved by the conference on

October 6. The report on international policy and defence and the statement of the National Labour Council of Labour on the same subject (*vide* p. 75) met with more opposition—partly from the Left Wing, partly from the out-and-out pacifists—but eventually a motion instructing the Labour Party to vote against the Government's Arms Estimates was defeated by 2,167,000 votes to 228,000, and a motion to refer back the National Council statement by 2,169,000 to 262,000. On the question of pensions also the conference followed the lead of the Trade Union Congress, adopting a resolution which recommended pensions of 1*l.* a week at 65 on a contributory basis. Before separating the conference passed a resolution declaring its solidarity with the people of Spain " in their fight for freedom and democracy against Fascism," and instructing the National Executive to launch a nation-wide campaign to compel the Government to abandon the " so-called non-intervention agreement," and restore to the Spanish Government the right to purchase arms.

The sixty-fourth Annual Conference of the Conservative and Unionist Associations was held at Scarborough on October 7 and 8 in the now usual placid atmosphere. Mr. Churchill struck the keynote of the proceedings by humorously remarking that as he used to come to the conference year after year when they had differences about rearmament and India, he thought it only right that he should come when they were all agreed. A suggestion made by him that the conference should give a message of encouragement and good cheer to Mr. Eden was heartily endorsed, and resolutions warmly approving the Government's conduct of foreign affairs, and deploring the attitude of the Labour Party, were unanimously carried. On agricultural matters the conference showed itself a little more critical, but not to the point of being troublesome.

Addressing a mass meeting at the end of the conference, the Prime Minister claimed that the Government still possessed in undiminished degree the confidence of the country, the chief proof being that out of twenty-seven by-elections which had taken place since the previous October, only two had been lost to the Socialists, while twenty-five seats had been retained by supporters of the Government. He added his tribute of praise to Mr. Eden, and in the course of a brief review of the international situation, referred to " the clarion call, as welcome as it was timely," which had just come from the other side of the Atlantic, and announced that in his plea for a concerted effort in the cause of peace, President Roosevelt would have the Government whole-heartedly with him. In the meantime, however, he added, until the world returned to sanity, there could be no halt in the process of re-arming the country. He admitted that the pressure of munition work must cause some disturbance of ordinary business, but he maintained that there was as yet no visible sign of that coming slump in industry which was prophesied in many quarters.

The same comforting assurance regarding the economic state of the country had been given on the previous night by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to a gathering of bankers and merchants in London. In the course of his speech, Sir John Simon adduced some striking figures, showing that the country had not only emerged from the depression of 1931, but had reached a higher level of prosperity than in the last of the "good" years, 1929. The volume of employment was 10 per cent, more than in that year; iron, steel, and engineering were producing one-third more; even the textile industry was producing 5 per cent, more, while shipping was much more fully employed. The production of food, drink, and tobacco was up by nearly 20 per cent., and of boots and shoes by nearly 25 per cent.; the consumption of electricity had almost doubled, while that of gas had not declined, the output of motor-cars had reached a new high record during recent months, while the production of rayon was over three times as much as in 1929. The recovery which had taken place was a solid fact, and the Chancellor saw no justification for supposing that the tide of their prosperity had reached its climax and was about to turn. He admitted, however, that an improvement in world conditions was needed to confirm and spread more widely the confidence on which everything depended. By an ironical coincidence, the week which followed these optimistic forecasts witnessed a severe disturbance on the Stock Exchange, and though this proved to be of short duration, markets remained depressed.

Meanwhile a new effort had been set on foot to procure the withdrawal of foreign—and particularly Italian—"volunteers" from Spain. Encouraged by the success of their anti-piracy move, the French Government had conceived the idea of tackling this problem by means of tripartite conversations between representatives of France, Great Britain, and Italy. The British Government readily fell in with the idea, and, the ground having been prepared in Paris and Rome, a joint British-French Note was drawn up in which no argument was omitted that might induce Signor Mussolini to accept the proposal. After stating that the adhesion of Italy to the Nyon Arrangement afforded favourable conditions for a frank examination of the situation in Spain, the Note went on to assert that the present state of affairs in that country obstructed progress towards a general appeasement in Europe, and that it was impossible to expect any such appeasement until the policy of non-intervention was made really effective by the withdrawal of foreign nationals from Spanish territory; in fact, the danger of international disturbances was likely to increase unless the question of the volunteers was settled by substantial measures. The Note then recalled the difficulties which had paralysed the action of the Non-Intervention Committee, and expressed the opinion that a previous agreement

between the British, French, and Italian Governments was necessary in order that those difficulties might be overcome. Such an agreement on the question of foreign nationals would be one of the essential elements in the frank and cordial conversations now proposed by Great Britain and France to the Italian Government. While the British and French Governments wished to abide by their own undertakings under the Non-intervention Agreement, they could not hide from themselves the difficulty of maintaining the conditions established by the agreement unless steps were taken to make non-intervention effective. The tripartite agreement they had in view would ease the political situation generally, and when substantial withdrawal of volunteers had, in fact, been made, it should be possible without too great difficulty to find a solution for other problems, such as the granting of belligerent rights.

The Note was presented at Rome on October 2. Signor Mussolini showed himself in no hurry to reply, and kept the British public in a state of suspense which to many was exasperating. Members of the Government, however, did not seem to share this feeling. Speaking at the Conservative Conference on October 7, Lord Plymouth pointed out that Britain was extremely desirous of returning to the good relationship which it used to enjoy with Italy before the Abyssinian war, and that the Spanish situation militated more than anything else against the achievement of that object, but he refrained from expressing any impatience with Signor Mussolini's delaying tactics. And in his public address the next day the Prime Minister, in a very brief reference to the subject, contented himself with remarking that they were still awaiting the Italian reply, and that he hoped it would be of such a character as to bring Britain and Italy into greater harmony.

Even before this hope had been expressed, indications had not been lacking in the Italian Press that it was illusory. And so indeed it proved. The Italian reply, which was at length received on October 10, formally declined the Franco-British invitation to tripartite discussions, expressing the view that the proper forum of discussion was the Non-intervention Committee, that talks outside the Committee could lead only to confusion, and that in any case Italy could take no part in meetings or conferences from which Germany was excluded.

For some days before this reports, apparently well authorised, had been current that if the Italian reply should prove unsatisfactory Britain and France would at once abandon the policy of non-intervention, and that the Franco-Spanish frontier would be opened to the passage of reinforcements for the Spanish Government. That the Italian reply was wholly unsatisfactory was freely admitted, but at the critical moment the spirit of Nyon seemed to have departed from the British and French Governments and,

instead of acting, they began to deliberate once more what course to take. Discussions between them went on for some days, with the result that On October 13 the Cabinet formally adopted a French suggestion that one more serious attempt should be made in the Non-Intervention Committee, under conditions which would not admit of undue delay, to obtain an agreement for making the non-intervention policy really effective. What was to be done if the attempt should fail was left undecided.

The weak-kneed surrender of the Government to Signor Mussolini's browbeating naturally exposed it to much adverse criticism, and on October 15 Mr. Eden, in a public speech at Llandudno, tried to put the best face possible on its change of front. He stated emphatically that non-intervention in what was purely a Spanish affair did not necessarily mean non-intervention where British interests were at stake. While conscious of the drawbacks of the Non-intervention Committee they did not wish a breakdown to come, if come it must, on an issue of procedure; but their reference to the Committee did not mean that they were prepared to acquiesce in dilatory tactics.

No time was lost by the Government in resuscitating the Non-intervention Committee, after seven weeks of suspended animation. A meeting of the nine members of the Chairman's Sub-Committee was held on October 16, under the chairmanship of Lord Plymouth. The French Ambassador immediately submitted a five-point plan which in essence repeated the British proposals of two months before. The discussion also followed much the same course as on the previous occasion, the Italian and German representatives proving obstructive and the Russian representative denouncing the proceedings as a farce. On this occasion, however, Count Grandi did offer to withdraw Italian "volunteers" before the recognition of belligerent rights, but only in equal numbers with the withdrawals on the other side—an offer which the great disproportion in the numbers rendered illusory and which naturally the French Government refused to accept.

Up to this point the Committee had proceeded exactly on the lines which every intelligent observer had anticipated, and the breakdown of the discussions seemed imminent, when a wholly unexpected turn took place on the situation. On October 20 Count Grandi, apparently going back on all his previous declarations, suddenly announced that Italy was willing to co-operate in a scheme for withdrawing volunteers on the lines laid down by Britain and France, and indeed to accept the British proposals in their entirety. The rest of the delegates could scarcely believe their ears, but they lost no time in undertaking to report to their respective Governments the new development with a view to turning it to the best advantage, and Mr. Eden, who happened to be presiding, remarked that if at their next meeting they could

make as great an advance as they had made since the last one, their problem would be very largely solved.

At this juncture Parliament reassembled to wind up the session (October 21). The opportunity was naturally taken both by Ministers and members in both Houses to discuss the stirring events which had taken place in the Far East and in Spain during the Parliamentary recess. In the Upper House, Lord Snell and Lord Crewe spoke in strong condemnation of Japanese methods of warfare, but Lord Halifax, for the Government, preferred to lay more stress on the necessity of using every effort to bring about peace between the contending parties. In the Lower House Mr. Eden welcomed the turn for the better which had been taken in the Non-intervention Committee, but repeated that foreign intervention in Spain was still preventing all progress towards international peace. The Opposition found itself to a certain extent tongue-tied by the concessions which Italy had made at the Non-intervention Committee on the day before, and its criticism of the Government's foreign policy was therefore somewhat more restrained than usual. Both Mr. Attlee and Sir A. Sinclair, however, refused to attach much importance to Italy's offer until they should see it translated into action.

The Prime Minister, in winding up the debate, replied that while speakers were entitled to their suspicions, if they always assumed falsity they would never begin. He asserted that what had happened was a full justification of the patience and persistence which the Foreign Secretary had exercised in the long-drawn-out negotiations, and declared himself satisfied with the repeated assurances given by the Italian Government that whatever happened the integrity of Spanish territory, including the Balearic Islands, would be respected. The Opposition did not share this trust, and challenged a division on the motion for the adjournment, but were defeated by 204 votes to 111. Parliament was prorogued on the next day.

The optimism expressed in Parliament by the Government spokesmen with regard to the prospects in Spain received a rude shock at the meeting of the Non-intervention Committee held a couple of days later (October 22). Once more executing a complete *volte-face*, Count Grandi now declared that Italy would accept the British proposals without reservations only if all the other Powers did the same, and that she would not hold herself bound by the findings of the Commissions which were to investigate the numbers of volunteers on both sides in Spain. The first of these conditions was known to be unacceptable to Russia, while the second was calculated to render nugatory the whole of the Franco-British scheme. Thus the Committee was once more brought back to the standstill from which it had been so unexpectedly released only a couple of days before, and the prospect of clearing the foreign troops out of Spain seemed as remote as ever.

On September 30, at a gathering composed mainly of representatives of local authorities and doctors held at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, the Prime Minister formally inaugurated a six months' campaign, organised by the Central Council for Health Education with the co-operation of the Ministry of Health and the Board of Education, for encouraging a wider use of the national health services. Both the Prime Minister and the Minister of Health declared that these were the finest in the world, and that the public, whether from ignorance or inertia, was not availing itself of them to a sufficient extent. The outline of the campaign was that in October an effort should be made to arouse public interest in the health services in general; November and December were to be devoted to the services for mothers and children; January to school health services; February to facilities for adults and adolescents; and March to facilities for physical training and recreation, especially those to be provided under the recently passed Physical Training and Recreation Act.

CHAPTER IV.

BRITAIN AND THE FAR EASTERN CONFLICT

THE new session of Parliament was—for the first time since 1934—opened by the King in person on October 26. In spite of the highly unsettled international situation, the King's Speech commenced with the usual declaration that "relations with foreign Powers continued to be friendly," a statement which was later the subject of ironic Opposition comment, though its literal correctness could not be impugned. The policy of non-intervention in Spain was reaffirmed, as also Britain's interest in restoring peace in the Far East. For the first time for many years there was no reference in the Speech to the League of Nations, an omission into which Opposition speakers subsequently sought to read a sinister significance, but which they were assured indicated no change in the Government's policy.

In the programme of legislation for the session, the first place was given to measures for the protection of the civilian population against air-raids, a step for which the public had been patiently waiting for months past. The unification of coal royalties was the next item, and this was followed by the promise of measures for the promotion of the production and consumption of milk and the reorganisation of the fishing industry. A Bill for securing larger quotas for British films was also promised. The rest of the programme was made up of a large number of minor measures designed in various ways to improve social conditions or to remove abuses.

In the debate on the Address, Opposition speakers, while in general approving the Government programme as far as it went, severely criticised the absence of any reference in the King's Speech to such subjects as the Special Areas, the continuance of unemployment, the recent rise in the cost of living, and above all, the prospect in the not distant future of a severe trade slump. The Government's conduct of foreign affairs also once more naturally came under fire ; Mr. Noel Baker demanded that a time limit should be put to the negotiations in the Non-intervention Committee, and Mr. Lloyd George denounced the Government's so-called non-intervention policy as being in reality intervention against the Spanish Government.

The speeches of Mr. Noel Baker and Mr. Lloyd George somewhat anticipated the Labour amendment to the Address, moved by Mr. Herbert Morrison, which criticised the Government for "its weak and vacillating policy in foreign affairs," and for its "lack of any constructive and fundamental proposals for raising the standard of life of the people, or for establishing economic prosperity upon a just and enduring basis." The latter part of the indictment was answered at once by Sir S. Hoare, who pointed out that while the average level of full-time rates of wages at that moment was about 3 per cent, higher than in October, 1929, the cost of living index, notwithstanding its recent sharp upward movement, was still about 4 per cent, lower than on October 1, 1929, so that the average level of real wages was about 7 per cent, higher. Further, the percentage of unemployed among insured persons was only fractionally higher than seven years before, while unemployed benefit for married persons was from two to four shillings a week higher. It was evident, therefore, that the present position of the workers generally showed a substantial improvement as compared with the period preceding the depression of 1930 to 1933.

The defence of the Government's foreign policy was made by Mr. Eden on November 2. He disposed without difficulty of Mr. Noel Baker's demand that the League of Nations should deal with the Spanish problem, by pointing out that the members of the League themselves were sharply divided in their sympathies, and were quite unable to come to any unanimous agreement on the subject. Turning to Mr. Lloyd George's charge that non-intervention, as actually practised, worked out to the great disadvantage of the Spanish Government, he pointed out that while it was not easy to exaggerate the political importance of the presence of foreign nationals in Spain, it was easy to exaggerate their military importance. From this point of view, material was more important than men, and so long as the sea was open the Spanish Government could obtain war material from abroad, and was in fact obtaining it in large quantities from Russia. This was possible only because belligerent rights were withheld from

the Spanish insurgents. If the policy of non-intervention were formally abandoned, belligerent rights would have to be granted to the insurgent side, and the Spanish Government might find themselves the losers on the balance. Another point made by Mr. Eden in defence of the Government was that even if the insurgents won in Spain, there was no reason to believe that they would be hostile to Great Britain.

Mr. Eden's speech was very well received by the House, and even Mr. Attlee admitted that he had spoken with more vigour and determination than usual, though he complained that he had still given the House no foreign policy. On a division the Labour amendment was negatived by 363 votes to 142.

On November 2 a Liberal amendment to the Address was moved by Major Lloyd George regretting that the King's Speech contained no indication that the Government were taking adequate steps to provide against a possible diminution of employment occurring either on the completion of the process of rearmament or through a period of commercial depression. The President of the Board of Trade, in reply, deprecated talk which might produce a "slump psychology," and maintained that so far as the home market was concerned, there was little doubt that the present rate of activity could be substantially maintained for many months. He also protested against exaggerating the effect which rearmament had, and could have, on the industries of the country, pointing out that in comparison with the normal estimated factory output for the year the amount allocated to armaments was comparatively small. To safeguard the country against any recession, what they chiefly required was an expansion of foreign trade, which was greatly impeded, not so much by tariffs as by currency restrictions and import quotas. He agreed with the Opposition in attaching the highest importance to an Anglo-American Trade Agreement, but had to admit that the discussions were still only in an informal and exploratory state—a fact which he described as regrettable but not surprising. The amendment was in the end negatived by 363 votes to 146.

In the course of the debate it was announced that the British Broadcasting Company, at the request of the Government, would soon commence to issue broadcasts in foreign languages—to begin with in Arabic, Spanish, and Portuguese. The purpose would be to counteract the virulent anti-British propaganda which, in spite of repeated British representations, was still being carried on through the wireless in these languages by certain foreign Governments, notably the Italian. The Government had been reluctantly driven to the conclusion that it could no longer overlook the harm which this propaganda was doing to British interests in the Near East and in South America, and that steps must be taken to correct the distorted picture of Great Britain which was being presented to the populations of those regions.

Meanwhile, the Non-Intervention Committee, which had seemed to be at its last gasp on October 20, had again unexpectedly taken a change for the better. As a result, apparently, of representations made to him by Mr. Eden, the Italian Ambassador came to the meeting of the Sub-Committee on October 26 in a more accommodating mood, and declared that when he had said that Italy could not accept as binding the Commissions' estimates of the total number of foreigners in Spain, all that he had meant was that there must be no question of the unimpeachability of the Commissions in respect both of their personnel and their terms of reference. Thus one stumbling-block was cleared out of the way for the time being. The other still remained, as the Russian delegate declared roundly that the question of belligerent rights had nothing to do with, and was foreign to, the problem of non-intervention, while the Italian and German delegates continued to insist that the British proposal on this point must be unanimously adopted, nor were they satisfied with an offer of the Russian delegate not to vote against it. However, after much wrangling, the Italian and German delegates finally agreed, at a meeting of the Sub-Committee held on November 2, that the first steps for giving practical effect to the British proposals should be taken even without unanimity having been secured on the question of belligerent rights ; and this decision having been confirmed by the full Non-intervention Committee on November 4, the British Government immediately sent envoys to the headquarters of both sides in Spain to inquire whether proper facilities would be given to the Commissions to prosecute their investigations.

Just at this time, as it happened, the British Government brought to a head negotiations which it had been conducting for some months with General Franco for an exchange of agents for the discussion of matters affecting British nationals and British commerce. The Opposition viewed the proposed step with no small suspicion, and on November 4 Mr. Attlee asked the Prime Minister in the House of Commons whether it meant that *de facto* recognition was to be given to the Spanish insurgents. Mr. Chamberlain deprecated such an interpretation, and stated categorically that the agents would not be given diplomatic status. Still uneasy, Mr. Attlee asked whether there was any precedent for such an action, and why Consuls were not good enough agents ; to which Mr. Chamberlain could only reply that the situation was unprecedented.

On November 8 Mr. Eden, in the House of Commons, made a statement on the matter in which he sought to satisfy the Opposition that there was no sinister intention behind the new move. In the Government's view, he said, the step which they were proposing to take was essential for the proper protection of British commercial, industrial, and financial interests in the part of Spain under the control of General Franco. Those interests

had inevitably suffered from the existence of the civil war, and certainly called for direct negotiations with the authorities at Burgos or Salamanca. These were unimportant places where in normal times there was no British representative. It would have been possible to transfer there consular officers who would receive an exequatur from the authorities at Salamanca, but this would have implied a measure of recognition of those authorities. The Government, therefore, after mature consideration, had come to the conclusion that the situation would best be met by an exchange of agents for purely commercial purposes, and without any diplomatic status, the appointment of whom therefore would in no way constitute a recognition by Britain of General Franco's Government. Mr. Eden's explanation did not succeed in removing entirely the suspicions of the Labour Party, but on their bringing the matter to a division, the action of the Government was upheld by 241 votes to 107. Soon after the exchange of agents was duly carried out.

On November 9 the Prime Minister informed the House of Commons of the Government's plan for remedying the grievances arising out of the Standing Order which forbade amendments to be moved to financial resolutions, and which had been the cause of such loud complaints earlier in the year (*vide* p. 20). He stated that a Select Committee which had been considering the matter had made two recommendations—one, that the House should pass a declaratory resolution, to be enforced by the authority of the Chair, indicating certain general lines upon which financial resolutions should be drawn; the second, the alteration of Standing Orders so as to allow the second reading of Money Bills to be taken before the consideration of the relevant financial resolutions in Committee. The Government, said the Premier, were prepared to accept in substance the second resolution, but they regarded the first as incompatible with the principle of the Crown's initiative in regard to expenditure, while it was open to the further objection that it was perhaps unwise to lay upon the Speaker the duty of making decisions which might involve him in party controversy. They therefore desired to substitute for it a declaration that it was their definite intention to secure that financial resolutions in respect of Bills should be so framed as to restrict as little as possible the power of the House to amend the Bills when considering them in Committee; in other words, as explained later by the Speaker, that the details of expenditure should be expressed more widely in a financial resolution than in a Bill. He added that instructions had already been sent to the drafting authorities to this effect.

On November 4 Mr. Oliver Stanley, the President of the Board of Trade, moved the second reading of the Cinematograph Films Bill, the object of which was to give the British film industry protection against foreign, and particularly American, competition.

The Act passed for this purpose in 1927 had been successful only to a limited extent, British film production, which then had been only 5 per cent., still being no more than 29-45 per cent, of the total ; and in any case it was shortly due to expire. It was admitted on all hands that the industry was in a highly unsatisfactory state, and needed additional protection, but the problem of finding ways of affording such protection without at the same time driving away the good American films proved baffling in the extreme. In the end the Government could do nothing better than reproduce the 1927 Act, with a few additions recommended by the Moyne Committee, the chief of which was that films which were to rank for the quota should be subjected to both a cost and a quality test. The second reading was allowed to pass without a division, but discussions in the Committee stage became very protracted, especially over the question of appointing a Films Council for the industry.

On November 5 the text was issued of the Air-Raid Precautions Bill, defining the powers and duties of local authorities in the matter of protection against air-raids. It was laid down that local authorities throughout the country should submit to the Home Office schemes dealing with storage and housing of equipment, instructions and advice to the public, provision of public shelters and protection of public buildings, repair of roads, rescue of persons, clearance of debris and treatment of unsafe buildings, dealing with casualties, detection of poison gas and decontamination work, and street lighting and air-raid warning. The Government undertook to meet the cost of the precautions to the extent of 60 to 75 per cent., according to the resources of the local authority. The remainder, it was estimated, would not exceed the product of a penny rate ; if it did, the Government undertook to defray the bulk of the excess. This offer represented the Government's last word in a prolonged controversy between the Home Office and the local authorities as to who should bear the cost. The latter had insisted throughout that precautions against air-raids should be a national charge, and announced now that they would use all their influence to get the Bill amended to this effect, though at the same time they promised to accept loyally the decision of Parliament.

This Bill was the culmination of a number of steps which the Government had already taken to deal with the danger from air-raids. In May, 1935, an Air-Raid Precautions Department had been set up in the Home Office, and this body by means of intensive experiment had collected a mass of valuable information bearing on the subject ; in particular it claimed to have solved the problem of controlling fires started by incendiary bombs, and of producing a respirator which would be a protection against any kind of poison gas. On the strength of this information, the Government had set up a factory at Blackburn which had already

produced 20,000,000 gas masks, and had evolved emergency measures on a considerable scale. Special training had been given to a large number of doctors, "air wardens," and members of the police force, several handbooks had been produced (but not yet distributed) for instructing the public, and about 200,000 men and women had volunteered for air-raid protection work. But for the financial dispute with the local authorities, the Bill itself would have been produced long before.

The second reading of the Bill was moved by the Home Secretary on November 15. At the outset he made clear what the menace from the air really meant by pointing out that whereas in the course of the Great War 300 tons of bombs in all had been dropped on the country, to-day the lowest estimate indicated that a greater tonnage could be dropped in twenty-four hours, and the scale of attack could be maintained for many days. The time had come, therefore, when the Government, the local authorities, and the citizens of the country should all co-operate to make a comprehensive plan of air-raid precautions, in order to preserve the country from panic and to ensure the maintenance of the essential services of the community. Nor should it be thought that such precautions were futile. There were three kinds of bombs against which they had to protect themselves—high explosive, gas, and incendiary; and various means were known of minimising, if not of entirely preventing the danger from each.

The Government, he went on, had always taken the view that, while the Exchequer was prepared to carry the main part of the expenditure involved in preparing and applying these means, there must be a sharing of financial responsibility by the local authorities; otherwise there would be no check upon the expenditure which might be incurred. In his proposals put before them at the end of the summer, he had undertaken that the Government should find practically the whole of the expenditure for fire brigade appliances and similar items required for an emergency, while in matters in which the local authority had the responsibility of administration he had suggested that the Government should go half and half with them. He had gradually advanced his offer till the Government was willing to undertake more than 90 per cent, of the total expenditure for air-raid precautions. He must, however, insist on this irreducible minimum so as not to remove altogether from this expensive field of public activity any check on economy at all; and he maintained that the Government's offer was a very fair one.

At the conclusion of his speech, the Minister stressed the military value of air-raid precautions. The task of the Government, he said, was to make impossible the greatest danger to civilisation—the knock-out blow. They had so to organise the country's defences as to make it impossible for any hostile power

in the course of a few days, a few weeks, or even a few months to launch an attack which would deal to the nation a knock-out blow. Mr. Churchill, in the same strain, observed that without the measure before them they would not be able to resist what was called "the nine days' war"—a war which was so short that the scarcity of food or raw material would not prevent the aggressor striking down his victim and gaining a final result before any scarcity could become effective. He thought that there was no doubt that if one side in an equal war endeavoured to cow and kill the civil population while the other attacked military objectives and similar vital points, victory would come to the side which avoided making war on the civil population. But for that time would be needed, and meanwhile the existing capacity of the civil population to endure punishment with fortitude would be vital. The way to prevent this form of attack being employed at all was by well-organised means to make the crime not worth committing.

Labour speakers did not view the Bill quite from the same angle, and would have liked to see more done for the prevention, not only of panic, but of suffering in general. This, of course, would not have hindered their acceptance of the Bill, but the financial provisions were still a stumbling-block, and its rejection was moved by Mr. Herbert Morrison, who, as Leader of the London County Council, had taken a prominent part in the negotiations with the Home Office. He paid a tribute to the courtesy and consideration with which they had been treated by Sir S. Hoare, while insinuating that his predecessor had been not a little dilatory in the matter, and declared that the local authorities had no desire to embarrass or obstruct the Government; in fact, he admitted, they had a duty in the matter, and must co-operate with the Government. But they took the view that the services of air-raid precaution were interlocked with national defence to such an extent that the expenditure should fall on national funds, in the same way as the cost of the Army, Navy, and Air Force. Further, although the Home Secretary might quite honestly believe that this service would not exceed a penny rate, they were apprehensive lest under pressure from the House of Commons or public opinion it might come to exceed that amount, and in order to meet the new burden they might have to reduce expenditure on the social services. Nevertheless he was still prepared to compromise, and would accept from the Government a guarantee to bear all expense in excess of the product of a twopenny rate. Later in the debate the Home Secretary again declined this offer and again made an offer to set a time limit of three years to the operation of the Bill, which again was refused by Mr. Morrison. The amendment was ultimately rejected by 324 votes to 135.

The Bill in its original form said nothing on the question of evacuation, and this omission was rather severely criticised in the

discussion in Committee. Sir S. Hoare at first tried to make light of it by remarking that the view that in modern conditions huge numbers of people in the great cities would inevitably have to be evacuated was not universally accepted ; in Germany, as he was informed, the experts did not believe that such evacuation would be possible. Later, however, he recognised the urgency of the problem, and promised that in the regulations which he intended to issue to the local authorities regarding the preparation of schemes for dealing with air-raids, there would be included an obligation, wherever the circumstances demanded, to make evacuation a part of their schemes. The Bill was given its third reading on December 7.

In introducing the second reading in the House of Lords on December 13, Lord Swinton described the Bill as " a necessary insurance premium which, in the circumstances of the world to-day, they had to pay for the preservation of peace." Dealing with the financial side of the Bill, he said that expenditure on equipment by the State would cost approximately 20,000,000*l.*, spread over the next three or four years. The capital expenditure which the local authorities would incur in their schemes would, it was estimated, be in the region of 7,000,000*l.* and their annual expenditure something like 1,300,000*l.* spread over the next three or four years. Out of the total sum to be spent by the local authorities, the Exchequer would contribute something like 8,500,000*l.* in all over the next three or four years.

On November 17, on the motion of a private member, the House of Commons discussed the affairs of the Government-subsidised civil aviation company, Imperial Airways. While it was generally acknowledged that the Empire services of the company were excellent, there was an equal consensus of opinion that its Continental services left very much to be desired. Its treatment of its pilots was also severely criticised. In response to the will of the House, the Government immediately afterwards appointed a departmental Committee of three members to investigate the charges brought during the debate. The constitution of the Committee was strongly attacked in the House of Commons, on the ground that two out of its three members were Government officials ; and the Government thereupon substituted for these members three prominent business men.

The appointment of an unpopular commission was only one of a number of *faux pas* committed by the Air Ministry in the course of the year ; shortly before, for instance, it had in the face of vehement protests chosen a site for an equipment depot on some valuable agricultural land in Gloucestershire which now, in deference to public opinion, it announced its intention of abandoning (*vide* also p. 6). In the House of Commons there was considerable dissatisfaction with the general conduct of the Ministry, the blame being laid on the inefficiency of the Air Minister, Lord

Swinton; and on December 6 a strong attack was made on him by a Labour member, under cover of a suggestion that it would be advisable for the Secretary of State for Air to be a member of the House of Commons. The Prime Minister, however, stood loyally by his colleague. He maintained that there was no compelling reason why the Air Minister should be a member of the Lower House, and he asserted that when it was realised with what speed and efficiency Lord Swinton had built up a magnificent Air Force, unequalled in the world and equipped with machines of a power and fighting force formerly undreamt of, he would earn the gratitude of the country rather than carping criticism.

If the Air Ministry did not come up to public expectation, the opposite was the case with the War Ministry, where Mr. Hore-Belisha was proving himself a veritable "new broom," with results which won general approval. He had not been long in office before he introduced changes in the conditions of service calculated to make the Army much more attractive to the new recruit, and also accorded full status to the Territorial Army, giving it access to the same standards and sources of instruction as the Regular Army. These steps were immediately followed by a marked improvement in the enrolment in both branches. Even more far-reaching in their effect on the whole character of the Army were certain changes in the High Command which were announced on December 2. The chief of these was that Field-Marshal Sir Cyril Deverell, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, and General Sir Harry Knox, the Adjutant-General to the Forces, both men in the early 'sixties, retired in favour of General Viscount Gort and Major-General C. G. Liddell, who were about ten years younger. Other high posts were at the same time vacated by older men in favour of younger, and in a statement in the House of Commons on December 6, Mr. Hore-Belisha hinted that further appointments were in contemplation in which "merit, character, and ability, as well as suitability for any particular office, would be the guiding considerations, regardless of youth, age, or mere seniority." The general effect of the Minister's activities was to revive the enthusiasm of the junior officers and to effect a change in the spirit of the Army administration comparable, in the opinion of many, to that wrought by Haldane in 1906.

A new attempt was made by the Government at this time to establish a better understanding between Britain and Germany. Some friction had arisen between the two countries in August, in consequence of the expulsion from England of three German journalists for illegal activities not connected with their journalistic work, and the expulsion from Germany by way of reprisal of Mr. Ebbutt, the correspondent of *The Times*, for performing his journalistic duties too conscientiously for the German Government's taste. Subsequently German spokesmen had once more begun to voice somewhat insistently Germany's demand for

colonies, and the question had been warmly debated in the British Press, the correspondence exhibiting a singular alliance between pro-Nazis and sentimental Liberals in favour of Germany's claim, and between Tory Imperialists and champions of native rights against it.

In October Lord Halifax, as a Master of Hounds, received an invitation, through the *Field* newspaper, to attend a hunting exhibition organised by General Goering in Berlin. A section of the Cabinet, which had long been in favour of drawing closer to Germany, urged him to accept it and to take the opportunity of establishing personal contact with German leaders, and so repairing the failure which had overtaken their efforts in July, when Baron von Neurath's proposed visit to England had been countermanded. The consent of both Lord Halifax and the Prime Minister having been won for the idea, on November 12 Sir John Simon informed the House of Commons that Lord Halifax would, in the ensuing week, go to Germany on a private and unofficial visit in the course of which he would probably see Herr Hitler and other leading German statesmen. The report that such a step was in contemplation had already become current a day or two previously and had created great uneasiness in quarters which regarded with suspicion any dealings of the Government with Nazi Germany. It was even rumoured that Mr. Eden was strongly opposed to the visit, and the fact that the announcement was not made by him was taken as confirming this view. However, Mr. Eden subsequently explained that Lord Halifax's conversations with the Nazi leaders would be purely exploratory, and declared that no change was contemplated in British policy; and Lord Halifax was able to leave on November 16 with the good wishes of nearly all sections.

Such wishes found authoritative expression in a debate on foreign affairs in the House of Lords on November 17 and 18, almost at the very time when Lord Halifax was interviewing General Goering and Chancellor Hitler. The discussion was initiated by Lord Allen of Hurtwood with a motion calling on the Government to make a statement, either in Parliament or at the League of Nations, "indicating a comprehensive policy directed to a consideration of the grievances and disabilities from which certain nations claimed to be suffering," and to work for "an all-round settlement within the framework of the League of Nations and the Pact of Paris." The motion naturally had the support of all the speakers who followed, though most of them seemed to envisage the settlement desired as one primarily if not wholly between Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy. All, however, concurred in regarding Lord Halifax as an ideal intermediary for winning the confidence of Germany. Lord Swinton, in replying for the Government, expressed sympathy with the objects mentioned in the motion, but deprecated the idea of

making a comprehensive statement, on the ground that it might prejudice future negotiations. He also warned members not to expect too much from Lord Halifax's visit.

Lord Halifax returned to London on November 22 and immediately had interviews with the Foreign Secretary and the Prime Minister, and shortly afterwards with the King. His report was for the time being treated as confidential, the Prime Minister merely stating in the House of Commons on November 24 that he had discussed important matters with Herr Hitler. Rumour, however, asserted that Herr Hitler had put forward very far-reaching demands, and the Prime Minister was once more obliged to give assurances that no change was contemplated in the general direction of British foreign policy.

On November 29 MM. Chautemps and Delbos, the French Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, came to London to discuss political matters of common interest with the British Cabinet. The visit had been planned some time before, but actually it was somewhat hastened in consequence of Lord Halifax's visit to Germany. During their two days' stay the French Ministers had long conversations with Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Eden, and heard from Lord Halifax a first-hand account of his interview with Herr Hitler. The conversations were marked by an even greater cordiality than usual, and were stated by the official *communiqué* "to afford fresh evidence of that community of attitude and outlook which so happily characterised the relations between France and the United Kingdom."

The discussions, according to the same source, ranged over "the problems of Europe as a whole and the future prospects of appeasement and disarmament." A preliminary examination was made of the colonial question, as raised by Germany, in all its aspects, and it was recognised that the question was not one that could be considered in isolation, or without consulting other countries, and that it would require much more extended study. Britain, on her side, reaffirmed her interest in the maintenance of peaceful conditions in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe which M. Delbos was about to visit. In respect of Spain, it was agreed that the policy of non-intervention had been fully justified, and it was resolved that the two Governments should persist in their efforts to make it fully effective. The Far Eastern situation was declared to be very grave, and readiness was expressed to co-operate with other countries in protecting rights and meeting obligations arising out of international treaties relating to that part of the world. In conclusion, the Ministers reaffirmed the desire of their Governments to co-operate with all countries in the common task of promoting international appeasement by methods of free and peaceful negotiation.

The *communiqué*, which was read by the Prime Minister to the House of Commons on November 30, met with a very

favourable reception on all hands. Those who had built hopes upon Lord Halifax's visit to Germany were glad to hear that that country's demand for colonies was at least to receive serious consideration. Those who had looked askance upon the visit were gratified to learn that so far from weakening the bonds of Anglo-French friendship it had left them stronger than ever, and that Great Britain had no intention of disinteresting herself in the fate of Central Europe. In view of the general chorus of approval, a debate on the French visit was judged to be unnecessary.

While seeking a *rapprochement* with Germany, the Government had not slackened its efforts to negotiate a new trade pact with the United States. Progress in this direction proved more rapid than had been expected, and on November 18 the Prime Minister—to the delight of the Free Traders—was able to announce in the House of Commons that "the informal and exploratory discussions with a view to reaching an agreed basis for the negotiation of an Anglo-United States Trade Agreement had now reached a point at which the Governments of the two countries felt able to announce that negotiations for such an agreement were contemplated." For the benefit of those who might be bewildered by the tortuous language of the announcement, he added that it marked a definite and well-recognised step in the United States procedure of negotiation; and it was at once generally assumed that the pact would actually be concluded by the following March, or perhaps May, an assumption which was confirmed by the announcement a day or two later that Australia and Canada would co-operate in the negotiations.

A warning against making undue tariff concessions to the United States, together with a hint that they would like to be consulted before any were made, was uttered by the Federation of British Industries in a statement issued on December 9, and letters in a similar strain were addressed to the President of the Board of Trade by the Association of British Chambers of Commerce and the National Union of Manufacturers. Mr. Stanley, in a reply, issued on December 23, stated that, while he was always ready to consider representations from trade organisations who thought that their interests might be affected, it was not the practice of the Government in trade negotiations to communicate to trade interests the list of commodities in respect of which concessions from this country had been sought. On the other hand, in regard to concessions to be sought from the other party, the practice of comprehensive and detailed consultation with trade interests would be followed.

On November 23 a deputation, headed by Lord Home, presented to the Prime Minister two resolutions which had been passed at a conference on Empire development held in the previous month. One expressed the opinion that the time had

now arrived for an early resumption of Empire migration, and that the Government should support such a movement financially ; the other asked for the establishment of a statutory authority with definite financial powers and with the whole-time duty of assisting and guiding the movement. Mr. Chamberlain showed himself sympathetic, but pointed out that nothing could be done in the matter without the co-operation of the Dominions, which so far had been disinclined to co-operate. However, he promised to do what he could.

The Government's new Coal Bill, the text of which was issued on November 11, was divided into two main parts. The first set up machinery for carrying out the acquisition of coal-mining royalties at a total price of 66,450,000l., the sum fixed in the spring by the Arbitration Court presided over by the Master of the Rolls. For distributing this sum among the four or five thousand individual royalty owners (whose holdings would be ascertained under the Coal Registration Act passed in the previous session), a central valuation board would be established to divide Great Britain into valuation regions and assign each region its proper share, and then a regional valuation board in each region to assess the value of each holding in the district. The valuation date was fixed at January 1, 1939, and the vesting date at January 1, 1942. A statutory body to be called the Coal Commission, to be set up under the Bill in place of the Coal Re-organisation Commission, would on that date take over the ownership of all the coal of the country, known and unknown, worked and unworked. The Commission would be empowered to raise by loan the purchase price of the royalties, and in addition a sum of not more than 10,000,000l. to meet costs incurred in registering particulars and in claiming compensation ; and the Treasury would be empowered if necessary to guarantee the loan both as to principal and interest.

The second part of the Bill dealt with compulsory amalgamations. Under the 1930 Act it had been left to the Railway and Canal Commission to decide whether any scheme for compulsory amalgamation was or was not in the national interest. In practice the Commission had always shirked such a decision ; and it was now therefore laid down that the new Coal Commission should be empowered to report to the Board of Trade that in a specified area voluntary amalgamations were not making sufficient progress, and that on the basis of such representations schemes for compulsory amalgamation should be drawn up by the Board of Trade, and laid before Parliament for approval. Once a scheme had been so approved, the Railway and Canal Commission would be required to confirm it, subject only to the right to make modifications which would enable the proposed amalgamation to carry on more efficiently. The Bill also extended to 1942 the part of the 1930 Act which dealt with selling schemes.

In a statement issued on November 12, the colliery owners declared that they "had no enthusiasm" for the Government's proposals regarding royalties, and that while they did not oppose the principle of unification, they were of opinion that it would not be helpful to the industry. Their chief objection to the Bill was that it sought to effect the separation of the ownership of the minerals from that of the surface, which was likely to raise a crop of almost insoluble problems involving the owners in endless difficulty. Also the question of whether any proposed amalgamation was likely to prove beneficial or not was, it was contended, too technical for Parliament to deal with. If the Railway and Canal Commission could not come to decisions on such subjects, how could Parliament be expected to do so?

In moving the second reading of the Coal Bill on November 22, the President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Oliver Stanley, recommended it as being a "definite and important contribution to the stability and prosperity of the coal industry," as providing "some effective insurance against the kind of blizzard which struck the industry a few years before." From this point of view he laid the chief emphasis on the continuance by means of this Bill of the Part One of the Act of 1930, which dealt with the regulation of the production and sale of coal; for that measure was the only sanction of the selling organisations which had proved the salvation of the industry in the crisis of 1935. Amalgamation he regarded as valuable chiefly as a necessary background for improved methods of selling, especially abroad, while the acquisition of royalties by the State would in turn facilitate the process of amalgamation.

In conceding the principle of public ownership, the Bill naturally gratified the Labour Party and offended a large section of the Ministerialists. The former, however, determined as they were to accept nothing less than complete nationalisation of the coal-mines, moved the rejection of the Bill on the ground that "it left this national asset to be exploited by private interests for their own gain." This was naturally no objection in the eyes of the Ministerialists, and though some voices were raised in condemnation of the principle of nationalisation, there was no revolt on the second reading, which was carried by 301 votes to 139.

On November 23 Sir George Gillett, who had succeeded Mr. Malcolm Stewart as Commissioner for the Special Areas in November, 1936, presented his first annual report, which stated that the twelve months under review had witnessed a great improvement in the economic position in all the areas, unemployment having fallen by 25.6 per cent., of which only a small portion was due to transference out of the areas. While the Government's armament programme had undoubtedly contributed to the recovery, the Commissioner believed that the greater

part had been independent of armament work. He expressed the view that the Government, especially since the introduction of tariffs and quotas, could not evade all responsibility for the location of industry, and that social and strategic, as well as purely economic, causes would drive it to abandon its *laissez-faire* attitude in the matter.

The question of the location of industry was actually being considered at the time by a Royal Commission which had been established in July, under the chairmanship of Sir M. Barlow, but Labour members were greatly dissatisfied with the slow progress it was making, and particularly with the character of the evidence which had been tendered before it by the Board of Trade, and which they regarded as unfair to the Special Areas. On December 8 Lt.-Commander Fletcher, a Labour member, moved what was practically a vote of censure on the Government for its slackness in the matter, charging it both with neglecting the Special Areas and with permitting in London a concentration of industry which constituted a national danger. Mr. Mabane, a National Liberal member, moved an amendment expressing confidence in the Royal Commission. Captain Wallace, on behalf of the Government, pointed out that industry was in fact being diverted in a certain measure to the Special Areas. With regard to the concentration of industry in great cities, he observed that the arguments for it were mainly economic and the arguments against mainly strategic and social. The Government had so far taken the view that the national interest could best be served by leaving the individual business man to put his business where he believed he could run it successfully, and they could not be expected to change that view, at any rate until the Commission had reported. The motion was eventually defeated by 202 votes to 124.

Though they could not find any fault with the work of the Commissioners, the Labour Party, on December 16, yet brought forward a motion censuring the Government for failing to recognise that " more fundamental measures " were required to enable the Special Areas to take their proper place in the economic life of the nation. The Minister of Labour, in reply, maintained that the results already achieved showed that the Government were dealing with the problem on the right lines ; and this view was upheld by the House by a majority of 352 votes to 140.

On November 29 the Minister of Health moved the second reading of the Population (Statistics) Bill, conferring on Registrars the power to put a number of new questions of a somewhat intimate character to parents of new-born children. The object of the Bill was to enable the Government to obtain additional information on the causes of the fall in the birth-rate, as a preliminary to taking more active steps for combating the fall. The Minister represented the matter as one of great urgency, pointing out that

in the course of the past fifty years the birth-rate had fallen by more than a half, and that if the fall continued much longer, the consequences for the national well-being might be most serious. Not all the members seemed to accept this view, while on the other hand all seemed to be agreed that the questions which the Registrar would be allowed to put under the Bill were much too inquisitorial. The Bill consequently had a stormy reception, but in the hope that substantial alterations would be made in Committee, the House gave it a second reading by 197 votes to 125. The Minister gracefully bowed to the will of the House, and in the Committee stage introduced a number of amendments which placated all the critics.

Armistice Day was celebrated with the usual ceremony and solemnity on November 11, and the crowds at the Cenotaph seemed to show no falling off. The silence was disturbed for a moment by a man who pushed through the sailors on guard and shouted something in which could be distinguished the words : " You are deliberately conniving at another war." He was immediately overpowered and silenced, and it was found later, according to an official statement, that he had escaped from a mental institution some months previously. To many people, however, his words on this occasion seemed to ring sane enough, and the question whether the Armistice Day ceremony had not outlived its usefulness was for the first time seriously canvassed.

On November 10 tributes were paid in both Houses of Parliament to the memory of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who had just died while on a sea voyage—more fortunate in this respect than his colleague Lord Snowden, who, having passed away in a vacation, had missed this last honour. All speakers laid stress on Mr. MacDonald's untiring energy and indomitable moral courage. A burial in Westminster Abbey was proposed, but the family preferred that he should be laid to rest in his beloved Lossiemouth. A memorial service was held in his honour in Westminster Abbey on November 25.

On November 8, in the House of Lords, the Bishop of Winchester drew attention once more to the high number of casualties still caused by motor traffic, and asked the Government what steps they proposed to take to reduce the number of such accidents. Lord Munster replied that the matter was causing deep concern to the Government, but he drew some consolation from the fact that in the last three years the figures of road accidents had shown a tendency to remain steady, notwithstanding the large increase in the number of vehicles on the roads. While maintaining that they had not neglected any practical measures for reducing danger on the roads, he admitted that they had not solved the problem, and he accepted a proposal advanced by Lord Newton for appointing a Select Committee to consider the

whole subject—a plan that met with the general approval of the House.

On November 7 the Labour Party, through its Spain Campaign Committee, issued a statement in which its desire for the victory of the Spanish Republicans was openly proclaimed, as also the obligation devolving upon it to renew and intensify its political agitation against the restrictions which were imposed on the Spanish Government in the purchase of the weapons indispensable for victory. At that time it was expected that a great attack by the insurgent forces was about to be launched ; but as week after week went by and it failed to take place, the Labour Party also suspended its threatened agitation. Early in December, however, Mr. Attlee paid a short visit to Spain to encourage the Republican leaders there, and in the course of his stay publicly expressed his sympathy with the Spanish Government and people, and assured them that the Labour Party would assist them in every legitimate way.

Some Conservative members of Parliament took this step very much amiss, and Lord Winterton, a member of the Ministry, went so far as to assert that as the official head of the Opposition in receipt of a salary, Mr. Attlee had no right to act as he had done. Before going to Spain Mr. Attlee, like all British visitors, had been required to give a pledge that he would not in any way intervene in the struggle going on in that country. A Conservative member now tabled a motion censuring him on the ground that he had broken this pledge. Immediately after his return on December 13, Mr. Attlee made a personal statement in the House of Commons in which he protested strongly against the idea that, because he received a salary as official leader of the Opposition, he could only go to Spain "in a muzzle." The Prime Minister, whom the motion had placed in an awkward predicament, immediately declared that the House was satisfied, and the motion was dropped. The incident, however, strengthened the conviction of those members of the Labour Party who had always thought it a mistake for the Leader of the Opposition to accept a salary.

The answers of both sides in Spain to the British inquiries were received early in December. Both expressed their willingness to receive the proposed Commissions, and also to take action on the basis of their reports, within certain limits which, in the case of General Franco, were somewhat narrowly drawn. Meanwhile complete harmony had been restored to the Non-intervention Committee by a declaration made by M. Maisky, on November 16, that the Soviet Government now withdrew the reservations which it had made to its acceptance of the British plan. The Spanish answers were immediately considered by the Sub-Committee of the Non-intervention Committee, and it was decided that they were of a nature to justify the sending of the

Commissions. The British Government in the meanwhile had once more shown its impartiality in the naval sphere by refusing to General Franco the right which he had claimed of blockading the Eastern coast of Spain; though the value of this step, from the Opposition point of view, was somewhat diminished by a warning which it at the same time gave to British merchant vessels that they would enter the three-mile limit at their peril.

What with the lull in military operations in Spain and a certain quiescence on the part of Germany after Lord Halifax's visit, the danger of a European war seemed to recede a little, and Mr. Eden was able to tell a gathering of Ministerialists on December 9 that he considered the outlook to be better than it had been at any time in recent months. But if the clouds lifted a little over Europe, they became blacker over the Far East. The ignominious failure of the Brussels Conference to recommend any action against the aggressor struck a severe blow at British prestige in the Far East, and placed British interests there in a very precarious position. In the course of the fighting round Shanghai and the Japanese advance on Nanking a number of "incidents" occurred in which British lives were lost, and though the Japanese Government duly apologised on each occasion for what it called a regrettable accident, there was only too much reason to believe that the outrages in most cases were deliberate, and that they were but the prelude to an attempt to oust Britain from the Far East altogether.

On December 12 a particularly flagrant attack was made by Japanese forces on some British shipping on the Yangste river above Nanking, resulting in the loss of one life and much damage. An exceptionally strong protest was made by the British Ambassador at Tokio, followed by the usual "profound" apology on the part of Japan with the promise that such incidents should not occur again. This time, however, the British Government considered that this was not sufficient. A strongly worded Note was sent to Tokio, recalling the outrages that had previously been committed, and asserting that "adequate punishment of those responsible seemed to be the only method by which further outrages could be prevented," and asking to be informed what measures had actually been taken of a character which would put a definite stop to the incidents complained of. The Japanese answer, which was received in the last week of December, was not entirely satisfactory, being vague on the question of punishing offenders, but as no fresh "incidents" had meanwhile occurred, the Government decided to accept it.

The Government's handling of the Far Eastern situation, unlike its policy towards Spain, did not meet with serious disapproval from the Opposition. If the results were the reverse of satisfactory, this was admitted to be due to the inherent

difficulties of the problem. The sympathies of both parties lay in the same quarter, nor was there any difference of opinion on the importance of the British interests at stake. Nevertheless the Labour Party felt that their differences on other matters were sufficient to justify a debate on foreign affairs before the adjournment of Parliament, and at their request the Prime Minister, with some reluctance, fixed December 21 for the purpose.

Mr. Attlee, in opening the debate, remarked that while they were about to rise for the Christmas vacation, they found the world very little in accord with the peaceful traditions of the season. He asked that the Prime Minister should "give them some hope," and proceeded to draw a very gloomy picture of the general situation, of which the chief features were the two wars then going on and the world-wide propaganda directed against democracy, the League of Nations, the ideal of peace, Great Britain, and the British Empire. He ended by urging the Government to give stronger support to the League of Nations.

The Government reply was made on this occasion by the Prime Minister himself. Mr. Chamberlain found that there was much in Mr. Attlee's speech with which he could agree; in fact, the Opposition differed from the Government not in their objectives, but in the methods which they favoured. The method of the Government was to work for a general settlement by means of personal contacts and friendly and frank discussions; as exemplified in the recent visit of the King of the Belgians to England, in Lord Halifax's visit to Germany, and in the mission of M. Van Zeeland. Mr. Chamberlain dwelt with satisfaction on the apparent success of British policy in Spain, but was able to extract very little comfort out of the Far Eastern situation, and contented himself with expressing the hope that the assurances and apologies of the Japanese meant something more than words. Nor was he inclined to place much reliance upon the League of Nations, which "in its present condition was unable to discharge some of the functions with which it was invested when it was first "created." Britain could not act in concert with others if those others were not willing, and it was no fault of the Government if the League failed.

This last statement of the Premier was at once challenged by Sir A. Sinclair, who said that if the Government would only give a firm lead to the League, they would be able to rally those nations which were falling away from the League and were no longer giving it that firm support that they gave it in the Abyssinian crisis. In the Far East, too, he thought that the Government might well make a bolder effort than they had done hitherto. Mr. Churchill was also critical of the Government's methods of seeking a general settlement, and held up as a model

the "stiffening and surge of resolution" which had accompanied the Nyon Conference. He also advocated a closer adherence to the League of Nations.

Mr. Eden, in closing the debate, dealt with the question whether the League should impose sanctions in the Far Eastern dispute—a course which some speakers in the debate had seemed to favour. Such sanctions, he said, might be either ineffective or effective. If they were ineffective, they were not worth putting on; if they were to be effective, they would mean the risk, if not the certainty of war. No one could contemplate action of that kind in the Far East unless they were convinced that they had overwhelming force to back their policy; but in truth it was perfectly clear that that overwhelming force did not exist. All that they could do, therefore, in the present period of acute unsettlement, was to make it clear that the League had no ideology save that of peace, and to give it all the support in their power with that end in view.

One of the effects of the poisonous propaganda referred to by Mr. Attlee was to prevent that *rapprochement* between Great Britain and Italy for which both countries professed to be anxious. When Signor Mussolini made his overtures to Mr. Chamberlain at the end of July, he had promised faithfully that there should be no more anti-British propaganda from Italy. It was not long before this undertaking was flagrantly broken, and for three months now the Italian Press had been full of diatribes against Britain and the Italian wireless had been broadcasting in Arabic denunciations of British rule in Palestine. It was this conduct on the part of Italy which had been chiefly responsible for the fact that no approach had been made to Signor Mussolini similar to Lord Halifax's visit to Germany. Attention was called to the matter in the House of Commons by Lt.-Commander Fletcher, a Labour member, on December 23, and Lord Cranborne in reply stated that the Government took a very serious view of these activities, and was well aware of the mischief they were doing. On previous occasions, he said, representations made by the Government had caused a cessation of the evil, at least for a time, and he was hoping that representations which had been made by Mr. Eden a few days previously would be similarly effective. If this should not be the case, he threatened that stronger steps would be taken.

On December 15 the House of Commons assented to a motion brought forward by a Labour member declaring that further provision should be made to protect the public from widespread evils resulting from fraudulent and unscrupulous business and financial operations, and calling for an amendment of the Companies Acts. On behalf of the Government, Captain Euan Wallace stated that legislation on the lines of the Bodkin Report (*vide* p. 74) was being actively considered, and a Bill would shortly

be introduced to deal with the evils of share-pushing and share-hawking and cognate activities.

On the same day (December 15) Mr. G. Strauss, a Left Wing Labour member, in connexion with a motion declaring that the House viewed with alarm the extent to which the liberty of the subject had suffered encroachment within recent years, made a somewhat bitter attack on the London police for their alleged partiality to Fascists and mishandling of anti-Fascists. The charges were warmly denied from the Ministerial benches; Mr. Ammon, however, speaking for the bulk of the Labour Party, while bearing testimony to the general fairness and decency of the London police, maintained that there were some abuses creeping into the ranks of the force. The motion was eventually rejected by 124 votes to 92.

Further efforts were made in the course of this year by the Lancashire cotton industry to put its house in order. On October 19 the Joint Committee of Cotton Trade Organisations at Manchester published a comprehensive scheme for the re-organisation of the industry with the object of improving the export trade, chiefly by means of the elimination of redundant capacity and wasteful competition, with the help, if necessary, of statutory power in order to overcome recalcitrance on the part of individuals. It thus aimed at doing for the remaining branches of the industry what had already been done for the spinning branch in the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 4). After having been approved by the various sections of the industry, the scheme was submitted to the Board of Trade for its consideration. Various other schemes with similar objects had already been submitted to the Board in the course of the year, but had been rejected by it on the ground that they were too sectional and contained other features to which exception might be taken. In a letter to the Chairman of the Committee on December 21, the President of the Board of Trade admitted that most of these features had been excluded from the present scheme, but he found that certain major questions of policy still remained unsettled, and therefore he could not promise to introduce legislation for giving effect to the proposals until these points had been dealt with. The Committee took the view that the Minister's letter was "satisfactory and encouraging," and determined to try to meet his objections.

An interesting movement for the better regulation of wages and other conditions of employment in the retail distributive trades took place in the course of this year. On February 10 both the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks, and the Ministry of Labour became witnesses to a wage agreement just drawn up between the great retail firm of Lewis's Ltd., of Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, and other places, and their employees, numbering about 10,000, the first

example of a big collective agreement in the distributive trades. The representative of the Ministry of Labour expressed the hope that other firms would follow this example, and the Trade Union Congress, in September, gave the movement its blessing. In November a wage agreement affecting about 100,000 employees in the grocery trade received similar confirmation.

On December 29 the Government issued a statement defining its attitude towards the new Constitution of the Irish Free State which had just come into force. They were, they said, prepared to treat that Constitution as not effecting a fundamental alteration in the position of the Irish Free State as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. With regard to the claim made in the Constitution that the Free State should embrace the whole of Ireland, they refused to recognise any of its provisions as involving any right to or jurisdiction over territory forming part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, or as affecting in any way the position of Northern Ireland as an integral part of the United Kingdom, and they regarded the use of the name "Eire" or "Ireland" in the document as referring only to the area of the Free State.

In preparation for the Christmas trade the Bank of England issued a record note currency, and shopping for the holiday appeared to be unusually brisk. In a New Year message issued on December 29, the Premier claimed that the working classes were now distinctly better off than they had been in the "prosperous" year, 1929; there had been during the year not only a substantial increase in employment, but also a marked and widespread rise in earnings, as was evinced by the frequent reports of wage increases in different industries. Certainly there had been a distinct rise in retail prices, but these were still lower than in 1929; and in many cases higher prices were a condition of better employment. The Premier did not mention that the rise in prices bore very hardly on the unemployed, whose numbers had not undergone any great diminution in the course of the year; and even the employed, to judge by their numerous complaints of the high cost of living, did not seem so contented as on Mr. Chamberlain's showing they ought to have been.

Unemployment took a sharp upward turn in December, but in spite of this the year from the economic point of view was not unsatisfactory. Exports had been 77,000,000*l.* above those of the previous year, practically all important trades, except perhaps cotton, had shown an improvement, and the iron and steel trade was booming. Nevertheless "slump talk," which had become prevalent in the autumn, still persisted, and was giving great concern to the Government. The Prime Minister, in his New Year message, put it down to his "Socialist opponents," and assured the public that "with a full knowledge of the facts and tendencies, he was satisfied that there was no evidence to justify

the forebodings of a sudden end to the present prosperity, to be followed by a sudden collapse into a state of industrial depression worse than the last." In fact, however, the people who most indulged in "slump talk" were not of the kind likely to be influenced by Socialist statements; their lack of confidence sprang rather from uneasiness over the international situation and from the repercussions of the economic depression in America, and was not to be conjured away by the assurances of Government spokesmen and leaders of industry.

IMPERIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

IRELAND.

NORTHERN IRELAND.

THE most notable event of the year in Northern Ireland was the visit of the King and Queen to Belfast on July 28. Their Majesties arrived in Belfast Lough on the Royal Yacht, *Victoria and Albert*, and were received by the Governor of Northern Ireland and the Duchess of Abercorn, and members of the Cabinet. They visited the City Hall and inspected a parade of ex-servicemen in the Garden of Remembrance. A number of addresses were presented to their Majesties who also inspected a youth parade in the Balmoral Show Ground, and visited Government House, Hillsborough, and the Houses of Parliament at Stormont.

They were the guests of the Prime Minister and Lady Craigavon at a garden party at Stormont Castle. Afterwards their Majesties inspected H.M.S. *Caroline*, the headquarters of the Ulster R.N.V.R., commanded by the Earl of Kilmorey. A special feature of the Royal visit was the enthusiastic reception which their Majesties received in the working-class districts in Belfast through which the Royal procession passed. The streets were lavishly decorated with flags and bunting, and crowds cheered their Majesties as the Royal procession passed.

The I.R.A. took advantage of the Royal visit to create a disturbance intended to be a demonstration against the maintenance of the Border. On the night before their Majesties' arrival a number of armed men on both sides of the boundary held up policemen and Customs officers, and set fire to many of the Customs huts. The affair aroused deep indignation. The Ulster and Free State police made a combined attempt to hunt down the perpetrators but met with little success so cleverly had the coup been planned.

The Budget, introduced on June 2, revealed a satisfactory financial position, better indeed than at any time since 1927. The Minister of Finance, Mr. J. M. Andrews, estimated that at the end of the financial year in March, 1938, there would be a surplus of revenue over expenditure of over 1,000,000l., and this

sum would form Northern Ireland's contribution to the Imperial Exchequer and be of substantial assistance to the Imperial Defence programme. During the past sixteen years, since the establishment of the Northern Parliament, the Minister has been in the happy position of being able to balance his Budget.

On several occasions this was only accomplished by raids on the Road Fund and by drawing upon reserves. But during the greater portion of the period there was a surplus of revenue over expenditure. In the first year this surplus amounted to about 7,000,000l., but with the reduction in the rates of taxation, including income tax imposed at Westminster, and increase in the cost of unemployment and other social services, this surplus gradually declined until a few years ago it disappeared, and the Budget had to be balanced from the Road Fund and from reserves.

To improve the position an Education Levy was imposed on local authorities, and revaluation added substantially to the amount of income tax collected in Northern Ireland. For the year 1936-37 the surplus revenue amounted to 500,000/., so that in the current financial year the Imperial contribution will be more than doubled.

Almost nine-tenths of Northern Ireland revenue is imposed by the Imperial Parliament at Westminster, and the increase of 3d. in the pound in income tax, levied by Mr. Neville Chamberlain when Chancellor of the Exchequer in March, 1937 (making 5s. in the pound), resulted in an estimated increase of income tax in Northern Ireland during the current financial year of 150,000/., while 300,000l. extra income tax was expected to accrue from increased valuations and improvement in trade, making an estimated total revenue from income tax and sur-tax of 3,670,000l. Customs and Excise receipts, also levied at Westminster, were expected to produce 5,730,000/., an increase of 320,000/., over the provisional figures of the previous year.

The number of unemployed in Northern Ireland was about the same as in 1936, approximately 70,000, although the total of persons in employment was larger. During the year unemployment insurance was extended to agricultural workers, and juveniles leaving school were brought within the scope of the Act. Northern Ireland had still a higher rate of unemployment in relation to the insured population than Great Britain as a whole, the figures being 25.3 per cent., as compared with 10.5 per cent. The Northern Ireland rate is only exceeded by some of the distressed areas in Great Britain, including South Wales. In view of this fact Northern Ireland will receive from the British Exchequer under the Unemployment Re-insurance Agreement in the current year a sum estimated at 858,000/.. This agreement keeps the unemployment funds in both areas in a state of parity, by means of additional Exchequer grants to the poorer fund.

Several changes took place in the Northern Ireland Government. Mr. J. M. Andrews, Minister of Labour, succeeded the late Mr. H. M. Pollock in the Ministry of Finance. Mr. Andrews also acted as Prime Minister during most of the year in consequence of the illness of Viscount Craigavon. Lord Craigavon had sufficiently recovered to attend the opening of the new session of Parliament in November. Mr. Andrews was succeeded as Minister of Labour by Major D. G. Shillington, Unionist member for Central Armagh. Viscount Charlemont, who resigned from the position of Minister of Education owing to reasons of health, was succeeded by Mr. J. H. Robb, K.C., M.P., who transferred from the House of Commons to the Senate in which he will act as leader. Mrs. Parker, M.P., became Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Education. Mrs. Parker is the first woman member of the Northern Ireland Government. Mr. E. S. Murphy, K.C., Unionist member for Derry City, was appointed Attorney-General in succession to Sir Anthony Babington, K.C., who was made a Lord Justice of Appeal.

An interesting political development during the year was the formation of the Independent Unionist Party which proposed to put forward candidates at the General Election. Generally their policy appears to be to secure for Northern Ireland the full advantage of its position within the common fiscal and financial system of the United Kingdom, and prevent burdens being placed upon ratepayers and taxpayers. They charge the present Northern Ireland Government with failure to obtain financial equality with Great Britain in the distribution of taxation and armament work. They contend that Northern Ireland is treated as a separate entity—a backwash of the main stream of prosperity which has swept over Great Britain. The new party was sponsored by Mr. William J. Stewart, M.P. for South Belfast in the Imperial Parliament, and its purely political programme differs in no way from the official Unionist Party.

EIRE.

The most interesting of the many political events of the year in the twenty-six counties of Ireland, known since 1922 as the Irish Free State, was the introduction of Mr. de Valera's new Constitution for Eire (Ireland). The text was published on May 1 and excited much controversy. A large part of the legislative year in the Dail was occupied by debates on the Draft.

It was introduced early in May and the Dail resolved itself into a constituent assembly for the purpose of dealing with it. During May and June it was put through all the stages of an ordinary bill, and on June 14 a motion by Mr. de Valera that the Constitution "be approved" by Dail Eireann was carried by 62 votes to 48. On the same night the dissolution of the Dail

was announced and a General Election fixed to be held on July 1, the arrangement being that on the same day as the election the electors should vote for acceptance or rejection of the new Constitution. In this way the people were afforded a double opportunity of expressing their approval or disapproval of Mr. de Valera's Government, since the Constitution was a Government party measure. The result was that Mr. de Valera won exactly half the number of seats in the Dail (reduced from 156 to 138 following a re-arrangement of constituencies which was supposed to favour the Government party), and that the Constitution was approved by a majority of 158,160.

The official figures of the voting on the Constitution were :—

For Acceptance	685,105
For Rejection	526,945

The outstanding feature of the election was a gain of five seats by the Labour party—from 8 to 13. The election was, of course, as before, on the principle of Proportional Representation, and it is interesting to compare the numbers of first preference votes cast for the three parties with those of the previous election in 1933. For the latter year the Centre and the Farmers' parties are grouped under Mr. Cosgrave's Fine Gael party with which they were subsequently amalgamated.

The figures for the two elections were as follows :—

	<i>Fianna Fail.</i> { <i>Mr. de Valera.</i> }	<i>Fine Gael.</i>	<i>Labour.</i>
1933	- 689,043	549,214	79,224
1937	- 603,172	460,086	135,758

Taking the figures polled by all parties at the 1937 election it will be seen that the Fianna Fail party, although securing exactly half of the seats in the Dail, obtained less than half of the first preference votes—

Fianna Fail	603,172
Other Parties	720,892

Before the election Fianna Fail had a clear majority in the House over all other parties.

As a result of the election the position in the new Dail was—Fianna Fail, 69 ; Fine Gael, 48 ; Labour, 13 ; Independent, 8. This left the Government party in a minority of one in relation to the rest of the House, since Mr. Frank Fahy (F.F.) had been re-elected Speaker before the dissolution, in accordance with an Act of Mr. Cosgrave's Government, and his voting power is limited to a casting vote in the event of a tie. Nevertheless Mr. de Valera was re-elected to the position of President of the Executive Council by a majority of 30—82 voting for and 52 against his election. The Labour party and four Independents voted for

Mr. de Valera, so that he would have been elected even if the Labour group had voted against him.

The new Constitution came into operation on December 29, 1937. [See under Public Documents.] It supplants the former Constitution, which was constructed within the provisions of the Treaty of 1921, and completely ignores that Treaty. Also it purports to apply to the whole of Ireland, and the designation of "Irish Free State" is no longer used. Instead the ancient Gaelic name of the island—EIRE—is restored, though the name Ireland may also be employed. The Constitution makes no mention of the King, though in the previous December, on the Abdication of King Edward VIII, a measure was passed through the Dail recognising his successor for "external purposes" such as the signing of treaties and the appointment of diplomatic and consular representatives. It was provided in the measure that this recognition was given so long as the State retained its association with the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The new Constitution also abolishes the office of Governor-General and contains no Oath of Allegiance. It provides for the establishment of a President, who is to be Head of the State, the reinstatement of the Senate in a new form, the restoration of University representation in Parliament, and the formation of a Council of State to advise the President.

The original text of the Constitution contained articles which aroused much criticism during its consideration in the Dail.

Article 40 set out that "the State shall endeavour to ensure that organs of public opinion, such as the radio, the Press, the cinema, while preserving their rightful liberty of expression, shall not be used to undermine public order or morality or the authority of the State." It was alleged by members of the Opposition, and supported by the Labour Party, that in this form the Constitution could be used in a manner gravely prejudicial to the liberty of the Press. One argument used was that adverse criticism of the Government of the day might be held to be an attack on the State.

In response to this argument Mr. de Valera agreed to insert after the words "liberty of expression" the clause "including criticism of Government policy."

Certain provisions in Article 41 and Article 45 with reference to the position of women in the State brought strong protests from feminist quarters. The interpretation put upon these was that women were to be relegated to home work exclusively, and that therefore they would be eliminated from the labour market generally. A sub-section in Article 45 which referred to "the inadequate strength of women" was particularly objected to.

After much agitation, both in the Dail and outside, this paragraph finally emerged in the following form: "The State shall endeavour to ensure that the strength and health of workers,

men and women, and the tender age of children shall not be abused, and that citizens shall not be forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their sex, age, or strength."

The powers of the President, which substantially are identical with those of the President of the United States of America, evoked some criticism, as did the scheme for the new Senate.

With regard to the latter, the plan for the election of forty-three of the Senators on a vocational basis was adversely commented on. It was alleged to be unworkable, and so many difficulties became apparent when the proposal was being considered that Mr. de Valera accepted a suggestion that it should be examined by a Special Committee of the House.

The new Constitution was bitterly attacked by the extreme Republican parties on the ground that it specifically recognised the King of Great Britain as King of Ireland—that is to say in the Act of December, 1936, already referred to.

Mr. de Valera's protestations earlier in the year, when addressing a Convention of his party, that the new Constitution would provide the basis of an All-Ireland Republic aroused the scorn of these parties.

On the same occasion he said that until the unity of Ireland was accomplished the twenty-six counties could not be termed "The Republic of Ireland." "Not a comma" of the new Constitution needed to be altered if the Republic of Ireland was to be declared, he added.

The new Constitution declares that the National territory is "the whole of Ireland, its islands and the territorial seas," but states that pending the "re-integration of the national territory" the laws enacted under it will take cognisance only of the area comprised in the Irish Free State.

The Opposition, led by Mr. Cosgrave, voted against the Constitution because they took the view that the making of a new Constitution was a national work and not one which should be undertaken by one party in the State.

On January 14 Mr. de Valera, on his way home from Switzerland, had two conferences in London with Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Secretary of State for the Dominions, on Anglo-Irish differences, but the year passed without any further attempt to bring about a settlement.

The renewal of the Coal-Cattle Pact between Great Britain and the Irish Free State in February was welcomed all the more because the quota of Irish Free State cattle allowed to be imported to Great Britain was increased. A further announcement made by Mr. de Valera in the Dail on February 25 that the British Government had decided to abolish the import duties on Irish Free State horses and that the Free State Government had simultaneously removed the import duty on United Kingdom sugar, gave much satisfaction.

Mr. MacEntee, Minister for Finance, introduced his Budget in the Dail on April 14, some weeks earlier than usual. An early General Election was anticipated and the Minister had done his best to produce a popular Budget. He estimated a revenue for the financial year 1937-38 of 31,741,000l. and a net expenditure for the year of 31,044,000l.

Out of the balance of 697,000l. he proposed that 690,000l. should be used for the reduction of taxation and other concessions, leaving an estimated surplus of 7,0002. The remissions included fourpence a pound off tea, a farthing a pound off sugar, and two-pence a pound off butter.

In the financial year 1936-37 revenue showed a final surplus of 1,144,5232. over expenditure, and in general the returns from taxes and Customs and Excise duties greatly exceeded expectations.

Two Bills concerned with the conflict in Spain which were designed to implement the Non-intervention Agreement at Geneva, to which the Free State Government adhered, were passed by the Bail, though Opposition deputies strongly urged the recognition of General Franco.

General O'Duffy's Irish Brigade which had been serving with General Franco's forces returned to Ireland on June 21. Several members of the Brigade had been killed or died of wounds in the fighting.

The Irish Free State was not represented at the Imperial Conference held in London in connexion with the Coronation of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth.

Mr. de Valera, replying to criticisms in the Dail on May 19 on the absence of Free State representatives from the conference, said : " I do not think it would make either for the settlement of the outstanding disputes between Great Britain and ourselves or for peace between the two peoples that our representatives should run the risk of being put in the same humiliating position in which they were put at Ottawa. Besides, our being there would be open to grave misunderstanding."

CHAPTER II.

CANADA.

Federal.

WITH rising exports and the achievement of new records, notably mining, the year 1937 was one of steady economic progress. Politically, the dominant issue was the relative rights of the Provincial and Federal Governments in legislative powers.

Ceremonial opening of Parliament took place at Ottawa on

January 14 when Lord Tweedsmuir, Governor-General, reviewed Canadian conditions and foreshadowed impending legislation. Alluding to the international situation and to Canada's part in the work of the League of Nations, the Governor-General expressed much ground for anxiety, but added: "Happily, international relations on this Continent and conditions in Canada present a striking contrast to those of many other countries."

In the House of Commons, Mr. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister, introduced a Bill (January 14) affecting the Succession of the Crown to ratify the Government's action at the time of the constitutional crisis, and on the following day a stirring message of loyalty to the new King and Queen was approved with acclamation.

Mr. R. B. Bennett, Leader of the Opposition, having returned from an Empire tour, told the House (January 18) that he was absolutely in accord with the procedure of the Government in co-operating with the British Government at the Accession of King George VI. He added that the Opposition would assist the Government in expediting the business of the session so as to allow the Prime Minister and his delegates to leave for London in good time for the Coronation.

The main Estimates for the fiscal year 1937-38 were presented on January 19 providing for a total expenditure of 405,046,000 dollars, an increase of 17,102,000 dollars over 1936-37. The largest single increase was for Defence and Aviation, for which 34,000,000 dollars was estimated, nearly half the increase being for the Royal Canadian Air Force.

Mr. Mackenzie King explained that the national Estimate had "not been formed with any thought of participation in European wars and had not been framed as the result of any combined effort or consultation with the British authorities beyond what obviously would be in the interests of all in the matter of gaining the benefit of expert opinion. So far as policy is concerned, no request of any kind has come from the British Government with respect to a single item in the Estimates. Whatever has been put there is there as the result of what the Government thought necessary to-day."

The Premier repeated his previous utterance that Parliament was the final determining factor as to participation in any war or preserving neutrality, and refused to accept a resolution moved by Mr. J. S. Woodsworth, leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, calling for the banning of war profits. Later, in the debate of the Defence Estimates, Mr. Mackenzie King, replying to criticism of Mr. Grant McNeil (C.C.F.) complaining of the "startling increases" for national armament in contrast with inadequate provision for social security, stated that all the Government were doing was to ensure that Canada's forces, if they had to defend her shores, would have available the most

modern and efficient equipment. He maintained that every cent spent would be for the defence of Canada.

Judgments on legislation passed by the Parliament of Canada to implement the former Ministry's "New Deal" were delivered on January 28 by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. By these judgments all parts of the Employment and Social Insurance Act, the Natural Products Marketing Act, and the Weekly Rest in Industries, Minimum Wages and Limitation of Hours clauses of the Industrial Undertakings Act were pronounced *ultra vires*. A prohibitive enactment against preferential rebates in trading commissions and against selling at unreasonably low prices to kill competition or to eliminate a competitor (Criminal Code Amendment) was ruled by the Privy Council to be valid, and a further judgment in the same series upheld the validity of the Farmers' Creditors Arrangement Act.

The Government's plan for re-casting the capital structure of the Canadian National Railway System was announced by the Minister of Transport (Mr. C. D. Howe) on January 29. Mr. Howe explained that the plan, if adopted, would eliminate duplication between the accounts of the Railway and the Government which made the total debt obligations of Canada appear to be 5,750,000,000 dollars whereas, in reality, they were only 4,250,000,000 dollars. He declared that the change in the capital structure involved no change in the net debt of Canada and that all the Government's claims against the railway for capital advances which had created the earning assets of the railway were not being written off but being preserved as an active asset in the form of an equity.

Foreign policy came before the House on February 4 on a resolution by Mr. Woods worth urging Canadian neutrality in the event of another European war. The debate revealed that the Quebec Liberal members accepted, with reservations, the Government's defence programme and were not "isolationist." Mr. Lapointe, Minister of Justice, speaking for the Government, strongly opposed the resolution which he branded as destructive because it would appear that Canada refused to implement her pledges and would mean both withdrawal from the League of Nations and secession from the British Commonwealth. Mr. Rinfret, Secretary of State, declared that he was too good a Britisher to say that if any part of the Empire was attacked Canada should not go to its aid, and the resolution was rejected without a division.

Some days later (February 18) Mr. Lapointe introduced a Bill to repeal the Foreign Enlistments Act, one of the few British Statutes still applicable in Canada, and to substitute Canadian legislation to the same ends, having in view Canada's strict neutrality in the Spanish conflict.

The new Anglo-Canadian Trade Agreement was signed in

Ottawa on February 23. This Pact, due to remain in force until 1940, replaced the Ottawa Agreements of 1932 and tended, on balance, to favour the United Kingdom. Canada undertook to lower the preferential rates on some 150 items in the Customs Tariff and in return the United Kingdom agreed to maintain duty-free entry on all Canadian goods already entering Great Britain free of Customs duty, subject to minor modifications.

The Budget was introduced on February 25. After reviewing Canada's economic progress, remarking that "No year since 1929 had dawned with brighter promise for Canada," Mr. Dunning, Minister of Finance, submitted the national accounts placing receipts under all heads at 452,123,000 dollars and total expenditure 539,500,000 dollars. The surplus on ordinary account was 51,500,000 dollars compared with only 250,000 dollars a year ago, but there was no reduction in expenditure owing to increases in the cost of Old Age Pensions and the continued drain for the relief of unemployment and the drought-stricken area of the Prairie Provinces. The deficit on the Canadian National Railway he placed at 43,250,000 dollars, compared with 47,500,000 dollars the previous year, and when all the items were taken into consideration the total national deficit was estimated at 87,500,000 dollars compared with 160,000,000 dollars the previous year. He proposed to continue income tax on its present basis, and the only changes in taxation were a few minor additions to the schedule of exemptions under Sales. The Minister also announced that the Government felt justified in restoring the balance of Civil Service salaries which had still been suffering a 5 per cent. cut.

Mr. Bennett criticised the Ministry's failure to curtail expenditure for the next fiscal year and so make possible a reduction in the onerous rate of the Sales Tax, which at 8 per cent, constituted, in his view, a burden which business could not permanently endure. A large share of the credit for the renewal of prosperity was, he asserted, due to the general improvement in world conditions and the enlargement of international trade. But he interpolated a warning that Canada could not afford to stake her future upon export trade alone, for her trade in foreign countries was liable to be challenged increasingly by countries with standards of living which, he hoped, would never prevail in Canada. Unless Canada could increase her population, an impossible situation might arise if export markets failed.

On March 5 Mr. Mackenzie King arrived in Washington where he spent the week-end as guest of President Roosevelt to "talk over matters of mutual interest to the United States and Canada" at the personal invitation of Mr. Roosevelt.

In the same month (March 30) the Governor-General with Lady Tweedsmuir paid an official visit to the White House. This was the first State visit of a Governor-General of Canada to the President of the United States. The Vice-Regal party,

having enjoyed warm hospitality, returned to Ottawa on April 2.

The Government's Transport Bill to co-ordinate control over all forms of transportation was defeated in the Senate on March 18. Senator Meighen, a former Prime Minister, admitted that only in exceptional cases should the Senate defeat a Ministerial Bill and agreed that there was need for some measure to remedy the chaos now existing both on land and on the waterways. He held, however, that the Government measure was unsatisfactory on the grounds of various objectionable features and was not in the public interest. Shortly afterwards Mr. Howe, Minister for Transport, announced that the Bill would be dropped for that session.

An important measure was introduced by the Minister for Transport on March 22 for the establishment of a Trans-Canada Air Service. By the terms of the Bill a company called "Trans-Canada Air Lines" was to be formed with 5,000,000 dollars capital in shares of 100 dollars each. The company, without interfering with existing services, was designed to provide the main trans-continental air service and such ancillary services as were deemed to be necessary and would be given an exclusive contract to carry mails, passengers, and express freight from coast to coast. Mr. Howe estimated that the cost of the necessary equipment would be 1,750,000 dollars and the operating expenses 1,000,000 dollars a year, and it was proposed that 2,000,000 dollars should be held in reserve for expansion. He said that the landing fields would all be completed by the end of the year, and in view of the commitments made about the projected trans-Atlantic air service, for which he estimated Canada's contribution at 1,250,000 dollars, it was desirable to have the Canadian organisation set up as soon as possible.

Before the Easter recess (March 28) an item in the Estimates for 2,000,000 dollars to pay for two destroyers purchased from the British Government produced an amicable discussion on Naval Policy between Mr. Bennett and the Prime Minister. Mr. Bennett, reviewing the history of Canada's naval policy, commended Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Naval Service * Act because it authorised the Canadian Government to place its Navy at the disposal of the British Government and contemplated a wide measure of co-operation between them. Quoting Sir Wilfrid Laurier's speeches with approval, Mr. Bennett said that the only difference between the two parties at that time was that the Conservatives felt there was a special emergency, which subsequent events proved to be real. Mr. Mackenzie King welcomed Mr. Bennett's observations and explained that the reason why the Government had felt it necessary to lay stress on the defence of Canada in its armament programme was not on account of any departure from the principles of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's policy but because opposition to it had developed through fears that the Government were making

plans for the dispatch of another expeditionary force to Europe. He thought that owing to changed conditions it was very doubtful if the British Government would send another expeditionary force to Europe, much less Canada or any other Dominion.

Government control over the manufacture, import, and export of arms, ammunition, and war materials was embodied in a Customs Amendment Act introduced on April 2 by Mr. Ilsley, Minister of National Revenue.

Mr. Cahan, Secretary of State in the late Conservative Ministry, delivered a vigorous attack on the recent decisions of the Imperial Privy Council on April 5. Mr. Cahan maintained that the Judicial Committee had persistently flouted the terms of the Canadian Constitution and had perverted both the actual text and the whole intent of the British North America Act. Mr. Bennett said he felt it was unfortunate that abstract propositions should have been submitted to the Privy Council without any concrete facts being placed before them. He could not support the abolition of appeals to the Privy Council, but there had been created an impossible situation which could be remedied only by constitutional reforms. He therefore reiterated his view that this could be most quickly and effectively accomplished by a Constitutional Convention at which all shades of opinion in the Dominion and Provincial Legislatures would be represented. Mr. Lapointe, replying for the Government, agreed about the advisability of abolishing appeals to the Privy Council. He pointed out, however, that its latest decisions largely confirmed the verdict of the Supreme Court of Canada, and on that account he thought the criticisms directed against it unduly severe.

Prorogation took place on April 10. In addition to the measures already recorded, approval was given to a Trade Treaty with Uruguay, a provisional Trade Agreement with Germany, and a Convention with the United States respecting the Salmon and Pacific Halibut Fisheries. Among Bills passed were those to promote the Sale of Farm Products ; to facilitate the Grant of Loans to finance Improvements in Rural and Urban Homes ; to extend the work of Farm Rehabilitation in the drought areas of Western Canada ; to assist the Fishery Industry ; to co-operate with the Provinces for the further Alleviation of Unemployment and Agricultural Distress ; to provide Pensions for Blind Persons ; to amend the Combines Act ; to create a Royal Canadian Mounted Police Reserve ; and to suspend Gold Clause obligations.

The Prime Minister, with Mr. Lapointe (Minister of Justice), Mr. Crerar (Minister of Mines and Resources), Mr. Dunning (Minister of Finance), and Mr. Mackenzie (Minister of National Defence) sailed from Quebec on April 25 for England to attend the Coronation and the Imperial Conference in London. They were accompanied by a large group of expert advisers and secretariat,

headed by Dr. O. D. Skelton (Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs), Lieut.-Colonel L. R. Lafleche (Deputy Minister of National Defence), Colonel V. I. Smart (Deputy Minister of Transport), Mr. P. T. Coolican (Assistant Deputy Postmaster-General), and Mr. Paul Fontaine (Department of Justice). Mr. Vincent Massey, High Commissioner for Canada in London, joined the Delegation on their arrival, and Mr. R. B. Bennett, Leader of the Opposition, also came to England in a private capacity.

In addition to their participation in the Coronation celebrations and in the subsequent Imperial Conference, the Ministers conferred with various members of the British Government and were present at numerous social functions arranged in honour of Dominion delegates. Mr. Crerar received a deputation from the Empire Emigration and Development Conference to whom he explained that the Canadian Government could not be expected to contribute to any migration scheme while relief problems remained acute: that the Government would consider schemes which did not involve the contributory principle but that proposed migrants must be placed on the land and that the Government must be satisfied that they had a fair chance of succeeding and were informed in advance of the difficulties they would encounter.

In the absence of the conference delegates the Cabinet was presided over by Senator Dandurand whose duties included the direction of placing heavy contracts as authorised by appropriations in Parliament.

Throughout the Dominion the Coronation was celebrated as a national holiday and the proceedings of the Imperial Conference were followed with great interest. In conjunction with the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation arranged a continuous 24-hour programme on May 12, mainly descriptive of the Coronation pageantry and its Empire significance.

During the summer months the Commissioners investigating the wheat marketing problems under Mr. Justice Turgeon continued their work in several parts of the Dominion, and also travelled to several European countries to extend their inquiries.

Trans-Atlantic test flights made by the Imperial and Pan-American Airways during June to determine the time and conditions for establishing a regular service were followed in July by the inauguration of the Trans-Canada Air Service. In the following month a survey flight over the route of the Trans-Canada Air Line from Montreal to Vancouver was undertaken by a party of Government officials including Mr. Howe, the Transport Minister. The development of ground organisation, the building of airports, and the establishment of radio-direction equipment proceeded intensively throughout the year. An experimental flight made with American observers in June from Edmonton *via* White

Horse (Yukon) to Alaska presaged a new air trail not only from Chicago to the Orient for Americans but also for Canadian lines to Japan and China.

Political waters were stirred in June by an attack on the Federal administration by Premier Hepburn of Ontario who accused the Ministry of a "vacillating policy" and the idea of a National Government was discussed by a section of the Canadian Press.

Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic Islands was maintained by the annual visit of the Government vessel *Nascopie* which left Montreal on July 10 with the usual complement of Government officials, Mounted Police and some missionaries. On this occasion, in addition to food and material supplies, the vessel carried equipment for radio tests from northerly points.

The main party of the Canadian Delegation to London returned to Canada by July 9. The Prime Minister, in a broadcast address to the Canadian people on July 19, reviewed his experiences at the Coronation, the Imperial Conference, and his subsequent visits to France, Belgium, and Germany—the latter including a personal interview with Herr Hitler. After referring to the value of the Throne in a time of dissension and disintegration throughout the world, Mr. Mackenzie King spoke of the work of the Imperial Conference, insisting that its function was discussion and review, not decision and action.

Our discussions (he said) were characterised by frankness and willingness to face differences and difficulties. They were characterised equally by the utmost cordiality and understanding. The delegations at the conference were unanimous in declaring the complete freedom of action of each Government in foreign affairs and defence. . . . In spite of every appearance to the contrary, I believe that the nations of Europe have a better understanding of each other's problems than they have had for some years. I am certain that neither the Governments nor the peoples of any of the countries I visited desire war or view the possibility of war between each other as other than likely to end in self-destruction and the destruction of European civilisation itself.

The threatened wheat crop failure in the drought areas of Saskatchewan and Alberta was a matter of grave Government concern, and Mr. J. G. Gardiner, Minister of Agriculture, visited these areas in July to arrange adequate measures for the relief of farmers and the temporary abandonment of certain districts, pending schemes for their reclamation.

Recognition of the urgent need for detailed investigation of the boundaries of Dominion and Provincial rights was marked by the announcement on August 14 of the appointment of a Royal Commission, under the chairmanship of Mr. Newton W. Rowell (Chief Justice of Ontario), to "re-examine the economic and financial basis of Confederation and the distribution of legislative powers in the light of the economic and social developments of the last seventy years,"

In view of Mr. Bennett's failing health, the question of leadership of the Conservative Party had been one of some concern to its members, but following a caucus held in August Mr. Bennett announced his willingness to continue as leader and expressed the need for the reconstruction of the party organisation to meet changing conditions.

Lord Tweedsmuir, on returning to the Capital on September 6 after a two months' trip to Northern Canada accompanied by Lady Tweedsmuir, said "the rapidity of the development of the North country depends upon the cheapening of our air transport and machines." During his tour of 12,000 miles—the longest made by any Governor-General of Canada—Lord Tweedsmuir and his party travelled by air, trains, steamers, canoe, and horseback as far as Coronation Gulf in the Arctic. In the same month the Governor-General left for the Maritime Provinces where he was ceremonially received.

President Roosevelt paid a short informal visit, with Mrs. Roosevelt and their son James, to Canada, on September 30 when they were warmly greeted at Victoria, B.C., by Mr. Eric Hamber, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, and a large concourse of people. The President made brief reference to the Alaska highway project, saying "the building of a highway to Alaska is one of our hopes. The Governments of Canada and the United States, however, must wait until the time is ripe. The large cost is something that cannot be met at this time."

Announcement of new Trade Agreements was made by Mr. W. D. Euler, Minister of Trade and Commerce, on October 1. The Minister, who had visited Australia earlier in the year, stated that arrangements had been completed between Canada and Australia, Canada and New Zealand, and between Canada and Guatemala. The same reductions as given to Australia were accorded New Zealand on important meat exports, and additional reductions to New Zealand covered a short range of smaller commodities. The new Agreement with Guatemala provided for most-favoured-nation treatment to the products of each country.

Speaking at a function in Montreal in October to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Lord Tweedsmuir stressed the need for a wider understanding of world affairs. He said the time had passed when foreign policies could be the preserve of a group of Government officials. Discussing the position of Canada he said that a Canadian's first loyalty was not to the British Commonwealth of Nations but to Canada and to Canada's King, and those who denied this were doing a great disservice to the Commonwealth. The nations of the Empire must think out their own special problems. Every nation must have a foreign policy, in the sense that it must consider its position *vis-a-vis* the world at large.

After a meeting of the Cabinet on October 13, Mr. Mackenzie

King announced that Canada would join with other signatories of the Nine-Power Treaty in the conference concerning a joint effort to mediate in the Sino-Japanese conflict. The Government of Canada, in common with others, had watched with deep concern the course of the struggle as well as its repercussions in other quarters. Meanwhile they were anxious that no developments should arise to prejudice or render more difficult the task of the meeting.

Canada's friendly relations with her neighbour were again illustrated by the visit to Ottawa on October 20 of Mr. Cordell Hull, the American Secretary of State, who, with Mrs. Hull, was the guest of the Canadian Government. Mr. Hull explained that his visit was not for the purpose of discussing official business, nevertheless, the complete lack of tension between the two countries stood out in bold relief in a world of political uncertainty.

Mr. Charles Cahan, a former Conservative Minister, in an address at Montreal on November 2 took exception to Lord Tweedsmuir's speech on Canadian loyalty and urged that the Crown was indivisible and that the Dominions did not owe allegiance to different Kings, but to one sole sovereign head, and that the protagonists of the personal union theory sought to place the King in a position incompatible with his essential dignity, authority, and self-respect. As King of Canada he was made to acquire rights and assume responsibilities and obligations against himself as ruler of the United Kingdom or as the King of other Dominions. Mr. Cahan argued that Canada, to be true to herself, must be faithful to the Constitution and covenants upon which the British Commonwealth was established, and must frankly recognise that even if it were desirable, the weakness of her naval and military forces precluded the Dominion from evolving an independent foreign policy.

On November 9 the Prime Minister made public a letter which had been sent to the Premiers of the nine Provinces proposing that another attempt be made to initiate a national system of unemployment insurance at the next session of Parliament. The letter stated that a strong recommendation for the national control of employment agencies based upon a comprehensive survey of the unemployment situation had been made to the Government by the National Employment Commission, and that the Cabinet had reached the conviction that a scheme of national unemployment insurance, coupled with a national employment service, would contribute materially both to the security of individual workers and to industrial stability. Recalling that Mr. Bennett's Ministry's legislation enacted by the Federal Parliament on unemployment insurance had been held to be *ultra vires* by the Privy Council, Mr. King explained that an amendment of the Constitution seemed a necessary preliminary to the establishment of a system which, according to the general concensus of expert

opinion, must be national to be effective. He declared that if the co-operation of the Provincial Governments towards this objective was attainable his Government were prepared to submit the necessary legislation. He therefore invited the Provincial Premiers to state whether their Governments were agreeable to the amendment of the British North America Act, empowering the Federal Parliament to enact unemployment insurance legislation, and to communicate their views at an early date. In a supplementary statement Mr. King said he did not wish the impression to be given that social legislation would be held up pending the report of the Royal Commission on Dominion and Provincial Relations.

Negotiations for a new Trade Agreement with the United States were announced by the Prime Minister on November 17 and simultaneously the first official stage in the Anglo-American trade negotiations was announced in Washington by Mr. Hull. The American Secretary of State added that the United States also contemplated a new agreement with Canada to adjust the treaty of 1936—which did not affect Canada's commitments under the Ottawa Agreements—in the light of the projected pact with Great Britain.

At Toronto, on December 13, Mr. Ian Mackenzie, Minister of Defence, speaking of the Government's defence policy, declared that Great Britain which had shouldered very great responsibilities during the present period of world unrest, should and must be supported in her struggles to maintain peace, and that Canada must do her part because it would require the combined efforts of all peace-loving Powers to avert a major war. The Minister also said that the schemes for fortifications along the Pacific and Atlantic coasts had been completely revised in accordance with the Government's announced policy, and the Canadian Militia had been reorganised on modern lines to provide a balanced force of all arms.

The defence policy was attacked by Mr. Paul Bouchard (Ind. Nationalist) in the Federal by-election on December 27 in Lotbinière County, Quebec, but by the decisive victory of his Liberal opponent, Mr. J. N. Francoeur, the Government's peace and defence principles were vindicated.

Provincial.

In view of the recurrent challenges of Dominion and Provincial legislative rights, Provincial politics of the year were of special significance.

In Alberta, where Mr. Aberhart continued his endeavour to implement his Social Credit promises, several acts of the Legislature were declared *ultra vires* by the Alberta Supreme Court. Changes were made in the Cabinet and a gross deficit of 1,227,815

dollars was revealed for the fiscal year. The stamped "script scheme" was abandoned and a new Social Credit Bill, consolidating various Government measures, was introduced. The Budget was passed after some months' delay. Arising from the Government's letter to Alberta bankers in July demanding their co-operation, a Bill was introduced to secure Government control of the Banks of the Province, but this legislation was disallowed by the Dominion Government on constitutional grounds. A special session of the Legislature—the fourth of the year—opened on September 24 but assent by the Lieutenant-Governor was withheld from several measures, including a Press Control Bill, pending instruction from the Governor-General in Council. At the request of Mr. Aberhart the financial affairs of the Province were investigated by the Bank of Canada whose report stated that Alberta could maintain its Government services on as favourable a basis as her neighbouring Provinces without the receipt of additional assistance from Ottawa which had been requested.

In November Mr. George F. Powell, a Social Credit expert from London, and Mr. Joseph Unwin, a member of the Alberta Legislature, were sentenced on charges of defamatory libel on certain bankers, and in December Dr. P. Campbell, a "Unity" candidate representing four groups opposing Social Credit, won a test by-election caused by the resignation of Mr. Hans Wright (Social Credit) by a 3,000 majority.

In British Columbia the Pattullo Government maintained their ascendancy in the Provincial General Election held in June when the Liberals obtained 31 seats out of 48 against 36 last time. The Government's majority in the House was, however, disproportionate to the votes polled. The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation held its own in the return of seven members and an outstanding result of the election was the reappearance in the Legislature, after four years' absence, of a Conservative Party of eight members under the leadership of Dr. Frank Patterson of Vancouver. The new Social Credit Party of the Province contested seventeen seats but polled only a negligible vote. The new Legislature held its first session at Victoria on October 26. On November 29 the Liberals won a notable by-election in the return of Mr. R. W. Mayhew in a constituency which had not returned a Liberal member for thirty years. During the session Mr. Pattullo announced that subject to ratification by the Dominion Parliament the Yukon Territory would be added to the Province of British Columbia.

In Nova Scotia, where Federal issues were important factors, Mr. Angus Macdonald and his Liberal Government secured a victory in the General Election also held in June. The final figures were Liberals 25, Conservatives 5, representing a gain of 3 seats. The Conservative leader, Colonel G. S. Harrington, was defeated.

Mr. Macdonald went to the electorate on Federal policies as well as on his achievement of having turned a Budget deficit into a surplus and on his successful programme of progressive social legislation.

In Ontario, where the situation had been one of some tension since Premier Hepburn's repudiation during the summer of the Federal regime, the Liberal Party was returned to power by gaining 67 seats out of 90 (a slightly reduced majority) in the General Election held in October. Mr. Earl Howe, the Conservative Leader, was defeated in his own constituency. Various factors contributed to this result. Mr. Hepburn had been strongly criticised for his cancellation of the hydro power contracts and for several administrative actions, but his balanced Budget and surplus, along with reduced light and power rates, appealed strongly to the rural vote. The Liberal leader's vigorous handling of the Oshawa motor strike promoted by the American I.L.O. in April when he declared that "the exclusion of foreign agitators was a basic principle" of his policy, added to his appeal in several quarters, and although there were no direct Federal issues, the aid of Dominion Ministers in the election campaign and the reconciliation between the Federal and Provincial Premiers were important features of the contest.

The new Legislature met on December 1 to deal specifically with the laws of Succession Duties.

Another record-worthy event was the closing of the Lieutenant-Governor's residence on the grounds of economy and the relinquishment of office by Dr. H. A. Bruce as Lieutenant-Governor of the Province. He was succeeded in November by Mr. Albert E. Matthews who undertook to perform the duties without the maintenance of State quarters.

In Manitoba, financial difficulties became acute during the year, and as the result of an inquiry held by the Bank of Canada, the subsidies of the Federal Government to the Province were appreciably increased. The Bank also investigated the finances of the neighbouring Province of Saskatchewan, and reported that the existing situation in regard to the Provincial Budget was not hopeless, and that with improvement of crop yields and adjustment of the tax system to the same level as Manitoba's, the current deficit could be met and provision made for the resumption of several essential services. If, however, relief expenditures continued on the same scale as in recent years, there was no possibility of the Province being able to raise money for its share. Direct relief for 45,000 families in Saskatchewan was later provided by the Federal Government.

In Quebec the Union Nationale Government of M. Duplessis continued its radical and "Anti-Communist" programme, but the Budget showed a deficit of 1,250,000 dollars.

In June an insurgent group, led by M. Philippe Hamel, an-

nounced the formation of a "National Party," and in the later months of the year the long-contested question of the Legislature's right to export surplus hydro-electric power was revived by the Quebec Premier's challenge to Ottawa on this issue. In view of similar action by the Premier of Ontario—who had collaborated with M. Duplessis on this question—the Federal Prime Minister undertook to bring the dispute to the Federal Parliament in its next session.

CHAPTER III.

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

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

PARLIAMENT met on January 15 with the brave and encouraging phrases of the Prime Minister's New Year message still ringing in the ears of its representatives : " While in the economic field South Africa to-day is one of the most favoured nations in the world, and in the political sphere there exists a measure of deep and whole-hearted co-operation between the Afrikaans and English-speaking sections such as has never before been experienced in the history of South Africa, I am happy to be able to express the wish, as I do now, that this prosperity and joyous co-operation will not only be continued, but will increase and develop in the furtherance of our national well-being and happiness."

General Smuts, a former Prime Minister and the present Minister of Justice, also issued nation-wide seasonable greetings, but, turning his gaze away from home towards Europe and " old mother continent," he could discern in the distant vista little for hope and less for encouragement: " Things seem to be working up there for some unhappy climax. Faith in international co-operation and in collective security seems almost to have perished from the earth and, in despair, the nations are rushing for arms and arming for safety. Under these circumstances what hope can one reasonably entertain for the New Year ? "

Happily, South Africa's year largely justified the Premier's optimism, to the industrial and legislative achievements of which his colleague in a more benign mood later on paid adequate tribute.

When the House rose on May 17 it could look back on a session which was notable for the volume of important legislation. It was concerned early on with the Abdication Bill, and soon afterwards with the Coronation Oath Bill, two measures framed to

meet legal contingencies arising out of the abdication of King Edward VIII, but not, as the Prime Minister was at pains to emphasise, "to surrender one inch of our constitutional liberties." But this assurance brought no comfort to the Nationalists, who walked out of the Chamber when the third reading of the Abdication Bill was taken on February 3. The measure did not even please the Dominion Party, at the other extreme of the political ladder; but it was carried by an overwhelming majority all the same. The Coronation Oath Bill was likewise passed by a large majority a fortnight later.

Rather more spectacular was the Aliens Bill, sponsored by Mr. R. Stuttaford, Minister of the Interior, and supported by General Smuts. He commended the "very reasonable" conditions of the measure, which, he said, would not restrict the flow of suitable white settlers. Mr. Stuttaford frankly admitted that the Bill was intended to prevent the unwanted citizens of other countries—"disapproved by various dictators"—upsetting the balance and texture of South Africa's population; but he informed the House that it would not prevent the best characteristics of other peoples being woven into the fabric of South Africa's national life. Here again Dr. Malan's Nationalists and Colonel Stallard's Dominion Party, implacable opponents on fundamental principles, found themselves allied in distrust of the Government. The debate was not of long duration. The third reading was taken on January 27, and the Bill, adopted by 87 votes to 26, passed to the Senate. It was put into operation on February 1.

The later stages of the session were taken up with Bills of considerable social value, including the Marketing Bill, which allows groups of farmers to organise their marketing on a strict co-operative basis; the Children's Bill, which consolidates and liberalises the Union's juvenile delinquency and related laws; the Industrial Conciliation and Wages Bill, improving industrial legislation; and the Unemployment Benefit Bill, providing for unemployment insurance in certain industries. Another important social measure was the Unbeneficial Occupation of Farms Bill, enabling the Government to compel the evacuation of overcrowded farms, to re-fence and renovate them, to resettle on them some of the displaced people, and to resettle redundant occupants elsewhere. This Bill derived its importance from the fact that the excessive sub-division of farms is one of the main factors in the creation of "poor whites." In addition, old age pensions were increased and public servants and the police given higher salaries.

At one period of the session a split in the Cabinet appeared likely to follow differences of opinion between Mr. Pirow and Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, two of the most brilliant of the Prime Minister's colleagues, over the proposal to impose restrictive legislation on Asiatics. Mr. Hofmeyr, who declared that he would resign

rather than support the measures, spoke of considerable opposition to them both in South Africa and India. The Government bowed to the storm and referred the Bills to a Select Committee. In April the Bill to prohibit the employment of white women by Asiatics emerged from the Select Committee, likewise to meet with a hostile reception by liberal elements. Even those who approved the principle of forbidding such employment were dissatisfied, for the measure made what was regarded as an abject compromise between principle and profit by exempting Japanese from the definition of "Asiatics" so long as Japan had a Trade Agreement with South Africa. Here, again, the Government were forced to recognise the strength of the opposition to their proposals, and on April 14 the Prime Minister announced that no further opportunity would be given by the Government for the discussion of the measure. Indian opinion greatly appreciated the decision.

Before the end of the parliamentary session there was a general exodus from Cape Town for the Coronation ceremony and the Imperial Conference in London. The delegation of Ministers consisted of General Hertzog (Prime Minister), Mr. N. C. Havenga (Minister of Finance), Mr. A. Fourie (Minister of Labour), Mr. C. F. Clarkson (Minister of Public Works), and they were accompanied by a large number of officials. The Prime Minister and his colleagues sailed from Cape Town at the end of April, and reached London on May 3. Mr. Malcolm MacDonald was at Waterloo to meet the distinguished visitors. Their stay lasted six weeks.

The Earl of Clarendon was succeeded in the Governor-Generalship of the Union by the Hon. Patrick Duncan, K.C., C.M.G. (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 136). The Governor-General Designate spent some weeks in the early part of the year in England. On February 8 Mr. Duncan was received by the King at Buckingham Palace, when His Majesty conferred upon him the honour of knighthood and invested him with the insignia of the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George (G.C.M.G.). Sir Patrick and Lady Duncan sailed for Cape Town on March 19, two days after the Earl of Clarendon had left South Africa on relinquishing office.

The future of the native Protectorates, Basutoland, Swaziland, and Bechuanaland, continued to occupy public attention. In the House of Commons in July, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald explained that during General Hertzog's visit there had been discussion on the position as it had developed since the agreement of two years ago between General Hertzog and Mr. J. H. Thomas. Mr. MacDonald said he explained to General Hertzog that the British Government's policy was still that set forth in the *aide memoire* of May 15, 1935, and he was considering what further steps might be practicable to implement that policy. General

Hertzog, speaking in Bloemfontein a few days later, chafed at the delay in handing the Protectorates to the Union, and accused the British Government of apathy in settling the question of transfer. This criticism moved Mr. MacDonald to make a detailed statement on the position in the House of Commons. The Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs reiterated that His Majesty's Government were determined to carry out loyally the policy which had been agreed to two years previously, and he shared General Hertzog's hope that the problem might be solved—in the best interests of all the peoples concerned—in friendly co-operation. Mr. MacDonald further informed the House that during his talks with General Hertzog it had been agreed to communicate further with each other. The Dominions Secretary was closely questioned regarding preservation of the rights and liberties of the native populations of the Protectorates, and he once again assured members that the Government stood by their pledges to consult the inhabitants of the territories.

It was also in Bloemfontein that the Prime Minister made his next important announcement of the subject. Speaking in the capital of the Orange Free State in October he prophesied that it would not be long before the Protectorates were handed over. "I recently received a letter written on behalf of the British Government/" he said, "which bears out what I said on my return from Europe, namely, that I had the fullest confidence that the British Government, when it came seriously to consider this question of the transfer of these territories to the Union, would feel our request for such a transfer one which in every way was due to be effected."

The first meeting of the Native Representative Council (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, pp. 133-5) was held at Pretoria early in December, General Smuts inaugurating the proceedings in the absence of the Prime Minister. Several constructive resolutions were adopted. The Council was gravely concerned with the spread of disease among native peoples, and it passed a resolution asking the Government to appoint native nurses as health visitors in the locations and reserves and to provide facilities for training natives as medical men, to be employed in the reserves as part of the State medical service.

SOUTH-WEST PROTECTORATE.

Deliberate attempts spread over a long period gradually to "Nazify" the German inhabitants of the Protectorate at length compelled the Union Government seriously to regard the intrigue (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 136).

It was announced in March that the Government were framing a Proclamation which would give the Administrator unparalleled power, such as authority to deport from the territory any person

who attempted a Nazi influence on the political life of the territory, or to terrorise, intimidate, or exercise improper pressure against another. Persons so ordered to be deported would have no right of appeal. In the House of Assembly, a few days later, Dr. Malan suggested that Government neglect of the Protectorate was largely responsible for the dissatisfaction which existed there. This stalwart and uncompromising opponent of the United Party on this occasion inferred that where the future of South-West Africa was concerned his views were largely in agreement with those of the Government. He believed that the future of the Protectorate was bound up with that of the Union. He asserted that where formerly a greater part of its population was of German extraction, the greater part of it was now of Union extraction. He quoted the London Agreement of 1923 between the British and German Governments, under which the latter agreed to use their influence on Germans in South-West Africa in the direction of inducing them to become Union citizens. The Prime Minister replied that the Government's policy was perfectly clear: it would not consider any policy involving the return of South-West Africa to Germany. He had always stated, he added, that he regarded South-West Africa as a natural part of the Union, and was not prepared to allow it to fall into other hands. He and the Government had always held the view that the problem of South-West Africa was a psychological one, to be solved with the co-operation of Germany. Along those lines the Government hoped for a solution that, at the expiration of the Mandate, would find the Protectorate as part of the Union.

The next development came from Germany, where reports of the Union Government's intention to take vigorous action against Nazi activities in the Protectorate aroused bitter resentment. Particularly objectionable was that sentence of the Government's Proclamation which made it an offence for Union subjects to give allegiance to the head of any State other than the King. Herr Wiehl, the German Minister in the Union, handed a note of protest against the Proclamation to the Prime Minister. General Hertzog boldly defended the Government's action, and produced evidence in justification of the protective measures it intended to adopt. The Government also issued a detailed statement of policy in regard to the Protectorate on which its measures were based, and in the House, towards the end of April, the Prime Minister replied at length to Germany's protest against the Anti-Nazi Proclamation. Nazi control of German affairs in the Protectorate ended on July 1 with the dissolution of the political organisation known as the Deutsche Bund. Immediately afterwards it was announced that Germans who had become naturalised had formed a new party, the Deutsche Sudwestbund, consisting only of naturalised ex-Germans pledged to maintain and promote the German language and culture and respect the laws of the

Protectorate while remaining citizens. It was also announced that a petition from Germans in the territory is to be presented to the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations criticising the report and conclusions of the Judicial Commission and declaring that the Proclamation issued by the High Commissioner (Dr. Conradie) was unnecessary and unjustified.

SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN RHODESIA.

Early in February it was announced that the King had been pleased to approve the term of office of Sir Herbert James Stanley, G.C.M.G., as Governor of Southern Rhodesia, which was originally made for a period of three years, being extended until the end of 1940. Although it had been publicly stated that a conference to discuss the amalgamation of the two Rhodesias would be held in London during June, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald had to inform the House of Commons in the following month that no such conference had taken place. The Dominions Secretary explained, however, that Mr. Ormsby-Gore and himself had taken the opportunity of hearing the views of Mr. Huggins, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia. The amendments to the Constitution of the Colony were embodied in a measure entitled the " Constitution Amendment Bill " and introduced in the House of Assembly in October. The Act deals principally with the elimination of the British High Commissioner in South Africa as the intermediary between Southern Rhodesia and the Imperial Government. All matters will in future be dealt with direct between the Governor and the Secretary of State. Certain native affairs formerly dealt with by the High Commissioner acting for the Imperial Government will now be supervised by a Board of Trustees appointed under the Act. The Chairman of the Board is the Governor, and the other members are the Chief Justice and Chief Native Commissioner. In the course of the second reading, the Prime Minister explained that the Imperial Government was not prepared to allow a closer approach to full responsible government requested by the Legislative Assembly in 1934, but that there would have been no reservations had there not been a desire in Southern Rhodesia for differential legislation as between the white and native population. The Prime Minister made clear that the time was not opportune for urging the removal of the remaining reservations.

The Marquess of Hartington, Under-Secretary for the Dominions, in the House of Commons on November 23, stated that in accordance with the wishes of the Government of Southern Rhodesia and after consultation with the Governors of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the British Government proposed to ask His Majesty to appoint a Royal Commission to visit the territories concerned. The terms of reference were as follows :

To inquire and report whether any, and if so, what form of closer co-operation or association between Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland is desirable and feasible, with due regard to the interests of all the inhabitants, irrespective of race, of the territories concerned and to the special responsibility of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom for the interests of the native inhabitants.

CHAPTER IV.

AUSTRALASIA.

AUSTRALIA.

A CORONATION, followed by an Imperial Conference in London, necessarily reduced politics in Australia to a minimum during 1937. Leading members of the Cabinet were in England for several months, and legislation was further curtailed by a Referendum in March and a General Election in the autumn, both of which called for intensive electioneering in the constituencies. In the result Mr. Lyons was victorious in the General Election, and was once more elected Leader of the United Australia Party. Together with Dr. Earle Page, Leader of the Country Party, Mr. Lyons formed another Coalition Cabinet, constituted as follows :—

Mr. J. A. LYONS	Prime Minister.
Dr. EARLE PAGE	Commerce.
Mr. R. GR. MENZIES.	Attorney-General and Minister for Industry.
Mr. W. M. HUGHES.	External Affairs and Territories.
Senator A. J. MCLACHLAN -	Postmaster-General and Leader of the Senate.
Mr. T. W. WHITE	Trade and Customs.
Mr. R. G. CASEY.	Treasurer.
Mr. H. V. C. THOBBY.	Defence.
Mr. JOHN MCEWEN.	Interior.
Senator H. S. FOLL.	War Services.

Four Assistant Ministers were also included in the Cabinet, Mr. J. A. Perkins being attached to the Ministry of Customs, Mr. C. V. Thompson to the Treasury, and Mr. A. G. Cameron and Senator A. N. MacDonald to the Ministry of Commerce. Sir Henry Gullett resigned his office as Minister in Charge of Trade Treaties on March 10, after a dispute with his colleagues in connexion with the Canadian trade treaty, which Mr. Euler, Canadian Minister of Trade, attempted to negotiate during a visit to Canberra in the spring. Sir Henry Gullett had been Federal Minister for Trade and Customs in Mr. Brace's Ministry in 1928, and after a short resignation in 1933 returned to Mr. Lyons's

Cabinet in 1934. In accepting the resignation Mr. Lyons expressed his appreciation of Sir Henry's unselfish work. The defeat of Sir George Pearce, Sir Archdale Parkhill, and Senator Brennan deprived Mr. Lyons of other senior colleagues. In the present Cabinet, New South Wales has five representatives, Victoria four, South Australia two, and Western Australia and Tasmania one apiece. In addition to his ministerial office, the veteran Mr. William Hughes is Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council.

The Referendum on March 7 related to amendments to the Federal Constitution, and followed upon decisions of the Australian High Court, set out in the *ANNUAL REGISTER*, 1936 (p. 144). The changes proposed by the Lyons Government were (a) That the Commonwealth Parliament should have power to make laws regulating to Air Navigation and Aircraft; and (b) That it should have power to pass legislation controlling inter-State trade. The voting resulted :—

<i>Air Navigation,</i>				<i>Marketing.</i>			
Yes		1,924,946		Yes		1,259,808	
No		1,669,062		No		2,214,388	
Informal	- - -	150,355		Informal	- - -	270,167	
Majority for	- - -	255,884		Majority against	- - -	954,580	

According to the Australian Constitution, before any amendment becomes effective it must secure a majority of the total votes in a majority of the States. In fact, four of the States showed clear majorities against the aviation amendment, while the marketing amendment was defeated in all the States. It is difficult to believe the Government proposals were defeated solely on their merits. A certain amount of anti-Federal and pro-State sentiment must be assumed if the voting is to be explained. In all probability, if the aviation issue had been submitted to the electorate alone, it would have been decided in the Governments favour. Fear of further State control over business influenced many voters to vote "No" regardless of the precise issue.

Following the Referendum vote, the Commonwealth Government decided to leave the solution of the marketing problem, so far as it affected primary producers, to the States, while it invited the States to confer with the Federal authorities, with a view to securing uniformity of aviation regulations.

Voting in the Federal Election took place on October 23, at the expiration of the three years for which Parliament had been elected. Writs were issued on September 24 and the last day for nominations was October 2. At the date of the dissolution the state of the parties in the House of Representatives was : Government Party, 46 (32 United Australia Party and 14 Country Party); Labour Party, 28. The election was

fought on the defence issue, the Labour Party arguing that Australia could best assist Imperial defence by being able to defend herself with a large Air Force, leaving the Mother Country free to defend herself and her Colonies. The Government policy, on the contrary, was to rely upon the Australian Navy, which would co-operate with Britain's Fleet, and its advocates described the Labour leaders as refusing to co-operate with Great Britain on any general policy of Imperial defence.

For the rest, Mr. Curtin, the Leader of the Labour Opposition, announced the election policy of his party on August 12, well in advance of the polling date. A sweeping programme of banking and monetary reform included provision for the abolition of the Commonwealth Bank Board and the control of the bank by a single person appointed by the Government. Labour's monetary policy was described by Mr. Curtin as follows :—

The Commonwealth Bank to develop into : (a) A nation-wide trading bank ; (b) A savings bank ; (c) A *credit fonder* system for providing advances to primary producers and home-builders.

The utilisation of the real wealth of Australia to ensure a maximum standard of living consistent with the productive capacity of the Commonwealth through national control of its credit resources and the establishment of an efficient medium of exchange between consumption and production.

Provision of essential community purchasing power by the organisation of employment and the expansion of social services to enable Australian primary and secondary industries to operate at maximum capacity.

The control of interest rates.

A Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the Australian monetary and banking system had issued its report in July. Its main recommendation (in Chapter VI, paragraph 530) was that where there was a conflict between the Government of the day and the Board of the Commonwealth Bank regarding " what is best in the national interest," it should be the duty of the Bank to carry out the policy of the Government; but, with one dissentient, the Commission recommended against the nationalisation of banking. Mr. Curtin favoured even wider powers for the Government than the Royal Commission report envisaged.

Mr. Curtin also proposed to terminate the licences issued to seventy or more commercial-operated broadcasting stations in Australia, and transfer them from private to direct Government control. Mr. Curtin amplified Labour policy in a speech from his constituency, Fremantle, delivered on September 20. In this he claimed that no Australian should be compelled to serve on foreign battle-fields.

Mr. Lyons's policy speech was delivered at Deloraine, Tasmania, on September 28. He urged that in anxious times, such as the present, Australians desired an assurance of the benefits of their traditional association with the United Kingdom rather than a policy of isolation. "An isolationist policy which would **leave** Australia unguarded until the enemy was actually at our

shores must expose Australia to the frightful danger of having our coastal cities and towns destroyed in a manner which is occurring in another part of the world. The Government's policy aims at preventing the enemy reaching our territorial waters. Only by close co-operation between a strong Australian Navy and the fleets of the Empire can we hope to prevent the enemy coming within striking distance of Australia. The Government believes that the Australian people stand for co-operation with the Empire and that manifestation of Empire solidarity is itself a deterrent to aggression."

As for his trade policy, Mr. Lyons said it would be based upon (1) Adequate protection of all efficient and economic Australian industries ; (2) Imperial preference ; and (3) Beneficial tariff agreements with foreign countries in the interests of export trade. An important passage in the speech was a warning to Australians regarding the dangers threatening from the declining birth-rate and the stoppage of immigration. Since 1911 the birth-rate had fallen from 27·2 to 17·15 per 1,000, while between 1931 and 1934, 20,000 more people had left Australia than had entered. " Australia is losing more lives in a single year than in the four years of the Great War."

In the result Labour gained a single seat in the House of Representatives, the final count being :—

Government Party (United Australia Party 28, Country Party 17)	45
Labour Party.	29
Independent.	1

Mr. Lyons, therefore, had a majority of fifteen. In the Senatorial Election nineteen seats were contested, and Mr. Lyons's party was only able to win three, those in South Australia. His majority in the Upper House was thus reduced to four votes. In electing Senators, the whole of each State forms a single constituency, whereas the House of Representatives is elected on the single-member local constituency system. This is probably the chief reason for the difference in the results of the two votings.

The defeat of Sir Archdale Parkhill, Minister for Defence, at Warringah by 2,308 votes was a surprise. On September 8, Sir Archdale had presented the estimates for the Defence Department and his policy was apparently approved by the electorate. The vote of 11,531,000l. was a record one, and included provision for strengthened anti-aircraft, particularly at Sydney, Newcastle, Fremantle, Brisbane, Darwin, Melbourne, and Hobart. Sir Archdale also announced that the Government would largely increase the local manufacture of munitions, thus relieving Great Britain of the necessity, and establishing in the Commonwealth a potential source of Empire supply. The sum of 100,000l. would be provided for placing educational orders with manufacturers to gauge the potentialities of industry. Such orders would be for steel shell bodies, steel and iron bomb bodies, and

brass primers for Army shells. Provision would also be made for the production of cartridge cases for anti-aircraft ammunition, a new type of anti-aircraft gun, and the Bren machine-gun. The Government's proposals included a loan of 2,500,000*l.* for defence purposes by the issue of Treasury bills in London. Mr. Casey, the Federal Treasurer, explained that the Government could not borrow in Australia, as within a year or so 73,000,000*l.* of Australian debt was due for conversion and it was essential to restrict local borrowing in order to keep the interest rate low.

Mr. R. G. Casey, in his Budget speech on August 28, was able to reveal a surplus of 1,276,558*l.* in 1936-37, the revenue for the following year being estimated at 85,190,000*2.*, and the expenditure at 85,160,000*2.* The accumulated deficit, which was 17,002,866*l.* in July, 1935, had been reduced to 15,658,000*l.* by July, 1937. No taxation remissions were made, but the Ministry proposed an increase of *Is.* a week in old age and other State pensions. Mr. Casey was also able to give a glowing picture of Australia's material prosperity, which he described as higher than at any time in the nation's history. Production had reached peak after peak, real wages were higher, savings bank deposits had reached record totals, and the overseas trade position had improved markedly. The total value of Australia's exports, including gold and silver, in 1936-37 was 126,200,000*2.*, while the value of imports was 90,500,000*2.* Of the favourable balance of 35,700,000*l.* a little over 22,000,000*l.* was required for Government and local government bodies interest, in addition to several millions of pounds of sinking fund remittances. It was estimated that the total of all credits was sufficient to settle all overseas liabilities and add the substantial sum of about 20,000,000*2.* to reserves of London funds.

The outstanding reason for the material prosperity enjoyed by Australia in 1937 was the income derived from wool. During the wool season ended June 30, 1937, this totalled 60,175,000*2.*, and was the second highest in Commonwealth history. Owing to this prosperity, the Commonwealth Arbitration Court in June, 1937, was able to award 600,000 workers, affiliated in 53 trade unions, an increase in their basic wage averaging 5*s.* weekly over the whole Commonwealth. This meant an annual gain to the workers of about 6,250,000*l.*, making the basic wage 32. 12*s.* in Adelaide, 32. 14*s.* in Brisbane, Perth, and Hobart, 32. 15*s.* in Melbourne, and 32. 18*s.* in Sydney. In the judgment of the Arbitration Court, the upward trend of productivity and income since 1935 had restored Australia to pre-depression standards, with the additional advantage that the Commonwealth no longer relied upon overseas borrowings. The quantity of chief primary products had increased by 25 per cent, between 1925 and 1935, the value of manufactures from 94,000,000*2.* to 102,500,000*2.* between 1928 and 1936, while distributed profits

and reserves had steadily increased and unemployment was almost normal.

Closely associated with Australia's trading position in 1937 was the Commonwealth's relation to the Ottawa Agreements, which was the subject of more than one Ministerial declaration during the year. The Anglo-Australian Trade Agreement was due to expire on August 20, 1937, but will live on subject to six months' notice by either the Australian or the British Government. Speaking at Canberra on February 16, Mr. Lyons stated that the Federal Ministry proposed to give notice of denunciation of the agreement, with a view to recasting certain clauses, but it soon became plain that what Mr. Lyons really desired might better be met by modifications arising from negotiating with Britain, rather than reconstruction of the treaty following upon renunciation. In fact, the matter was not discussed formally during the Imperial Conference in London in May, and the announcement of the Anglo-American trade negotiations later in the year has since made it plain that the matter of the Ottawa Agreements will have to be dealt with in the broadest spirit. Mr. White, Minister of Trade, and Mr. Menzies, as Minister for Industry, set out the Federal Government's position in the House of Representatives at Canberra on December 7. Mr. Menzies pointed out that an Anglo-American trade *rapprochement* should not begin or end as an expression of a policy of exclusiveness, but lead to world-wide co-operation. While Australia's eyes to-day were on London and Washington, they would not see clearly unless in the background they discerned Paris, Rome, and Moscow. The Government could not yet formulate precise plans, but the first general principle was the maintenance of Australia's industrial development. On this depended her capacity to absorb immigrants, and it was essential to her existence. He did not wish to foreshadow any abandonment of Empire preference, but without razing her walls Australia must occasionally be prepared to do business with others over them. It was impossible to believe that the United Kingdom, with all her goodwill, could continue indefinitely to absorb more and more of Australia's surplus production.

On August 25 Mr. Menzies, as Federal Attorney-General, introduced into the House of Representatives a Bill for the adoption of such sections of the Statute of Westminster for which Commonwealth consent was still required. Mr. Menzies, echoing a large body of Australian opinion, was not enthusiastic about the Statute, holding that it reduced to a cold legal formula a relationship which had gained value from the earlier vagueness and consequent elasticity. The preamble to the Statute in effect recognised Australia as having the status which the Statute envisaged. The Labour opposition accepted the Government measure, practically without comment.

Passing from Federal to State policies, the Loan Council, in session at Canberra on July 16, agreed to restrict borrowings for 1937-38 to 16,000,000*, allocated as follows : Commonwealth, 2,500,000l. ; New South Wales, 5,225,000l. ; Victoria, 2,400,000l. ; Queensland, 2,400,000l. ; South Australia, 1,200,000l. ; Western Australia, 1,500,000l. ; Tasmania, 775,000l. The Council also approved semi-Governmental loans totalling 7,923,000l. In view of the heavy deficits during the economic crisis, when the Australian Budget deficits totalled 25,390,000* in 1930-31, the situation in 1937 was clearly very satisfactory.

Mr. Stevens, the New South Wales Premier, presenting his sixth Budget statement at Sydney on September 22, announced the first surplus for ten years and produced evidence of recovery, which was most encouraging to his electorate. In place of the deficit of 14,200,000l. when Mr. Stevens took over office from Mr. Lang in June, 1932, the State accounts showed a surplus of 74,310* in June 1937.

The Victorian Budget speech was delivered by Mr. Dunstan, the Premier and Treasurer, on August 12, and a surplus was announced for the first time since 1929. The surplus was 21,000*. The railway returns also showed a surplus, as a result of writing off 30,000,000* of railway capital. In September the State was unexpectedly faced with a General Election, following upon the failure of the Legislative Council to pass the Constitution (Reform) Bill. The Lieutenant-General, Sir Frederick Mann, at the request of Mr. Dunstan, granted an immediate dissolution of the Legislative Assembly, and voting took place on October 2. It resulted in slight gains for the Labour supporters of Mr. Dunstan's Country Party Ministry, but practically the General Election decided nothing, as Mr. Dunstan remained dependent upon Labour support. The Premier, however, when the State Parliament reassembled on October 19, announced the early reintroduction of the Legislative Council Reform Bill.

In South Australia, Mr. Butler, the Premier, was also able to introduce a "prosperity Budget." This was on September 8, when he declared the State's estimated revenue as 12,248,000*, and the expenditure as 12,244,000l. Mr. Forgan Smith introduced the Queensland Budget on September 9, when the revenue was estimated at 17,000,000l., showing a deficit of 330,000l., largely due to increased basic wage charges. Sir Leslie Wilson, the popular Governor of the State, was appointed for a second term of five years, at the express wish of the Queensland Government. Like Victoria, Tasmania had a General Election during 1937, Mr. Ogilvie, the Labour Premier, securing a majority of six in a House of Assembly numbering 30. In November Mr. Ogilvie secured an amendment to the State Constitution curtailing the powers of the Legislative Council. This followed a

dispute between the Council **and** the Assembly over an Appropriation **Bill**, which contained a vote of free medical services to country districts. The Council refused to pass the Bill on the ground that it was an extraneous clause, attached to the **Bill**, so as to secure its passage through the Council, which was powerless to amend a purely Money Bill. The amendment deprived the Council of power to reject an Appropriation Bill.

An important report upon the future of the Northern Territory was issued at Canberra on December 8, the gist of which was a warning against the belief that great prospects lie hidden in the territory. In the opinion of the Commissioners much of the territory is as fully occupied as it can ever be.

NEW ZEALAND.

A Labour Government, with an advanced Socialist policy, was in office in New Zealand throughout 1937. Actual legislation, however, was small, as Mr. Savage, the Prime Minister, and Mr. Nash, the Minister of Finance, Customs, and Marketing, were in London in connexion with the Coronation and the Imperial Conference. Parliament was in recess for ten months. Mr. Savage was the guest at a civic reception in Wellington on his return on July 28. Describing the conference, he said there had been much plain speaking and division of opinion between the delegates, "but if Great Britain were in a difficulty to-morrow I do not think there would be much division." With a manifest reference to the years of the World War, Mr. Savage added, "I think about the same would happen as happened last time." Other statements made by Mr. Savage at the time of his return to Wellington suggested that he was disappointed that the Imperial Conference did not make closer contact with the realities of the Imperial situation, but believed the worth of the discussions could not be estimated entirely by immediate results. "Useful work had been done."

Lord Galway, the Governor-General, opened the Dominion Parliament on September 9, and Mr. Nash presented his second Budget to the House of Representatives on September 28. Though the revenue of New Zealand had increased by 18 per cent, on the year and the total of 31,067,000l. showed an increase of 4,894,000l., corresponding increases in expenditure made it impossible to decrease taxation. Expenditure during the coming financial year would be increased to 34,428,000l., that is by 3,753,000l. Among other things the Government required 1,700,000l. for pensions, and this alone would necessitate 1,000,000l. more from income tax and a further 800,000l. from the land tax. Mr. Nash, however, had no doubt regarding the wisdom of generous spending and, as evidence of the Dominion's success in its policy

of increasing the purchasing power of consumers by raising the national standard of living, he recalled that since 1935, when the Savage Government took office, the value of national production had risen from 98,800,000*l.* to 114,200,000*l.*, while salaries and wages had risen from 65,700,000*l.* to 85,000,000*l.* "The Government's policy," said Mr. Nash, "was to obtain the maximum utilisation of the Dominion resources." Development work totalling 17,367,000*l.* would be put in hand during the year, including railway construction, public buildings, road-making, and the building of about 5,000 houses, at a cost of 3,000,000*£*. If the existing volume of credit was insufficient, further credit would be made available. Part of the expenditure would be financed by deposits in the Post Office Savings Bank. Mr. Nash said that the prosperity now enjoyed by New Zealand was largely the result of measures taken by the Savage Government, and he claimed that between June, 1935, and June, 1937, the purchasing power of wages had increased by 9 per cent., whereas, so Mr. Nash said, the purchasing power of wages both in Great Britain and Australia had declined during the same period.

In connexion with the 5,000 houses, 3,000,000*l.* of new money was created by the Reserve Bank. Mr. Nash's original proposal envisaged houses costing 600*l.* apiece, apart from the land, but the Minister of Labour estimated that the houses would not cost less than 700*l.* The rental of the new houses was announced on May 24 and ranged from 1*l.* a week for a three-roomed flat to 1*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* for a six-roomed house, subject to 2*s.* 6*d.* rebate for good tenancy. The rent included provision for repairs and the repayment of the capital cost during the life-time of each house. There was no difficulty in finding tenants for the houses, though the rents were higher than supporters of the Government had anticipated.

Another interesting aspect of New Zealand's socialistic policy is her experiment in Government marketing, particularly the control she exercises over the dairy produce industry. New Zealand is the largest supplier of butter to Great Britain, and all her dairy produce, cheese as well as butter, now becomes the property of the Government when it is placed on shipboard for export. The farmers' co-operative association is paid the guaranteed price for any produce shipped, by means of a cheque drawn upon the Dairy Industry Account at the New Zealand Reserve Bank. When the goods are sold overseas the proceeds are paid into the Dairy Industry Account, and if there is a deficit it is borne by the New Zealand Government. As a fact, Mr. Nash disclosed on August 30 that the previous dairying season had resulted in a deficit of 650,000*l.*, but he claimed that this sum had justly gone to the dairy farming industry for services rendered to the community. During the 1936-37 season 13-5 pence a pound was paid for fat supplied for butter and 14-5 pence per pound for fat

supplied for cheese. The prices for the 1937-38 season were expected to be 13-88 pence and 15-88 pence for butter and cheese respectively. The difference is due to the fact that suppliers to the butter factories can retain the skim milk for farm purposes.

On December 2 an even more drastic reform was introduced, when the Government brought forward their Primary Products' Marketing Act in the House of Representatives for its second reading. This empowered the Marketing Department to fix maximum and minimum prices for dairy produce, fruit, honey, eggs, and any other foodstuffs prescribed by Order in Council. Profit margins and the general conditions of sale could also be determined by Orders in Council. The Bill allowed the Government to authorise the Department to buy any foodstuffs at fixed prices and export the quantity which was not required for local consumption. An internal marketing account would be kept at the Reserve Bank, from which payments would be made in connexion with the marketing schemes. Mr. Nash explained that the Bill was designed to promote orderly marketing with a maximum return to the producer and a minimum price to the consumer, after meeting the legitimate intermediate costs, instead of leaving the producers' return to the higgling of the market.

The Opposition was severely critical regarding the powers assumed by the Government, pointing out that the Bill empowered the Government to commandeer any foodstuffs at any time and at any price and that producers would have no say in the matter. No private trader could compete against the Government using cheap Reserve Bank money.

On August 11 Mr. Savage announced that New Zealand industries would be protected against unfair overseas competition, including undercutting by shoddy imports. Anything that could reasonably be produced in New Zealand should be so produced, and the Government intended that such industries should have due protection. "People on the other side of the world," added Mr. Savage, "are well aware what our objective is—the full enjoyment of our own productive resources."

The New Zealand Government's financial reforms are mainly connected with banking, and took the form of a Reserve Bank Amendment Act, providing for the cancellation of the private share capital in the Reserve Bank, legislation which gave the Government full and absolute control of currency and credit in the Dominion, as was set out in the ANNUAL REGISTER of 1936 (p. 149). The Reserve Bank of New Zealand began business in August, 1934, with a capital of 500,000l., composed of 100,000 publicly subscribed shares of 5l. each, bearing a cumulative dividend of 5 per cent. By legislative act the Savage Ministry bought out the public shareholders, paying full market value, 6l. 5s. for the 5l. shares. The constitution of the Bank was altered so that the governor and the board of directors now hold office

at the pleasure of the Governor-General in Council. Moreover, the Secretary of the Treasury was entitled to attend all meetings, and the policy of the Bank had to conform to the policy laid down by the Minister for Finance on behalf of the Government. The Reserve Bank Amendment Act also authorised the Reserve Bank, which does not engage in any ordinary banking business, to control the transfer of moneys to and from New Zealand and to control the amount of deposits which the trading Banks must keep with the Reserve Bank. The Bank may grant to the Treasury accommodation to the extent of the full estimated revenue of the year and may grant the Government overdrafts to finance the purchase and marketing of New Zealand products. It may also buy and sell Government securities, underwrite Government loans, and has the sole right of the note issue.

In view of these extensive reforms, it was perhaps surprising that certain supporters of the New Zealand Labour Ministry during 1937 pressed for even more complete control of the banking system by the Government. In other words, a section of the Labour Party desires to press beyond the Government objective, which was summed up as "the socialisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange" and "the extension of the organisation of the workers in industry, together with the co-operation of all who render social service, to the end that society may be controlled in the interests of all the people." At the Labour Party Conference at Easter, 1937, a minority invited the conference to restate the Labour objective thus :—

"That the objective of the party is the overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment in its place of Socialism, meaning by Socialism the public ownership of all sources of wealth and exchange, co-operatively controlled by the workers engaged therein."

This proposal was rejected by a large majority, and by 487 votes to 14 the conference also refused rights of affiliation to the Communist Party. A table published by the Associated Chamber of Commerce in New Zealand, showing the number of people dependent upon the State, however, revealed that Socialisation had already gone a considerable distance in the Dominion under the Savage Government. One person in every eight is now dependent on State pensions and one person in every twenty is dependent on State trading enterprises. One person in every thirty is dependent upon public works expenditure and one person in every thirty-one is dependent on unemployment sustenance payments. As a writer in *The Bound Table* puts it, one person in every three or four of the population of New Zealand is now directly dependent on the State.

In view of this progress towards the more extreme forms of Socialism, the opponents of the New Zealand Labour Party met in conference at Wellington on May 13 and 14 to revise their

political machinery. The old United and Reform Party organisations were dispensed with, and in their place a National Party was set up, with a constitution which was claimed as "probably the most democratic in the world." The basis of the constitution is the body of party members in each electorate, which chooses its own parliamentary candidate, as well as the electorate committee, which sends delegates to the party conference. The policy of the new National Party is stated as—

"To unite all men and women of goodwill who are unswervingly loyal to His Majesty the King" and who, "realising the advantages accruing to New Zealand from membership of the Empire, desire to promote the Empire's political and economic unity."

The leader of the National Party is Mr. A. Hamilton, who has promised to work for private enterprise, personal responsibility and individualism, and the preservation of existing society. When the New Zealand Parliament opened on September 9, Mr. Hamilton acted as leader of the Opposition and moved the chief amendment, to the effect that the Government's persistent encroachment upon the right of private ownership and its bureaucratic method of control of industry had created a serious lack of confidence in the development of New Zealand's industrial enterprise. The division on September 28 resulted in a Government victory by 52 votes to 17.

Less spectacular, but equally important from the standpoint of Imperial responsibilities, were the changes which Mr. F. Jones was making during 1937 in connexion with New Zealand defence. In this, the New Zealand Labour Party does not lag behind any political unit in the Empire. Speaking at Wellington after his return from the Coronation, Mr. Savage said: "We made it plain that we were concerned, not only with the defence of our own shores and our own people, but also with the defence of the whole British Commonwealth." Later Mr. Savage used the phrase, "the British Commonwealth of Nations would have to sink or swim together." Mr. Jones, Minister of Defence, issued the details of his proposed reorganisation of the Territorial Force on August 25. The peace-time establishment would be 8,000 officers and men, comprising four mounted rifle regiments, one mechanised and three horse; three infantry battalions; and ten field, four medium and two light batteries. For coastal defence there would be three infantry battalions, two coastal batteries and two anti-aircraft groups. On July 1 Mr. Jones announced that the Dominion was co-operating with Australia in order that the New Zealand Defence Force might keep in touch with developments arising from mechanisation. As for the Navy, during a debate on September 30, Mr. Jones stated that New Zealand was maintaining two of the latest cruisers, H.M.S. *Achilles* and H.M.S. *Leander*, and was providing an increasing proportion of New Zealand ratings. The naval base at Auckland was also being

extended. Under the advice of a British air officer the New Zealand Air Force was being built up and modelled on the lines of the Royal Air Force, so that the different Forces could co-operate in any emergency.

Earlier in the year, on April 2, the British, Australian, and New Zealand Governments agreed on the principle of joint control of the Trans-Tasman air mail service. Other important decisions were an extension of the Canado-New Zealand Trade Agreement for a year and the ratification of a Trade Agreement with Germany. The Canadian settlement was announced on September 30, and that with Germany on October 5. The agreement will operate for two years, and New Zealand removed the surtax and reduced by an average of 5 to 10 per cent, the general tariff duty on sixteen classes of German goods, including drugs, musical instruments, and photographic goods. The reductions were arranged to preserve the 20 per cent, preferential margin for British goods. For her part, Germany undertook to make available the full credits accruing from New Zealand's purchases of German goods for the purchase of New Zealand products and promised that specified proportions shall be used to buy butter and apples.

On October 26 a Physical Welfare and Recreation Bill was introduced in the House of Representatives by the Minister for Internal Affairs, Mr. Parry. The Minister explained that the Bill mainly followed the lines of a British measure. It would authorise the constitution of a council comprising the Minister for Internal Affairs, health and education directors, and representatives of defence and sports bodies. The Government would also be empowered to make grants for the promotion of physical health and extending recreation facilities.

CHAPTER V.

INDIA AND BURMA.

THE year was memorable for the separation of Burma from British India ; for the launching of Provincial Autonomy ; for the long period of doubt and uncertainty between the " appointed day " for these changes and the acceptance of office in the six Provinces where the Congress Party had been victorious at the polls ; and for the absence of the heavy storms many had expected after the new vessel put out to sea. Frontier operations on a considerable scale were necessary ; there was both considerable industrial unrest and occasional communal disturbance. On the whole, however, India enjoyed an internal tranquillity which many great countries of the world might well have envied.

The prelude to the Constitutional changes was the General Election in January and February for the enlarged Legislative

Assemblies in the eleven Provinces of British India, and for Second Chambers, under the name of Legislative Councils, in six of them. Though the vast majority of the 30,000,000 electors were both newly enfranchised and unable to read or write, keen interest was shown, and in the contested seats for the Assemblies 54.5 per cent, of persons on the registers went to the polls. While condemning the new Constitutional structure root and branch, the Congress Party offered a programme of wide agrarian and social reform. The opposition of other groups and interests, mostly unco-ordinated, to the only well-organised party fighting on an all-India platform, was generally feeble. In Madras, the United Provinces, Bihar, the Central Provinces and Orissa absolute majorities over all other parties were obtained, while in Bombay a Congress majority was partly made up of so-called Independents. In the Provinces where the Moslem element is dominant or strong—Bengal, the Punjab, Sind, and the North-West Frontier—and also in Assam, the election results permitted the prompt formation of non-Congress Coalition Ministries.

The Left Wing Socialist section of the Congress under the stimulating leadership of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the year, continued to urge a policy of non-acceptance of office. But contrary counsels were strong, and the All-India Congress Committee meeting at Delhi on March 18, adopted by 127 votes to 70 a resolution framed by the Working Committee, recommending office acceptance. It laid down, however, that the leader in each Province who was invited by the Governor to form a Ministry should be satisfied and be able to state publicly that "as long as he and his Cabinet act within the Constitution, the Governor will not use his special powers of interference or set aside the advice of his Ministers."

The inevitable answer of each of the Governors to this demand was that no such pledge could be given consistently with the 1935 Act and His Majesty's Instruments of Instructions based thereon. Promises of sympathetic co-operation were not considered adequate and—mostly much against their own wishes—the provincial Congress leaders declined the invitation to form Ministries. Hence when April 1—the "appointed day" for instituting Provincial Autonomy—arrived, the new system was started on normal Parliamentary lines in five Provinces only, while in the other six Cabinets representing a coalition of minority parties were formed. Fortunately the Act did not make obligatory the convening of the new Legislatures by the Governors until October 1.

This breathing time enabled considered statements to be made in Parliament by Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State for India, and Mr. R. A. Butler, the Under-Secretary, which helped to narrow the rift and to encourage the Congress Right Wing and its newspapers to press for an early settlement of the dispute. Mr.

Gandhi, solicitous not to split the Congress Party in twain, skilfully exercised his great influence in the direction of moderation and common sense. He obtained successive modifications of the Congress demand, and early in June it had been whittled down to the question whether Ministers in serious disagreement with the Governor should resign or be dismissed.

While giving the Governors his steadfast guidance and support, the Viceroy had so far made no public statement. He now effectively intervened with a detailed message to India, preceded on the evening of June 21 by a broadcast speech. Lord Linlithgow gave a final and authoritative interpretation of the intentions of Government, and made clear his genuine sympathy with the policy of conferring real responsibility on Provincial Cabinets, and with the desire of Indian reformers to ameliorate the lot of the poorer peasantry. This climax of endeavours to remove "honest doubt" and misunderstanding marked the turning-point of the crisis.

A session of the Working Committee of Congress at Wardha, near Mr. Gandhi's village home in the Central Provinces, followed. On July 7, the third day of discussion, a resolution was passed permitting office acceptance for the specific purpose of furthering in every possible way the Congress policy of combating the new Act on the one hand, and of presenting a constructive programme on the other. The decision was hailed with relief throughout the country. The stop-gap Ministries in the six Provinces resigned and were soon replaced by Congress Cabinets. In September a seventh Government was added to the list by the defeat in the North-West Frontier Assembly, of the late Sir Abdul Qaiyum and his replacement in the Premiership by the Congress leader, Dr. Khan Saheb, brother of Mr. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, of Red Shirt fame.

The Congress higher command sought to impose its authority upon the new Cabinets. Each Minister was required to pledge himself "to work in the Legislature and outside it for the independence of India and for ending the exploitation and poverty of her people." Another condition was that the maximum salary of a Minister should be Rs.500 (37l. 10s.) per month, with specified small allowances. Under Mr. Gandhi's influence and in the interest of the masses, a policy was ordained of alcoholic prohibition, to be fully achieved in three years, but without enforcing abstinence on European residents or Indians who have acquired Western habits. The lead was taken in Madras where from October 1 prohibition was applied to one revenue district—Salem; and in the United Provinces six revenue districts were scheduled for similar experiment. Opponents of the change drew attention to the widespread existence in the countryside of ready material for illicit distillation. The financial obstacles to prohibition were admitted to be formidable, since in some parts of India the net

excise receipts from drink and drugs provides one-fourth of the Provincial revenues.

Both in finance and in general administration the new Cabinets showed a keen desire to bring the application of their political theories into harmony with Constitutional realism. Relations between them and European members of the Civil Services were far easier than had seemed probable, for both parties showed a disposition to accept the new orientation in a common-sense spirit. A significant development was the tendency to friction between the Congress and certain extremist groups which in the past were closely allied to it, and notably the industrial labour organisations and the *Mean*, or peasant, parties. In all the Congress Provinces awkward corners had to be turned, and it seemed now and again that one or other of the new coaches might be upset. But speaking generally a good start was made, and on December 20, at Calcutta, the Viceroy expressed the encouragement it had been to him to see the manner in which Ministers of every party in every Province were meeting their heavy responsibilities ; they had made a realist approach to their task.

The inherent strength of the Constitution was in part responsible for this successful, though delayed, inauguration ; but an important contributory factor was the tact and patience shown by the Viceroy and the Provincial Governors both during and after the period of Congress hesitancy. The improved atmosphere was much helped by Lord Linlithgow taking the initiative in having an informal talk with Mr. Gandhi on August 4 at Delhi, on his way back to Simla from a tour in Assam, thus ending an estrangement of some five and a half years' duration between the head of the Government of India and the most powerful of Indian political personalities. The step was followed by other contacts with Congress leaders in the Indian Legislature.

No feature of the new system was more significant than the educative effect on Ministers of their responsibility for the maintenance of law and order. In accordance with election pledges, political prisoners to a total of about 100 were released in various parts of India. But each case was considered on its merits, and in no instance did the Governor consider that his special responsibility for the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of his Province had been affected. The Madras Government took care to accompany certain releases of this character by the intimation that the decision "should not be interpreted as a license for any form of subversive activity." Similar warnings were given in other Congress Provinces.

The special problem of the *ditenus* in Bengal, as shown in previous ANNUAL REGISTERS, had closely engaged the attention of Sir John Anderson from the time he became Governor in 1932, and he had adopted a policy of gradual release combined with schemes for training for useful vocations some of the young

Terrorists from the detention camps. At the end of November he made over charge to Lord Brabourne, who had been transferred from the Bombay Governorship, in which he was succeeded by Sir Roger Lumley. Shortly before retiring, Sir John gave his approval to withdrawal of the restrictions upon the liberty of 1,100 *detenus*, which was effected by the Government of Bengal, which is predominantly Moslem in composition. There remained some 450 "hard shell" cases, and Mr. Gandhi, who had taken an active part in promoting the policy of release, undertook to use his persuasions with each of these *detenus* to renounce the cult of Terrorism.

While the first great chapter in providing India with a new Constitution was written, further progress with the second—the establishment of All India Federation—was so hampered by opposition from various quarters and by the inherent difficulties that it seemed small, save in one important respect. Though none could confidently predict the date of the establishment of the Federation, the Federal Court was duly constituted at the beginning of October by the Viceroy swearing in Sir Maurice Gwyer, the Chief Justice, and his two colleagues, Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman and Mr. M. R. Jayakar. The Court was formally inaugurated at New Delhi on December 7 when messages of goodwill were received from the Lord Chancellor and the Chief Justices of Canada and Australia. Rules of the Court, regulating generally its practice and procedure were issued, and a Federal Bar was enrolled.

At Calcutta, on December 20, Lord Linlithgow spoke of his great anxiety and that of the Secretary of State to achieve at the earliest possible moment the culmination of the scheme embodied in the Act of 1935 by the establishment of Federation. He stated that the visits of his three emissaries to the Indian States to discuss with Rulers and their Ministers questions relating to the exercise of the option to enter into Instruments of Accession had yielded much valuable information, and it had been no light matter to analyse the results.

In the States outstanding events were the celebrations of the silver jubilee of the accession of the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar; the similar golden jubilee of the Maharaja of Bikanir, and the diamond jubilee of the Maharaja of Kapurthala. Further steps were taken in Hyderabad, the premier State, to associate the people more fully with the Administration. The Maharaja of Travancore celebrated the completion of his twenty-sixth year early in November by the issue of a proclamation establishing a University, thus following the example long set by the States of Hyderabad and Mysore.

When the separation of Burma from India was effected on April 1, the office of Secretary of State for Burma was instituted. It is held by Lord Zetland in conjunction with the Secretaryship

for India, and various agency functions for Burma are discharged in London by the High Commissioner for India and the Imperial Institute. Under the Governorship of Sir Archibald Cochrane the new, greatly advanced status of the country was entered upon with a good measure of success, having regard to the political immaturity of the people. On April 1 also the administrative connexion of Aden with British India ended, and she became a Crown Colony.

Pending the inauguration of Federation the Central Legislature continues to be based on the 1919 Reforms. It is not surprising therefore that the Government of India were, as in previous years, constantly defeated in the division lobby of an irresponsible Legislative Assembly. The action of the Assembly in deleting from the Indian Finance Bill increases in the excise and import duties on sugar, and reducing post-card rates, necessitated the certification of the Act by the Viceroy. Sir James Grigg, the Finance Member, had been called upon to make provision in his Budget for a net deficit of 158 lakhs (1,060,000Z.), but held that there was no reason why the prognostications of Sir Otto Niemeyer (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 154) should not be realised. In November it was announced that H.M. Government would recommend to Parliament a grant of 600,000l. spread over three years to assist the Government of India to meet the capital cost of mechanising certain units of the British Army in India.

The Waziristan troubles referred to in the ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936 (pp. 157-8) were not so readily composed as seemed probable at the end of that year. A settlement made on January 15 with the Tori Khel did not become effective. In May the firebrand Faqir of Ipi was driven from his retreat in the country between Razmak and the Afghan border. But the spread of tribal unrest, and numerous predatory raids, with loss of Ufe, into administered and protected areas led to the reinforcement of the normal Waziristan District Force (20,000 regular and 5,000 irregular troops) by 12,000 men with General Sir John Coleridge in command. Adding the civilians in military employ and followers, some 61,000 persons were engaged, a large proportion of them, including the protecting troops, on the civilising work of road-making. Some 105 miles of new roads were constructed, giving ready military access to the territory lying within the area of the Bannu-Razmak-Jandola and Dera Ismail Khan circular road. The decision to extend the protected tribal areas marked a new departure in frontier policy, but one which could only gradually be made effective. By the end of October our total casualties, mainly in sporadic fighting, had been 242 killed and 685 wounded. By the middle of December Sir John Coleridge was able to return to his normal headquarters at Rawalpindi as G.O.C., Northern Command, and stage by stage the additional troops were withdrawn.

Negotiations for a new Trade Agreement between India and the United Kingdom, in replacement of the Ottawa Pact of 1932 (which meanwhile continued in force), began in London after the Imperial Conference closed, and the official representative of India, Sir M. Zafrullah Khan, was assisted by seven non-official advisers. They returned to India in the autumn, and the negotiations continued. A similar course was followed in respect to corresponding negotiations with Burma.

The report of a small expert Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Chief General Manager of the L.N.E.R., directed to inquire into the working of the State-owned railways, was published at the end of June. The hopes expressed in the previous year by Sir Otto Niemeyer that in time the railways would be able to contribute to general Federal revenues were not confirmed by the Committee, who expressed the view that railways should no longer be looked to as a possible source of revenue for relief of general taxation. It was held that in future the railways, over a period of years, were unlikely, after making proper provision for reserves, to earn more net revenue than is required to meet their interest charges. Emphasis was placed on the need to make the railways a commercial concern with a commercial outlook. It should be noted that railway results for 1936-37 were the best for some years, and the improvement was continued through the remaining months of 1937.

The attempt of a German expedition under Dr. Karl Wien to scale the loftiest mountain in the British Empire, Nanga Parbat, in the Himalayas (26,629 ft.) was tragically frustrated by an avalanche on June 5, in which seven of the party of eight, and six Nepalese porters were overwhelmed. The survivor was Dr. Luft, the assistant physician.

FOREIGN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

FRUSTEATION of efforts to liquidate the unhappy legacy of the past and to re-establish the peace machine on firmer foundations was, in brief, the story of the League of Nations during the year 1937. The succession of setbacks sustained since 1931, which would have shattered an organisation with less inherent vitality, had left the League seriously weakened as an effective force in international politics. These disasters, however, had revealed certain remediable defects in League constitution and procedure. Given an adequate period of calm after the storms of recent years, useful progress might well have been made towards such goals as the separation of the Covenant from the Treaty of Versailles, the speeding up of League procedure for the handling of disputes in their early stages, and the development of League machinery for the rectification of grievances and injustices.

The year, indeed, opened auspiciously for Geneva with the settlement of the Alexandretta dispute between France and Turkey. Although the Spanish conflict was still dragging on, it was hoped to restrict the area of hostilities by means of non-intervention. Negotiations between the Great Powers were in prospect with a view to framing a new peace settlement for Europe.

Almost out of the blue came the fresh attack by Japan against the territorial integrity of China, which soon assumed a form alarming to all Western Powers with interests in the East. Earlier hopes of European appeasement were not, in fact, realised, and Italy, after joining Germany and Japan in the Anti-Comintern Pact, announced on December 11 her resignation from the League of Nations.

The Spanish Conflict,—For a variety of reasons, only limited use was made of the machinery of the League of Nations in the efforts of the Powers to deal with the situation created by the war in Spain. Normally a civil war would not have been the concern of the League, but in the case of Spain the notorious intervention of other nations introduced complications of a unique character. To those European Governments not actively

engaged in supplying assistance to one side or the other, the wisest course appeared to be to attempt to isolate the Spanish conflict, and to this end the special machinery of the London Non-intervention Committee was improvised. This Committee to some extent usurped the functions of the League, but the Spanish Government's reluctant agreement to this procedure did not prevent it from raising certain of its grievances at Geneva.

The health mission, sent by the League to Spain the previous month, completed its work by January 13, and reported to the Secretary-General five days later. Without doubt this technical aid did much to reduce the danger of epidemics in the fighting zones and among the refugees.

At the January session of the Council, after M. del Vayo had protested against "the legend of an extremist Spain which escapes all control," the Chilean representative raised the question of the evacuation of those refugees who were sheltering in fourteen Embassies or Legations in Madrid. It was agreed that direct negotiations should be opened in London. When the Council met in May, the Valencia Government once more protested against the intervention of certain Powers in the Spanish struggle. Resolutions were adopted, on May 29, urging more speedy action to secure the withdrawal of all non-Spanish combatants, and also condemning the use of methods contrary to international law and the bombing of open towns.

On August 21 the Valencia Government made a further appeal under Article 11 of the Covenant, citing the repeated attacks on Spanish merchant ships as proof of "the criminal conduct of the Italian Government." Señor Negrin, the Spanish Premier, himself attended the meetings of the Council and the Assembly in September to give chapter and verse for these accusations.

By this time the menace of piracy in the Mediterranean had become so acute that Great Britain and France took the initiative in summoning the Nyon Conference. Although this was not officially a League conference, the Secretary-General was M. Aghnides, Head of the League's Disarmament Section, and the League provided the Secretariat. Further, when it became clear that Italy would not attend, the concluding work was done at Geneva. By September 14, in the remarkably short space of four days, measures had been agreed upon for repressing acts of piracy by submarines, surface vessels, and aircraft in the Mediterranean. The League Council, in taking note of these measures, observed that they were effective.

Though Señor Negrin represented the only Spanish Government "recognised" in the League Assembly, he came to Geneva well aware that many of the Latin American States and certain European countries were more or less openly supporting General Franco. Moreover, General Franco — or his backers — had mobilised an amazingly efficient intelligence and propagandist

service at Geneva. By sheer tenacity, the Spanish Premier induced the Assembly's Political Committee to adopt a strong resolution calling attention to the presence of "veritable foreign army corps on Spanish soil" and envisaging the end of "non-intervention" if a speedy withdrawal could not be secured. The passage of this resolution through the Assembly was defeated by the last-minute opposition of Albania and Portugal. Since, however, the thirty-two States which endorsed the resolution included the United Kingdom, the other Great Powers at Geneva and the majority of European States, the moral effect of the verdict was considerable.

The Sino-Japanese Dispute.—The League of Nations was officially apprised of the renewal of the Sino-Japanese dispute on August 30, when the Chinese Government sent the Secretary-General a statement of events from the Lukouchiao incident on July 7 until the end of August. Japan's action, it was alleged, was "a case of aggression pure and simple," and a continuation of the programme started in Manchuria in September, 1931. An attempt was being made to destroy all the work of reconstruction which the Chinese nation had so steadily and assiduously undertaken during the past ten years. These acts constituted a violation of the League Covenant, the Kellogg Peace Pact, and the Nine-Power Treaty of 1922.

A few days later the League Assembly began its annual session. When Dr. Wellington Koo, in a moderate and restrained speech, presented the Chinese case, it was at once apparent that no conflict of opinion regarding the merits of the disputants would hamper a decision. His speech in English and the French interpretation were both applauded to the echo—an unusual demonstration of sympathy from the statesmen of fifty nations. Those who had found excuses for Japanese militarism five or six years previously were now discreetly silent.

It was not so easy for the Assembly to translate its sympathy for the victim of aggression into practical terms. An obvious first step was a unanimous vote condemning, in the most emphatic terms, the aerial bombardment of open towns in China by Japanese aircraft. Later, after careful study of the whole problem, Japan's actions were declared to be an unjustifiable violation of her treaty obligations. League members were invited to consider how far they could individually extend aid to China. The Assembly remitted China's contribution to the League of some 65,200l., and voted 30,000l. for the campaign in China against epidemics.

These steps, excellent so far as they went, did not, of course, fully implement the Chinese appeal under Articles 10, 11 and 17 of the Covenant. The speeches in the Assembly Hall, and more clearly private conversations with the respective delegations, revealed something of the reluctance to take positive action for

fear of the possible consequences. Mischief-makers in Europe might get busy if the attention of the principal Powers were concentrated too vigorously upon the affairs of the East. In addition, it was felt that no collective action could, in the circumstances, be effective without the active co-operation of the United States of America.

The Assembly decided to resurrect the Committee of Twenty-Three, which had been set up at the time of the Manchurian crisis. This enabled the American Consul at Berne to take his seat as an observer. No feature of the Assembly was more significant than the close attention paid to its proceedings by the U.S.A. President Roosevelt's speech at Chicago might almost have been intended to hearten the Assembly at a crucial stage of its labours. Possibly even more important was the announcement by the State Department in Washington that the American Government's conclusions were "in general accord with those of the Assembly of the League of Nations."

No doubt with the possibility of American collaboration in mind, the Assembly made a declaration that, in the event of war or threat of war, the League should take suitable steps and establish such contacts as might appear to be necessary to associate in its efforts for the maintenance of peace those States which, although not members of the League, were mutually bound by such covenants as the Pact of Paris or the Rio de Janeiro Pact of 1933. The President was instructed to issue without delay invitations to a meeting of those League members that were parties to the Nine-Power Treaty of 1922, and the hope was expressed that other States with special interests in the Far East would participate. Thus the Assembly did everything in its power to give advance support to the conference which was subsequently to meet in Brussels. It is perhaps worth recording that those very factors of timidity and hesitation on the part of Governments, which have so often hampered the League, prevented the Brussels Conference from reaching any decisive conclusions.

Following on the Assembly's decision to assist the Chinese authorities in the immediate organisation of anti-epidemic measures, the Health Committee took this matter in hand within two or three weeks of the close of the Assembly. A complete scheme was drafted by experts, taking into account the movements of vast numbers of refugees from the war areas; and three medical units (German, French, and English-speaking respectively) were quickly mobilised, to operate in different sectors.

Other Political Questions.—The League Council had every reason to feel satisfied with the success of its intervention in the dispute between the French and Turkish Governments concerning the Sanjak of Alexandretta and Antioch. This victory for the principles of mediation and compromise was not easily won. Conversations in Paris between the two parties met with no

success, but at the time of the January session of the League Council they were resumed at Geneva in the presence of M. Sandler, the League *rapporteur*. After a week of delicate discussions, it was possible to report general agreement at the Council meeting. The Sanjak was to be granted full independence in internal affairs, but the State of Syria was to be responsible for the conduct of its foreign relations. Turkish was to be the official language in the Sanjak, but the Council would determine the conditions for the use of another language. No international decision likely to affect the independence of Syria was to be applied to Alexandretta without the express consent of the Council. There was to be League supervision to ensure respect for the Statute and Fundamental Law of the Sanjak.

A Committee of specialists, appointed by the Council to draft the Statute and Fundamental Law, held three meetings at Geneva between February and May. Its proposals included provisions relating to technical matters such as currency, Customs and postal services. The organisation of the legislature, executive and judiciary, it was proposed, should come into force on November 29. A commission of five members should be sent to the spot to make arrangements for the first elections in the Sanjak, which should be held not later than April 15, 1938.

At the Council table on May 29, M. Delbos, of France, emphasised the success which the League had once more won, and paid tribute to the effectiveness of its methods. M. Rüstü Aras, the Turkish Foreign Minister, wholly associated himself with these remarks.

The commission for the organisation and supervision of the elections was appointed in October and, after a brief meeting in Geneva, proceeded to Antioch to discharge its duties.

Danzig continued to provide the Council with grounds for apprehension. In January M. Beck, the Polish Foreign Minister, reported on the mission which he had undertaken with the object of improving relations between the Senate of the Free City and the League High Commissioner. The assurances offered by the Senate encouraged the transitory hope that political tension would diminish. As the months elapsed, however, the completeness of the control gained by the National Socialist regime still further jeopardised the ability of the League to guarantee the Danzig Constitution.

On the retirement of Mr. Sean Lester, Professor Burckhardt (Swiss) was appointed High Commissioner at Danzig for three years from February 18, 1937.

Striking statistical evidence of the increasing momentum of the armaments race was contained in the new edition of the "Armaments Year Book," in which the League published all available information concerning the fighting forces of 64 nations. Arms expenditure throughout the world during 1937 appeared

to have reached the colossal total of 2,400,000,000?. In these circumstances, it was not surprising that the Bureau of the Disarmament Conference made little headway with its work. At the meeting which opened on May 31, it was decided to ask the Governments whether they were prepared to accept a system of publicity for national defence expenditure, and the Secretariat was instructed to collect useful information regarding national control of the arms traffic.

In November an International Conference on the Repression of Terrorism met at Geneva to deal with a problem which had been raised in an acute form by the assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia. The delegates had before them two draft conventions, suitably revised by the Committee of experts in the light of the observations of Governments. The first, on the prevention and punishment of terrorism, was signed by twenty States, and the second, dealing with the creation of an international criminal court to try offences against the first convention, by ten States.

The special Committee on the application of the principles of the Covenant held two meetings during September, at which memoranda on the principal matters falling within the scope of the subject of League reform were received and discussed. There were reports on regional pacts of mutual assistance, participation of all States in the League and co-operation of non-member States, co-ordination of the Covenant with the Pact of Paris and the Saavedra Lamas Pact, regional or continental organisation of the League, and Articles 10, 11, and 16 of the Covenant. Chile, both in the Committee and in the Assembly, lodged protests against the slowness of the procedure hitherto adopted, and stressed the extreme urgency of the problem of universality. One step for which everybody seemed ready was the separation of the Covenant from the Peace Treaties. A special Committee of jurists drafted certain necessary amendments to the Covenant, and these were forwarded to the Governments for their comments.

With the expiry of the German-Polish Convention on Upper Silesia on July 15, the duties of the Mixed Commission and of the Arbitral Tribunal, and the Council's task under the Convention, were terminated.

Palestine.—League discussion of the 1936 disturbances in Palestine and the proposals of the British Government for dealing with the situation had to be postponed until July, owing to difficulties experienced by the Mandatory Power in collecting all the required documentary information. The Permanent Mandates Commission met in extraordinary session from July 30 to August 18, for the purpose of examining the report and recommendations of the Royal Commission of Enquiry and the British Government's statement of policy thereon. Mr. W. A. Ormsby-Gore, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Mr. J. H. Hall,

former Chief Secretary of the Palestine Government, were accredited by the United Kingdom to supply such explanations as might be required.

In its report to the Council, the Mandates Commission discussed at length the scheme for partitioning Palestine into an Arab State, a Jewish State, and a British Mandate for the Holy Places. While agreeing that the present regime could not continue, the colonial experts showed no great enthusiasm for the partition plan. They expressed the opinion that, if this solution should be adopted, its success would depend more on its effect on the relations between Arabs and Jews than on the territorial solution adopted. They added that they would be failing in their duty if they did not draw the Council's attention to the delicate problem of the transfer of populations from one territory to the other which might be necessary if there was a partition.

With such considerations in mind the Commission declared itself favourable in principle to an examination of a solution involving partition but opposed the idea of the immediate creation of two new independent States. A prolongation of political apprenticeship, which might take the form of either provisional cantonisation or two mandates, would be absolutely essential both to the new Arab State and to the new Jewish State.

The next word was with the League Council, and accommodation in the new Council Chamber in the Palais des Nations was not equal to the demands for admission when the important debate took place on September 14. The possible reactions of the other Council members aroused almost as much eager expectation as the statement of the Foreign Secretary. Mr. Eden's frank and engaging earnestness enhanced the effect of a speech which contained nothing superfluous. Rather than persevere with an unworkable Mandate, the British Government preferred to consider the best alternative. Believing that a scheme of partition represented the best hope of a solution, they wanted to ask the Council's "general approval" for a new line of policy. Nobody was yet committed to any point of detail, and nothing would be put into operation without the League's consent. Mr. Eden foreshadowed the appointment of a "further small body"—he purposely avoided the word "commission"—to negotiate on the spot with Jews and Arabs.

In the course of a surprisingly brief discussion, M. Delbos (France) said that the closest attention ought to be paid to the views of a Government with the long experience of Great Britain in Palestine; M. Beck (Poland) stressed the importance to his country of Jewish emigration; and Mr. Jordan (New Zealand) added that the problem was so difficult because it was clearly a conflict between two rights. M. Orts, reiterating the views of the Permanent Mandates Commission, said that the present

Mandate became almost unworkable when the British Royal Commission declared it to be so. Finally, the Foreign Ministers of Sweden, Rumania, and Latvia were asked to draft a resolution by which the Council could accept the British proposals.

The Council decision naturally short-circuited much of the debate which might have been expected in the Assembly, but the representatives of Egypt and Iraq took the opportunity to put forward the Arab case. M. Lange (Norway) strongly championed the Jewish case in the Sixth Committee of the Assembly.

The Permanent Court.—Five cases, in various stages of progress, came before the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague in the course of the year.

An interesting feature in the "Waters of the Meuse" case between the Netherlands and Belgium was the decision of the judges to interrupt the public sitting during May in order to visit places concerned in the dispute. On June 28 the Court delivered its judgment, by 10 votes to 3, rejecting the submissions of the Netherlands Government, and also the Belgian counter-claim. It held that each of the two States was at liberty to enlarge the canals covered by the treaty of 1863, provided that those canals were situated in its own territory and did not leave that territory.

In the case concerning lighthouses in Crete and Samos (France and Greece), the Court was asked to answer the question whether a contract concluded in 1913 between the Ottoman Government and a French firm was now binding upon the Greek Government. On October 8 an affirmative verdict was given by 10 votes to 3, the Court holding that this particular case fell within the scope of the decision of principle delivered at The Hague in 1934.

Preliminary objections were raised by the Spanish Government in the Borchgrave case. The Belgian Government, in its Memorial, claimed that the responsibility of the Spanish Government was involved *a propos* the death of Baron Jacques de Borchgrave; and further that that Government had not used sufficient diligence in the apprehension and prosecution of the guilty. The Spanish contention that the Court had no jurisdiction to examine the second charge was overruled by a unanimous judgment on November 6 and time-limits were fixed for the written proceedings.

Proceedings in the "Phosphates in Morocco" case, instituted by Italy against France, were protracted by an unusual request from the French Government to reply in writing to the Italian observations on the preliminary objections lodged by France. On November 2 the Estonian Government instituted proceedings against Lithuania in connexion with the seizure of the Panevezys-Saldutiskis Railway.

M. Charles de Visscher (Belgium) was elected a member of the Court to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Baron

Rolin-Jaequemyns. A further vacancy was created by the **death** of M. Hammarskjöld (Sweden). At the end of the year forty-one States were mutually bound by the "Optional Clause" to submit suitable cases to the jurisdiction of the Court.

Other League Activities.—Fifty-two States-Members of the League were represented at the 18th ordinary session of the Assembly which met at Geneva from September 13 to October 6, it being found impossible to complete the business within the normal period of three weeks. Eight Heads of Governments and twenty Foreign Ministers led their respective delegations, and H. H. the Aga Khan was elected President of the Assembly. For the first time the new League buildings were in full use, though the great Assembly Hall was not opened until the latter part of the session.

In the Council elections, the Assembly did not see fit to grant the requests of Spain and Turkey for "re-eligibility," and Iran, Peru, and Belgium were elected to non-permanent seats.

Great Britain emerged at the Assembly as a strong champion of the 700,000 refugees whose fate was in the balance. But for the obstruction of the Russian Government, which maintained its objections to League intervention on behalf of refugees from Russia, it is likely that a satisfactory arrangement would have been reached. The decision to liquidate the Nansen Office had to stand, but the Council was asked to prepare, for the 1938 Assembly, a scheme of international assistance to refugees.

The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation arranged a series of important meetings in connexion with the Paris International Exhibition, at which, too, the Health Committee was responsible for a European Exhibition of Rural Housing. Thirteen countries and colonies attended a conference on Rural Hygiene in Eastern Countries at Bandoeng (Java). The Malaria Commission completed a general report on "The Treatment of Malaria." The Mixed Committee on Nutrition issued its final report on the eve of the 1937 Assembly.

The most serious problem which the Opium Committee had to face was the clandestine manufacture of dangerous drugs in the Far East, especially in Chinese provinces under Japanese influence. Preparations were made at Geneva for the conclusion of a convention on the limitation of poppy cultivation.

Among social questions, the most important event of the year was the Bandoeng Conference of central authorities in the East (February 2-15), which reached agreement on practical measures for combating the traffic in women in certain definite areas around the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

The report of the Committee for the Study of the **Problem of Raw Materials**, which was warmly praised by Mr. Eden in his Assembly speech, reached the broad conclusion that mere ownership of Colonies would not solve the difficulties of **"have-not"**

nations. Concerted action was necessary to restore freer circulation of capital, goods, and labour, since difficulties in regard to payments vastly transcended those in regard to supply.

International Labour Organisation.—At the invitation of President Roosevelt, an International Textile Conference met at Washington from April 2-17 to review the social and economic aspects of this world-wide industry. In addition to the representatives of twenty-six countries in the I.L.O., Germany sent an observer. The ground was thus prepared for the adoption, at the annual conference in Geneva, of a convention applying the principle of the 40-hour week to the textile industry.

The 23rd session of the International Labour Conference (June 2-23) was the largest on record, 431 representatives from fifty-three countries taking part in the proceedings. In addition to the textile convention, other agreements were adopted for the protection against accidents of workers in the building industry and the planning of public works in relation to employment conditions; and the two conventions concerning the minimum age for admission to employment were revised by raising the age from 14 to 15 years.

In May a conference of labour inspectors was arranged in Vienna, and the October session of the Governing Body met in Prague by invitation of the Czechoslovak Government. Mr. Harold Butler, Director of the International Labour Office, embarked upon a Far Eastern tour of India, Ceylon, the Malay States, and the Puteh Indies.

Thirty-three more ratifications of International Labour Conventions brought the grand total ratifications to 765 by the end of the year.

The League of Nations in 1937 had not the slightest difficulty in balancing its budget, current contributions and payments on account of arrears bringing the total receipts to considerably more than the sum voted by the Assembly. The loss of Italy was not taken tragically at Geneva, and Egypt was admitted at a special meeting of the Assembly on May 26. On New Year's Eve, a message from General Smuts, one of the founders of the League, was transmitted from "Radio-Nations/" the League wireless station at Geneva. "It is true," he said, "that there have been some defections, failures, losses. But in membership the League still remains a formidable army, able to do battle against militarism and reaction. When these have run their course and done their worst, many will return in chastened mood to their vacant places at the round table of the League."

CHAPTER II.

FRANCE AND ITALY.

FRANCE.

IN internal affairs, the dominant feature of 1937 was the resolve to preserve the great social reforms carried through by the Popular Front in 1936, and at the same time to obtain the consent of the capitalist and middle classes to the appeals for funds made by the State. The instrument for restoring confidence was to be the "pause" recommended by M. Blum.

Heavy liabilities were about to fall due, and the Treasury was in difficulties. Already in January the Finance Minister, M. Vincent Auriol, proclaimed the need of economic peace, since he reckoned the requirements of the Treasury in 1937—outside of the Budget—at some 36 milliards of francs. Nevertheless the Government rejected the idea not only of a fresh devaluation but even of any control of the exchanges.

On February 13 M. Léon Blum, in a broadcast speech addressed specially to Civil servants, called upon them to exercise moderation and patience in order to allow of a pause, which was rendered necessary by the rise in public expenditure, and also in prices. This pause, according to him, would not indicate any going back upon the results attained. He made an appeal to the wisdom of the working class. The pause would consist in the Government abstaining, for an undefined period, from proposing measures which might mean an increase in public expenditure.

The Government was sharply criticised by a number of Senators, vigilant guardians of the public purse. M. Caillaux, President of the Finance Committee, and M. Abel Gardey, the *rapporteur*, declared in favour of economies. A loan raised in England produced 40,000,000Z. ; it was a short-term loan, guaranteed by the gold of the Banque de France. But the flight of gold from the country continued, and the raising of the Bank rate proved powerless to stop it. The Opposition considered that the moment had arrived to launch an offensive, on the ground that the policy of reflation had failed and that salvation could be found only in Liberalism and in the Union Nationale.

Replying to MM. Pierre-Etienne Flandin and Paul Reynaud, the Leaders of the Opposition, M. Blum said that he represented the only National Government possible. If he retired, the disillusion of the masses might produce dangerous consequences. Every new Ministry would have to reckon with the street.

Meanwhile the tripartite accord between France, the United States, and Great Britain for linking the franc with the pound and the dollar continued to be the basis of monetary policy. The idea

of exchange control remained out of the question. Instead there was to be an Equalisation Fund managed by a Commission on which sat, besides the Governor of the Banque de France, M M. Rist, Baudouin, and Rueff, who were to make every effort to stabilise prices and restore confidence to trade. The free circulation of gold was resumed.

These indications of a will to economise preceded the issue of a loan for national defence, and with a guarantee against devaluation, which was accompanied by a vigorous send-off from the President of the Republic and other prominent public men. Nevertheless the trouble in political circles grew worse. Certain steps taken by the Government roused against it the hostility of two regions. The electoral plan relating to the Algerian natives irritated Algeria, and on the other side, Alsace and Lorraine, on being invited to choose between an extension of the elementary school leaving age and the retention of their right to impart a special religious and linguistic instruction, displayed aspirations which differed from those of Paris.

The pause, evidently, would not suffice to overcome the difficulties. The Government's majority, be it noticed, was composed of heterogeneous elements. It comprised a Communist Left, a Socialist Centre, and a Radical Right. Naturally, each of these parties had its own point of view. The Socialists aimed at applying their programme in such a way as to make it a useful preparation for the transformation contemplated by the Marxian doctrine. The Radical Socialists would have preferred to confine themselves to measures which, while conferring substantial boons of the working class, would not strike at the regime of liberty and private property, and would not destroy the middle classes. As for the Communists, their idea, according to M. Cachin, was the sovietisation of France. An understanding between parties so different could have no very firm basis. While the departmental federations of the Radicals frowned at it, an underground struggle for the conquest of the masses was going on between Socialism and Communism.

On top of this on March 16 came the affair of Clichy. Some Communists had organised a counter-demonstration against a private meeting of the French Social Party (an offspring of the Croix de Feu, led by Colonel de la Rocque) at Clichy. Violent affrays took place between the Communists and the police. Five persons were killed and more than two hundred injured. The private secretary of the President of the Council who came to direct the police operations was struck by two bullets. The Government addressed an appeal to all citizens and all parties to abstain from taking part in activities calculated to throw the nation into disorder.

There could be no doubt that these events operated in favour of a revival of the Radicals. M. Blum himself admitted that

a certain hesitancy had been produced in the Socialist Party. M. Jouhaux on his side explained the reasons for which the C.G.T. (Confederation generale du travail) had accepted the pause required by the country in order to adapt itself to the reforms obtained.

At a great Radical-Socialist meeting at Carcassonne, speeches were made by two eminent Radicals, M. Delbos, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and M. Albert Sarraut, a former Prime Minister. The former affirmed the peaceful desires of the three great democracies, France, Great Britain, and the United States, whose power was at the service not of one *bloc* opposed to another *bloc*, but of the general peace. M. Albert Sarraut declared his loyal adherence to the programme of the Front Populaire, on the clear understanding that there could be no question of an acceptance in any shape or form of the Marxist revolution.

April witnessed disorders provoked by the application of the forty-hour week law. This law caused a certain disturbance in the economic life of the nation ; it accentuated the divergences between employers and employed. Strikes continued. Work on the International Exhibition of Arts and Crafts underwent delays ; the opening, which had been fixed for May 2, was postponed to May 25.

After an interpellation by M. Bergery, who demanded the transformation of the trusts into public services, M. Leon Blum explained once more the reasons which made the pause indispensable. The financial situation was unfavourable for the launching of a loan of 10 milliards for the big public works demanded by the C.G.T., and besides, the Estimates of 1937 would provide 8 milliards to be actually spent on public works. The same reason prevented the grant of a pension to aged workers. The Chamber gave the Government a vote of confidence by 380 votes to 199.

M. Blum again made a speech justifying the Popular Front on the occasion of the anniversary of his accession to power. But his own Minister of National Defence, M. Daladier, emphasised the necessity of an increase in French production in order to save the social reforms from being jeopardised. The spectre of financial difficulties was always on the political horizon. Accordingly, before being swept away by the current of events, the experts MM. Baudouin and Rist publicly left the Committee appointed to manage the Exchange Equalisation Fund. A Bill was brought in authorising the Government to take by decree the measures necessary for restoring the public finances, as well as for the protection of savings, currency, and credit. Plenary financial powers were voted by the Chamber, in spite of the abstinence of the Communists, who objected on principle to new taxes, especially indirect ones. But the Senate once more showed itself to have the whip hand. Its Financial Commission adopted a counter-

plan greatly restricting the powers granted by the Chamber. It was in vain that the Chamber re-adopted its original draft, and that a delegation of the Left presented a compromise draft; the Senate rejected by 168 votes to 96 the draft of the Chamber. Thereupon the Blum Cabinet resigned (June 21).

A bare forty-eight hours sufficed for the Radical-Socialist, M. Camille Chautemps (well remembered for the attacks and insults of which he had been the object on the occasion of the Stavisky affair), to form a new Cabinet of "Republican combination/' after the Socialist Party had by 3,972 votes to 1,369 consented to participate in the new Government. All the same the Chautemps Cabinet appeared more "Radical" than its predecessor, that is, in closer touch with the forces possessing social traditions. But the difference was very slight. Many members of the previous Cabinet were members of this one. M. Leon Blum became Vice-President of the Council. Altogether there were 12 Radical-Socialist members and 7 Unified Socialists.

The Ministerial declaration of policy announced the continuation of the foreign policy and the maintenance of the social legislation of the preceding Cabinet. A great comprehensive plan was to be drawn up for the restoration of the public finances. The clause of the monetary law of October 1, 1936, which fixed the currency unit, was replaced by a clause according to which the new gold content of the franc was to be determined later on by decree. The franc was thus "detached" from gold; it became a free, liquid currency, no longer convertible into a fixed quantity of gold. The Bank undertook to make fresh advances to the State up to a maximum of 15 milliards of francs. Finally the Ministers adopted a series of fiscal measures which were estimated to produce 8 milliards. Of these the chief were measures for preventing tax evasion, an increase of income tax and surtax, of the tax on production, of postal and telephone rates, of the prices of tobacco and of railway fares. The Chamber thereupon granted the Government the full financial powers which they had refused to M. Blum. The Government took advantage of this to prohibit by decree any increase in wholesale and retail prices, as well as in any wage scales in force in industry. A little later it created, by amalgamating the former companies, a National Railway Company, with new statutes. All these measures testified to a progressive increase of State control. Noteworthy too was the signing in the course of the year of thousands of collective labour contracts which strengthened the social position of the workers to a marked degree.

The Cabinet meeting held on October 20 at Rambouillet rejected all idea of restricting exchange and of autarky. M. Albert Sarraut was entrusted with the control of the various administrations of North Africa, in order to co-ordinate French policy there [*vide* Morocco]. Measures were to be taken there to relieve

distress and allay discontent, to combat more vigorously anti-French propaganda, and to meet the aspirations of the native populations. For though much had been done, and for many years, on behalf of the populations of North Africa, especially for the Mussulman section, it is necessary to reckon with the continual growth of these populations, the increase being 250,000 inhabitants yearly.

The cantonal (local government) elections held in October did not seem to bring much change in the complexion of the electoral body. The Communists gained 31 seats, the Socialists 71; the Radical-Socialists lost 42 seats, the independent Radicals 25, the Republican Left 34. These changes made little difference in a total number of about 3,000 seats. But in this connexion it should be remarked that since the General Election of 1936 the Radicals claimed to have won three battles. The first was against the Communists, in the matter of the occupation of the workshops. The second was against the Communists assisted by numbers of Socialists and of Radical-Socialists themselves, in the matter of intervention in the affairs of Spain. The third was against the Socialists, in the matter of the powers and ideas of the Senate.

The Radical-Socialist Congress at Lille confirmed the unity of the party. The anticipated split did not occur. It was unanimously agreed to continue the experiment of popular union, and there was equal unanimity with regard to the limits, laid down by M. Bonnet, the Finance Minister, beyond which this experiment could not be carried without risking a setback, and beyond which therefore the Radicals could not associate themselves with it.

The rise in prices continued to be felt in the country. In order that labour might receive more, after having long received too little, means had to be found of rendering it more productive. The Commission of Inquiry which had been appointed to study production recommended in its report modifications in the forty-hour week, measures of rationalisation and the granting of credit facilities. The essential fact, which the country now fully understood, and which was at the root of the inquiry itself, was the insufficiency of production.

An action was brought by Colonel de la Rocque against a number of journalists who had reproduced and commented on an article by M. Pozzo di Borgo in the weekly journal *Choe*. This article reported an interview which its author had had recently with M. Tardieu, former Prime Minister, and in which the latter had stated that he had given regular monthly allowances to Colonel de la Rocque out of the secret funds. The Colonel, who is the head of the French Social Party, desired to clear himself. The Right appeared to be divided into two camps—de la Rocque, Ybarnegaray, Kerillis on one side, Tardieu, Daudet, Bailby Guillaume on the other. M. Tardieu was reproached with dividing the Nationals. The trial at times painfully resuscitated the recent political past of the country with its heated divisions of opinion. But in the

course of the sittings it became clear that Colonel de la Rocque, as head of an association of ex-soldiers, had served and was still serving the Republic, and any Government which should not be of the extreme Left. It is beyond question that his conduct in the course of the last few years, and notably on February 6, 1934, was not that of a resolute opponent of the Republic.

Mention must be made of the discovery by the police during the same period of a secret organisation formed on the model of the Army. Its object, according to the documents seized, was to substitute for the Republican form of government a dictatorial regime which should pave the way for the restoration of the Monarchy. General Duseigneur, the manufacturer Deloncle, and the Duke Pozzo di Borgo were arrested. The papers of the Right, however, alleged that the police had got up the whole affair of the "Cagoulards" in order to conceal the existence of a Communist plot.

In the course of a discussion in the Chamber, M. Paul Reynaud reproached the Government with pursuing a policy of inflation of public expenditure along with economic deflation—a course which was bound eventually to provoke a monetary inflation. M. Georges Bonnet replied that the Treasury would not have to borrow in 1938 more than 25 milliards of francs. The Budget estimates were genuine, but unfortunately the Treasury would have to find, outside the Budget, 18,500,000,000 for extraordinary expenditure. This expenditure could not be cut down, being for armament. It was further necessary to provide 9 milliards for the public works. It may here be noticed that in fifteen months the franc sank from 105 to the pound sterling to 147. But at this latter figure it remained firm, owing to the tripartite agreement in force.

After the usual game of shuttlecock between the two Assemblies, the ordinary Budget for 1938 was balanced at about 54 milliards 500,000,000. At the same time the Chambers passed a law concerning rents, and one for closing the Exhibition, which on account of its unquestioned success many had wished to keep open longer. Finally they extended for two months the law on arbitration which was due to expire on December 31.

Nevertheless the essential problem was not one of finance nor of revenue; it was one of production, which remained at a low level, being more than 25 per cent, below that of 1929. If production could be raised, the tax yield would rise automatically with it, and the chronic deficit would not be long in disappearing.

The last days of the year were again disturbed by strikes. The affair of the Goodrich factories was at first only a trivial incident: the management had dismissed a workman whom it believed guilty of having installed a clandestine post. The workmen occupied the factory, demanding his reinstatement. This was followed up by the occupation of food depots and shops.

The Government caused them to be evacuated by armed force, but when it tried to do the same in the Goodrich factories, more than a thousand workers occupied them. The police, in order to avoid coming to blows with the workers, did not force the evacuation. On the other hand, on December 29, on account of the decision adopted by the Municipal Council of Paris, which accorded an indemnity of only 50 francs to municipal and departmental functionaries, the Comité Intersyndical declared a general strike of public services. This was really a gesture of solidarity decided on in consequence of the use of State resources, such as Army lorries, for purposes of transport, which had been disorganised by the strike. The C.G.T. refused to allow the State forces to put an end to the occupations of the factories. Significantly enough, the Socialist members of the Cabinet, in face of the strike of public services, proclaimed their solidarity in opposition to it with the Prime Minister.

In external affairs the Spanish situation remained a danger point throughout 1937. The role assumed by France was always to promote pacific feelings and at least to keep the conflict within bounds. On January 7 the French Government joined the British in proposing the withdrawal from Spain of all foreign "volunteers" [*vide* England]. On the next day a *communiqué* from the Quai d'Orsay announced that, having learnt that the authorities of the Spanish zone of Morocco were preparing barracks for the reception of German troops, the French Government had called their attention to the Franco-Spanish Treaty of 1912 which forbade both Powers to introduce foreign troops into the Shereefian territory [*vide* Morocco]. Shortly afterwards the Chamber passed a Bill with the object of preventing the departure of volunteers for Spain.

Difficulties, however, still arose. Spanish trawlers landed in the Bay of Amour; French aeroplanes were bombed above Valencia; statements were published in the German papers that soldiers of the Foreign Legion had been transported from Morocco to Marseilles, in order to be conveyed to Spain. France decided to limit to 45,000 the number of Spanish refugees to whom shelter would be given in France, and then only for a short time, after which they would be obliged to return to their country by whichever frontier they chose.

In the Non-intervention Committee at London, France supported the plan of naval control of the coasts of Spain, but when on June 22 Germany and Italy withdrew from the scheme the French Government decreed the suspension of the international control of the land frontier between France and Spain, unless supervision should be established on the Portuguese frontier of Spain and a fair correspondence should be established between land and naval control. In September France took part in the Conference of Nyon and co-operated with England in the plan

drawn up there for suppressing piracy in the Mediterranean. In October France associated herself with England in inviting Italy to take part in tripartite conversations on the question of volunteers, and when Italy refused, M. Corbin, the French Ambassador in London, insisted that the question should immediately be reopened by the Non-intervention Committee.

In consequence of these clashes over Spain, Franco-Italian relations were not satisfactory throughout 1937. The recall of the Italian Ambassador from Paris in October and the withdrawal of Italy from the League of Nations in December were not calculated to improve them. An event of some importance for Franco-German relations was the visit to Paris, in connexion with the Exhibition, of Dr. Schacht, who declared that, for the benefit of both nations, German-French trade should be raised to its former level. In fact, on July 10, there were signed at Paris Franco-German accords inspired by the recent Franco-Polish Treaty which abandoned the system of "clearing," in spite of the existence of an exchange control in Poland. This indicated a tendency—still timid—towards a return to liberty of exchange.

Next to the affairs of Spain, the development of Sino-Japanese hostilities demanded the attention of the Government. France followed a cautious policy, showing herself anxious not to provoke incidents either at Shanghai, where she possessed a concession of her own, or, still more, in Indo-China, the coasts of which were exposed to the menace of the Japanese naval squadrons.

The presence on the south of the Turko-Syrian frontier of 85,000 Turks had created between France and Turkey a difference over the Sandjak of Alexandretta. When France signed the treaty with Syria which made of the Sandjak, already an autonomous territory, an independent republic, the Turkish Government demanded that a genuine independence should be accorded to this territory. The dispute was referred to the Council of the League of Nations and was settled at Geneva, thanks to the good offices of England, which, like France, recognised the risks which would be caused to the Mandatory Powers by a Turkish thrust, in contradiction to the treaties, towards the States of the Levant and Palestine.

In December M. Yvon Delbos, Minister of Foreign Affairs, visited London to inform himself of the conversations of Lord Halifax with Herr Hitler. He then visited Warsaw, Bucharest, Belgrade, and Prague, where he had conversations with the rulers of these four capitals. He first went to Warsaw, being greeted on the way, at the Berlin railway station, by his colleague in the Reich, Baron von Neurath. At Warsaw he had conversations with M. Beck and Marshal Smigly-Rydz. From there he went to Bucharest, where he saw the King of Rumania; but the favourable results obtained were soon to be neutralised by the elections and the events which immediately followed. At Belgrade

he had conversations with M. Stoyadinovitch, the meagre results of which could not be obscured by popular Francophile demonstrations of a particularly warm character. Finally at Prague, M. Delbos and M. Krofta showed themselves "ready to favour any action calculated to facilitate a *rapprochement* with the neighbouring countries." Broadly speaking French foreign policy in 1937 was based on close co-operation with Great Britain, with a view to bringing about a general European settlement.

ITALY.

The outstanding features of the fifteenth year of the Fascist era were first, an intense diplomatic activity, marked by the tightening of the Rome-Berlin axis, the adhesion of Italy to the German-Japanese anti-Communist Pact, a *rapprochement* with Yugoslavia and Rumania, determined attempts to win over the Mussulman world, and the abandonment of the League of Nations ; secondly, a more active intervention in the Spanish civil war, through the despatch of large quantities of war material and "volunteers" to the Army of General Franco ; thirdly, the striving for economic autarky and the parallel increase of armaments ; fourthly, the difficulties encountered in the exploitation of the Empire ; fifthly, financial difficulties.

The Rome-Berlin axis was very much in evidence during 1937, and gave occasion for an almost uninterrupted succession of conversations and visits between leading Germans and Italians. There was the visit of General Goering to the Peninsula in January and April ; the official reception of Baron von Neurath, the Reich Foreign Minister, at Rome (May 3), which coincided with the visit to Germany of Count Volpi at the head of a delegation of manufacturers ; the official visit of Marshal von Blomberg to Italy (June 2) ; the presence at Rome of Herr Rudolf Hess, as personal representative of the Fihrer, in October, on the occasion of the anniversary of the March on Rome, and of Herr von Ribbentrop in November on the occasion of the signing of the anti-Communist Pact ; and finally, of Herr Darre, Minister of Agriculture, in December, on the occasion of the distribution of prizes to the successful competitors in the wheat battle.

The crowning point of all these interchanges was reached in September in the official meeting of Signor Mussolini himself with Herr Hitler. Arriving on September 25 at Munich, Signor Mussolini was present on the 26th at the German Army manoeuvres at Mecklenburg, visited the factories at Essen on the morning of the 27th, and on the same afternoon at 5.30 was triumphantly welcomed in Berlin. On the 28th, in the grounds of the Olympic City of Berlin, before a crowd estimated to number 3,000,000, the Fuhrer and the Duce delivered addresses affirming

the fraternity of the two regimes, and, under certain conditions, their will for peace.

To mark this fraternity, a direct "autostrada" was to be built linking the two capitals (it is supposed to be finished by 1941), and 30,000 Italian agricultural workers were to be transported into Germany for work on the land. To crown all, Signor Mussolini, in his speech of October 28, gave his approval to the colonial claims of Germany.

The only shadow on this intimacy was the isolated attempt at an Anglo-German *rapprochement* made by Lord Halifax in his conversations with the Fuhrer in November, coinciding as they did with the postponement of the Anglo-Italian negotiations. Assurances were demanded from Berlin on this head, with the result that the fears of Rome seem to have been allayed. The *Stampa* wrote on November 16: "The clear and categorical declarations of the official German Agency regarding certain hypotheses put forward in reference to the visit of Lord Halifax were not only opportune but necessary. Misunderstandings must be cleared away at the start if one wishes to avoid complications. The principal misunderstanding results from the illusory hope of seeing the break-up of the Rome-Berlin axis and the anti-Communist triangle. No machination against these can any longer succeed. An improvement in relations with England can be brought about only in a harmonious parallelism."

It seems on the other side that the Reich complied with the Italian demands for sending large quantities of troops and material to General Franco in order to assure his victory before the autumn.

Attempts to secure the complete adhesion of Austria and Hungary to the Rome-Berlin axis met with great difficulties. The menace of the *Anschluss*, and, it would seem, the refusal of Italy to furnish supplementary guarantees against this eventuality, did not fail to alarm Austria. In his interview at Venice with Signor Mussolini and Count Ciano on April 22, Chancellor Schuschnigg rejected the Italian suggestion that he should introduce a representative of Naziism into the Austrian Government, and expressed uneasiness at the denunciation by Italy of certain economic clauses of the Rome protocols, as also at the consequences of the economic *rapprochement* between Italy and Yugoslavia. In the course of the official visit of the Italian King and Queen to Hungary on May 22, the necessity of a revision of the Treaty of Trianon was once more emphasised, but the accession to power in Rumania of M. Goga and the *rapprochement* of that country with Italy put revisionism to sleep, for the time being.

On November 6 Italy signified her adhesion to the anti-Communist Pact signed on November 25, 1936, between Germany and Japan. This new tripartite agreement was affirmed to be the nucleus of a grouping of States "interested in the maintenance

of peace and order " against " the Communist International, which endangers the civilised world in the West and in the East," and destined in the mind of Signor Mussolini to form a new League of Nations.

This adhesion, coming as it did some weeks after the opening of hostilities between Japan and China, equally underlined his desire to draw nearer to Japan and his refusal to form any common front with the three democracies of France, Great Britain, and the United States in their hostility to Japanese aggression. Also at the Far Eastern Conference, which opened at Brussels on November 3, the Italian delegate opposed any intervention of the Powers in the Sino-Japanese conflict, and the declaration approved by the conference which constituted a moral condemnation of Japan.

The *rapprochement* between Italy and Yugoslavia, which had been announced as imminent by Signor Mussolini in a speech at Milan in November, 1936, took concrete shape in a political agreement with a commercial protocol, concluded on March 25, in the course of a visit of Count Ciano to Belgrade. The political agreement provides for mutual respect of common frontiers (this implies the renunciation by Italy of all her pretensions to Dalmatia). In case of an unprovoked attack on either of the two contracting parties, the other promised to remain neutral. All recourse to war between the two countries is eliminated, and they further pledged themselves not to encourage any propaganda against existing territorial arrangements or the established order. Italy also pledged herself not to encourage separatist activity in Yugoslavia or the Croat autonomist movement. The commercial agreement aimed at an increase in trade between the two countries and a strengthening of economic collaboration. An official visit paid by the Yugoslavian Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Stoyadinovitch (December 5-9), confirmed the friendship of the two countries. The Italian Press took occasion to applaud the strongly anti-Communist attitude of Yugoslavia, which had never officially recognised the Soviet Government.

The Italo-Rumanian *rapprochement* was the consequence of the change of Government in Rumania. Having become the head of an autocratic regime, M. Goga addressed to Signor Mussolini a particularly warm telegram on assuming power, and decided to recognise the annexation of Ethiopia (December).

At the same time that she carried on this policy of grouping the small Powers around the Rome-Berlin axis, and forming an anti-Communist *bloc*, Italy endeavoured to use every opportunity of loosening, if not entirely dissolving, the Franco-British entente. The method employed was double. On the one hand, Fascist diplomacy, supported by the totalitarian Press of the Peninsula, with a view to detaching the Conservative Government of Great

Britain and the countries of the Little Entente from French friendship, set itself to depict French policy as being, in consequence of the victory of the Front Populaire, closely bound to Soviet policy, especially in the Spanish affair, and France, in consequence of social agitation and financial difficulties, as reduced to impotence. To mark what little importance she attached to France at the present juncture, Italy gave indefinite leave to her Ambassador in Paris (November 1), no new Ambassador of France having been installed at Rome for a year, on account of the French refusal to give him credentials to "the Emperor of Ethiopia." On the other side, after the virtual failure of the agreement made at the beginning of the year [*vide* England] Fascist diplomacy exerted itself to renew direct conversations with England, sometimes by actual invitations, sometimes by the opposite method of accentuating its anti-British policy with a view to inciting England to come to an understanding with her.

The chief steps taken to bring about a *rapprochement* were the speech of Mr. Neville Chamberlain in the House of Commons on June 25, the exchange of autograph letters between Mr. Chamberlain and Signor Mussolini at the beginning of August, and the interview given by Count Ciano to the Universal Service on August 4, while in December there were rumours of a visit to Rome by Sir Robert Vansittart. The chief anti-British manifestations on the part of Italy were the expulsion from Addis Ababa of British subjects—traders and missionaries—in March, the recall of the correspondents of Italian papers in London, and the prohibition of practically all English papers in Italy on the eve of the Coronation (May), and above all, the propaganda conducted by the radio station at Bari against England among the Mussulman peoples. Events in Palestine also gave Italy an opportunity to range herself against England. During his visit to Libya, Signor Mussolini proclaimed himself protector of the Mussulmans, and at Tripoli had the sword of Islam solemnly presented to him (March 18). At the Conference of Montreux for the abolition of capitulations (April), Italy supported unreservedly the Egyptian point of view. As another sign of this policy at once pro-Islamic and Anglophobe may be finally noted the signing of a treaty of friendship between Italy and Yemen (September 4).

Italy's resignation from the League of Nations, solemnly announced to the crowd from the balcony of the Palazzo Venezia (December 11), brought to a climax the diplomatic activity of the year. Italy flattered herself that she would gradually draw away from the League the small Powers which gravitated in **her** orbit or in that of Germany, and constitute with them and with Germany, Japan, and most of the South American countries, a new League based on opposition to Communism and a struggle against the colonial preponderance of France and England.

In this connexion should be mentioned the reply given on March 13 by Count Ciano to Sir Eric Drummond when he suggested a "new Locarno," objecting to all Soviet participation in a new pact of guarantee, and rejecting equally the British project of a double triangular guarantee—London-Berlin-Paris in the North, Rome-Berlin-Paris in the South. Also the appeal of Signor Mussolini to President Roosevelt for a limitation of armaments contained in his declaration to the Howard-Scripps newspapers and reproduced by the Italian Press on May 28. Finally may be mentioned the interview at Milan between Count Ciano and the Turkish Minister, Rustu Aras (February 3), which strengthened cordial relations between Italy and Turkey, and the visit of Count Ciano to Albania (April 28).

Up to the capture of Malaga (February 8) the presence of Italian volunteers in Spain had not been openly admitted by the Italian Press. After the conquest of Malaga, which was hailed as an "Italian victory," the participation of the legionaries was officially recognised. Lists of dead and wounded were published in the papers, ceremonies were held in their honour, and details were furnished regarding the divisions of the Black Arrows, the Blue Arrows, and the Littorio. The Spanish Government victory at Guadalajara was regarded as a check for Italy, and was explained by the Press as being due to a mistake on the part of the high command, which forced the victorious legionaries to retreat. The part played by the legionaries in the conquest of the Asturias was given great prominence, as also the contribution of Italian artillery and aviation to the battle of Teruel.

The support lent by Italy to General Franco and the repeated declarations of the Italian Government that it would not tolerate a victory of the "Reds" did not prevent Italy, in her reply on January 26 to the British memorandum [*vide* England], from accepting the adoption of immediate measures for giving effect to the policy of non-intervention by means of a land, sea, and air control and a supervision of volunteers. She proposed in fact the withdrawal of volunteers, agitators, and propagandists. On March 23 Count Grandi refused in the name of Italy to examine the problem of the withdrawal of volunteers, but he withdrew this refusal on April 15. The attack by Spanish Government aeroplanes on Italian ships of war engaged on control work when they were anchored in the port of Pohna, particularly the *Barletta*, in which several Italian officers lost their lives (May 25), and the attack on the German ship *Deutschland* on May 29 were followed on May 31 by the withdrawal of Italy, along with Germany, from the Non-intervention Committee. New proposals having been made on June 4 by Great Britain, Italy rejoined the Committee on June 11, but again left it, this time "definitely," on June 24, after the incident of the *Leipzig*. However, on July 16, Italy accepted in principle the British compromise put forward on the

14th, linking the recognition of belligerent rights with the withdrawal of volunteers. On the 20th it refused to consider the question of withdrawal before that of belligerent rights, but this refusal was qualified by Count Grandi on the 29th.

Italy refused to attend the Nyon Conference in August [*vide* England] on the ground that Russia had accused her of having sunk Russian ships in the Mediterranean. She at first viewed the settlement made at the conference with great disfavour, but at the end of September, at a tripartite conference held in Paris, she consented to take part in patrolling the Mediterranean.

Italy refused to attend another tripartite conference on the question of withdrawing volunteers from Spain, but consented to discuss the question again in the Non-Intervention Committee, where she finally fell in with the British plan of July 14. By the end of the year, however, there was not yet any sign of withdrawal. On October 12 Italy stated that the number of Italian volunteers in Spain did not exceed 40,000, and this figure was on the 22nd communicated officially by the Italian Ambassadors at London and Paris to the British and French Governments.

The Grand Fascist Council, in the course of its second session in 1937 (March 2), published an order defining as follows the programme for strengthening Italian military power: "(a) Preparation of a plan for a further adequate increase of the armed forces. (6) Prolongation for five years of the functions assigned to the Commissar General for war manufactures, (c) Complete militarisation of the able-bodied members of the nation, from 18 to 55 years of age, with periodical recall to the colours of the mobilisable classes, (d) Attainment of a maximum of self-sufficiency for the benefit of military requirements, and the sacrifice, even total if necessary, of civil to military exigencies, (e) An invitation to Italian scientists and technicians to collaborate actively in securing a maximum of autarky."

On May 15 before the General Assembly of Corporations, Signor Mussolini characterised as "gigantic" the difficulties which had to be surmounted for the realisation of autarky, but declared that the Empire "would furnish decisive help with its cotton, its coffee, its meat, its skins, its wool and its precious metals—to begin with gold." For procuring self-sufficiency in respect of iron, the Corporation of Metallurgy decided (June 14-15) on the formation of a technical corporative committee charged with the task of drawing up a plan spread over several years, and aiming at intensified production of Italian minerals and pyrites, and the replacing of iron by fibro-cement and aluminium by means of electro-siderurgy. On June 23, the Institute of Industrial Reconstruction (I.R.I.) was authorised to establish a company with a capital of 900,000,000, to be called the Financial Siderurgic Company (Finsider) to which the I.R.I. would transfer the shares which it held in the Ilva, the Terni, the Dalmine, and the steel

works of Corniglieno. The Finsider was to co-ordinate both on the technical and financial sides the enterprises controlled by it with a view "to develop the productive machinery required for attaining the greatest degree of autarky." The Council of Ministers on its side decided that from July 1, 1937, to December 31, 1938, the extraction of iron ore from the Island of Elba should be raised to a million tons.

The production of wheat in 1937 exceeded 80,000,000 quintals (compared with 61,000,000 in 1936), which was sufficient to cover the national requirements. The shortage in maize amounted to 4,000,000 quintals. Measures were taken to ensure that in the baking of bread 10 per cent, of other flours besides wheat (maize, rye, or barley) should be used.

The Central Corporative Committee at its meeting in October devoted itself to the problem of autarky. The extraction of alcohol from beetroots, the opening in 1938 of refineries for Albanian petrol, the exploitation of the bitumen quarries of the Abruzzi, and the increased use of lignite were to render possible a diminution of the importation of fuel-stuffs. In regard to electricity, the actual production of 5 milliards of kilowatts was to be raised in 1940 to 10 or 15 milliards; a decree-law ordered the urgent construction of new hydro-electric generating stations. Another encouraged the cultivation of olive trees with a view to attaining a production of 1,300,000 tons (against 800,000 at present); others again were intended to promote an increased yield from coal-mines, with a view to attaining a production of 4,000,000 tons.

On November 18 the Textiles Exhibition was opened; there were on view fabrics made from milk and others from reed fibre. •

The principal military measures, besides the militarisation of citizens from 18 to 55, were the increase in the number of officers (February 9), the despatch of an Army Corps of 20,000 men from the mother country to Libya, the launching of a cruiser of 35,000 tons, the *Littorio* (August 22), and at the end of the year the laying down of two other cruisers of 35,000 tons. Grand manoeuvres were held from August 1 to 7 in Venetia, and from August 10 to 20 in Sicily, in presence of the Duce.

The first difficulty confronting Italy in the exploitation of Ethiopia was the insecurity which continued to reign in that territory. On February 19, during a distribution of relief in the great square of Addis Ababa, an attempt was made on the life of Marshal Graziani and he was seriously wounded, as was also General Liotta (who had to have a leg amputated) and the Abuna Cyril. This attempt was meant to coincide with an Abyssinian attack on the capital. Pitiless reprisals were at once ordered; several thousand natives seem to have been massacred without trial. On the other hand, between February 20 and 24,

the troops of Ras Desta Damtjou were defeated by the Italian forces, and Ras Desta himself was captured and immediately shot. A guerilla warfare carried on by armed bands none the less continued. Little is known of the details, but it seems certain that Italian detachments were frequently surprised and massacred by the natives, and that in September a whole battalion was cut in pieces. An official *communiqué* of October 15 admits the following losses " in the course of reconnaissance and police operations " : 38 officers, 3 non-commissioned officers, 4 soldiers, and 13 Blackshirts. The losses among the Askaris are evidently not included in these figures.

To this insecurity was added the abandonment of several districts by the natives. The production of cereals, of coffee, and of cotton, diminished. It was necessary to import a large part of the food supply of the troops. Transport also presented an urgent problem. Besides an intensive use of the railway to Jibouti, an agreement was made with England for the use of the ports of Zeila and Berbera in British Somaliland. A motor road for lorries from the port of Assab to Dessye was commenced. Four main highways are contemplated : Addis Ababa-Mogadisque; Sciassimana - Neghelli - Dolo - Mogadisque ; Harar - Jijiga - Ferfer ; Addis Ababa-Gondar. The cost will be about 8 milliards.

The construction of these roads and other works for developing the Empire was the subject of a six-year plan drawn up by the Council of Ministers of June 19. A notable feature of this plan is the removal of the capital to 20 kilometres from Addis Ababa, or alternatively its transference to some other town more central.

On January 9 the Council of Ministers issued a decree forbidding all intimacy between whites and coloured people, in order to preserve the purity of the race and to avoid the creation of a class of half-breeds.

From March 10 to 21 Signor Mussolini paid an official visit to Libya, in the course of which he inaugurated the coast road which runs from the frontier of Egypt to that of Tunis. It was in the course of this visit that he received along with the sword of Islam the title of Protector of Islam.

Immediately after his return (April 10), a Higher Command for the armed forces of Northern Africa was created, and an administrative re-organisation of Libya was decided on. The larger administrative divisions were designated provinces. Native consultative bodies were created, and natives were allowed to become the podestas of small localities. An amnesty was accorded to the rebels whose property had been confiscated.

On the same day the Minister of Colonies took the title of Minister of Italian Africa. On November 20 Signor Mussolini added this portfolio to the others he already held. The Duke of Aosta was appointed Viceroy of Ethiopia in place of Marshal Graziani. This appointment was generally interpreted as a sign

of a desire on the part of Italy to adopt a less ruthless policy in Ethiopia.

In January the Budget for the year 1937-38 was fixed as follows (in lire): Revenue, 20 milliards 595 millions; Expenditure: 23 milliards 769 millions, leaving a deficit of 3 milliards 172 millions. This ordinary Budget does not include the cost either of the conquest of Ethiopia or of its development.

On February 20 the gold reserve was 4 milliards, which did not include the Treasury reserve, consisting of the gold donated to the country in 1935 and the fund of foreign securities belonging to the Exchange Institute. The note circulation reached 15 milliards 677 millions (including one milliard and a half sent to Ethiopia). The yield from the 5 per cent, redeemable loan and Treasury Bills was expected to cover the extraordinary needs of the State.

The adverse trade balance, which was 3 milliards in 1935, fell to 2 milliards in 1936—a reduction of a third.

On May 20 the Finance Minister furnished the following figures: Budgetary expenditure for the conquest of the Empire in 1935-36, 12 milliards 686 millions, of which more than half was covered by extraordinary resources, the Budget deficit thus being reduced to 6 milliards 121 millions. In 1936-37 the expenses incurred for the special requirements of East Africa could be valued at a total of 17 milliards which gives a total amount of expenditure of 29 milliards 686 millions. These expenses were met by: 5 per cent, *rente* in exchange for 3½ per cent, plus 15 lire; Treasury bonds for nine years payable in 1944; real estate forced loan, repayable at 5 per cent., October 5, which will bring in 8 milliards.

The price of living having risen in consequence of the devaluation of the lira (in May, the Finance Minister admitted a rise of 24 per cent., which had become higher still in December), increases of 10 to 12 per cent, for workers and of 10 per cent, for employees were ordered by decrees (April-May). On June 21 a rise of 8 per cent, was granted to Civil servants. The lot of pensioners was similarly ameliorated. On December 20 a regulation of piece-work more favourable for the workers was ordered. Family bonuses and marriage loans were similarly adjusted.

In order to cover the requirements of the Empire and to finance armaments, a 10 per cent, tax on the capital of joint-stock companies (other than banks), including foreign companies, was introduced on October 19. On the other hand, an effort to attract foreign capital was made by the offer of certain concessions (exemptions from estate duty) and of guarantees (deposits to be inviolable even in case of war). The yield of the tax on companies is estimated at a little less than 6 milliards. Italy's policy of autarky certainly makes her financial position more and more

difficult, and the Government has in vain up to now sought to raise a loan in England.

The future of the dynasty was assured by the birth on February 12 of Victor Emanuel, son of the Crown Prince Humbert and Princess Marie-Jose. The child has received the title of Prince of Naples.

CHAPTER III.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

GERMANY.

FAR-REACHING changes took place in Germany's internal policy during the year 1937. The resignation of Dr. Schacht from the post of Minister of Economic Affairs showed that a new trend in German economic life had set in, which was no longer based on the hitherto traditional methods of finance and currency. Side by side with this development, the struggle of the State and the ruling party against the Evangelical Church became intensely acerbated. Thus in both spheres there was a distinct tendency towards Radicalism, and this policy was carried out by the leaders of the party, which since the summer of 1934 had been securely in the saddle and consisted besides Hitler, of Goering, Himmler, and Hess. The former Socialist Left Wing of the party, the Strasser group, was despised and remained in the outer darkness of illegality. No one dreamt of attempting their rehabilitation. But the logic of the prevailing conditions forced the ruling group itself into a more radical course, a course whose ultimate consequences cannot yet be adequately appraised. Moreover, the Army, usually considered the last stronghold of Conservatism in Germany, actively supported the new economic policy.

In spite of his predilection for energetic and unusual methods, Dr. Schacht was an uncompromising adherent of economic orthodoxy. He fought, under all circumstances, for the maintenance of the gold standard and against any experiments in inflation. He believed in the free enterprise of the private capitalist and in the steady, business methods of the olden days. Schacht's great hope was that, with the aid of National-Socialism, it would be possible after a temporary period of State guardianship to restore to Germany private enterprise working for profit. But the development of economic life on National-Socialist lines in the last few years led further and further away from Schacht's principles. The gold and foreign currency holding of the Reichsbank at the end of 1937 amounted to no more than 76,000,000 marks as backing to a note circulation of 7½ milliards, representing a cover of 1 per cent. The German gold standard thus became more than ever a pure fiction. Moreover, there must be added to these

figures the uncovered Treasury Bills, to the tune of many milliards, which circulated throughout the country. The outward signs of the factual inflation would have become apparent but for the ruthless price-control of the Government. German industry harvested huge profits from the rearmament policy of the National-Socialists during the first years of their power. But as the shortage of raw materials made itself felt during the year, normal trade became almost impossible for German industry. There was a lack in Germany of raw materials, foodstuffs, and gold, and foreign exchange was only obtainable through an understanding with the outer world. This was a compromise aimed at by Schacht. The ruling party group, supported by the Army, insisted, however, on the further development of Germany along the lines of self-sufficiency in raw materials and foodstuffs. A decree of July 27 commandeered the whole of the rye and wheat harvests for the bread supply and forbade the use of corn as fodder, the Government promising the farmers other feeding-stuffs in place of these. During the twelve months under review, the quality of bread in Germany deteriorated still further, and other articles of food were also scarce at different times and in various localities.

Meanwhile Goering pushed his Four-Year Plan with all the energy at his command. The production of native raw materials or their substitutes was increased without any consideration as to the cost of production, and industry as well as the population as a whole were expected to manage with these substitutes to the best of their ability. In this way the ordinary method of calculating costs was for a larger and larger proportion of German manufacturers completely swept aside, and in its stead appeared Government financing by means of printed paper currency. Schacht continued to struggle against this innovation, but when in face of the opposition of the leading party and military groups he found himself unsuccessful, he resigned on November 27 from his office as Minister of Economic Affairs. Hitler was anxious to avoid the panic which would have resulted in the German business world in consequence of the complete disappearance of Schacht. Accordingly the latter remained a member of the Cabinet as Minister without portfolio, and continued to function as Governor of the Reichsbank. This must, however, be taken as a purely decorative office, since the financing of German business is determined by the leaders of the Four-Year Plan and not by the Reichsbank. Funk, who had up to this time been working as Secretary in the Ministry of Propaganda, was nominated to succeed Schacht, though, significantly enough, he was not to assume office till January, 1938. In the interval Goering himself superintended the Ministry of Economic Affairs.

At the beginning of the year there seemed to be a prospect of an understanding being reached between the Government and

the Evangelical Church. On February 15 Hitler ordered a new election to take place for the Protestant Church Council, with whom the Government intended to settle the outstanding questions between the two. But no definite election date was fixed. Had the elections actually taken place, this would have been an entire negation of an important characteristic of National-Socialist leadership and nomination. At these Church elections different parties would have opposed one another, if no others then at least the upholders of the Bible on the one hand, and the adherents of the Race Theory on the other. Accordingly after the lapse of a few months, the party leaders rescinded their decision and the Church elections did not take place. A decree of June 25 deprived the Protestant Church of the control of its finances. Every action on the part of the Protestant Opposition was forbidden, and thus any participation in Church affairs became tainted as illegal. During the summer, over one hundred clergymen were arrested for alleged defiance of the law. The greatest sensation was caused by the arrest of Pastor Niemoeller, of Dahlem, near Berlin. Niemoeller, who had been commander of a U-boat during the war, was regarded as one of the strongest leaders of the Protestant Opposition against the new heathenism of the National-Socialists. The International Church Congress, which was held at Oxford during the month of July, declared its feeling of solidarity with the persecuted Christians in Germany and thereby aroused the deepest displeasure of the German Government and its Press. Just before Christmas a number of the arrested clergymen were set at liberty, but Niemoeller remained a prisoner, and there was no change in the attitude of the Government to the Protestant Church.

By reason of these persecutions, the moral authority of the Protestant Church among the population was inevitably strengthened, whilst the Catholic Church was unable during the year 1937 to disentangle itself from its unfavourable tactical position. The trials of members of different monastic orders on charges of sexual delinquencies were made the occasion for an enormous propaganda campaign. In April the People's Court sentenced several Catholic priests to long periods of detention, for assumed complicity with Communism, and this in its turn was propitious for a new propaganda slogan. In many towns the Government arranged for a plebiscite among the parents of the school children, asking whether they wished their children to attend a Catholic or a non-religious school. The whole power of the Government and of the party was strained to the utmost to popularise the "German National School," which in consequence carried off a decisive victory. In Catholic Munich, for example, the poll for the National School was 95 per cent, of the total. Even if the intimidation of the parents through the Government and the party be taken into account, it must be conceded that the results

are indicative of the present-day weakness of the Catholic Church of Germany. When the Cardinal Archbishop Mundelein of Chicago publicly criticised the Catholic persecution in Germany, the Government entered a complaint against him at the Vatican. An exchange of Notes followed during the month of May. The German Government declared itself dissatisfied with the explanations given by the Vatican, and stated that "no normal relations" could be re-established between it and the Vatican as long as Germany did not receive satisfaction for the attacks made upon it by Mundelein. In the course of his Christmas message, the Pope then formally declared that there was evidence of Catholic persecution in Germany.

The position of the Jews, too, went from bad to worse; their economic activities were forced into narrower and narrower circles. As a typical example, the trial of the successful steamship owner, Bernstein, may be taken. He was accused of alleged breaches of the foreign currency laws, the object of the proceedings being the sequestration of Bernstein's steamship lines—an object not hard of realisation. Towards the end of the year a new campaign advocating the boycott of all Jewish businesses was inaugurated, and the possibilities of medical practice were further curtailed for all Jewish doctors.

Niemoeller issued a message from prison in which he declared that the methods of Church persecution adopted by the Government would lead Germany to Bolshevism. As a matter of fact, for centuries, more especially in North Germany, it was the Protestant Church which maintained the foundations of authority within the circle of the family, the school, and society as a whole. The destruction of the Church and the putting up in its place of a new Heathen Radicalism could not but have incalculable consequences, more especially when coupled with State Socialism in the sphere of economics.

By the death on December 20 of General Ludendorff [see under Obituaries], Germany not only lost one of her famous soldiers, but the ranks of the Anti-Church movement were deprived of one of their most uncompromising fighters. Early in 1937 Hitler and Ludendorff had become reconciled. But even after this the latter remained completely independent.

The Enabling Law of 1933, which the Hitler regime regards as the legal basis of its dictatorship, expired on April 1, 1937. On the previous January 30 the Reichstag extended the powers of the Government for a further four years. The annual Party Rally was held in Nuremberg between September 6 and 13, and was called "The Party Day of Labour." Though it was once again made the occasion for imposing mass demonstrations, it did not yield any world-stirring pronouncements. A change was made in the constitution of the administrative divisions of Germany on January 26, when Greater Hamburg was formally inaugurated

by uniting Harburg and Altona with Hamburg. As compensation the former Free City of Luebeck was, together with other small territories, annexed to Prussia.

During 1937 Hitler's opponents continued their underground activities. The prisons and concentration camps were filled to capacity, and many executions for " treason " were carried out in Germany.

Germany's foreign policy throughout the year continued to be a source of troubled uncertainty to all parts of Europe. During the first half of the year she was fairly quiescent; the unexpected firmness shown by France in Morocco [*vide* Morocco] and the British rearmament programme seem to have exercised a sobering effect. This phase culminated in the acceptance of Britain's invitation to Baron von Neurath in June to come to London and discuss matters. It was at this juncture that the Russian Army " purge " and the French Government crisis took place. Germany's tone in foreign affairs at once became more truculent, the first sign being the cancelling of Baron von Neurath's visit to London ; another was the demand presented to Czechoslovakia to investigate the Weigel case [*vide* Czechoslovakia]. Hitler and his advisers still regarded themselves as the crusaders against Bolshevism, and the greatest stress was constantly laid on the anti-Communist aspect of the understanding between Germany and Japan. It was looked upon as a triumph that on November 6 Italy joined the German-Japanese Anti-Communist Alliance. Mussolini was accorded quite exceptional honours when he visited Germany during the month of September, though eye-witnesses reported that as he traversed the streets of Munich, the assembled crowds shouted, " Give us back South Tyrol." In the conflict in the Far East, Germany was torn between her inclination to support Japan and her commercial interests in China. German attempts at mediation between the two combatants were of no avail. In Spain, while no German volunteers appear to have fought on the side of the Nationalists, German aviators and technicians were discovered in Spain, and international resentment was aroused when during last spring, during Franco's offensive against the Basques, German bombers destroyed the historically famous town of Guernica. On the whole, however, it appears that German participation in the Spanish Civil War was less in 1937 than in the previous year. In the beginning of the year the German Fleet took its share in the international control of the sea off the coasts of Spain. When, on May 29, the German cruiser *Deutschland* was bombed by Spanish aircraft in the harbour of Ibiza, and 31 German sailors were killed, as a reprisal, on May 31, German warships shelled Almeria, and Germany together with Italy withdrew from any further naval surveillance. To what extent German submarines had any part in the so-called " piracy " in the Mediterranean during the summer it was impossible to determine.

There was no startling change in the relations of Germany with any of her neighbours during 1937. The political armistice between Germany and Austria was maintained. Friendly advances were exchanged, among them a visit to Vienna by the Foreign Minister, Baron von Neurath. Now and then demonstrations by Austrian National-Socialists occurred, and other small incidents of a like character which gave rise to violent polemics in the Press both of Germany and of Austria. Towards the end of the year Nazi discontent with the results of the 1936 Agreement became more pronounced, and on November 10 Austria was warned that she was not acting up to the character of a "German State". Constant attacks were officially made by Germany, with the greatest animosity, on Czechoslovakia, and the whole strength of the German Propaganda Department was thrown into the field on behalf of the Henlein Party, Poland continued her persecution of the German minority, but both the German Government and the German Press protested only mildly in order not to drive Poland into the arms of Germany's political opponents. On November 5 a German-Polish Agreement was signed on the question of Minority rights, which was expected to bring some improvement to the lot of the Germans in Poland. German public opinion was also resentful of the treatment meted out to the Memel-Germans by Lithuania. Extreme gratification was expressed in Germany when Belgium asked England and France to release her from the obligations she undertook under the Treaty of Locarno. In return the German Government declared on October 13 that it would respect the inviolability of Belgium. German diplomacy was busy throughout the year with efforts at improving its position in Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Rumania, and the most active propaganda was waged for the return of the German Colonies.

Whilst on the one hand, with the exception of intervention in Spain, German foreign policy refrained from any decisive action, yet on the other the German Government declined most emphatically to come to any terms with the West European Powers on the peace question. The German Government reserved for itself complete freedom of action in any developments which may occur in world politics. Germany will have nothing to do with even the smallest compromises, such as for example, exchanging colonies or foreign economic assistance, if as a *quid pro quo* a disarmament policy or a general peaceful trend in international relations be demanded of her. Her General Staff, as well as her political leaders, continued to insist on economic autarky, no matter how great the sacrifices this may entail. Accordingly, when Lord Halifax went to Berlin on November 17 in order to ascertain what demands Germany might be expected to formulate to the Western Powers, his mission proved entirely fruitless, since **the** German Government, for the reasons aforementioned, does not

under any circumstances desire general understanding. This uncompromising attitude on the part of Germany aroused intense apprehension in all the Western Powers, and in consequence these have been compelled to speed up and intensify their rearmament programme.

AUSTRIA.

After the stormy years 1934-36, the year 1937 proved one of comparative quiet for Austria. It was characterised chiefly by the steady and largely invisible pressure of Germany to exploit and extend the Austro-German Agreement of July 11, 1936, so as to diminish the prospects of Austria's continued independence and to hasten the coming of a Nazi regime in Austria. Dr. Schuschnigg put up a stout resistance on the chief issues but continually lost ground in minor matters, owing largely to his failure to do anything to win the support of the masses, who apparently resent as bitterly to-day as when it occurred, the counter revolution of February, 1934, which destroyed Parliament, Democracy, and the Social Democratic Party to which 42 per cent, of the population adhered.

The question of whether a monarchist restoration in Austria was part of the Government's plans was frequently asked during the year, and on various occasions—the first was in a speech on February 16—Chancellor Schuschnigg made it clear that while he reserved to himself the right to initiate action through the Fatherland Front in this direction if and when he saw fit, the Monarchists, for all the tacit encouragement he gave their propaganda, would not be allowed to take the initiative out of his hands.

On February 22 Herr von Neurath arrived on an official visit to Vienna. The occasion was marked by numerous street demonstrations for the Anschluss by Austrian Nazis, which enabled the Chancellor to point out the difficulty of making concessions to the "Pronounced Nationals" such as Herr von Neurath demanded, while such riotous tactics were still pursued by the rank and file Nazis. It was understood that during the conferences Schuschnigg took up a very firm line, and when warned that Germany would not tolerate a Habsburg restoration, replied that Austria would not tolerate warnings, or even advice from another country concerning her own State-form. After the departure of von Neurath, Dr. Schuschnigg planned to visit Rome in March to ask Mussolini's support for his attitude regarding the Habsburgs, but Italian Press support of the German thesis and attacks on that of Schuschnigg and on the Habsburgs generally induced him to cancel his plans. A certain coolness between Austria and Italy followed. This was repeated in violent disturbances at an international football match between Austria and Italy on

March 21, in Vienna, when the disorders forced the match to be abandoned before the end.

On April 9 a further stage in the deterioration of Austro-German relations was marked by a sharply worded rebuke to the German Press for its propaganda campaign on behalf of certain arrested Austrian Nazis, which was broadcast by Colonel Adam, Austrian Government Commissar for Propaganda. The speech was drafted by Schuschnigg. At the same time, the Austrian Government confiscated many German newspapers. In April Dr. Schuschnigg went to Venice and urged on Mussolini the desirability of a restoration of the Habsburgs as a barrier to the Anschluss. His representations were most unfavourably received, all support of restoration schemes were refused, and Schuschnigg was further warned that Italy could not again repeat her gesture of July, 1934, and mobilise troops in defence of Austrian independence. Count Ciano went much further, and urged Schuschnigg to comply with the Nazi demands generally. At the same time, Austria's hands were tied in the matter of Danubian *rapprochement*, Schuschnigg being forced to agree that no political agreement could be concluded by any of the Rome *bloc* States (Italy, Austria, and Hungary) without consultation with the others. Much resentment was caused in Vienna by subsequent anti-Austrian articles from the pen of Signor Gayda. A number of known illegal Austrian Nazi leaders were arrested in order to indicate that the ill-success of Venice would not prevent Schuschnigg from defending himself at home. The reaction of the Venice meeting continued up to the end of the year to be a cause of jubilation to the whole illegal Nazi movement in Austria. In June Dr. Schuschnigg formed a "Storm Corps" for the Fatherland Front, as a *corps d'élite* to be used against Nazis in street and other disorders.

Dr. Schacht visited Vienna on June 17 for a conference which aimed at improving the working of the Austro-German Trade Agreement by inducing the Austrian National Bank to finance exports to Germany. The plan came to nothing, owing to the determined resistance of the President of the Austrian National Bank, Dr. Kienboeck. Despite the arrests of Nazis, very light penalties were usually imposed, while the sentences on Left underground workers were extremely severe. Collecting money for Government Spain, for example, was regularly treated as "high treason," and sentences of five years' penal servitude for this were not uncommon. On July 12 Austro-German negotiations in Vienna resulted in the conclusion of a Press truce, in which in return for various concessions by Austria in the shape of the admission of pro-Nazi literature from Germany, Germany promised to abate the constant anti-Austrian Press campaigns in the Reich. Despite many violations from the German side, this new truce did ameliorate relations between the two countries

during the remainder of the year. In August von Neurath paid a private visit of three days to his estates in Vorarlberg, where he saw the Austrian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Guido Schmidt. Towards the end of September the Government started a big drive to force as many persons as possible into the Fatherland Front, the sole political organisation tolerated in Clerico-Fascist Austria which roughly corresponds to the Nazi or Fascist parties in Germany and Italy. It was made clear that those refusing to join before the lists closed on October 31 would imperil their chances of continued employment and lose many of the usual privileges of citizenship.

The visit of Lord Halifax to Berlin in November caused great anxiety in Austria, and was a cause of great jubilation among the Austrian Nazis.

The latent antagonism between the Austrian and German Governments was again aroused on December 28, by the Austrian official announcement that huge quantities of propaganda for Austrian Nazis from Germany had been seized in Scharding, on the Austro-German frontier, in the official motor-car of the German Burgomaster of Passau, in which members of Herr Hitler's S.S. Guard were travelling.

CHAPTER IV.

SOVIET RUSSIA—ESTONIA — LATVIA — LITHUANIA — POLAND—
DANZIG — CZECHOSLOVAKIA — HUNGARY — RUMANIA — YUGO-
SLAVIA—TURKEY—GREECE—BULGARIA—ALBANIA.

SOVIET UNION.

THE year 1937 was one of great stress for the Soviet Union, on account of the sudden and dramatic changes—without parallel in its previous history—in the principal organs of government. These changes, which signalled an internal crisis of the first order, affected the highest officials of the Bolshevik Party, the supreme command of the Army, and the representation abroad. The reasons for them were shrouded in the usual secrecy, and they were hailed by the enemies of Bolshevism as the beginning of a complete breakdown of the Soviet system. More unbiassed observers tried to explain them as a struggle for power between rival or potential leaders, as the definitive sealing, consolidation, and strengthening of the dictatorship of Stalin and the circle of his most devoted and faithful lieutenants. Based on a reign of terror, power is now more strongly entrenched than ever before in the hands of the little group of men whom Stalin trusts. The domination of the State Security Police, successor of the O.G.P.U., is attested by the fact that the " purge " of enemies of the State

has been made a permanent policy. Any kind of supposed political opposition is regarded and treated as criminal activity against Stalin and the Soviet Government. The accusation of "Trotskyism," often combined with allegations, of an incredible and almost ludicrous childishness, of leaning towards Fascism and subsequent treacherous activities in the interest of Germany and Japan, became the general term for any supposed opposition against the Stalin policy. In the sphere of public life no organisation remained free from suspicion, and all underwent changes aiming at an enforcement of Stalin's dictatorship. This fate befell the Trade Unions, the Komsomol (Young Communists League), the Ossoaviachim (Society for Chemical and Air Defence), the R.A.P.P. (Union of Soviet writers), the Academy of Sciences, and the Press, besides many other institutions.

On February 18 G. K. Ordzhonikidze, the Commissar for heavy industry, died. He was succeeded by V. I. Mezhlauk, the President of the Gosplan (State Planning Commission). On August 25 Mezhlauk changed over to the Commissariat of the machine industry and was replaced in his former post by G. Smirnov, who had been his successor as President of the Gosplan. In October A. D. Brusskin replaced Mezhlauk, who took over again the chairmanship of the Gosplan; at the same time he was appointed deputy Chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars. Other changes in Union Commissariats were—

Heavy Industry	M. Kaganovich (Aug. 22).
Light Industry -	I. E. Lyubimov, Shestakov (Sept. 8).
Military Defence Industry	M. L. Rukhimovich, Mich. M. Kaganovich (Oct. 17)
Justice -	Krylenko, Dimitriev (Oct.).
Finance -	Grig. Grinko, V. I. Tchubar (Aug. 15).
Foreign Trade -	A. P. Rosengolc (till June 14).
Internal Trade -	I. J. Veizer, M. P. Smirnov (Oct. 17).
Posts and Telegraphs	G. G. Yagoda (till April 4), General I. A. Chalepski (April 6), M. Berman (Aug. 15).
Transportation -	Lazar M. Kaganovich, A. V. Bakulin (Aug. 22).
Agriculture	M. A. Chernov, P. I. Ejche.
State farms (sovchozy)	M. Kalmanovich, N. Demchenko (April 11) T. A. Yurkin (July 23).
Health - - -	Kaminsky (March 15), M. F. Boldyrev (Aug. 3).
Supreme Court -	Dimitriev, Solodilov (Oct.).

Among the few Commissariats in which no change occurred the most notable were those of the Interior (N. I. Yezhov), Foreign Affairs (Litvinov), Defence (Marshal KL E. Voroshilov), and Food Industry (A. I. Mikoyan). I. Kraval, Vice-President of the Gosplan and chief of the statistical administration, had to resign after the complete failure of the census. Many changes were also made in the Commissariats of the R.S.F.S.R. (Russia proper); of these dismissals the more important were the Prime Minister, D. Sulimov (on July 23), and the Commissars of Education (A. S. Bubnov, on Oct. 12), of Finance (Barbara Yakovleva, on Nov. 16),

and of internal trade (M. Chinchuk, formerly Ambassador in Berlin).

The second large Moscow trial against " Trotskyist terrorists, wreckers, murderers, and spies " before the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. was conducted on January 23-30 on the same lines as the Zinoviev trial of August, 1936. The most notable defendants were G. L. Pyatakov, former Vice-Commissar for heavy industry, Karl Radek, M. Sokolnikov, former Ambassador to Great Britain, and I. A. Knyazev, former Chief of the Southern Ural Railway. On February 1 thirteen of the accused were shot, including Pyatakov and J. A. Livschitz, former Vice-Commissar of Transport. Radek and Sokolnikov were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. H. G. Yagoda, who had been Chief of the Cheka till September, 1936, the O.G.P.U. and the Commissariat of Internal Affairs (which absorbed the old political police) and afterwards Commissar of Posts, was removed from his position on April 3 and arrested for having committed crimes in office. During the year hundreds and hundreds of persons were arrested for alleged sabotage and espionage, and executed, many of them in Siberia ; *e.g.*, at Svobodny, 44 in May and 24 in October, at Ulanude (capital of the Buryat-Mongol Republic), 54 in October.

Important changes took place also in the defence forces during 1937. On January 27 Commander Orlov, the chief of the Navy, and General Alksnis-Astrov, the chief of the Air Force, were appointed Vice-Commissars of Defence. On February 24 new " Temporary Field Regulations of the Workers and Peasants' Red Army " were put into effect by order of Marshal Voroshilov. A decree of March 9 made saluting in the Army compulsory. In the early summer Stalin took steps to bring the Army under absolute party control. Marshal Yegorov, the Chief of the General Staff, who, in return for the visit paid in May, 1936, to Moscow by the chiefs of staffs of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia had visited Kaunas, Riga, and Tallinn in February, was on May 7 put in place of Marshal M. N. Tukhachevsky as Assistant Commissary of National Defence, being succeeded himself by General B. M. Shapozhnikov. Tukhachevsky was made Commander of the Volga Military District. On May 16 the creation of District Military Councils (Army, Navy) and the appointment of Commissars as military-political agents similar to the political commissars of the period of the civil war was decreed. Marshal Gamarnik, Chief Political Officer of the Red Army, and since 1930 first Deputy Commissar of Defence, committed suicide on May 31 and was denounced as having been involved in anti-governmental plotting. Then, on June 11, it was made known that between June 1 and 4 a supreme Military Court, composed of Marshals Voroshilov, Yegorov, Budenny, and Bliicher, had sentenced to death Marshal Tukhachevsky and seven other generals on charges of treason

and of spying " on behalf of an unfriendly state." The accusation was based on the special security law promulgated in December, 1934, after Kirov's assassination. The seven Generals besides Tukhachevsky who were shot on June 12 were A. I. Kork, Director of the Frunze Military Academy, L. E. Yakir, former Commander-in-Chief at Kiev and since May 11 Commander of the Leningrad Military district, I. P. Uborevich, Assistant Commissar for Defence and Vice-President of the Revolutionary Military Council, Robert P. Eideman, Chief of the Ossoaviachim, Quartermaster General B. M. Feldman of the General Staff, K. V. Putna, former Military Attache in London and Berlin, and V. M. Primakov, Deputy Commander of the Leningrad military district. The impression of observers competent to form an opinion about this strange case was that Tukhachevsky and Gamarnik had been successful in keeping the Army to a certain degree independent of politics, and that Stalin's action, a veritable *coup d'etat*, must be explained as an attempt to make the Army a more docile instrument of the party dictatorship. In any case it is almost impossible to believe that these officers were really guilty of high treason and of espionage in the service of foreign Powers. The executions made a deep impression abroad, especially in France, where they were rightly regarded as diminishing the value of the Franco-Soviet pact.

French military circles estimated the strength of the Red Army as being 86 infantry and 21 cavalry divisions, two motorised army corps, about 2,500 tanks, and in European Russia alone 3,000 aeroplanes. The Budget showed a continued increase of the expenses for " national defence," 8,200,000,000 rubles in 1935, 14,815,000,000 rubles in 1936, and 20,102,000,000 rubles in 1937. The military Budget represented roughly one-fifth of the entire Budget of 96,852,000,000 rubles. " To strengthen the defences of the U.S.S.R." an internal loan of 4,000,000,000 rubles redeemable in 1957 was floated in July.

A plenary session of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party at the end of February and the beginning of March resolved on a remodelling of the party apparatus by means of new elections for the leading positions in the party to be held before May 20. The question of the political training of party members and the masses was also broadly discussed. Stalin, in an address on March 3, proclaimed a ruthless struggle against Trotskyism and declared that the Soviet Union was full of spies. He attacked the party bureaucracy and called for more " party democracy," declaring that he meant to destroy the " little dictators." He gave figures showing that of the party's total strength of 2,000,000 members more than 100,000, possibly nearly 200,000, were leaders of higher or lower rank ; 3,000 to 4,000 were " higher leaders " (the " general staff "), 30,000 or 40,000 were middle leaders, and 100,000 to 150,000 " non-commissioned officers." A. Rykov, who

had succeeded Lenin as Prime Minister of the Soviet Union and more recently had served as Commissar of Posts and Telegraphs, and N. Bukharin, ex-editor of the Government organ *Izvestia*, were expelled from the party. Both had been compromised in the Zinoviev and Radek-Sokolnikov trials. The Academy of Sciences also expunged Bukharin's name in May from the list of academicians. Many high party officials had to quit their posts ; on July 9 even Ivan Akulov had to resign from the secretaryship of the Central Executive Committee of the party, and on August 25 Nikolas Filatov, the Moscow district party leader, was removed from his post for "maladministration and lack of vigilance." Avcl Yenukidze, who had been a close friend of Stalin as Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of Soviets from the beginning of the Soviet regime until March, 1935, was expelled from the party for "political and moral corruption" on June 7, 1935, and shot for "high treason" on December 19.

The existence of serious unrest in the national republics was revealed by the changes made in the Governmental ranks of ten of the eleven Union Republics under charges of nationalism and Trotskyism. By the beginning of November ten heads of Government, some fifty people's Commissars, four Presidents of Central Executive Committees, and seven first party secretaries had been removed from their offices. In the Ukraine, White Russia, and the Caucasus the provincial authorities pursued the policy of extirpating "Trotskyist wreckers." The alleged discovery of a bourgeois nationalist plot in the Ukraine led to many changes in party and Government circles. Postyshev, the first party secretary, was transferred to Kujbyshev (formerly Samara) in March. Lyubchenko, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars (or Prime Minister) of the Ukraine since April, 1934, committed suicide on August 30 in order to escape arrest as an "enemy of the U.S.S.R. and a betrayer of Ukrainian interests." His successor, Bondarenko, was arrested in November on a charge of maintaining treasonable contact with Ukrainian separatists and an anti-Soviet centre in Berlin. On June 16 A. G. Chervikov, President of White Russia, committed suicide when the purge of alleged Soviet enemies, directed especially against "Jewish nationalist elements" in the White Russian Government, spread to White Russia. In a second shake-up early in November, A. S. Grad, the acting President, and I. Yuravlev, the Vice-President, were removed. Purges of other Governments were made in June in Georgia, and in August and September in Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan. At the trial of thirteen members of the Abkhazian Government headed by M. I. Chalmas, Commissar for Agriculture, on a charge of counter-revolutionary conspiracy, it was revealed on November 3 at Sukhum (Georgia) that in 1933 and 1935 Stalin had twice narrowly escaped assassination.

By decree of January 27, Nikolas Yezhov, Yagoda's successor

as Commissar of Internal Affairs (including the State Security Police), received the title of General Commissar of Public Safety. After Stalin's anti-spy speech in March many foreigners (more than 200 Austrians, 200 Germans, 70 Czechoslovaks, and many Poles, Italians, Greeks, Chinese, and Afghans) were imprisoned. Foreign Communists who had taken refuge in Russia (Finnish, Estonian, German) and persons associated with foreigners became suspected as Trotskyist spies. The catalogue of charges made under the head of "Trotskyist-Bukharinist spying and wrecking," and leading to numberless arrests and executions reveals a real spy- and wrecker-phobia. It includes terrorism, agricultural wrecking carried out by Bukharin "Right-wingers/" and industrial wrecking by Trotskyists, plotting the assassination of Soviet leaders, sabotage, disrupting of collective farms, killing of livestock by spreading epidemics, spoiling of grain, food poisoning, anti-party and wrecking heresies, anti-Stakhanovist activities, etc. Yezhov, the State prosecutor Vyshinsky, and four judges of the Supreme Court received the highest distinction, the order of Lenin.

On March 14 all cases of claims for the restoration of the franchise to Soviet citizens deprived of it by reason of social origin, property status, and former activities were decreed closed.

The Soviet Union was at the same time, in 1937, enjoying its first year of "the most liberal and most democratic Constitution," the new Soviet Constitution adopted on December 5, 1936. This does not mean bourgeois democracy, but "proletarian" democracy, *i.e.*, theoretically, a constantly increasing participation of the masses in the government of the country. The Union Republics adopted one after another new constitutions following exactly the same line as the Union Constitution. The new Constitution was made effective by the electoral law for the Supreme Council (the Parliament of the Soviet Union) of July 9. The methods of nomination, resulting in most cases in the nomination of only one candidate, excluded the possibility of anyone critical of the present Government being elected. The nominations for the Supreme Council of the realm, formerly of "peasants, workmen, and soldiers," but now (since Stalin's speech of December 11, 1936) of "workers, peasants, and intelligentsia" were as follows :—

	<i>Council of the Union,</i>	<i>Council of Nationalities.</i>
Communist Party officials -	133	113
Government officials -	215	150
Officials of the Commissariat of Internal Affairs	35	16
Red Army and Navy men -	60	37
Industrial officials - - - - -	20	17
Members of the intelligentsia - - - -	39	39
Army and civil airmen - - - - -	17	6
Workers (including Stakhanovists)	69	62
Peasants	79	144

On December 12, by secret, general, and direct vote of all citizens over the age of 18, the 1,143 members of the Supreme Council (569 in the Council of the Union, 574 in the Council of Nationalities) were elected. Of 93,139,478 registered voters (of the total estimated population of 169,000,000) over 90,000,000 voted ; the number of voters daring to cross out the name of the candidate is estimated at 700,000. *Izvestia* calculated that of the voters 98.6 per cent, voted for the Stalinist candidates for the Council of the Union and 97.8 per cent, voted for the Stalinist candidates for the Council of Nationalities. Of the members of the Supreme Court, 855 are members of the Party, and 184 are women. Just before the election the names of V. Mezhlauk, Chairman of the Gosplan, General Alksnis-Astrov, chief of the Air Corps, and General G. Bokis, chief of the Tank Corps, were removed from the ballot paper and replaced by others.

The census ordered by decree of the Sovnarkom (Council of People's Commissars) of April 28, 1936, was held on January 6, but so many deficiencies and irregularities were discovered that at the end of September the results of the census were cancelled and a new census ordered for January, 1939. A decree of the Central Executive Committee confirmed on March 17 the new coat of arms of the Soviet Union in accordance with Art. 143 of the new Constitution (a picture is to be found in *Izvestia*, March 20). Changes in the boundaries of many administrative districts (*kraj*, *oblast*) in European Russia and in Siberia published in September made them co-extensive with the former Tsarist Governments. After the death of G. Ordzhonikidze the North Caucasus region (*kraj*) was changed on March 13 to Ordzhonikidzensky *kraj*.

Striking changes were made in the diplomatic service, though Litvinov's position remained unaffected, and he represented his Government at the Coronation of George VI and personally attended the important diplomatic conferences at Nyon and Brussels. On March 29 Krestinsky, Ambassador to Germany until 1930 and afterwards assistant Commissar for Foreign Affairs, was appointed Vice-Commissar of Justice. His replacement by V. I. P. Potemkin, the Ambassador in Paris, was followed by the transfer of Yakov Z. Suric from Berlin to Paris, and in June of K. Yurenev from Tokio to Berlin. In the autumn all the diplomatic representatives in the border states were summoned to Moscow and disappeared from public view : Y. H. Davtyan, Ambassador to Poland since April, 1934, the Ministers Podolsky in Lithuania, Brodovsky in Latvia, and Assmus in Finland ; Ustinov, the Minister in Estonia, died suddenly, probably by suicide, on September 26. When A. Barmin, Soviet Charge d'Affaires at Athens, was ordered home to "report" he resigned his post and went to France. D. V. Bogomolov was recalled from China, Antonov-Ovseyenko from Spain, and

Karakhan from Turkey. With Leo M. Karakhan, an Armenian who had been for years Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs and Chief of the Far Eastern, later of the Near Eastern, divisions, a brilliant diplomat disappeared from the scene. He was executed at the same time as Yenukidze on December 19 for " high treason."

Several foreign ministers paid official visits to Moscow: R. Holsti (Finland) in February, Munters (Latvia) in June, Sandler (Sweden) in July, and Rustu Aras (Turkey) immediately after the signing of the Asiatic Pact of Saadeabad with Iran, Iraq, and Afghanistan on July 8. On June 10 the Chilean Chamber refused diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union.

Throughout the year the tension between Germany and the Soviet Union continued unabated. German propaganda stressed " Red " influence in Czechoslovakia and talked of the possibility of Czechoslovakia becoming a " second Spain " and the jumping-off ground of Bolshevism in Central Europe. The appointment on January 24 of the mixed Commission provided for in the German-Japanese anti-Communist Pact was a signal for a new and intensified campaign against Bolshevism. The speeches at the Party Rally at Nuremberg, September 7-14, once more stressed the German determination to resist any further expansion of Bolshevism in Europe as a change of the balance of power.

The prolongation of the Russo-German commercial agreement of April 29, 1936, for one year to the end of 1937, was signed at Berlin on December 24, 1936. Under the agreement, despite the political tension, German exports to Russia rose from 39,300,000 marks in 1935 to 126,100,000 in 1936 ; German imports from Russia dropped from 215,000,000 marks in 1935 to 93,200,000 in 1936. Germany agreed in November to reduce her consulates in the Soviet Union from seven to two (at Kiev and Novosibirsk) by January 15, 1938, while the Soviet Union maintains consulates only at Hamburg and Konigsberg. In accordance with the wishes of the Soviet Government the Italian Government prepared to reduce its consulates in the Soviet Union to three.

Ten Germans who had been under arrest since the beginning of November, 1936, were sentenced on February 25 to expulsion. Later forty-four German prisoners were deported in virtual exchange for the crews of the Soviet ships *Komsomol* and *Smidovich* seized in Spanish waters. Two German citizens, Paul Silberhorn and Erwin Klein, were sentenced in November by a military tribunal at Leningrad to imprisonment for twenty-five years as agents of the German secret service. By the end of the year almost all the Germans, who had numbered 11,300 in 1930, had been forced to leave Russia.

On November 6 Italy joined the German-Japanese anti-Comintern agreement concluded on November 25, 1936, and two days later the Soviet Government protested officially. B. Stein, the Russian Ambassador, informed the Italian Government that

his Government considered the stipulations of the tripartite anti-Communist Pact as contrary to the Pact of friendship, non-aggression, and neutrality concluded in September, 1933, between Italy and the Soviet Union, and regarded the Italian gesture as an unfriendly act. In the London Non-intervention Committee dealing with the Spanish situation, the duel between the Fascist Powers and the Soviet Union continued. The obstructionist tactics of Soviet diplomacy sometimes gave the impression that it aimed at preventing any united action by the so-called capitalist powers in general, and at doing everything possible to widen the gulf between the democratic and the Fascist Powers [*vide* England]. Stalin himself stressed in his speech on March 3 the contrast between Russia and all capitalist Governments, using the old-fashioned catchword of "capitalist encirclement of the Socialist state." On February 26 the Soviet Union renounced participation in the Spanish sea control. On September 6 Moscow accused Italy of sinking two Soviet steamers on August 30 and September 1 and demanded damages. Mussolini rejected the demands, and on September 9 Rome and Berlin declined to attend the proposed conference at Nyon against piracy in the Mediterranean. By the Nine-Power anti-piracy agreement signed on September 11 the Soviet Union was entrusted with safeguarding the Black Sea.

Japan's entanglement in China made the Soviet Union for the time being secure against attack in the Far East, but fears of Japanese intentions of attacking Outer Mongolia (The Mongolian People's Republic) and the Soviet possessions in the Far East after she has consolidated her conquests in North China led to strong warnings in the Soviet Press that a violation of Outer Mongolia would bring into force the mutual assistance pact with Outer Mongolia (*cf.* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 198). The Soviet Government refused on July 1 to withdraw Russian armed forces from the Amur River border region between Siberia and Manchukuo unless Japan did likewise. On August 21 a non-aggression pact was signed with the Chinese National Government at Nanking [see under Public Documents]. The Soviet Government strongly sympathised with the Chinese in their struggle against Japanese aggression. The Anglo-Soviet Naval Agreement of July 17 accorded to the Soviet Union full freedom of armament in the Far East. Another achievement for the strengthening of the Soviet position in the Far East was the completion of a new 1,800 mile railroad running parallel to the Far Eastern section of the Trans-Siberian Railway from Karymskaya, east of Lake Baikal, to Khabarovsk, 150 miles from the Pacific Ocean; it was declared open on December 19. The agreement granting Japan fishing rights in Soviet Pacific waters which expired on December 31, 1936, was prolonged for one year on December 21.

In the Moscow trial in January, it was revealed that

Mr. S. Hiroshima, an official of the Japanese embassy in Moscow, who was protected from arrest by his diplomatic status, was plotting preparations for wrecking the Soviet railway system in case of war. On December 17 the Japanese Government protested strongly against arrests of Japanese subjects in the Soviet Union.

Great efforts were made for further improvement of the armament industry. The number of workers engaged in industry has risen from some 8,000,000 fifteen years ago to more than 25,000,000 to-day ; over a third of the population is now dependent on industry. On March 31 the Government ordered a 20 per cent, increase of the total industrial production in all branches during 1937, criticising defects in the economic work during 1936. The programme demanded an output of 150,100,000 tons of coal, 32,100,000 tons of oil, 16,000,000 tons of steel, 220,000 motor cars, 900,000 bicycles, and 1,000,000 gramophones in 1937. On April 29 a decree announced lower retail prices for manufactured goods and a reorganisation of the Donetz Basin coal-mining industry with higher wages for the workers. On April 28 for Soviet industry as a whole the completion of the second five-year plan (which started January 1, 1933) by April 1 was proclaimed, i.e., nine months ahead of schedule, and the Sovnarkom ordered the Gosplan to finish the schedule for the third five-year period. At the first of May celebrations the completion of the Moscow-Volga Canal (128 km.), which forms part of the four-sea ship canal system linking up Moscow with the Baltic, White, Black, and Caspian Seas was announced. The construction of the canal as well as of the new Siberian railroad mentioned above was carried out under the supervision of the State Secret Police principally by labour battalions composed of political prisoners. After the formal opening of the Canal an amnesty was granted to 55,000 of the 200,000 convicts who had been engaged for the past five years in building the Moscow-Volga Canal. On December 22 an extensive programme of railroad, highway, power-plant and canal building under the management of the Commissariat of Internal Affairs was announced.

The fact that the coal and steel industries did not fulfil their plans disarranged the production schedules of nearly every other industry. The most critical lag in the fulfilment of production schedules occurred in heavy industry. The general dissatisfaction with the qualitative and quantitative industrial output led in August and September to a complete reorganisation of the central industrial administration. A new Commissariat of Machine Industry was formed, making four central industrial Commissariats : Heavy Industry, Machine Industry, Light Industry, and Industries of Defence. On November 24 an Economic Council, under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Molotov, was set up to centralise the Government's economic control and to ensure the fulfilment of production plans. In the production of

cotton the Soviet Union held in 1936 third place after U.S.A. and India. With over 74,000,000l. gold production in 1936 the Soviet Union took second place in gold production after South Africa, producing a fifth of the world supply and having increased the production by 577 per cent, between 1929 and 1936.

A new commercial agreement with the United States was signed on August 4 in Moscow prolonging the provisional commercial treaty of July 13, 1935. The Soviet Union agreed to increase her guaranteed purchases from the U.S.A. to \$40,000,000 (about 8,000,000l.) in the next twelve months ; the U.S. Government agreed to give to Soviet products unconditional and unrestricted most-favoured nation treatment with the single reservation of coal imports.

On November 27 the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions agreed under certain conditions to enter a united front agreement with the liberal International Federation of Trade Unions for the purpose of unity in the struggle against war and Fascism throughout the world.

During the summer the State Security Police and the Press opened a new heresy hunt directed against " counter-revolutionary religious organisations " of Christians and Moslems alike. Priests of the Orthodox Church, members of religious sects, Polish Catholic priests, Protestant pastors and Mohammedan mullahs were accused of subversive activities, espionage, sabotage, and terrorism in the service of Germany and Japan. The Archbishop of the Kalinin district (formerly Tver), and the Bishops of Moscow, the Ukraine, and Siberia were charged in November with working as spies for the Fascist enemies of the Soviet regime. The drive against Catholics was stimulated by a sharp encyclical on " Atheistic Communism " issued by the Pope on March 18. E. Yaroslavsky, President of the League of the militant godless, had to admit that about 50 per cent, of the adult population were still under the influence of the Church, and it was revealed that the number of Bezbozhniks, members of this League, had declined from 5,000,000 in 1933 to less than 2,000,000.

Early in the year E. B. Pashukanis, for years the leading authority on the Bolshevik theory of law, was relieved as a " Trotskyist " of his duties as Vice-Commissar of Justice. On April 9 he also had to relinquish his post as Director of the Institute of Soviet Organisation and Law. There can be no doubt that M. N. Pokrovsky, whose leadership of the Marxist historians was undisputed during his lifetime, escaped the same fate only by his death in April, 1932. His " school " is now persecuted as holding pseudo-Marxist, anti-Leninist and therefore unscientific conceptions. Stalin's actual leadership in the field of historical science was established in 1936-37 by his suggestions and " schemes " for the writing of text-books on Russian history and on the history of the Bolshevik Party.

The Budget for 1937 provided for education 18,270,000,000 roubles (1936 : 12,121,000,000) from a total Budget of approximately 98,000,000,000 roubles. A decree of March 20 reintroduced scientific degrees and ranks ; another decree, on April 20, reorganised so-called model and experimental demonstration schools into normal schools. On November 12 a decree of the Sovnarkon raised the pay of the teaching staff in higher institutions of learning. By order of the Central Executive Committee of the Union Professors Chichibabin and Ipatyev, the chemists who were expelled from the Academy of Sciences for residing abroad and refusing to return, were deprived on January 7 of their Soviet citizenship. The Pushkin Centenary on February 10 was characterised by efforts to claim the poet as a precursor of Soviet tendencies in the cultural sphere. The construction also began of the colossal Moscow " Palace of Soviets " planned more than ten years ago and proclaimed as the world's " tallest building."

A great achievement was the air expedition to the North Pole in May, carefully prepared by Professor Otto J. Schmidt, the head of the Northern Sea Route and of Soviet Arctic exploration. A Soviet airplane piloted by Vodopyanov, made a successful landing at the North Pole on May 21 and established a permanent weather and scientific station. The next day the Soviet Union claimed the North Pole as its own to have and to hold for ever on the ground that it was the first to establish a permanent settlement in the vicinity. Theoretically Soviet territory already reached the Pole, for in 1926 the Soviet Government developed the Soviet Sector theory decreeing that all lands between the meridians marking the western and eastern frontiers and the North Pole belonged to the Soviet Union. These Soviet proclamations, however, by no means solve the problem of the international status of the domain beyond 66.5° N. On June 18 and July 12 the airmen Chkalov and Gromov started on the first successful flights between Russia and America by way of the polar region. At the third attempt, on August 13, S. Levanevsky's plane disappeared in the Arctic.

ESTONIA.

After a three years' suspension of Parliamentary activity, a Parliament elected on the new system sanctioned in the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 204) assembled for its first session on February 19, when a combined sitting of the two Houses was addressed by President Pats. At the end of July the two Chambers finally approved the new Constitution, under which the Republic is to be governed by a President and a Parliament composed of two Chambers. The President is to be elected every six years by a secret ballot of the people

from three candidates, one nominated by each of the two Chambers and the third by representatives of the 120 rural and urban local authorities. The First Chamber is to consist of 80 members elected by secret ballot of the people, and the Second Chamber, to be known as the State Council, of 40 members elected by various public organisations and local authorities. The Cabinet is to be appointed by the President, but if it loses the confidence of the First Chamber it must resign, though the First Chamber must also be dissolved. M. Pats, hitherto known as "Head of the State," was to act as President until the next election.

Trade improved considerably in Estonia in 1937, the figures for the first half year being 41,900,000 E. Kr. exports, and 51,700,000 E. Kr. imports, against 37,300,000 and 39,100,000 E. Kr. respectively for the corresponding period of the previous year. In September a new trade agreement was signed with Finland which did not include the so-called "Baltic clause," reserving the right to grant special privileges to the other two Baltic States. This caused some friction between Estonia and Latvia, which had not entirely blown over by the end of the year, though proceedings at the half-yearly conference of the "Baltic Entente" in December were entirely harmonious.

In April a new sterilisation law was passed, applying to persons mentally or physically deficient, but not to children under 10 or in cases where the patient's life would be endangered.

On December 22 Generals Larka and Toervand and sixteen others, who had been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for their attempted *coup d'etat* at the end of 1935 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 204) were pardoned and released.

LATVIA.

There was a marked improvement in trade during the year, though owing to the devaluation of the lat, which was made dependent on sterling at the former -rate of exchange, it was difficult to make comparisons with 1936. Trade agreements were concluded with Germany and France. Official visits were paid in the course of the year by the Foreign Minister, M. Munters, to Finland and to Russia. At the end of January a new Civil Code was adopted, making legal procedure, which hitherto had been subject to many local variations, uniform throughout the country. In the summer it was decided to build a suspension bridge, 300 feet long—the first in Latvia—over the river Salace. A gymnasium, with English as the chief language of instruction, was opened at Riga, where a French lycee had already existed for some years.

LITHUANIA.

Trade continued to improve in 1937, though not so rapidly as in Estonia and Latvia. For the first half of 1937 exports amounted to 93,570,000 lits, and imports to 94,400,000 lits, the corresponding figures for 1936 being 92,410,000 and 68,700,000 lits. Plans were made for the erection of a hydro-electric power station or stations in Lithuania, and for the purchase of large numbers of locomotives and railway carriages.

There were further releases of Memellanders sentenced after the great treason trial of 1935, and at the end of the year less than 30 out of 80 of them were still in prison. Ex-President Valdemaras was also amnestied in January. Relations with Germany continued friendly, and there was an active frontier trade between the two countries. At the end of November the Klaipeda (Memel) Diet protested hotly against the action of the Government in sequestering about 1,000 acres in Memel territory for the purpose of constructing an airport and making improvements in the harbour. Relations with Poland continued to be severely strained; at the beginning of March the Foreign Minister made a defiant answer to what was considered a "threatening" speech of Colonel Beck, the Polish Foreign Minister.

In January a law was passed ordaining that prisoners condemned to capital punishment should be put to death by means of poison gas. The first execution of this kind took place in July.

In September, as neither party had given notice to the contrary, the trade agreement with Great Britain was automatically prolonged for a further year.

POLAND.

Political interest in 1937 was focussed on the efforts made by Colonel Adam Koc, the head of the State Bank, to create a party organisation which should give support in Parliament to the dictator, Marshal Smigly-Ridz, and any Government which he should appoint. These efforts had been commenced soon after the appeal made by the Marshal in May, 1936, but it was not till February 21 of this year that the programme of the new National Unity Group (later known as O.Z.N.) was published by Colonel Koc. Though somewhat vague, the programme was not reactionary; it accepted the Constitution of 1935, expressed friendship towards the national minorities, and deprecated assaults on the Jews. For these reasons it failed to satisfy the parties of the extreme Right, and the Colonels of the "Old Guard" ostentatiously dissociated themselves from Colonel Koc; on July 11 a Right Wing extremist even made an attempt on his life. On the other hand, the concessions made to extremist opinion by Colonel Koc, and still more by Colonel Kowalewski, who became

his Chief-of-Staff in April, were sufficient to keep away the Polish Legion (the ex-soldiers' organisation) and the P.O.W. (pre-War Polish Revolutionary Organisation in Russia), two rather liberal-minded bodies the support of which the Government was particularly anxious to secure. Colonel Koc's activities led to considerable friction within the Government, until at the end of October he finally declared that he had no intention of working with the extreme elements. Immediately afterwards Marshal Smigly-Ridz and Colonel Koc met representatives of the Polish Legion and the P.O.W., and it was announced that the O.Z.N. would work in the closest conjunction with these bodies.

During the whole of this time there had been great ferment among the parties of the Left. A Congress of the Peasant Party held in January and of the Socialist Party in February passed resolutions demanding free and uncontrolled elections and a return to democratic principles. In March the two parties decided to form a joint organisation called the Workers', Peasants', and Intellectuals' Group, in opposition to Colonel Koc. In April several persons were killed when the authorities tried to break up a demonstration of the Peasant's Party at Raclawice. In the latter half of August, the peasants in Southern Poland organised a ten-days' strike to enforce their demand for the return of the former peasant leader, M. Witos, now exiled in Switzerland, and the ruthlessness with which it was repressed by the Government led to serious disturbances in which, according to the official report, 41 peasants were killed and as many wounded. On December 13 President Moscicki received a delegation of the Polish Socialist Party which came to protest—this being the first time since 1931 that a Left-Wing delegation had been received by the President—but this did not prevent severe sentences being passed on the ringleaders of the peasants' strike a little later.

The extreme Right Party—the National Democrats—signalled itself by a number of anti-Jewish excesses committed throughout the year. The worst of these outbreaks was at Bielsk, in September, where all Jewish shops were smashed and looted. In the Universities the "Emdek" students subjected the Jewish students of both sexes to continual persecution and violence, and in Lwow in November they tried to kill the Rector when he interfered against them. President Moscicki showed his disapproval of "Emdek" activities by receiving on December 12 a delegation of Polish Jews. In December the Polish Government discussed with the French Government the possibility of Polish—and especially Jewish—emigration to Madagascar.

The chief feature of Poland's foreign policy in 1937 was the great cordiality of her relations with Rumania, marked especially by the visit of President Moscicki to Bucharest at the beginning of June and of King Carol and Prince Michael to Warsaw and Cracow at the end of the month. As a token of esteem, Poland

raised her Legation in Bucharest to the status of an Embassy and Rumania followed suit. Colonel Beck, however, the Polish Foreign Secretary, was unable during his visit to Bucharest in April to persuade Rumania to make closer the existing military agreement between the two countries, though he did succeed in obtaining a Convention for promoting tourist traffic between them.

With her other neighbours, Poland's relations were not so happy. Tension between her and both Czechoslovakia and Lithuania increased, in both cases because these countries drew nearer to Russia. Poland and Czechoslovakia refused to one another concessions for important air services, and between Poland and Lithuania an acrimonious Press polemic was carried on throughout the year. Poland was greatly dissatisfied with the treatment of the Polish minority in Germany, and after the expiry of the Geneva Convention on Upper Silesia on July 15 a good deal of friction developed between the two countries, which was not entirely removed by a joint Declaration made by the Polish and German Governments on November 5 that they intended to respect the rights and interests of each other's minorities. M. Delbos, during his visit to Poland in December, tried to strengthen Poland's ties with France, but without much success.

A curious quarrel broke out between the Government and the Church on the occasion of the King of Rumania's visit to Cracow in June. A few days before the King was due, Monsignor Sapieha, the Metropolitan of Cracow, caused the remains of Marshal Pilsudski to be removed from the crypt where they were deposited to a less sacred part of the Church, his object being, it was said, to prevent them being visited by the King, to whom he objected on account of his private life. The President requested him to cancel his instructions, but he refused, and thereupon the Premier, General Skladkowski, feeling that the national honour had been affronted, tendered the resignation of the Government, which, however, was not accepted. The matter, which was hotly discussed in the Press, was referred to the Vatican and debated in the Sejm, and it was not till September that the affair was settled by an agreement which placed the tombs of national heroes under State instead of Church jurisdiction.

In the summer a Commercial Treaty was concluded with France, setting up a clearing arrangement based on 80 per cent. French exports to Poland as compared with 100 per cent. Polish exports to France.

THE FREE CITY OF DANZIG.

In the course of 1937 Danzig came more and more under Nazi domination. After the resignation of the League High Commissioner towards the end of 1936, Poland had accepted responsibility for seeing that the Danzig Constitution was observed, but

in fact it confined its activities to a somewhat perfunctory protection of its Catholic nationals against Nazi excesses. Numerous arrests took place during the year of political opponents of the Nazi regime—though in November an Amnesty Bill was passed freeing political offenders condemned before October 15 to terms of less than one year—and in November the Zentrum, the last remnant of the Catholic Party, was dissolved. There was widespread looting and destruction of Jewish shops, and assets of Jewish firms were frequently seized, ostensibly on account of taxation but in reality to assist in meeting the ever-growing deficits of the Danzig Treasury.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

Czechoslovakia in 1937 breathed on the whole more freely than in the previous year, when the danger of a German invasion had seemed to be imminent. President Benesh on New Year's Day predicted that the year would be calmer, and on March 2 Dr. Krofta, the Foreign Minister, ventured to assert that the worst stage of the international crisis had been passed. And in fact, though the German Government on one or two occasions brought unpleasant pressure to bear on Czechoslovakia, its attitude could hardly at any time be described as threatening. Trade between the two countries improved, and in March a pact was concluded allowing the civil aircraft of either country to fly over the territory of the other.

But if the behaviour of the German Government was correct, if not cordial, Czechoslovakian fears of Germany were kept alive by the hostile tone of the Government-controlled Press of that country, which was not only permitted to indulge in virulent attacks on Czechoslovakia and to encourage separatist activities there, but seemed to be always seeking an excuse for German intervention. At the beginning of the year it accused Czechoslovakia of providing sites for Soviet aerodromes. Later it accused the Government of having maltreated in prison a German named Bruno Weigel, who had been arrested in Prague in November, 1936, on a charge of Nazi activities and had been discharged on May 20; and on a request from the German Government the Government, which knew the statement to be groundless, was forced much against its will to consent to his case being investigated afresh. On October 20 the Czechoslovak Minister in Berlin felt constrained to protest against the comments in the German Press on the conduct of the Czechoslovak police at a meeting of the Sudetic Germans at Teplitz-Schönau on October 17, and a few days later the Minister of Justice warned Germany that Czechoslovakia would not tolerate German interference in her internal affairs. On November 11 Dr. Krofta reluctantly admitted that he could no longer uphold the opinion

he had previously expressed, that Germany was not pursuing an anti-Czechoslovak policy.

Partly in order to give Germany no excuse for intervention, further concessions were made in the course of the year to the German minority. Sympathetic consideration was given to a memorandum presented on January 27 by the three German parties supporting the Government Coalition—the Social Democrats, the Agrarians, and the Christian Socialists—making certain demands for better treatment. The opportunity was taken to draw up a programme for improving the position, not only of the German, but also of the Polish and Magyar minorities in the country. Dr. Hodza, the Premier, admitted on February 25 that the Germans had in the past been ungenerously treated in the matter of State employment, and steps were taken in the course of the year to remedy this and other grievances, such as the inadequate distribution of public funds in the German-speaking areas. By these means the Government allayed the discontent in the three German parties supporting it. The Sudetic German Party of Herr Henlein, however, egged on by the Press of Germany, spurned the Government's approaches and continued to clamour for nothing less than autonomy. Though weakened by internal dissensions, it was still able to cause the Government considerable anxiety. A clash with the police occurred at a meeting of the party held at Teplitz-Schonau on October 17, and in order to check political agitation, the Government prohibited until further notice the holding of public meetings throughout the country, without distinction of party, and postponed indefinitely the municipal elections which were to have been held in 481 districts on November 14. At the end of the year the Government, out of consideration for Germany stopped the publication in Prague of the *Neuer Vorwärts*, the organ of the former German Socialist Party.

In July differences arose in the Cabinet over the question of granting a subsidy of about 365,000l. to the Grain Monopoly in order to enable it to purchase grain from farmers above market price. Dr. Kalfus, the Finance Minister, would not consent to this, and on July 16 Dr. Hodza resigned. On July 21 he returned to office with the same Ministers, except that Dr. Kalfus was replaced by Dr. Franke, and a subsidy was granted under conditions which would not raise the price of flour and bread to the consumer. On October 2 Dr. Kalfus again became Minister of Finance.

Economic conditions were better in 1937 than in any year since 1929. There was a large drop in the number of unemployed, a substantial increase in exports and foreign trade generally, improved traffic returns on the State railways, and a record output in the iron and coal-mining industries. The Budget for 1938 submitted on November 9 showed revenue 10,120,000,000 crowns and

expenditure 10,117,000,000 crowns, as against 8,456,000,000 and 8,454,000,000 respectively in the previous year. The increase in expenditure was due chiefly to the large additional sums required for national defence and for coping with unemployment. The increase was to be met by a supplement to the income tax, an increase in other taxation and an excess profits tax on armament works.

In pursuance of its defence policy, the Government on June 15 introduced a Bill providing for military training of all persons of both sexes from the age of 6 to 60. Between 17 and 30 men were to be taught the use of arms, and training for civil air defence was to continue up to the age of 60. On July 14 it was decided by the Supreme Council for National Defence to raise a further credit (in addition to the loan of July, 1936, which had yielded 2,568,000,000 crowns, about 21,400,000l.) for completing the measures taken to fortify the frontiers and to mechanise the Army. By the end of the year 12,500,000,000 crowns (88,750,000l.) had been spent on national defence since 1934, mainly on frontier defence and on military equipment. The estimate for defence in the Budget of 1938 was 4,458,000,000 crowns (31,200,000l.).

Czechoslovakia remained on bad terms with Poland throughout 1937, but continued to maintain close contact with the other members of the Little Entente, especially in economic affairs, and in December made a new agreement with Hungary increasing the total value of the reciprocal quotas from 186,000,000 crowns (about 1,310,000Z.) to 243,000,000 (about 1,711,000/.). In January a credit of about 500,000,000 crowns (about 3,550,000l.) was advanced to Rumania—in addition to the 200,000,000 advanced in July, 1936—for the purchase of war material. Czechoslovakia also maintained her military connexion with France and with Soviet Russia, while making it clear that she had no sympathy with Bolshevism as a political theory.

In February the Government took steps to prevent any Czechoslovak subjects from leaving to fight in Spain, and on April 9, in answer to a statement made by the *Giornale d'Italia*, it issued a denial that any Czechoslovak aeroplanes had been exported to either of the belligerents in Spain, or would be exported, or that a licence had been issued for the transit of Russian aircraft bound for Spain over Czechoslovak territory. In July the Government refused permission to an armament factory in Brno (Brunn) to deliver an order of machine-guns to Portugal on the ground that Portugal was intervening in the Spanish struggle, and though the prohibition was subsequently removed, Portugal, on August 19, withdrew its Minister from Prague—a step which the Czechoslovak Government put down to the prevailing tendency among certain European nations to make mountains out of molehills [*vide* Portugal].

The death of ex-President Masaryk on September 14 threw

the whole nation into mourning, and even lent a touch of sadness to the Independence Day celebrations a few weeks later. A funeral oration was delivered by President Benesh, and among those who paid tribute to his memory were included the Communist Party, which praised his work for democracy and progress, and the Sudetic German Party, which spoke of his endeavours to establish good relations between Czechs and Germans.

HUNGARY.

Throughout 1937 an active agitation was carried on by Nazi and extreme Right Wing elements in Hungary—provided, as it seemed, with funds from abroad—with the object of overthrowing the Constitution and bringing Hungary more into dependence on Nazi Germany. The Government of M. Daranyi strongly resisted this pressure, and as the year wore on it received increasing support in this endeavour even from the Conservative sections of the Opposition, notably M. Eckhardt, the leader of the Agrarian Party.

At the end of February rumours that an anti-Parliamentary "putsch" was intended spread a feeling of panic in the country owing to uncertainty as to the attitude of the Government. How much foundation there was for the rumours could not be ascertained; but confidence was restored by a decree issued by the Ministry of Justice, instructing the local authorities to take proceedings against revolutionary agitation, and a statement made by the Premier in Parliament on March 10 protesting against irresponsible rumours and "groundless chatter," and declaring the Government's resolve to maintain order. The good impression made by this speech was confirmed by the appointment soon afterwards to the Ministry of the Interior of M. Joseph Szell, who was regarded as being firm and efficient yet moderate, and who stated that he would not tolerate any movement likely to disturb the public peace and the constitutional order.

The Nazi agitation was, as might be expected, accompanied by violent anti-Semitic propaganda. The Government, though it viewed with disfavour the preponderating position occupied by the Jews in the economic life of the country, was determined not to permit anti-Jewish excesses, and on April 23, Major Szalassy, leader of the Party of National Will, was sentenced to three months' imprisonment for incitement against the Jews and for declaring that Hungary was a Jewish State. In the summer, a vacancy having occurred in the constituency of Bonyhad, all the bourgeois parties united in support of an anti-Nazi candidate, who was unanimously elected; and soon afterwards the Agrarian leader, M. Eckhardt, made a frontal attack on the various Nazi organizations, declaring racial hatred to be a sin and insisting on

the need for positive Christianity. Racialism was also denounced about the same time by the ex-Finance Minister, Dr. Kallay, and by the two leaders of the Catholic Party, the Primate, Count Zichy, and Mgr. Ernst. A little later the Minister of the Interior, M. Szell, announced measures against extremist agitation, in particular against the scurrilous Press and pamphlets and subversive propaganda.

Besides opposing the Nazi demand for a totalitarian regime, the Daranyi Government made some cautious approaches in the direction of rendering the Constitution more liberal. The chief of these was the legislation on the powers of the Regent passed in the summer, Admiral Horthy's illness earlier in the year having made it advisable to regulate the question of the succession. The Bill first drafted by the Government prescribed that candidates should be nominated both by the Regent himself and by 200 members of the two Houses of Parliament in joint session, and that the election should take place by open voting. The Opposition protested that this would reduce their chances to zero, and the Government accordingly accepted a compromise by which the Regent was required to nominate not one but three candidates, Parliament was entitled to nominate three other candidates, one-fourth of the total votes of both Houses being sufficient, and the final election was to be carried out in secret session and by ballot. The Regent was declared to be no longer responsible to Parliament, and he was given power to veto Parliamentary decisions, but he was given no power of conferring titles and no Church patronage. He was to be elected for life, and to be called His Highness instead of His Grace. On the last day of the year, in fulfilment of an often-repeated promise, the Government at last made public its Electoral Reform Bill—a very complicated measure, but more liberal than the existing system.

On December 24 the Regent made a speech at Szolnok appealing for a united public opinion and denying rumours of a would-be dictatorship. He went on to repudiate Republicanism and to declare that all power in Hungary derived from the Holy Crown of St. Stephen, while once more disclaiming any monarchical ambitions for his own person.

The foreign policy of Hungary underwent a certain change of orientation in 1937. The agreement between Italy and Yugoslavia in February finally dashed all the hopes which had been kindled by Signor Mussolini's speech in November, that Italy would assist Hungary in her revisionist claims, nor were they revived by the visit of the King and Queen of Italy to Budapest on May 19, during which many declarations of friendship were made but this subject was hardly broached. Hungary accordingly, while still adhering to the Rome Protocols, began to turn elsewhere for friends—to the Little Entente and to Germany. To reconcile

herself with the former, she introduced a change in her tactics, and instead of speaking of revision of frontiers laid stress on the rights of Magyar minorities—a plea which received a much more favourable hearing. A sign of improved relations was the fact that in September conversations took place between M. Kanya, the Hungarian Foreign Minister, and representatives of the Little Entente States on the subject of military equality for Hungary, a pact of non-aggression, and justice for minorities; and though no definite conclusions were reached, a statement was issued by the three Foreign Ministers of the Little Entente that discussions with Hungary were to continue.

Hungary's friendship with Germany was cemented by visits paid by Baron von Neurath and General Blomberg to Budapest in the summer and by a visit paid by Dr. Daranyi to Berlin in November. It was semi-officially stated soon after that there was no disagreement between Hungary and Germany regarding the former's German minority, that Berlin associated itself with Hungary's demands on behalf of her minorities in the Succession States, and that Germany had no designs on Hungarian independence.

The Budget for 1937-38, introduced on April 3, estimated expenditure at 1,267,800,000 peng6, as against 1,211,800,000 peng6 in the previous year—leaving a deficit of 75,700,000 peng6. The first ten months of the year showed an export trade surplus of 98 million peng6, against 49 millions in the corresponding period of 1936.

RUMANIA.

Up to nearly the end of 1937 M. Tatarescu, the Liberal Prime Minister, remained in charge of affairs, supported by a majority in Parliament. In the country, however, the opposition to him increased in volume until it deprived him of his parliamentary majority and impelled the King to try a change of administration.

In the early months of the year the activities of the Iron Guard again caused great anxiety to the Government. Taking advantage of the laxity of the Minister of the Interior and the Minister of Justice, this body on February 13 staged a great demonstration on the occasion of the burial in Bucharest of two of its members who had been killed while fighting for the insurgents in Spain. Thousands wore the prohibited green shirts, and to make matters worse the German and Italian Ministers and the Portuguese Charge* d'Affaires attended the funeral. This act of defiance stirred the Government to greater activity. Strong representations were made in Berlin and Rome against the breach of diplomatic etiquette, and M. Tatarescu, with the permission of the King, on February 23 dismissed the offending Ministers of Justice and the Interior, himself taking the latter office *ad interim*,

and expressed his determination to have the law strictly applied and to keep a truculent minority in its place.

On February 26 a Cabinet meeting disowned the maintenance of order and discipline at the Universities, and it was decided to abolish all students' hostels except those controlled by the Universities, and also to allot about 30,000,000 lei (about 48,500l) towards scholarships for poor students. On March 1 the Rector of the University of Jassy was stabbed by three students, and on the next day the Cabinet decided to close all Universities and the students' hostels till they could be reorganised, to make a rule forbidding students on pain of expulsion to take part in politics, to define more precisely the law forbidding the wearing of party uniforms, to appeal to the Patriarch to punish clergy who participated in campaigns of hate, and to disband all secret lodges and associations. The closing of the Universities was criticised in Parliament by M. George Bratianu, on the ground that it meant punishing the majority of the students for the misdeeds of a small minority.

In the course of the year the movement of " Rumania for the Rumanians " gathered strength, and the Government also began to adopt the same policy. In the autumn a circular was issued by the Ministry of Industry and Commerce to the leading concerns in Transylvania requesting them to employ 75 per cent, pure-blooded Rumanians as unskilled workers and 50 per cent, as administrative and technical personnel, and threatening heavy penalties if these requirements were not complied with in three months.

On November 13 M. Tatarescu's term of office came to a close, and the King requested M. Mihalache, the leader of the National Peasant Party, to form a new Cabinet. He was unable to do so, chiefly on account of the determined objection of his party to the influence exercised over the King by Madame Lupescu. The King then called again on M. Tatarescu who, on November 17, formed a Cabinet in collaboration with Professor Jorga's National Democratic Party. Immediately afterwards Parliament, having run its term, was dissolved, and December 20 was fixed as the date for the election of the new Chamber.

The Government Party in the election was made up of the Liberal Party, the Rumanian Front, and the National Democrats. The Opposition contained the National Peasant Party, now led by M. Maniu, the Dissident Liberals, the Iron Guard, and the National Christians, led by M. Octavian Goga, the Poet Laureate of Rumania. All these were opposed to each other, and united only in hostility to the Government. It was regarded as a foregone conclusion that the Government *bloc* would obtain the 40 per cent, of the votes necessary to secure for them a majority of seats in the Chamber, but for once a Rumanian election did not proceed according to plan. The Government *bloc* obtained only 971,000

votes, or 37.5 per cent, of the total. The National Peasant Party polled 530,000 or 19 per cent., the Iron Guard 430,000 or 16.9 per cent., the National Christians 260,000 or 9.7 per cent., and the Dissident Liberals 107,000 or 4 per cent.

On December 28 M. Tatarescu's Cabinet resigned. The King thereupon to the general astonishment entrusted the formation of a Cabinet to M. Goga, in spite of his comparative failure at the polls. This step was all the more surprising as the very core of M. Goga's nationalism was anti-Semitism, and the King had hitherto lent no countenance to anti-Semitic agitation. Various conjectures were put forward to explain his action. One was that he wished to play off the National Christians against the Iron Guard, with whom they were at daggers drawn; another was that he sought in this way to buy off M. Goga's opposition to Madame Lupescu; a third was that he meant M. Goga's appointment as a sop to Germany, whose growing power he feared. M. Goga accepted the commission, and formed a Cabinet of National Christians with three members of the National Peasant Party, who were promptly repudiated by the party. Having no prospect of obtaining a majority in the Chamber, he declared Parliament dissolved and announced that a new election would take place in April or May. He also, before the year was out, suppressed three important Bucharest daily papers owned by Jews, and outlined a policy in which anti-Jewish measures occupied a prominent place.

In foreign affairs the chief object of M. Tatarescu's Government was to keep on good terms with Poland and Germany without alienating Czechoslovakia and France. The accomplishment of this difficult task necessitated a great deal of diplomatic activity, with much perigrination of Rumanian statesmen to foreign capitals and of foreign statesmen to Bucharest. On March 22-25 M. Tatarescu was at Prague, in connexion chiefly with trade questions and the financing of Czechoslovak deliveries of munitions for the Rumanian Army. In April M. Beck, the Polish Foreign Minister, visited Bucharest for three days and tried to persuade Rumania to make a bilateral military agreement with Poland, but without success. It was generally thought, however, that he had weakened Rumania's loyalty to the Little Entente, and this impression was confirmed by visits paid by the Crown Prince to Warsaw on May 24, and by the Polish President and M. Beck to Rumania on June 7-9. However, a visit to Bucharest by M. Hodza, the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, on June 16, restored the balance, and Rumania's loyalty to the Little Entente was reaffirmed at the meeting of the Standing Council of the Little Entente held at Sinaia on August 30 and 31, King Carol and the Crown Prince having meanwhile paid a visit to Poland from June 25 to July 1.

On October 3 General Gamelin, the French Chief-of-Staff, arrived in Bucharest to attend the manoeuvres, and on the 15th,

at the conclusion of the manoeuvres, King Carol asked him to carry back with him the assurance of the genuine character of Rumania's friendship, and to tell France that she could always depend on the help of the Rumanian Army. On November 17 M. Tatarescu defined the policy of his new Government as being on friendly relations with old allies and friends in particular, and with all countries in general, and loyalty to the League of Nations. Franco-Rumanian friendship was further strengthened by the visit to Bucharest on December 8-10 of M. Delbos, the French Foreign Minister. When M. Goga came into power at the end of the year, one of his first acts was to send a telegram to Signor Mussolini expressing his deep admiration of the new Italy; but he also, on December 31, in a broadcast message stated that he would respect existing alliances and maintain friendships.

Rumania remained throughout 1937 an active member of the Balkan Entente, and closer commercial and cultural intercourse with Turkey in particular was promoted by visits paid by M. Antonescu, the Rumanian Foreign Minister, to Ankara on March 16-19, and by Rushtii Aras, the Turkish Foreign Minister, to Bucharest on May 17. Relations with Hungary also improved, and in July an agreement was concluded under which Rumania was to export 300,000 tons of oil a year to Hungary, the latter in return delivering 30,000 tons of half-finished iron goods to Rumania.

Both the financial and the economic position of the country showed an improvement in 1937. The accounts for the previous year showed a surplus, and the Budget for 1937-38 balanced at 25,948,000,000 lei without the imposition of new taxes. There was also a great expansion of foreign trade, with a large favourable balance. Expenditure in defence was placed at 4,834,000,000 lei, and in October it was announced that fortifications would in the next four years be constructed round the whole of Rumania. In the summer a Five-Year Plan was also announced providing for the construction of 2,000 kilometres of State roads for heavy motor traffic and 14,000 kilometres of ordinary roads, along with five new bridges over the Danube and its tributaries, at an estimated cost of 48,700,000,000 lei.

YUGOSLAVIA.

Throughout 1937 the affairs of Yugoslavia continued to be directed by Prince Paul as chief Regent and M. Stoyadinovitch as Prime Minister, with a subservient Parliament which hardly pretended to represent public opinion. There was no great oppression, but constitutional guarantees remained suspended, and no progress was made towards a reconciliation with the disaffected Croats.

In foreign affairs the year witnessed a certain gravitation of

Yugoslavia towards the orbit of Italy and Germany. This was due primarily to advances made by those two countries which the Yugoslavian rulers did not feel justified in rejecting. On March 25 Count Ciano, the Italian Foreign Minister, came to Belgrade and with Dr. Stoyadinovitch signed a Political Agreement, to run for five years, containing provisions highly advantageous to Yugoslavia. One article promised mutual respect for frontiers, which meant that Italy gave up her claims on Dalmatia and undertook not to support Hungarian revisionist claims. Another pledged Italy to abandon her support of the Croat terrorist leader, Dr. Pavlevitch, while a third promised better treatment for the Yugoslav minority in Italy. For these gains the only concession given by Yugoslavia in return was to acknowledge the King of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia.

In spite of the advantages conferred by this accord, it was viewed with suspicion by the general public, which was still bitterly hostile to Italy, and saw in it a blow to the Little Entente. This feeling was not removed by the Government's profession of loyalty to the Entente at the meeting of its Standing Council a week later, and it found expression during the State visit to Belgrade of President Benesh on April 6 and 7 in great demonstrations and speeches in favour of Czechoslovakia, Masaryk, and Benesh. The leaders of the three Serbian Opposition parties took this occasion to issue a manifesto attacking the Government for their foreign policy, alleging that they were loosening the ties with France and the Little Entente, and complaining of secretiveness and the lack of a free Press.

On June 7 Baron von Neurath, the German Foreign Minister, paid a visit to Belgrade, and at the exchange of toasts, M. Stoyadinovitch emphasised the "excellent and amicable relations" between Yugoslavia and Germany, while his guest spoke of "the particularly cordial sentiments" of Herr Hitler and the German people for King Peter and his people. Although no definite agreement was made, popular opinion was alarmed, and foreign opinion also; nor were the apprehensions now aroused entirely allayed by further Little Entente meetings and visits paid by M. Stoyadinovitch in October to Paris and London. Suspicions were deepened by the fact that M. Stoyadinovitch visited Rome just before the visit of M. Delbos, the French Foreign Minister, to Belgrade on December 12. Although he protested that he had entered into no commitments, the public showed its dislike of his foreign policy by enthusiastic Francophil demonstrations, in the course of which conflicts took place between students and the police, resulting in one death and several injuries.

Even greater was the outcry aroused by the Government's internal legislation, though in this case it came chiefly from the ranks of its own supporters. Early in July the Premier

introduced into Parliament a Bill for regulating the position of the Roman Catholics in Yugoslavia, who numbered about 6½ millions, against 6½ millions orthodox. For years successive Governments had been trying to arrange a Concordat with the Vatican, but without success. In order to ensure success on this occasion, M. Stoyadinovitch made wider concessions to Rome than had ever before been contemplated, the chief being that the Catholic clergy were in certain cases to be exempt from the jurisdiction of the civil courts. On this account the Bill created a very bad impression among the orthodox ; nor was it welcomed by the Croat Catholics, who saw in it a device for separating the Catholic clergy from the political leaders. The Bill was denounced by both parties as a part of the price to be paid for the Italian friendship, and a furious agitation against it was organised by the orthodox, led by the Patriarch Varnava. On July 19 a procession led by four Bishops and 50 priests marched through the city of Belgrade in defiance of the police, carrying crosses and banners. On the same day the Holy Synod excommunicated all Orthodox Senators and Deputies who should vote for the Bill. None the less it was passed in the Chamber on July 23 by 167 votes to 127, amid scenes of wild excitement both inside and outside of Parliament. As the public excitement did not subside, the Premier in October announced that the Bill would not for the present be sent to the Senate ; and another year was allowed to end without the production of a Concordat.

On January 24 a pact was signed between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria pledging the two peoples to " eternal and indissoluble peace and friendship," and in May discussions took place with a view to promoting a Customs union between the two countries. On April 20 the Turkish Premier and Foreign Minister visited Belgrade, and speeches were made stressing the close ties between Yugoslavia and Turkey.

Early in the year conversations took place between the Premier and the Croat leader, Dr. Matchek, relative to a *detente*, and an excellent impression was made in Zagreb by the permission given to two prominent Croat exiles, Dr. August Koshuti and M. Vladimir Raditch (son-in-law and son of the murdered Croat Peasant leader), to return to Yugoslavia. In May, however, the conversations ceased without having led to any result. On October 8 a new agreement was reached between the Croat-Democratic Coalition led by Dr. Matchek and the united Serb Opposition and a programme of action drawn up.

A sensation was caused by the suicide on November 10 of General Tomitch, Commandant of Belgrade and substitute (under King Alexander's will) for the post of First Regent in the event of Prince Paul's death. A rumour was current that he was plotting to overthrow the Prince and establish a military dictatorship.

TURKEY.

The interest of both Government and people in Turkey during 1937 was fairly equally divided between domestic and foreign affairs. In the latter sphere Franco-Turkish relations occupied the chief place as a result of the controversy over the Sanjak of Alexandretta and of Syro-Turkish frontier problems. In view of the comparatively large Turkish population involved, Turkey had never been completely reconciled to the cession of the Sanjak and neighbouring territory, and her anxiety increased when France undertook to terminate her Syrian Mandate and to grant independence to Syria. The dispute had been referred by the Turkish Government to the League Council in December, 1936 (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 223). On May 29 the Statute and Fundamental Law of the Sanjak of Alexandretta, which had been drawn up by a Committee of Experts, was adopted by the Council and accepted by the French and Turkish delegates on behalf of their Governments (see p. 261). The new regime came into force on November 29. On December 7 Turkish dissatisfaction with her Syrian neighbour found expression in the denunciation of the Treaty of Friendship with Syria, which had been signed on May 30, 1926, and had been renewed yearly since its expiry in 1931. The Turkish Government announced its willingness at the same time to negotiate a new agreement, which would be consistent with the present situation, a term that was understood to imply the removal of grievances regarding the smuggling of contraband, the security of the frontier, and alleged anti-Turkish propaganda in the Sanjak attributed to French officials. Ten days later a French military mission arrived in Ankara to discuss the question of the demilitarisation of the Hatay (Autonomous Sanjak of Alexandretta) in accordance with Article 33 of the agreement of May 29, and it was expected that advantage would be taken of its presence for a preliminary discussion of the points at issue between Turkey and Syria. In the meantime, the Turkish Government had registered a complaint with the League Council against the new Electoral Law of the Sanjak.

Throughout the year the Turkish Government was at pains to emphasise its devotion to the cause of peace and, as a corollary, to the maintenance of cordial relations with all its neighbours. Before the annual conference of the States of the Balkan Entente held in February in Athens, Dr. Rushtii Aras, Turkish Foreign Minister, had had a meeting with the Italian Foreign Minister, Count Ciano, in Milan. On April 20 the Prime Minister, General Ismet Inonii, with Dr. Aras, paid an official visit to Belgrade ; in May the former, who had represented his country at the Coronation of King George VI, was in Athens, and delivered a striking message from President Atatiirk, testifying to the

solidarity of the Balkan States (see Greece, p. 218); in June Dr. Aras went to Iraq in connexion with the proposed pact between Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan, which was signed later in the year, and in July the Minister of the Interior, Shukrii Kaya, paid an official visit to Russia. The closeness of the Turco-Russian ties has shown signs of being gradually relaxed, as a result probably of the displeasure of the Soviet Government at the general Western trend of Turkish foreign policy. Turkey, on her part, would seem to have expected warmer Russian support in her controversy with France over the Sanjak of Alexandretta. In April M. Karakhan, the Soviet Ambassador in Ankara, was recalled, and before the end of the year he had fallen a victim to one of Stalin's periodical purges of prominent Soviet officials. Anglo-Turkish friendship, revived by the Montreux Convention, found expression in September in the visit of the Third Cruiser Squadron to Istanbul in return for the visit of the Turkish Fleet to Malta during November, 1936. Early in January a Briton, Sir Alexander Gibb, was appointed by the Turkish Government as its technical adviser for public works and industrial development, and in November representatives of the Treasury and of the Export Credits Guarantee Department of the Board of Trade visited Turkey in connexion with the financing of the 3,000,000Z. required for the erection by a British firm of the iron and steel plant at Karabuk (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 223).

In the sphere of home affairs the year was marked by the resignation in September, after a thirteen years' tenure of office, of General Ismet Inonu, Prime Minister. His retirement followed close upon Turkey's failure to be re-elected to the Council of the League of Nations, and at first was thought to reflect the measure of the President's dissatisfaction at what might be regarded as a rebuff to Turkish policy. The real explanation, however, of Turkey's failure to obtain more than 25 votes out of 52 in the Assembly was to be found in the unwillingness of the League to have more than one Muslim State on the Council, and to allow an appearance of implied permanency to attach to any of the non-permanent seats on the Council. Iran was elected in Turkey's place.

In relinquishing office, General Ismet severed an association with Kemal Ataturk extending over twenty years. He had been identified with all the changes, political, social, and economic, which had transformed Turkey into a modern State, but it is probable that the President had recognised for some time past that a stage had been reached in the development of the country which called for qualities which his former military Chief-of-Staff did not possess. The new Prime Minister was Jela Bey Bayar, Minister of National Economy in the previous Cabinet, who had* been in charge of the first Five-Year Plan, and it may be inferred that, in the opinion of the President, the work that lay ahead of his Government concerned the reconstruction of the administrative

system and the placing of the country's economic life on a sounder basis. The backwardness of Turkey had called for the domination by the State of all forms of social and economic life, and in pursuit of this policy three plans had been put in operation. The first Five-Year Plan (1934-38) provided for the manufacture by State enterprises of consumers' goods, notably textiles; the second Five-Year Plan (1937-41) envisaged the industrialisation of agricultural exports and the development of the mining, chemical, and iron and steel industries, as well as the extension of port facilities and electric power. The third, a Four-Year Agricultural Plan, which contemplates an expenditure of 100,000,000L.T., sets out to achieve the technical rationalisation of agricultural production, the promotion of irrigation works and afforestation, and the further expansion of railway construction, which had been a feature of Republican policy from the outset. Yet a fourth plan, extending over three years, has been elaborated for the development of Turkish mining resources. In this connexion special interest attaches to the discovery of an iron ore mine at Divrik, near the Sivas-Erzurum railway, which is stated to contain from fifteen to twenty million tons of ore, with 65 to 68 per cent, content of iron magnetite.

On February 1 the Government decided to denounce the Turco-German clearing agreement, declaring its readiness to begin negotiations for a new convention on a different basis. The new agreement, which was concluded by October, provided for heavy purchases of Turkish produce by Germany and a corresponding increase of Turkey's frozen credits in Germany; it was to run until August 31, 1938. In February a provisional contract was concluded with a Dutch industrial group for public works, including a harbour at Mersina, and for the installation of industrial equipment. The value of the contract was 35,000,000 florins (3,900,000L.), to be payable in kind. During the same month the Government entered into an agreement with Krupps for the building in Germany of ten steamers and four ferries, at a total cost of 10,000,000Z.T. (1,630,000L.).

The annual Budget was passed by the *Kamutay* at the end of May, with revenue and expenditure balancing at 231,000,000L.T. (37,400,000L.). An extraordinary credit of 36,000,000Z.T. was also accorded for national defence, public works, and the installation of immigrants. At this date the Turkish Public Debt stood at 505,762,473L.T. (84,290,000L.), and the Consolidated Debt at 178,231,474L.T. (29,000,000L.).

During May an insurrection broke out in North-Eastern Anatolia. It was stated to have been confined to tribes organised on a feudal basis that are liable, when opportunity occurs, to challenge the encroachments of the State machinery. After the suppression of the rising the Government embarked on a programme of constructing roads and bridges and the introduction of general reform in the regions affected.

GREECE.

For Greece during 1937 the dominating factor, in more senses than one, was the retention of power by General Metaxas, who became Prime Minister on August 4, 1936, and has since governed without a Parliament. Outwardly the year has been a comparatively uneventful one for the country, and on the principle that a people can measure its happiness inversely to the extent to which it figures in the news from day to day, the Greeks should have been able to consider themselves fortunate. It is unlikely that they have done so with any degree of unanimity. A dictatorship, however moderate in intention—and General Metaxas has made no attempt to convert the people to his way of thinking or to extract compulsory manifestations of popular support, after the manner of other totalitarian States—must inevitably clash with the intensely individualistic outlook of the Greek, and cannot count on more than a grudging acquiescence, steadily diminishing as time passes. For this reason it is difficult to arrive at any estimate of the Metaxas regime that would command general acceptance. According to one point of view, Greece has been living under a system of terrorism, exposed to the evils of exile, concentration camps, and a rigorous Press censorship. The other side of the picture would stress the hopelessness of the situation that preceded General Metaxas's *coup d'état*. For eight or nine months King George had done his best to make the democratic system work in the interests of the country as a whole, but had failed. The people, especially the politicians, were too individualistic, too undisciplined to be able to evolve more than a parody of democracy; party politics resolved itself into a struggle for jobs on the part of leaders and followers, and no thought was given to the national well-being. Except in a few towns there was no health service and no sanitation; Greece was becoming increasingly a prey to economic embarrassment, social unrest, and even disease. Few, if any, have reason to doubt the honesty of purpose and sincerity of General Metaxas; his regime, working within the limitations of such personnel as the nation provides, aims at promoting social legislation and disciplining the people for an eventual return to constitutional government. Compulsory arbitration has been introduced in labour disputes, making strikes and lock-outs illegal; the eight-hour day has been established in all industries; wages, salaries, and pensions have been increased, and social assistance has become a recognised feature in the life of the working classes. As for the Press censorship, it has to be admitted that Greece was almost as great a stranger to the proper functioning and dignity of journalism as she was to the working of true democracy.

In the sphere of foreign relations there was much coming and going between Greece and her neighbours and other European

contacts. During May the cordiality established between the Greeks and the Turks received notable emphasis with the visit to Athens of General Ismet Inontî, Prime Minister of Turkey, subsequently returned by General Metaxas, who went to Ankara in October. General Ismet brought a message from Atatürk, the Turkish President, which declared that "the frontiers of the allied Balkan States constitute one single frontier. Those who may have designs on this frontier will expose themselves to the burning rays of the sun, and I advise them to beware." In his reply General Metaxas referred to "the deep and unchangeable friendship which Greece felt towards her sister nation."

At the time, however, it was understood, at least in Turkey, that one purpose of General Ismet's visit had been to sound a warning note in Athens of the misgivings aroused among some of Greece's friends, especially in Western Europe, by the pro-German and pro-Fascist leanings attributed to General Metaxas's Government. This tendency of the regime, particularly in its aspect of a growing partiality for Italy, to whom the role of Codrin *vis-h-vis* the British Short was, so the allegation ran, being assigned with enhanced fervour, was a bone of contention among the Greeks themselves. The visits paid during November by King George to Rome, Paris, and London were, no doubt, intended to convey to the three Governments that Greece's fixed policy is to maintain good relations with all Mediterranean Powers, and that she is unlikely, under her present Monarch, to embark upon any fresh orientation that would identify her with any one group to the extent of being antagonistic to another.

The annual conference of the Balkan Entente had been held in Athens for three days from February 15, under the presidency of the Yugoslav Prime Minister. It recorded, in accordance with custom, the complete unanimity of the views of the members, welcomed the Anglo-Italian Agreement, and expressed approval of the Treaty of Friendship between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria concluded at the beginning of the year. Visits were also paid to Athens, in the month of May, by Dr. Schacht, German Minister of Economics, and Baron von Neurath, German Foreign Secretary. In common with other Balkan States, Greece has been of recent years sedulously courted by Germany, with the result that her frozen credit account with the latter had mounted up to 1,600 million drachmae. Early in the year the Greek Minister of Finance was authorised to conclude a convention with the German Government providing for a 3 per cent, loan to the value of 2,500 million drachmae (4,545,000l.), issued at par, repayable in six equal yearly instalments. The loan was to be used to meet the balance of Greece's requirements in war material, and would enable her defence programme (involving an expenditure of 6,150 million drachmae) to be completed much earlier than had been originally anticipated. By this means Greece was enabled

not only to close her frozen credit account in Germany, but also secured further credit.

The question of Greek payments on external loans again came up for discussion during the year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 226). The temporary arrangement made in August, 1936, covering the two financial years 1935-36 and 1936-37 terminated on March 31, 1937, and negotiations took place in London during July and August for a final settlement. Greece declined to pay more than 40 per cent, on the remaining coupons falling due within the financial year ending March 31, 1938, but this offer was not accepted by the Council of Foreign Bondholders and the League Loans Committee, on the ground that Greece was well able to make substantially larger payments, and had, indeed, declared her ability to pay 50 per cent, permanently.

In April the Greek Government entered into an agreement with Messrs. Henry Boot & Son of Sheffield for the execution of various land works, for which the firm had previously carried out the surveys. This contract, involving an expenditure of more than 2,000,000*l.* over five years, includes drainage and irrigation works at Larissa and in the Karditsa Plain in Thessaly ; drainage of the Margariti marshes ; reclamation and flood protection works on the rivers Acheron, Arachthos, and Luros in Epirus, and the reclamation of Lake Kurna and flood protection works at Platania in Crete. In May the Rockefeller Foundation gave 30,000*l.* for a Museum to house the discoveries that have resulted from the excavations on the site of the old Agora in Athens under American auspices. The former British Legation in Athens, which had been the property of the British Government since 1845, was sold to the Bank of Greece and the National Bank for 55,952*l.* The sum of 45,000*l.* had previously been paid by the British Government for the new Legation.

BULGARIA.

The problem of the return to constitutionalism may be said to have been the major preoccupation of Bulgaria as a whole during 1937. The *coup d'état* of May, 1934, had left the country with its Constitution abolished and King Boris with a pledge extracted from him by the Military League and embodied in a Proclamation which he was forced to sign, that there should be no return to the political conditions that had existed previously. During the regime of semi-dictatorship that has existed since that time, the King has contrived to hold the balance even between the contending forces in the State, the popular discontent with things as they are and craving for a return to normal political life on the one side, and on the other the opposition of the military to a revival of the old party system. Unofficial attempts to force the King's hand by means of a military conspiracy or the

corporate organisation of the State on Fascist lines have been successfully frustrated, and with the gradual weaning of Army officers from interference in political affairs it was found possible to advance the return to Parliamentary life to the stage at which an electoral law could be promulgated.

The new law, which was published in October, holds out for the people the prospect of co-operation in the government of the country without being exposed to the acknowledged evils of the old party system as practised in Bulgaria. The number of seats in the Sobranie is reduced from 274 to 160, one deputy being elected to each constituency, which must have a minimum of 20,000 electors. The new electorate will comprise all males of 21 years or upwards, and all women of 21 years or upwards who are, or have been, married. Soldiers, officials, and persons who have accepted any employment from a foreign Government without permission from the Bulgarian Government are debarred from voting. Parliamentary candidates must have reached 30 years of age, must have paid their taxes and be solvent, must not have been convicted, nor be on trial, for treason or other serious crimes, and must not advocate publicly Communism or other violent methods of political and public struggles. Party nomination and party canvassing are prohibited. A candidate must register his candidature with the district judge, and, while at liberty to address on his own behalf as many meetings as he likes in his own constituency, must not identify himself with any special class or group.

The encouragement given to the Press to discuss the law suggested that the Government retained an open mind on the subject of possible amendment, but so far the only annotation of the law has been supplied by the Prime Minister, M. Kiosseivanoff, who, when announcing in November that the General Election would be held in February, 1938, stated that only candidates adopting the Government programme would be allowed freedom of action. At about the same time as this pronouncement, a number of former Ministers and other politicians who visited their constituencies to organise their candidatures were arrested and taken back to Sofia.

Three changes in the Cabinet in May did not affect its non-party character. The stubborn opposition of former political leaders to the regime was maintained, and the publicity given to the visits of some of them abroad suggested that they hoped to obtain foreign sympathy to supplement the restricted measure allowed them at home. The former Agrarian leader, M. Guitcheff, was sentenced in August after his return from a foreign tour, which included Yugoslavia, to six months' imprisonment for having made numerous contacts with foreign movements akin to his own. Other echoes of latent discontent in one form or another were provided by the passing in April of sentences of

imprisonment upon ninety-two peasants found guilty of Communist activities at Silistria, with verdicts of acquittal in favour of 246 others, and by the arrest of prominent members of the disbanded Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation.

The internal situation did not prevent King Boris from leaving Bulgaria at the end of October for a month's tour, in the course of which he visited Italy, Prance, and England. The birth of a male heir to the Throne on June 16 was the occasion of popular rejoicing throughout the country. A venerable figure passed from the Bulgarian stage in the death, at the age of 98 years, of Mgr. Simeon, Archbishop of Varna and Preslav for sixty-five years. A landmark in the country's development was provided with the opening at Tzarevo (formerly Vassiliko) in South-Eastern Bulgaria of a new port which was the work exclusively of Bulgarian engineers.

Throughout the year the Government's relations with foreign countries remained unclouded. The Pact of Friendship which Yugoslavia on December 31, 1936 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 228) had declared her readiness to conclude with Bulgaria was signed on January 24, and ratified the following day.

ALBANIA,

At the end of April Count Ciano, the Italian Foreign Minister, paid a visit to Albania, and confirmed the intention of his country to develop relations with Albania "in harmony with the recent agreements concluded between Italy and Albania." At an official banquet M. Libohova, the Albanian Foreign Minister, reaffirmed the "unshakable fidelity" of his Government to the affiance binding Italy and Albania.

In May there was a revolt against the Government, led by Etem Toto, a former Minister of the Interior. The insurgents occupied Argyrocastro and other towns and villages, but after a few days they were defeated and Etem Toto was killed.

In March the Holy Synod of the (Ecumenical Patriarchate at the Phanar granted autocephalic status to the Orthodox Church of Albania.

CHAPTER V.

**LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE : BELGIUM
— LUXEMBURG — NETHERLANDS — SWITZERLAND — SPAIN —
PORTUGAL — DENMARK — ICELAND — SWEDEN — NORWAY —
FINLAND.**

BELGIUM.

AN important change took place in 1937 in Belgium's international position. Instead of having to follow tamely in the wake of France and England, she secured the right, which the King had first claimed for her in the autumn of 1936, of pursuing in foreign affairs a purely Belgian policy, not in any way dictated by the interests of other Powers. This point was insisted on in the reply made by Belgium on February 12 to the British Note of November 18, inviting her to join a Western Pact; it was also emphasised by King Leopold in conversations which he had with British statesmen during a private visit which he paid to England on March 22 to 25.

The Belgian efforts in this direction reaped their reward in the shape of a joint declaration presented to M. Spaak, the Foreign Minister, by the British and French Ambassadors on April 24. After explaining that the British and French Governments had given special attention to the Belgian Government's desire to have the international rights and obligations of Belgium clarified in certain respects, the Declaration stated that the two Governments had taken note of the Belgian determination to defend the frontiers of Belgium against any aggression or invasion, and to prevent Belgian territory from being used for purposes of aggression against another State, and of renewed assurances of the fidelity of Belgium to the League of Nations. Consequently, Great Britain and France declared that they considered Belgium to be released from all obligations towards them, resulting from either the Treaty of Locarno or the arrangements made in London on March 19, 1936, while they on their side maintained in respect of Belgium the undertakings of assistance which they had entered into towards her under these instruments.

On the next day Mr. Eden visited Brussels and confirmed the British undertakings. Speaking in the Chamber on April 29, M. Spaak said that Belgium had now only one hypothesis—the defence of her frontiers. She retained her rights and had been relieved of some of her duties. By organising her defence, she was giving Europe all that Europe could legitimately ask of her; what might be called the period of military agreements was at an end for Belgium. A crowning success was achieved by Belgian diplomacy when in October the German Foreign Minister, Baron von Neurath, handed to the Belgian Ambassador in Berlin a

Declaration undertaking to respect the inviolability and integrity of Belgium, and to support Belgium in the event of her being attacked or invaded.

The Coalition Government formed by M. van Zeeland in June, 1936, continued in office for the greater part of the year. Its cohesion was severely shaken by the Bill which the Premier brought forward in May for granting an amnesty to all who had been condemned after the war for treason during the German occupation. The Liberal party was against the Bill, and at first insisted that the Liberal Ministers should resign sooner than support it, but afterwards it relented. M. van Zeeland recommended the Bill as a measure of appeasement; public life had been too long embittered by the question, and it was time to forget past rancours and to free themselves from such bitter sentiments. On June 2 the Bill was passed by the Chamber by 95 votes to 75, with 16 abstentions, and on the 11th it was passed by the Senate by 90 votes to 64, with 5 abstentions. On June 4 the Chamber passed by 139 votes to 19, with 7 abstentions, a Government Bill granting an amnesty to soldiers sentenced during and since the war for desertion and other crimes.

The Amnesty Bill created no less controversy in the country than in Parliament. On June 9 the Croix de Feu—the Association of ex-Servicemen decorated on the field—met to protest against it, and marched to the tomb of the Unknown Warrior, where a number of them tore off their decorations and flung them on the tomb, while a delegation went to the Senate and handed a protest against the Bill to the President. After the passing of the Bill the protests continued, and on June 23, when the Chamber reassembled, a great demonstration was held by ex-Servicemen, and the King received a delegation from them. On July 2 M. de Laveleye, the Minister of Justice, was mobbed at Mons, and the King addressed an appeal to the ex-Service men not to disturb the peace, as a result of which they called off a great demonstration which had been arranged for July 8. The agitation reawakened the discontent in the Liberal Party, and on July 13 M. van Zeeland tendered his resignation to the King, giving as a reason the attack on M. de Laveleye. The King, however, persuaded him to remain with the same Cabinet, M. de Laveleye's place being taken by another Liberal, M. Maistriau.

M. van Zeeland's position was further weakened by the attacks made on him on account of his connexion with the National Bank. It was alleged—especially by the Rexists—that he was continuing to receive sums of money from the Bank, of which he had been Vice-Governor until he entered the Government in 1934. A report issued by the Government on August 28 cleared him of the accusations levelled against him ; nevertheless he continued to be the object of criticism both inside and outside of the Cabinet, and an extraordinary session of Parliament was

held on September 7 and 9 to discuss the matter. M. van Zeeland in the Chamber denied that after becoming Premier he had received any money from the Bank ; what had happened was that on his being charged by the King with the formation of a Ministry, the Governor of the Bank had remitted to him a sum of 180,000 fr. as his share of a fund which it was the practice of the Bank to set aside for Directors, so that the money was really his private property. In the end, M. van Zeeland obtained a vote of confidence from the Chamber by 130 votes to 24 and from the Senate by 121 votes to 6. The Directors of the Bank, however, were severely criticised in the course of the debates ; a judicial inquiry into its activities was ordered, and a feeling still prevailed among the public that there was financial corruption in high places.

In view of this state of public feeling and in order to obtain greater liberty to defend himself, M. van Zeeland on October 25 tendered to the King his resignation, which this time was accepted. Great difficulty was experienced in finding a successor. Unsuccessful attempts to form a Ministry were made by M. de Man, the Socialist Minister of Finance ; by M. Pierlot, a Catholic ; by M. Spaak ; and by M. Janson, a Liberal. At length, after a crisis lasting thirty days, M. Janson on a second attempt formed a Cabinet containing six Socialists, five Catholics and three Liberals. M. Spaak returned to the Foreign Office and M. de Man to the Treasury, and General Denis, who belonged to no party, remained Minister of National Defence.

On November 30 the new Premier stated in Parliament that the essential task of the Government would be to carry into effect the programme laid down in the Declaration of the van Zeeland Cabinet on June 24, 1936. On December 2 the Chamber gave the Government a vote of confidence by 129 votes to 32, with 4 abstentions. The Opposition was formed by Rexists, Flemish Nationalists, and Communists. Shortly afterwards the Government raised in London a loan of 5,000,000l, chiefly for the purpose of constituting anew the gold reserve derived from the devaluation of 1935.

Early in March M. Leon Degrelle, the leader of the Rexist Party, threw down a challenge to the Government by making his lieutenant, M. Olivier, the Deputy for Brussels, resign and so forcing a by-election. A Bill was immediately passed by Parliament forbidding such forced elections, but it was not made retrospective. M. Degrelle announced his intention of becoming a candidate for the vacant seat, and M. van Zeeland, who, although a Minister, had hitherto had no seat in Parliament, determined to make the election a trial of strength by himself standing in opposition to him, with the support of all the Government parties. The issue was a clear-cut one of the democratic and parliamentary system against Fascism, and the result was a decisive set-back for the Rexist Party, M. van Zeeland receiving 275,840 votes, or

an increase of 56,416 in the Government vote since the election of 1936, and M. Degrelle 69,242, a decrease of 4,479. The entire Belgian Press, with the exception of the Rexist newspaper, welcomed the verdict as a final proof of Belgian political sanity.

Early in April the British and French Governments invited M. van Zeeland, as a prominent economist, to make an inquiry into the possibility of reducing obstacles to international trade. M. van Zeeland accepted the task, and after some preliminary investigations had been made by his colleague, M. Maurice Frere, he went in June to America, nominally to receive an honorary degree at Washington, but really to study the possibilities of economic co-operation with America. He returned to Brussels on July 6, having spent a day in England on his return journey. It was understood that the results of his investigations would form the subject of an elaborate report. Meanwhile he expressed the hope that if the international political situation improved, a new world economic conference might be summoned in the not too distant future.

LUXEMBURG.

On June 6 a referendum was held on a Bill brought forward by the Government to check Communist propaganda in the Grand Duchy. The referendum showed a slight majority against the Bill. M. Bech, the Prime Minister, thereupon resigned, but at the request of the Grand Duchess, resumed office with the same Ministry. A General Election held soon after left the state of parties practically unchanged, giving the Government parties, the Catholics and Liberals, 31 seats (as against 32) in a House of 54.

THE NETHERLANDS.

The year 1937 afforded the people of the Netherlands many and varied opportunities to give proof of its great devotion to the Royal Family. The first was the marriage of Crown Princess Juliana with Prince Bernhard of Lippe-Detmold, on January 7. After his return from a lengthy wedding-trip, the young Prince entered upon various social and official duties, becoming among other things an active member of the Council of State. The Prince succeeded in confirming the popularity which he already enjoyed in the months prior to the marriage. This was proved especially by the anxiety and cordial sympathy manifested by all classes of the population on the occasion of his motor accident at the end of November, from the effects of which he had not entirely recovered by the end of the year. Public interest in the Prince's welfare was heightened by the fact that the Princess, who had personally announced by wireless the expected "happy

event," was looking forward to the birth of an heir (or heiress) to the Throne in the beginning of 1938.

The great political event of the year was the General Election for the States-General, on May 26. As these had given a provisional approval to a revision of various parts of the Constitution proposed by the Government, Parliament had, according to the Constitution, to be dissolved. The Government decided to make the elections which were thus rendered necessary coincide with the ordinary quadrennial elections. A furious fight ensued, on the issues of the retrenchment and adaptation policy carried on by the Colijn Cabinet and on democratic government, which was assailed on the one side by the National Socialists—who in the provincial elections, in 1935, had polled the unexpected number of 300,000 votes, or 8 per cent, of the total—and on the other side by the not very strong Communist Party. Members of all parliamentary and democratic parties co-operated in a movement for "Unity by Democracy," which carried on strenuous propaganda for the preservation of the existing constitutional and parliamentary form of Government. This propaganda met with great success, the extremist groups suffering a crushing defeat. The National Socialists saw their following reduced by half, as compared with 1935; instead of the 8 to 10 seats on which they had firmly counted, they had to content themselves with 4 out of the 100 seats in the Second Chamber. Other Fascist groups polled only a negligible vote, whilst the semi-Fascist group for National Recovery lost the one seat it had. The Revolutionary Socialists and the Communists also suffered a set-back; while the first-named lost their only seat, the Communists returned to the Chamber with 3 seats instead of 4.

The electorate expressed itself emphatically in favour of the policy pursued in the last few years. This appeared more especially from the marked success of the Anti-Revolutionary and Radical parties, whose respective leaders, the Premier, Dr. Colijn, and the Minister of Finance, Mr. Oud, were the two most prominent members of the Cabinet. The former of these parties gained 3 seats, bringing its total up to 16, whilst the latter, by keeping its 6 seats, made up for the serious loss suffered in 1935 in the provincial elections. Owing to the advantage they derived from a technical revision of the Election Act, which benefited the larger parties, the Roman Catholics obtained 31 seats instead of 28 and the Social Democrats 23 instead of 22. Although the Christian Historicals kept only 8 of their 10 seats and the Liberals only 4 of their 7 seats, the Government parties as a whole obtained 66 seats instead of 65, so that the result of the elections could be considered a vote of confidence in the policy followed by the Government.

There was, therefore, every reason to expect that, when Dr. Colijn, who with his Cabinet had resigned, was again requested

by the Crown to form a new Cabinet (May 31), he would have an easy task. It was fairly generally assumed that the existing co-operation between the three large parties of the Right and the two Liberal groups, either with or without retention of the same personages, would be continued. As a matter of fact, Dr. Colijn had both before and during the elections declared himself in favour of a Cabinet on as broad as possible a basis, whilst the Radical Minister for Finance, Mr. Oud, had unquestionably in the Cabinet been the strongest supporter of his political and economic views. But the Roman Catholics, who had already shown some restiveness, proved disinclined to co-operate again with Liberals, whilst the other parties of the Right, who together with the Roman Catholics occupied 56 seats, gave preference to a Cabinet on a "positive Christian" basis, to which the Liberal groups found it impossible to give their support, in spite of Dr. Colijn's advocacy of such a step.

Thus it was not until June 24 that the new Cabinet was actually formed. Its constitution marked a return to the earlier opposition between Right and Left, which it was hoped had been abandoned for good in 1933. Dr. Colijn assumed control as head of a newly-created Department of General Affairs. Dr. de Wilde and Mr. van Dijk, both belonging to Dr. Colijn's party, were placed in charge of the Departments of Finance and National Defence. The Departments of Agriculture and Trade, Industry and Shipping were fused into a Department for Economic Affairs, under Dr. Steenberghe, who had resigned from the Cabinet in 1935, on account of his being even then in favour of devaluation. Dr. Goseling, Dr. Romme, and Dr. Welter, of the same party as Dr. Steenberghe, were placed in charge of the Departments of Justice, Social Affairs, and the Colonies respectively. Dr. Slotemaker de Bruine continued in office as Minister of Education, Arts, and Sciences. Mr. van Boeyen, likewise a member of the Christian Historical Party, was appointed Minister of the Interior. Dr. van Buuren, an engineer, who belonged to no party, was placed at the head of the Department of Public Works, whilst Dr. Colijn himself assumed *pro tem*, the charge of the Foreign Department. It was not until the autumn that this important office was definitely entrusted to Dr. Patijn (no party), Netherlands Minister at Brussels and formerly at Rome.

The elections (by the "Provincial States") for the First Chamber showed a somewhat different result, being as they were partly determined by the provincial elections of 1935. The National Socialists obtained 4 of the 50 seats, whilst the Liberals lost 2 seats and the Christian Historicals and the Radicals 1 each. The Roman Catholics retained their 16 seats; the Anti-Revolutionaries and the Social Democrats gained 1 each, obtaining 7 and 12 seats respectively. The new Government obtained a following of 29 seats in the First Chamber.

The new Government before long suffered a severe defeat through the rejection, on the second reading, of the most important part of the Bill for the revision of the Constitution which it had taken over from its predecessor. In the Second Chamber they were unable to obtain the majority of two-thirds required for the clauses depriving of their membership of Parliament—whilst leaving their seats vacant—such members as were guilty of agitation against the authority of the State or of the violation of secrets, and for withdrawing the right to be elected after a sentence to imprisonment for more than one year on account of political delinquency. Besides the Communists and the National Socialists, against whom the proposal was in the first place directed, the Social Democrats, the Radicals and the Christian Democrats also declared themselves against these proposals. In much the same way the proposal for allowing the appointment of State secretaries was rejected. On the other hand, the proposals making it possible to appoint Ministers without portfolio and for certain minor items of revision of the Constitution were passed in the Second Chamber.

The strained international situation both in Europe and elsewhere compelled the Netherlands also to tackle in earnest the problem of the defence of the mother country and the Overseas Territory. The necessity of this was so obvious that even the Radicals and the Social Democrats abandoned the policy of unilateral disarmament, whilst the last-named, for the first time since their admission to Parliament, forty years before, even voted for the estimates for defence, amounting to 110 million guilders, although they exceeded last year's estimates by 25.5 million. Only 4 of the 23 Socialists, together with 3 Communists and 2 Christian Democrats, continued to oppose the voting of moneys for military purposes. A Radical amendment providing that no moneys should be voted for the building of a new cruiser also obtained the support of the Social Democrats, but was rejected by a vast majority. To meet the existing need of material, a gross amount of fl.137 million was voted. The annual contingent of militia was fixed at 32,000 men, instead of the 19,500 which had thus far sufficed, whilst the first period of training was brought up from 5½ months to 11. A beginning was made with an increase of garrisons, more especially in the eastern and southern provinces, whilst serious attention was paid to the defence of the rivers. The distribution of the Navy over the Netherlands and the Indian waters was subjected to a close examination.

The appropriation of such considerable sums for the national defences was to a certain extent facilitated by the improvement in the financial position as a result of more favourable economic conditions. The devaluation of the guilder in the autumn of 1936 and the revival of business all over the world gave a stimulus

to various branches of activity in the Netherlands, both agricultural and industrial. The various ports, shipping and ship-building also showed improvement. In the last quarter, however, a certain depression again set in, showing itself among other things in the fact that the number of registered unemployed again increased fairly considerably, although the final figure for 1937 (437,469) remained below that for 1936 (455,209).

As a result of the improvement in the economic position, the State finances also made a better showing. Thus, the direct taxes in 1937 yielded nearly fl.437 million, as against not quite fl.371 million in the preceding year. On the ordinary service for 1938, a deficit of fl.13.2 million has been estimated, which was much the lowest for several years. Almost 12 millions of the deficit estimated for 1937 was covered by increased taxes. The position of the currency continued strong. The gold cover of the claims payable on demand of the Netherlands Bank generally stood above 75 per cent.

In relations with other countries, no change of any kind occurred. At the beginning of the year, the Ministers for Agriculture and for Trade and Industry, Messrs. Deckers and Gelissen, visited the Scandinavian countries, and as a result a conference of the so-called Oslo States (the Scandinavian countries, Finland, Belgium, Luxemburg and the Netherlands) took place at The Hague on March 3. An agreement was signed on May 28, to lower if possible the tariff walls between those States, but it had not yet produced any effect to speak of by the end of 1937. A mission, with Jhr. van Karnebeek, ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs, at its head, visited the Central and South American States in the spring in order to strengthen commercial relations. The Second Chamber passed a Bill granting extensive powers to the Government in the matter of tariff policy. The Government is authorised to repeal existing import duties or to introduce new ones if "the economic interests of the country" should require such in its opinion. It can also prohibit the import of certain goods or permit it only under certain conditions, even if such import is not excessive. The object is to furnish the Government in this way with stronger weapons for commercial-political negotiations. The decisions of the Government have ultimately to be approved by Parliament. The granting of such extensive powers met with strong opposition on the Liberal side.

Some sensation was created both in Holland and abroad by the announcement that the Foreign Minister, Dr. Patijn, soon after taking office, had made approaches to the Governments of the Oslo States on the question whether they would be prepared in conjunction with the Netherlands Government, to take steps for recognising the King of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia. In pacifist circles this step, which at the end of the year had not yet led to any results, met with sharp criticism.

SWITZERLAND.

The Federal President for 1937 was Signor Motta (Ticino), and the Federal Vice-President Herr Baumann (Appenzell). No change took place in the composition of the Federal Government in 1937.

In the conduct of its internal as of its external affairs Switzerland in 1937 was powerfully affected by the strained European situation and by the pressure which its two "dynamic" neighbours unofficially exercise upon it.

Following an interpellation from M. Valloton, Radical (Canton Vaud), the National Council proclaimed "cultural self-defence" to be a matter of national importance. At the University of Berne a "cultural defence week" was held July 3-11. Admittedly cultural self-sufficiency is an even greater mistake than economic, and must lead to spiritual impoverishment, especially in a tiny people which is divided among three cultural groups. The State control of culture in Germany, however, and the fact that it is there pressed into the service of National-Socialist propaganda, forces Switzerland, three-fourths of whose inhabitants are German-speaking, to submit to the evil of being cut off to a certain extent from cultural contact with the North in order not to incur a greater danger. A movement was started to create a German-Swiss literary language analogous to Dutch, but it found few advocates. The numerous German dialects in Switzerland differ considerably from one another, so that a common Swiss-German would be rather artificial. Further, National Socialism is looked on as a passing phenomenon, so that the true task of Switzerland would seem to be to serve as a refuge and a place of safety for the true German culture, particularly as represented by its Protestant exponents. All the same, in broadcast addresses, for instance, dialect is now employed much more than before, and in the northern Cantons an increasing use of French is to be noticed.

While Switzerland's northern neighbour has so far confined itself to propaganda on behalf of its cultural and political views, its southern one has proclaimed its territorial aspirations more clearly than before. Claims to the Italian-speaking parts of Switzerland have been made at intervals ever since the rise of the Italian kingdom. They have become more insistent with the growing nationalism in Italy, especially as Switzerland is the only place besides Nice and Corsica which now has an Italian-speaking population outside of Italy. Of recent years Italian propaganda has marked as belonging of right to Italy not only **the** Canton of Ticino but also the whole of the Cantons of Valais and Grisons, as well as parts of the Cantons of Uri and St. Gall

(*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 242). The Romansch (Rhaeto-Romanic) which is spoken in parts of Grisons (as also in the Italian Friaul and in a part of Southern Tirol) is declared by Italian propaganda to be an Italian dialect, and on this ground the population of Grisons is claimed for the *Italianita*. It has, however, long ago been proved scientifically that Romansch is no Italian dialect, but an independent language sprung from Latin in the same way as Italian, Spanish, and French, and that it is closely akin to the old Provençal. Grisons, too, since it was attached to the Frankish realm in 537 and in 843 was made subject to the diocese of Mainz, has turned, politically as well as culturally, not to the South but to the North. Romansch was once spoken as far as the Lake of Constance, but gradually gave way to German, maintaining itself only in the valleys of the Grisons. Through the translation of the New Testament by Philip Galicius in 1560 and an epic poem by Gian Travers in 1527, Romansch became a literary language. Since then Romansch has remained stationary in Switzerland. In the Canton of Grisons the three languages, German, Romansch, and Italian (which is spoken in Misox), enjoy equal rights. The first Swiss Federal Constitution of 1848 declared German, French, and Italian to be the national languages, not Romansch. At the instigation of the local Government of Grisons, both Houses of the Swiss Parliament unanimously agreed to alter the Constitution and declare Romansch a fourth national language (not, however, an official language, so that laws, as heretofore, are still promulgated only in the three original national languages). The sitting of the National Council on December 7 was more like a patriotic celebration than a meeting of Parliament. The Romansch-speaking members were put on a footing of complete equality with the others. It was a triumph for the principle of equal rights, seeing that only about 45,000 Swiss—or 1 per cent, of the population—speak Romansch. It was also something besides, though this was not mentioned in Parliament: the opposing of a barrier to the Italian efforts to claim the Romansch-speaking Swiss for the Italian kingdom, first culturally, and then politically, on the ground that they speak an Italian dialect. Whatever means a great State may have at its disposal, little Switzerland has only one means—a truly democratic one—of assisting its Romansch speakers to realise the aspiration expressed in their proverb: *Ni Talians, ni Tudaischs-chu, Bumantsch vulains restar* (We desire to be neither Italians nor Germans, we want to remain Romansch).

Another blow in self-defence against the ideology of the totalitarian States was struck by the popular vote on the so-called Freemasonry Initiative on November 28. In 1934 a Committee, presided over by the leader of the Swiss Fascists, the ex-Colonel Fonjallez (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 234),

launched an Initiative on the question of the legal prohibition of Freemasonry and similar organisations. As Initiatives can apply only to alterations of the Constitution, the question at issue was not a simple law, but an alteration of the Statute governing the right of association. As the lower classes are ill-disposed to the lodges and the Catholic Church opposes Freemasonry on principle, the prospects for the acceptance of the Initiative were not bad. In the campaign, however, which began in the summer of 1937, the people soon became aware that they had in reality to vote not for or against the Freemasons, but for or against the democratic Constitution. A search in the house of a leading member of the "National Front" (a political association leaning to National Socialism (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1933, p. 235)), brought to light documentary evidence that the propaganda for the acceptance of the alteration in the Constitution came from abroad (from the anti-Semitic *Weltdienst* of Lt.-Colonel Fleischhauer in Erfurt), and that Nazi emissaries had come to Switzerland; and there was clearly here a case of gross interference from abroad in the internal affairs of Switzerland. Both Chambers of Parliament recommended the people almost unanimously to reject the Freemasonry Initiative. It was rejected by 515,231 votes to 233,815, and by every Canton except one (Freiburg, the Catholic citadel). The Frontist and Fascist movement was still further discredited by this result.

The international position of Switzerland was seriously compromised by the formation of the German-Italian axis, lying as she does between the two countries, and by their increasing hostility to the League of Nations, of which Switzerland is a member, and which she houses. The German Chancellor, it is true, on January 23, in Berlin assured the former member of the Bundesrat Schulthess that Germany would respect the neutrality of Switzerland, which he regarded as a necessity, and Mussolini declared at Palermo that the relations of Italy with Switzerland were "more than friendly." This statement was, however, received by a section of the Swiss Press with some suspicion. Since Switzerland, if she wishes to preserve her independence, dare not attach herself too closely to either group of the great Powers, and since one of these groups is dominant in the League of Nations while the other remains outside, her position in the League has become difficult, and is rendered more difficult still by her geographical position. A movement arose for an Initiative on a proposal to make neutrality a component part of the Constitution, which would inevitably have led to the withdrawal of Switzerland from the League of Nations. There was no question that the requisite 50,000 votes for the Initiative would have been found. This would have led to a dangerous situation, as the campaign before the final voting would of necessity have been for and against the League of

Nations, and for and against the group of Powers dominant in it, and the people would have been divided, and that, too, on a question affecting neighbouring great Powers ; and this would certainly have destroyed neutrality. Withdrawal from the League would to-day not lead Switzerland back to neutrality, but in practice to the side of the axis Powers. In this situation the Bundesrat decided to take matters into its own hands. In December it issued a statement through President Motta that it would return to full neutrality within the League, a thing which could be effected by negotiations. Thereupon the Initiative Committee suspended its activities for the time being.

From the very beginning Switzerland has occupied an exceptional position in the League of Nations. It is the only country in which the people had to vote on the question of its adhesion. If adhesion to the League had meant abandonment of neutrality, then it was certain that there would have been no majority for adhesion. After difficult negotiations with the League Council, Switzerland had prevailed on this body to release her in the London Declaration (of February 13, 1920) from the obligation of taking part in the military sanctions of the League and of permitting preparations for them to be made on her territory. Switzerland, however, had still to join in economic and financial sanctions. Thus, instead of complete neutrality she had a qualified neutrality. A great part of the people was not satisfied with this, and consequently on May 16, 1920, there was only a small majority for adhesion. Since then it had become clear that the boundary between military and economic sanctions was a very fluid one, so that the qualified neutrality could scarcely be regarded as neutrality any more. The absence of Germany from the League was, for many, a reason against adhesion, and the withdrawal of Italy before the end of the year was a further argument. There is no country for which the situation has changed so much as for Switzerland, and it is certain that in 1920 the people would have refused to join such an attenuated League of Nations, seeing that it is just the Swiss interest which requires that the League should be universal at least for Europe. The result is that the Bundesrat seeks not, indeed, to leave the League, but at least to recover complete neutrality ; this, too, in spite of the fact that it is fully realised that danger can threaten Switzerland not from the West, but only from the North and South, and that in a European war she would be completely dependent on supplies from the Atlantic Ocean, *i.e.*, on the Powers that control it.

In respect of the Spanish war, Switzerland maintained her neutral attitude (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 243). Organisations which recruited volunteers for the civil war—almost exclusively for the Government side—were prosecuted in the courts, and volunteers who in spite of the prohibition sought to

go to Spain or returned from there were punished by the military courts. The diplomatic representative of General Franco in Berne was recognised *de facto*. All this led to violent attacks by the Socialists on the Bundesrat in the Press as also in both Chambers of the National Council. The campaign of the Socialists against the Foreign Minister, Signor Motta, which had begun already in 1935, was actively prosecuted, and had some effect on bourgeois opinion also. Thus in the National Council, in a speech by a bourgeois representative, Dr. Feldmann, it was laid down that the foreign policy of the Bundesrat was subject to the control of the body representing the people ; this interpretation of the Constitution was, however, contested by the Bundesrat. Real control of this kind is not at present exercised. There exists now, it is true, a Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Council (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 241), but there is not yet such a Committee of the Council of States (Standerat). The transactions of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Council are strictly confidential, so that the public learns nothing of them. In the course of the year, however, a demand was put forward from various bourgeois quarters both in the Press and in the National Council, as also in a resolution of the League of Nations Union, that in its conduct of foreign affairs the Government should be in closer touch with Parliament and the people.

The comprehensive Bill for the Protection of the State which the Bundesrat in 1936 had laid before Parliament (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 241) as "an urgent resolution of the Federation/" was treated by Parliament with very little urgency, and was formally divested of its character of urgency by the Committee of the National Council. On June 3 the Committee of the National Council postponed the further discussion of the Bill until first Parliament and then the people should have given their decision on the Federal Criminal Code, containing the requisite penalties for the protection of the State.

The Swiss Federation has possessed since May 1, 1908, a uniform Civil Code and since January 1 a uniform commercial law. Each Canton, however, has had its own Criminal Code. In 1898 the people approved a new article in the Constitution transferring to the Federation the right of legislation in the field of criminal law. The Federal Code was completed after 40 years of frequently interrupted work, and in December, 1937, it was approved by both Chambers with great majorities. (The basis of the Code is a draft drawn up by Professor Carl Stooß.) In the latter part of the year an opposition to the Code began to take shape. This opposition is directed not against the spirit of the Code or against individual articles, but against the very principle of unifying the criminal law. Whereas in the voting in 1898 the Catholic Cantons showed a majority against, the opposition now

came chiefly from the predominantly French-Swiss Cantons which in 1898 gave a great majority for unification.

The reason is to be found not in any excessive centralism in the Federal legislation, but rather in an excessive spirit of federalism, approaching to separatism, in the "Welsch" (French-speaking) Cantons. These have reacted strongly against the domination of the Popular Front in the neighbouring France, and the publications of the French Right have a wide circulation among them. In February a "communaute d'action nationale" was formed in the "Welsch" Cantons to fight against Marxism. As in Geneva last year, so this year the elections to the Cantonal Parliaments in Vaud and Neuchatel were highly unfavourable to the Socialists. The result of the elections in Vaud was that no commune any more has a Socialist majority in the Communal Councils. On February 22 the Great Council (Cantonal Parliament) of the Canton Neuchatel passed a resolution banning the Communist Party. In the division some Socialists abstained from voting, others supported the resolution. On June 13 the people in the Canton of Geneva approved a resolution banning the Communist Party. A requisition of the people with the same object was put forward in the Canton of Vaud in the autumn; the popular vote will follow at the beginning of 1938.

In German-Switzerland these prohibitions of Communists found no echo even in Conservative circles, where they were regarded as undemocratic, and as tactically mistaken, since the Communists in the "Welsch" Cantons have for the most part joined the Social Democratic Party and given to it a radical wing. In German-Switzerland in 1937 the tendency was much more to seek co-operation with the Socialists, now that these no longer opposed national defence (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 239), and to procure for them a seat in the Bundesrat. A proposal to this effect was made by a member of the National Council Stucki (Berne) at the Conference of the Freisinnige Party at Lucerne in May, which was further discussed at the Conference at Olten in July. Stucki demanded a complete return in Switzerland to the principles of a pure and unadulterated democracy. For this he held the creation of a broadly conceived coalition to be indispensable. "Our people has the mission of demonstrating to the world the efficacy of the democratic form of government." So far no progress has been made in the direction of coalition. The reasons are manifold. The Social Democrats have scruples about becoming "governmental," while the west Swiss Freisinnige do not wish to work with the Social Democrats. Further, it would be necessary either to enlarge the Bundesrat or for the Freisinnige to give up one of their seats in it. (It consists of 4 Freisinnige, 1 member of the Peasant Party, and 2 Catholic-Conservatives.) Herr Stucki himself was sent as Ambassador to Paris.

In the great road programme for creating employment a beginning was made with the construction of a road on the southern bank of the Walensee and the motor road over the Susten pass, 225 metres above sea-level. Both will be of great value for national defence. The Walensee road creates a better connexion between the populous region of Zurich and the eastern frontier of Switzerland on the Rhine facing Austria. The road over the Susten pass, over which there has hitherto been only a bridle path, connects the Aar valley near Innertkirchen with the Reuss valley near Wassen on the Gotthardt line ; it will form a " castling " road behind the central Swiss barrier of the Gotthardt region which hitherto has been lacking. The work is expected to take five years. It will be carried out by the Cantons of Berne and Uri, but the Federation will bear 75 per cent, of the expenditure of Berne and 90 per cent, of that of the less wealthy Uri. The road, which will be 28 km. long and 6 metres broad, will also be very attractive for tourists.

The new organisation of the Army (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 239) necessitated great changes in the distribution of the forces. These were completed by the end of November, so as to make it possible for the new organisation to come into force on January 1, 1938. Much work was done on the frontier fortifications, and the number of the permanent frontier defence companies was raised to three. Nine fresh frontier brigades were organised, one for each division, not, however, under the colours. A number of " black-outs " were arranged, and air defence precautions were further developed.

The economic improvement, which had set in with the devaluation of the Swiss franc (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 243), continued for some time during 1937, reaching its highest point in the summer, but there was some falling off towards the end of the year. Exports showed a marked increase, most of all in the metal and machine industries, in which they rose from 312.2 million francs in 1936 to 481.1 millions in 1937, an increase of 53.8 per cent. The watchmaking industry, which is included in this, exported watches and watch parts to the value of 240.3 million francs (1936, 151.6 millions), an increase of 58.5 per cent. The chemical industry registered an export of 192.6 million francs (1936, 144.6 millions), an increase of 33.2 per cent. Textile exports amounted to 206.1 million francs (1936, 148.5 millions), an increase of 38.7 per cent. The share of embroidery in this was 27.7 millions (1936, 16.3 millions), an increase of 69.9 per cent. Total exports amounted in 1937 to 1,286.1 million francs (1936, 881.6 millions), an increase of 45.9 per cent. Total imports amounted to 1807.2 million francs (1936, 1,266.3 millions), an increase of 42.7 per cent. These figures, however, are still far below those of 1929, when imports were 2,730 millions and exports 2,097.9 millions. The adverse trade balance in 1937 was 521.1 million

francs ; in 1936 it was 384.6 millions, and in 1929, 633 millions. The balance of payments, however, was probably favourable. Net receipts from tourist traffic were reckoned at 260 million francs. The yield of foreign investments and of international insurance business was estimated at over 300 million francs. As a financial centre Switzerland was also still in great demand ; the report of the Swiss Banking Union for 1937 estimated the amount of foreign deposits at 8.9 milliards of Swiss francs ; other estimates put the total at far more than 9 milliards. The gold reserve of the Swiss National Bank at the end of 1937 was 2,709.1 million francs, almost the same as at the end of 1936. The note circulation at the end of the year was 1,464.7 million francs (1936, 1,482.2 millions). To this must be added 492 millions in securities. This would give a note-covering of more than 200 per cent., were it not that the National Bank includes the obligations falling due daily—1,785 millions at the end of 1937—in the calculation of the covering.

Great masses of flight capital streamed into Switzerland, and it was not found possible to stem this somewhat undesirable inrush to the extent that could have been wished.

The Budget for 1938, as approved by both Chambers, placed expenditure for the Federation and the Federal railways at nearly a milliard of francs, leaving a deficit of only 10 millions. The Federation has thus restored equilibrium to its finances, but many of the Cantons are still in straits. In its last sitting of the year, the Bundesrat approved a project of the Finance Ministry for financial reform, which will have to be discussed by Parliament in 1938. A scheme was also prepared for putting the railways on a sound footing, as they have incurred a great debt since the mobilisation ; also one for putting the private lines on a sound footing and for solving the problem of railways versus roads.

SPAIN.

Spain in 1937 continued to present the harrowing picture of a riven nation whose schism was being exploited by other European States engaged in the age-old predatory struggle of power-politics : an appendix, as it were, draining into itself the various poisons of the European body politic. Germany and Italy, expansionist nations challenging the traditional Anglo-French condominium in the Mediterranean region, still assert that their one aim in supporting the Spanish counter-revolution is to preserve Spain—and so Western Europe—from " Bolshevism " : but the disguise begins to wear very thin.

During January there was intermittent fighting in the salients south and west of Madrid, and the capital suffered further damage from bomb and shell. But no major engagement took place.

A Spanish Government success on January 5 at Atienza (on the road to Soria), which freed a valuable cattle and wheat-growing area, was more than countered by an Insurgent advance on the Southern front resulting in the capture of Estepona, halfway between Algeciras and Malaga on January 14 and of Marbella, some ten miles further east on January 16.

The chanceries, meanwhile, had been very much exercised by the persistent reports from Paris that German troops had landed in the Spanish zone of Morocco—in support of General Franco—and were fortifying Ceuta and Melilla so as to command the entrance of the Straits of Gibraltar. Following a sharply-worded official admonition by M. Pierre Viot, France's Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (in the absence of M. Yvon Delbos), assurances were received from Berlin and *via* the French Resident-General from the High Commissioner of Spanish Morocco that the " German troops " were no more than a few technicians and business men interested in the disposal of the iron ore and manganese deposits there. A subsequent investigation undertaken on behalf of the British War Office confirmed this fact, but at the same time revealed that Melilla was fast being transformed into an important air base.

The restoration of normal conditions of security in Government territory, which had made marked progress following the successful defence of Madrid, was the chief concern of the Valencia Cabinet; such was the purpose of a decree of January 1 designed to put an end to the entry, search, or robbery of houses by unauthorised persons and the appointment (January 5) of a Commissioner of Public Order with instructions " to exterminate the so-called gangsters of the revolution." The Cortes met at Valencia on February 1, approved all the new decrees since the beginning of October, and passed the *obligato* vote of confidence in Senor Largo Caballero's representative Popular Front Government.

A conspicuous success for the cause of General Franco was the capture of Malaga on February 7 by ten columns converging upon the city from north, west, and south-west, reinforced by heavy bombardment from the sea. An Italian column took part in the triumphal entry into the city, but the brunt of the fighting was borne by the *requetds* (Navarrese Traditionalist elements), Legionaries and Moors. The Insurgent forces continued their advance to Motril, sixty miles further east, while no less than 150,000 refugees, rather than endure the rigours of Army rule, streamed along every road towards Almeria at the south-east corner of the Peninsula.

The loss of Malaga, due in no small measure (as Spain's Foreign Minister admitted in a broadcast address on February 13) to the lack of cohesion between the anti-Fascist elements in the city, had a galvanising effect on the Loyalists, and, largely under the impetus of Communist Party leaders, the Cabinet was induced

to institute conscription, to undertake a drastic overhaul of military and political administration and to create a single military command replacing the unco-ordinated armies of the Madrid, Southern (Córdoba), Teruel, and Aragon fronts.

That the ascendancy of the well-organised Communist Party did not betoken further intervention on the part of Soviet Russia, however, was made evident by the sudden recall of Marcel Rosenberg, the very active Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. on February 19. War material continued to be obtained from Russia—and paid for in cash. But Stalin showed no disposition to allow the resistance of the U.S.S.R. to the flagrant intervention of Germany and Italy to go beyond the fierce polemics of the Non-intervention Committee. The number of Russian subjects actually fighting in the Spanish Republican cause has up to now never exceeded 2,000, most of them aviators and skilled technicians. German and Italian aid, on the other hand, continued unchecked ; so that by the spring, on a conservative estimate, there were some 10,000 Germans working in various capacities and some 70,000 Italians, the latter including whole Army corps under Italian officers. Both of these " Fascist " nations were sending in war material as required, making a complete mockery of the work of the Non-intervention Committee in London.

An Insurgent proclamation issued on February 23 stated that they were now in occupation of 33 out of Spain's 50 Provincial capitals. The obvious rider to this claim, however, was that the Government still held the most populous and wealthy areas, including the three chief capital cities, Madrid, Barcelona, and Bilbao. Fighting continued on a minor scale on all fronts, with the Government holding their own against much superior technique and equipment. An attempt on the part of Insurgent columns to invest Pozoblanco, north of Córdoba, and so obtain possession of the valuable mercury mines at Almadén (in the Province of Ciudad, Real) was frustrated.

Some indication of the methods adopted by the Franco regime, under German direction, to finance the war was furnished by a decree of March 23 requiring the cession of all foreign currency, bullion, and securities owned by Spaniards in exchange for pesetas ; with these *Devisen* and sterling amounts obtained, for instance, from the British-owned Rio Tinto Company in respect of their copper and pyrites production the Insurgents were enabled to secure foreign credits and to buy substantial supplies of foodstuffs and war material.

In the second week in March a renewed Insurgent attempt to cut communications between Madrid and Valencia by threatening Guadalajara was, unexpectedly, transformed into an inglorious rout, with Italian troops in full flight, and the Government was able to announce on March 13 the capture of Brihuega, the recovery of two-thirds of the ground lost and quantities of war

material including several hundred sub-machine-guns. One of the Italian prisoners captured in this engagement declared that Italy had now four Divisions fighting under their own officers, making a force of some 40,000 in all. On March 31 the Government scored another (minor) success by the occupation of Alcaracejos and Villanueva del Du que, west of Pozoblanco, thus commanding the railway and main highway by which the Insurgents maintained communications between north and south.

After this set-back General Franco decided, apparently, to abandon further attempts to cut the Madrid-Valencia road and to rely on the effect of continued privations and air-raid terrorism. Instead, on April 1, an important offensive was launched, under the direction of General Mola, designed to complete the Insurgent domination of the Basque Provinces. (Vizcaya and a part of Guipuzcoa alone were in Loyalist hands after the fall of San Sebastian in the previous autumn.) Progress was slow but sure. On April 26 the Northern Army captured Durango and Eibar—where there was an important arms factory—and Guernica, the historic seat of the autonomous Basque Government, was almost razed to the ground by intensive bombing from German planes.

On April 18, in order to put an end to the rivalries within the Insurgent camp, General Franco had taken the desperate step of merging into one organisation under a single command the Traditionalist (or Carlist) militia elements and the Phalangists (Spanish Fascists). Although a few weeks later Senor Hedilla, leader of the *Falange Espanola* following the execution of Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, was relieved of his post, this merger must be accounted a triumph for "Fascist" ideas as against the aspirations of the Spanish reactionaries. It was substantially the Phalangist programme which was adopted as the basis of the proposed Constitution for "Nationalist" Spain, the main features being a vigorous repudiation of regional autonomy.

Basque nationalism, which, as a conservative, Catholic force, might conceivably have been won over to the anti-Red cause, was thus irrevocably alienated: the bombing of Guernica must be rated one of the most hideous acts of destruction of our time. So the long fight for Bilbao went on, and the "blockade" attempted by General Franco's modest but efficient fleet added another subject of acrimonious dispute to the wranglings over non-intervention.

Conflicting statements as to the efficacy of the Basque anti-aircraft guns and coastal patrol led the British Admiralty to warn British merchant shipping against the approaches of Bilbao, Santander, and Gijon, owing to mines. The British Government made it clear, nevertheless, that the Navy would continue to protect British shipping outside territorial waters and that there could be no question of according to General Franco any diplomatic status or belligerent rights so long as foreign intervention in

Spain's civil war persisted. On April 26 the Governments of the Scandinavian countries joined in a protest against the diversion and stopping of various vessels by Insurgent warships.

Owing to the isolated position of the Loyalist forces on the Northern front little help could be expected from Valencia or Barcelona. In the latter city, moreover, there was serious tension between the Communist-led elements among the workers, enjoying the backing of the *petite bourgeoisie* which had streamed into the U.G.T. (General Union of Workers), and the irreconcilable anarcho-syndicalists flanked by the P.O.U.M., i.e., dissident Communist or so-called Trotskyist elements. The bitter feeling blazed out into an armed rising by the latter groups in the first week of May. With timely aid from Valencia the Catalan authorities quelled the revolt after three days' fighting, the P.O.U.M. was dissolved, and anarcho-syndicalist opposition was forced underground.

But this ugly flare-up of the "uncontrollables" had the immediate effect of unhorsing Sefior Largo Caballero who had for some time been sitting somewhat uncomfortably in the saddle. The Prime Minister and his Left Wing Socialist group, really only Marxists *de circonstance*, had steadily lost ground to the more vigorous and single-minded Communists, the latter now seemingly uninterested in the social revolution, still less in the world revolution dogma and bending all their energies to the prosecution of the war. President Azaiia emerged from his quasi-monastic retirement in a villa near Gerona to appoint a new Government under Dr. Juan Negrin, Minister of Finance in the previous Cabinet. Several of the previous Ministers were retained, but, aside from the disappearance of Sefior Largo Caballero, Sefior Alvarez del Vayo was replaced as Foreign Minister by the President's friend, Sefior Giral. Don Indalecio Prieto, the ablest leader on the Government side, remained Minister of Defence, and the two Communist Ministers were also reappointed. It was said that the spokesmen of the C.N.T. (Syndicalist trade union organisation) refused to collaborate—but in any case the labour unions as such were excluded.

The next few weeks were marked by a number of grave international incidents which threatened to destroy even the simulacrum of non-intervention stoutly maintained by London and Paris. On May 29, for example, a German battleship, the *Deutschland*, was struck by bombs while lying in the roadstead at Iviza, one of the Balearic Islands, and Germany's national honour was only to be avenged by a punitive bombardment of Almeria.

The "Nationalist" cause sustained a severe blow by the death of General Mola on June 3, killed in an air accident near Burgos. As a consequence the power of the original *Junta de Defensa Nacional* set up in Burgos, already very much impaired by the increased importance of General Franco's foreign advisers,

was reduced almost to nothing. Salamanca, headquarters of the foreign missions, became the effective capital of Insurgent Spain. While General Queipo de Llano maintained his position unchallenged as " Viceroy " of Andalusia, General Franco now held undisputed sway over the amalgam of conservative and national-syndicalist forces ; but, at the same time, his position as a mere instrument of Italy and Germany stood revealed all the more clearly. On June 11 Senor Hedilla, the dismissed Phalangist leader, was condemned to death for treasonable activity against the Nationalist regime.

Despite stubborn resistance the progress of the Northern Army continued, and on June 17 General Franco's troops entered Bilbao without a shot being fired, the luckless Government of Euzkadi having fled into Asturias and thence to Barcelona where they maintained a shadow existence at the end of the year. The new regime soon showed its contempt for Basque nationalism. By the decree of June 24, as penalty for their contumacy, the *fueros* (chartered privilege in respect of taxation, etc.) of Guipiticoa and Vizcaya were formally abolished.

After the taking of Bilbao—which gave access to valuable iron ore deposits—it was generally expected that the process of " cleaning up " the North would be a rapid one. In fact, however, the remnant of Republican elements made excellent use of guerrilla war tactics, and it was not until August 25 that General Franco's forces entered Santander, while another two months were required before Gijon and the Asturian defences were surrendered.

During the intervening period the Government was busily engaged in transforming the untrained militiamen of the early months into a modern Army, and, while unable to send much aid to their comrades in the North, they achieved two valuable diversions with the capture of Brunete—in the Madrid sector—on July 1 and Belchite in Aragon on September 3. In the latter engagement, particularly, the Government forces inflicted heavy losses and recovered over 350 square miles of territory. Fighting on other fronts was desultory. The main concern of General Franco was to use his fleet in an attempt to cut off food and supplies in the hope of compelling submission before a second winter.

Attacks on foreign shipping by aircraft and submarines became a daily peril: so much so that on September 6 the Governments of London and Paris took a joint initiative in calling a special conference for the prevention of piracy in the Mediterranean. Held at Nyon (because of its convenient proximity to Geneva where the League Assembly and Council were in session) this conference was an unqualified success, and the submarine menace disappeared as if by magic.

Conditions " behind the lines " in Government Spain continued to improve, while on the other hand there were persistent

rumours of serious friction among the disparate elements supporting General Franco. The Italian "invaders," in particular, were reported to be most unpopular. On October 1 the Cortes met again at Valencia, with an attendance of 185 (out of some 450) deputies, including two "Centre" political stalwarts, *Señor Portela Valladares*, who had been Prime Minister during the elections of February 16, 1936, and *Don Miguel Maura*, a former Minister of the Republic, both of whom had fled to France for safety during the early "revolutionary" period and were now proposing to return and live under the revived democratic regime. The same day, October 1, saw the final discomfiture of *Señor Largo Caballero* (who did not take his seat in the Cortes), when the U.G.T. in their election of a new Executive Committee chose *Señor Gonzalez Pefia*, leader of the Asturias miners in the 1934 revolt, but who was nevertheless a supporter of the moderate, opportunist Socialism associated with *Don Indalecio Prieto*.

The Budget was tabled during the session of the Cortes : it showed expenditure at c. 5,784,000,000 pesetas and revenue slightly higher. A further sign of political health was Catalonia's calm acceptance of the announcement that the *Negrin* Government, for economic and strategic reasons, intended to transfer its seat, temporarily, to Barcelona. It was widely reported at the time that *Don Luis Companys*, President of the Generalitat, had received formal assurances in the matter of the autonomy of the Region.

An analogous decision on the other side to tighten up administration was the appointment, announced in Salamanca on November 4, of General *Martinez Anido*, the right-hand man of General *Primo de Rivera* in the previous military dictatorship, as Minister of the Interior in control of all Nationalist territory. *

Following the occupation of the whole of the North the British Government decided that British commercial interests required a much closer connexion with Nationalist Spain, so the unusual step was taken of appointing a Chief Agent with a small staff on a mission carefully defined as non-diplomatic. *Sir Robert Hodgson* arrived in Salamanca on December 11 ; and at the end of the year the British Embassy post in Hendaye was closed down. The Duke of Alba and a number of assistants proceeded to London on a similar mission.

A major offensive on the part of General Franco's main Army was announced as imminent—with a view to the final isolation of Madrid. World opinion, therefore, was not a little astonished when on December 17 it was, instead, the Government which struck with substantial forces at Teruel and succeeded in capturing the town itself and the chief strategic positions in the neighbourhood. The Nationalists rushed up reinforcements under their best generals to relieve the few thousand still besieged in the town, and at the turn of the year a fierce battle was raging just

beyond the town. But all the evidence seemed to show that the Nationalist counter-offensive was being beaten back.

The performance of the Government troops, General Staff and infantry, on this occasion was clear proof that the new Army was a force to be reckoned with, and the heroic resistance of the Basques in the protracted northern campaign was seen to have been invaluable. Thus, at the close of the year, the issue of the military campaign was still in the balance. There appeared to be every prospect that the Government could hold the zigzagging line from Almeria to Canfranc until either a shift in the international pattern or further disintegration within the Franco camp had the effect of undermining the foundations of the military rebellion.

Suggestions were even being made for an interim settlement involving stabilisation of the present military frontiers—as the one solution holding out hopes of the avoidance of cruel reprisals. On the one side were the elements mustered behind General Franco, undisputed masters of northern and western Spain, *i.e.*, that portion of the peninsula which, with Portugal, is linked by geography and history with the Atlantic Ocean: they claimed dominion over more than two-thirds of the country, but against that must be offset the fact that the normal population density figure of the eastern, industrialised districts is considerably higher than in the north and west, and the actual population has been very much swollen by the influx of refugees from areas conquered by the Insurgents. Facing them, in an unbroken line from the Franco-Catalan frontier through Madrid to the south coast, are those who, whatever their differences of ultimate political ideals, uphold the democratic Republic as pre-figured in the Constitution of 1931 and hold sway over territory whose peoples, historically and geographically, are conditioned by the river basins running to the Mediterranean. The idea is that a division on the basis of the present set-up would give time for appeasement, and economic exigencies *plus* exhaustion would gradually lead to re-integration.

PORTUGAL.

The civil war in Spain naturally continued to occupy the attention of the Portuguese Government, which, fearing as it did a victory of the Left parties, at times acted in seeming contradiction to the democratic powers in Europe by obstructive tactics in the non-intervention Committee. In order to be prepared for all emergencies, the Government on March 13 announced proposals for making Portugal an "armed nation."

At the beginning of the year an organized attempt, said to have been Communistic, was made to create disturbance, bombs being placed in the Ministries of War, Education, and Home Affairs, in the offices occupied by Franco's representative in

Lisbon, in the deposit of the Vacuum Oil Company, where large quantities of petrol are stored, in the Broadcasting House in Parede and at the Powder Works at Barcarena. Luckily only those placed in the Ministries of War and Education, in the Broadcasting House and in Franco's offices exploded, and that without causing any loss of life.

On July 4 an attempt was made on the life of the Prime Minister, Dr. Oliveira Salazar, when he was entering the private chapel of a friend to attend mass. A bomb had been placed in a sewer under the entrance and was exploded by a wire running along the sewer and manipulated from a distance of about a hundred yards. The three men concerned in the attempt were subsequently arrested and proved to be Communists well known to the international police.

On July 6 a large number of Army and Navy Officers visited Dr. Salazar to congratulate him on his escape. In his speech of thanks, the Premier took the opportunity of emphasising the importance of the English Alliance, which is the oldest in existence, dating from the middle of the fourteenth century, and laid particular stress on the confidence shown in the British Government by the Portuguese in allowing it to appoint its own observers to watch the frontier. These observers were subsequently suspended, but the decrees which forbade the export of arms or passage of volunteers into Spain continued in force. It is worth noting that Portugal herself has not supplied Spain with any war material since August 2, 1936 ; indeed she cannot do so as she requires all she has for herself, and it is moreover much easier for Franco to obtain what he requires through his own ports than through Portugal.

The effect of Dr. Salazar's speech was to increase the friendly feeling towards England in spite of the intense propaganda carried on by some other countries to belittle the Alliance. The new Ambassador, Sir Walford Selby, arrived in the autumn and presented his credentials on December 23. The ceremony was of unusual brilliance, and the Ambassador's speech and President Carmona's reply went far beyond the conventional phraseology and expressed in forcible terms the increased mutual friendship now uniting the two nations.

The Budget for 1938 was published on December 31 and for the tenth year in succession showed a surplus. The estimated expenditure was equivalent in English money to 22,447,200l. and the estimated revenue to 22,472,700l., giving a surplus of 25,500l. Of the expenditure over 2,000,000l was to be devoted to National Defence.

The naval programme was completed in the course of the year, giving Portugal a very good fleet, most of the ships of which were constructed in Britain or under British supervision. It was decided also that the Army should be fully equipped with weapons

of the latest construction. In 1936 Portugal had made a contract with a firm in Czechoslovakia for a large supply of small arms, but when the time for delivery arrived it was refused, the firm offering to supply instead arms of an antiquated pattern. The result was that Portugal severed her diplomatic relations with Czechoslovakia, nor had they been renewed by the end of the year.

In November the Government decided to abolish the restrictions on foreign exchange business—proof of the continued confidence in the escudo. As in other countries, business all round showed improvement, and the principal exports, wine, cork, sardines, pitprops, etc., increased. With regard to pitprops, complaints were made from certain foreign countries that whereas the export had increased, the imports of coal had diminished. The vintage in the Douro district was above the average in quantity and excellent in quality, but it is not likely that 1937 will be made a vintage year. There was less wheat than in the past two or three years, and tenders were asked for 70,000 tons of foreign wheat.

DENMARK.

In 1937, as in the years immediately preceding, the chief concern of the Government was to maintain and foster Denmark's external trade, especially with her two principal markets, Great Britain and Germany. The existing trade arrangement with Great Britain worked satisfactorily, difficulties arising only over unimportant details. The trade agreement with Germany made in 1934 enabled a certain expansion of trade between the two countries to take place in the current year, and on November 27 it was extended for another year. New agreements or arrangements for the renewal of existing agreements were made with a number of other States, notably France and Italy. Denmark took part in the conferences of the Oslo Convention States held at The Hague in March and May, and joined The Hague Agreement of May 28 for further promoting their mutual trade [*vide Norway*].

Internal politics were uneventful. Having now a majority in both Houses, the Government of Hr. Stauning, a coalition of Socialists and Radicals, was able to carry a large number of Bills which had been held up by the Landsting, but none of these had a revolutionary character. The question of the abolition of the Landsting was shelved for the time being by the appointment in the spring of a Commission to consider constitutional changes. At the beginning of the autumn session the currency restrictions were somewhat relaxed. The Budget for 1938, presented on October 7, estimated a revenue at 477·2 million kr. and expenditure at 475·7 million kr., a slight increase of 12·8 million kr. on

the figures for the current year. A new Defence Bill, increasing the annual expenditure of 39,500,000 by 1,800,000 kr. mainly to meet the rising cost of military equipment, was introduced on February 4 and finally passed by the Landsting in May.

Denmark participated in the meetings of the Scandinavian Foreign Ministers held at Helsingfors in April and Stockholm in September, at which Scandinavian co-operation was promoted both in the political and in the economic sphere. Suggestions were made in the Press for military co-operation between Denmark and Sweden, but the idea was deprecated by the Premier, Hr. Stauning. Relations with the German Government were normal, but there was rather more friction in the border district. In the municipal elections in South Jutland, the Socialist Party vote increased and the German Party vote decreased.

The Silver Jubilee of the accession of King Christian was celebrated with great enthusiasm from May 14 to 17 by all classes of the population, and warm tributes were paid to the King by all parties except the Communists.

At the opening of the year the economic situation was unfavourable, owing to poor harvest crops and an unsatisfactory price level. About the middle of the year an improvement set in, export prices rising and import prices falling, and as a result of this and of a good harvest, combined with briskness in the shipping trade, the year closed with a small currency reserve, a more favourable balance of payments, and a better outlook for the future.

The Storstrom Bridge, carrying a motor road and a railway between the islands of Masnedo and Falster for a distance of 3.2 km., was formally opened by the King on September 26. The project had been finally approved by the Rigsdag in 1932, and the contract was given to Messrs. Dorman Long & Co. in the next year and was completed by them five months in advance of the scheduled time.

ICELAND.

Differences arose in the spring between the two Government parties, the Socialists and the Progressives, and the Althing was dissolved on April 20. The General Election, which was held on June 20, resulted in the return of 19 Progressives (as against 15 in 1934), 8 Socialists (10), 17 Independence Party (20), 2 Peasant Party (3), and 3 Communists.

SWEDEN.

The Rigsdag elected in 1936 held its first session from January 12 to June 15. The coalition between the two Government parties, the Social Democrats and the Agriculturists, worked smoothly, and the position of Hr. Hansson's Ministry was not

challenged. A number of Bills were passed in the course of the session, dealing chiefly with relief for agriculture, shortening of hours of labour, and reduction of unemployment.

The Budget for 1937-38, which was introduced on January 12, placed expenditure at 1,291,500,000 kr., which was 53,800,000 kr. higher than in the previous Budget. This was subsequently increased to 1,315.58 million kr., which, however, was fully covered by increased revenue. The vote for the Ministry of Social Affairs was over 60 million kr. higher, due to the increased cost of old-age pensions, sickness benefits, children's welfare work, and improved rural housing; while the Ministry of Education Vote increased by 36.56 million kr., due mainly to increased salaries for teachers. On the other hand, the sum set aside for unemployment relief was, owing to the improved industrial conditions, reduced from 28,000,000 kr. to 18,600,000 kr. The defence estimates based on the compromise arrived at in the previous year met with little opposition; a Conservative request for an additional grant of 13,000,000 kr. for Air Defence equipment was refused by the Government.

In the autumn an additional five-year programme of naval construction, including three armed cruisers and four destroyers, was drawn up, the estimated cost being 185 million kr. About the same time the Committee appointed in 1936 to consider ways of combating unemployment issued its report, in which it put forward a scheme, to cover a period of about ten years, for public works costing 2,863 million kr., of which State works would absorb 714 million kr. and municipal works 565 million kr., and including road construction, building of bridges and works on railway crossings, agricultural improvements and forestry.

Sweden took part in the conferences of the signatories of the Oslo Convention held at The Hague on March 3 and May 24, and at the latter signed the Pact for drawing closer their trade relations [*vide* Norway]. In April Hr. Sandler, the Foreign Minister, stated that the Swedish-German clearing system had enabled Sweden to maintain her export trade to Germany in spite of that country's import restrictions. In the course of the year Hr. Sandler paid informal visits to England and Russia, and strengthened the friendship of Sweden with these countries. On September 7 and 8 the Foreign Ministers of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland met in Stockholm to discuss the international situation and especially their attitude to the League of Nations; in an address delivered in Upsala on November 6 to a students' Socialist society, Hr. Sandler declared himself against Sweden's withdrawal from the League.

On May 10 it was announced that Prince Charles, son of the King's second brother, Prince Charles William, had, with the consent of the King and the Cabinet, renounced his royal rights, becoming plain M. Bemadotte, in order to marry the Countess Elsa von Rosen.

NORWAY.

The year 1937 was rather uneventful in Norwegian politics. The new Storting, which was opened with the usual ceremonial by the King on January 14, was composed as follows : Labour Party 70, Conservatives 36, Liberals 23, Farmers' Party 18, Christian People's Party 2, Social Party 1. There was, consequently, a bourgeois majority in the Storting, but the Labour Government, headed by Mr. Nygaardsvold, encountered no serious opposition during the session and maintained itself in power throughout the year. The position of the Government having been strengthened by the General Election in October, 1936, a majority of the Storting was of opinion that a Cabinet crisis should be avoided as far as possible. By their moderate policy the Government gained the confidence of a large public outside the Labour Party, and the ability of the leading Ministers, particularly the Premier and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Koht, was generally recognized.

Mr. C. J. Hambro, the Conservative leader, was re-elected President of the Storting, Mr. Magnus Nilssen (Labour) being elected Vice-President. In the Lagting Mr. Moseid (Farmers' Party) was elected President and Mr. Moan (Labour) Vice-President, in the Odelsting Mr. Støstad (Labour) President and Mr. Myklebust (Liberal) Vice-President.

The Speech from the Throne was decidedly more optimistic than it had been for some years. The Government pointed to the reduction of unemployment, the improved position of the shipping and whaling industries, and the steady increase in the State revenues as unmistakable signs of the stronger economic situation of the country.

The estimates for the financial year 1936-37 showed an expenditure of 522,000,000 kr., an increase of 38,000,000 kr. compared with the preceding year. The increase was chiefly due to the law on old age pensions, adopted by the Storting in 1936. Owing to the improved economic situation the Government felt justified in reducing by 14,000,000 kr. the grants made under the so-called " crisis measures "—subsidies to agriculture and the fishing trade and for reducing unemployment—and no increase of taxes was proposed.

The debate on the Speech from the Throne began on February 19 and lasted four days. The Conservative Party submitted a resolution suggesting that the Government estimates were too high and asking the Government to reduce them with a view to abolishing some of the extraordinary taxes, particularly the **tax** on the interest of bank deposits and the turn-over tax. The Premier, Mr. Nygaardsvold, said he considered the Conservative motion a vote of censure and declared that the Government

would resign if it were adopted. The motion was defeated by 113 votes to 36, only the Conservatives voting for it.

Only once more during the session did the Government find it necessary to put the question of confidence, viz., when the majority of the Military Committee of the Storting in the middle of March proposed an extension of the term of military service from 72 to 84 days. As in 1936, the Government strongly objected to the proposal, which was defeated by 94 votes to 49, the Liberals voting with the Government.

Although objecting to an extension of military service, the Government agreed with the bourgeois parties that the serious international situation, created by the weakness of the League of Nations and the armaments race of the Great Powers, made it necessary for Norway to strengthen her defences. The Premier at the beginning of the session invited the various parties in the Storting to appoint delegates to discuss with the Government "questions in connexion with the neutrality of Norway in the event of a European war." The invitation was accepted by all parties, and informal negotiations took place in the course of February, March, and April. The result was that the Labour Party, the Liberals, the Farmers' Party and the small Christian People's Party agreed on a proposal to increase the military estimates by an extraordinary grant of 21,000,000 kr., to be spread over three financial years.

The chief object of the new grant was to strengthen the defences of Northern Norway, particularly by the storage of war material and by accelerating the construction of the main road through the Northern districts. The expenditure was to be covered by an increase in income tax (on incomes over 5,000 kr.) and by a 20 per cent. increase in the extraordinary tax on large incomes. The Conservative Party dissented, proposing a grant of 90,000,000 kr., to be spread over 6 years, and to be covered by a defence loan, to be repaid in the course of 20 years. The Storting practically unanimously adopted the former of these proposals, the Conservative proposal only receiving the votes of the Conservatives.

During the year several Norwegian vessels were seized by Franco's warships and their cargoes confiscated. In order to protect Norwegian shipping, the Government in April proposed that a small warship, *Olav Trygvason*, should be sent to Spanish waters. The proposal was recommended by the Shipowners' Association, but did not meet with unanimous approval in parliamentary circles, and was therefore withdrawn by the Government.

In accordance with the resolutions adopted by the Non-intervention Committee in London, the Odelsting and Lagting in April passed a Bill authorising the Government to prohibit Norwegian ships from transporting persons, arms, and ammunition to foreign countries.

The statute of the Nobel Committee of the Storting, the Committee awarding the Peace Prize, was amended by the Storting to the effect that any member of the Committee must retire if he becomes a member of the Government. This change, the object of which was to maintain the complete independence of the Committee, was a result of the polemics caused by the award of the Peace Prize in 1936 to the German pacifist, Herr Ossietzky.

The Odelsting in June unanimously approved two provisional decrees, issued by the Government in the autumn of 1936, when the Storting was not sitting, authorising the Government to intern refugees and preventing interned foreigners from instituting law proceedings in Norway. The decrees were necessitated by the political propaganda of the Russian refugee and ex-Minister of War, Leo Trotsky, who left for Mexico in December, 1936, after two years' stay in Norway. The "Protocol Committee" of the Odelsting in its report emphasised that measures of this kind should only be taken in very exceptional cases, when there could be no doubt as to the necessity of such a step in order to protect the security of the State. Norway should do what she could to uphold the principle of the right of asylum.

During a debate in the Storting on the report of the Norwegian delegation to the Assembly of the League of Nations, the Foreign Minister, Dr. Koht, made a statement on the attitude of Norway to Article 16 of the Covenant. The Minister emphasised that Norway did not consider herself obliged to apply military sanctions. The passage of foreign troops through Norwegian territory according to Article 16 could only take place with the assent of the Norwegian Government. The Government must decide whether the passage of foreign troops was justified. With regard to economic sanctions, the assent of the Storting was necessary. It was the right and the duty of every country which is a member of the League to decide if economic sanctions are to be applied.

An event of importance for the commercial relations of Norway was the signing in May of a new agreement between the Oslo States. This agreement, which was designated "an arrangement for the promotion of the interchange of commodities," divides the Oslo States into two groups: on the one hand those countries which have based their commercial policy on quantitative restrictions, viz., Belgium-Luxemburg and the Netherlands, and on the other hand those countries which have not availed themselves of such protective means, viz., Norway, Denmark, Finland, and Sweden. The countries included in the former group undertook to permit the importation in unlimited quantities of certain commodities- from the other Oslo Powers, and not to increase the present duties on such articles. Most of the commodities are at present subject to a system of licences in Belgium-Luxemburg and the Netherlands. Importers of such articles will therefore still have to apply for licences, but applications for the

importation of these commodities from Norway or the other Oslo States will be granted in each case. The articles to which these obligations refer are enumerated in two lists appended to the agreement. They include several articles of interest to the Norwegian export trade. The total value of the commodities thus released represents roughly 8 per cent, of the total export trade of Norway to Belgium-Luxemburg and close upon 21 per cent, of her total exports to the Netherlands. Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Denmark on their part pledge themselves not to increase the prevailing duties or to introduce new quantitative restrictions on the importation of a number of articles also enumerated in the list drawn up for each country.

Simultaneously with this arrangement a protocol respecting economic co-operation was signed. This protocol was regarded only as the initial step in the direction of economic disarmament. The contracting Governments further signified their intention of arranging periodical meetings between their permanent representatives in order to ensure intimate and constant co-operation. The arrangement contained a provision by which the contracting parties declare their intention of discussing further the problem of counteracting unfair competition in foreign trade, also the question of the so-called national preference in public tenders and contracts.

The new agreement, like the Oslo Convention, is open to all countries, and applications from outside States desiring to subscribe to the arrangement should be addressed to the Norwegian Government.

Dr. Koht in October paid an official visit to the United States, in the course of which he met President Roosevelt, the Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, and other leading politicians.

Great satisfaction was felt in Norway at the acceptance by the American Government of the Norwegian proposal for new negotiations with a view to a legal settlement of the so-called "Hannevig affair." Mr. Hannevig, a Norwegian shipowner, who during the world war was the owner of several shipyards in the United States, claims about 69,000,000 dollars compensation from the American Government for the requisitioning of ships, shipyards, and shipping contracts when the United States entered the war.

The position of the Government was further strengthened by the municipal elections which took place throughout the country on October 18 and resulted in considerable gains for the Labour Party.

FINLAND.

The term of office of the President of the Republic, Dr. Svinhufvud, terminated at the end of February. At the election of the 300 members of the Electoral College on January 15, the largest number of seats—95—was gained by the Social Democrats, whose candidate was Hr. Tanner. In the Presidential election itself on February 15, Dr. Stahlberg, the Progressive candidate, received 150 votes, or one short of an absolute majority. At the second ballot, the Socialists and Progressives gave their support to Hr. Kallio, the Agrarian candidate, who was also Prime Minister, and he received 177 votes against 104 obtained by Dr. Svinhufvud, the candidate of the Conservative coalition and the Patriotic Popular Movement. Hr. Kallio was succeeded as Premier by Prof. A. K. Cajander, a Progressive, who on March 12 formed a Government consisting of 5 Agrarians, 5 Social Democrats, and 2 Progressives, and commanding 143 votes out of a total of 200 in the Diet.

In February the Foreign Minister, Dr. Holsti, visited Moscow, where he was very cordially received. In October he also visited Berlin, where he was assured of German respect for Finland's neutrality. In a debate in the Diet on November 23, Dr. Holsti's visit to Moscow was criticised by a member of the Patriotic Popular Movement, and the Government was urged to abandon the League of Nations, but it refused to do so. Soon afterwards the Government decided to prosecute the leading organ of the Patriotic Popular Movement and fifteen other papers for publishing reports disparaging the Government, the Diet, and public officials.

On November 13 the Estonian Government protested to the Finnish Government regarding an anti-Estonian speech made by a member of the Patriotic Popular Movement at the funeral in Helsingfors of M. Arthur Sirk, an Estonian, who had been exiled to Finland and had there conspired against the Estonian Government. The Finnish Government replied that they could not under the law forestall such regrettable occurrences, but they undertook to prosecute the persons responsible.

On June 4 the seventieth birthday of Field-Marshal Baron Mannerheim, known as the Maker of modern Finland on account of his march on Helsingfors in May 1918, was celebrated as a national festival, and a message from the British Government was delivered to him by Lord Plymouth, who happened to be on an official visit to Finland.

Finland was associated this year with the two conferences of the Scandinavian Foreign Ministers, the first of which, in April, met in Helsingfors.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MIDDLE EAST : IRAN—AFGHANISTAN—IRAQ—PALESTINE—
SYRIA AND LEBANON—ARABIA.

IRAN.

THROUGHOUT 1937 Iran was free from internal disturbance, and maintained friendly relations with her neighbours. In June the long-standing frontier dispute between Iran and Iraq was finally settled, an agreement being signed at Teheran at the beginning of July. Further progress was made with the Trans-Persian Railway at both ends ; the contract for the first supply of locomotives and carriages was given in May to a German group, including the firm of Friedrich Krupp A.G. In May, by agreement with Turkey, the Trebizond-Tabriz road was opened to motor transport for passengers and merchandise. The emancipation of women made progress, and in March for the first time the example was set by the Queen of appearing unveiled in public.

AFGHANISTAN.

No change of importance took place in Afghanistan in 1937. The Prime Minister, the Sirdar Mohamed Hashim Khan, the uncle of the King, having gone to Berlin to undergo an operation, took the opportunity before returning home to visit London at the end of January, spending a week there as the guest of the Government, and confirming Afghanistan's friendly relations with Great Britain.

IRAQ.

The outstanding event in Iraqi history in 1937 was the murder, on 12 August, of General Baqir Sidqi, the military Dictator, and of Muhammad Ali Jawad, the Commander of the Royal Iraq Air Force. They were shot by a soldier on the eve of General Baqir Sidqi's departure on a visit to Turkey. Ten months previously he had seized power by a *coup d'etat*, and although he took only the post of Chief of the Iraq General Staff, the Prime Minister and Cabinet were in effect his nominees. The assassination led immediately to the fall of that Cabinet, and a new one, under Senator Jamil Midfai, was appointed within four days. In the meanwhile there had been a movement by the military at Mosul where the murders had taken place, but this subsided as soon as the new Cabinet was appointed. The incipient revolt was a consequence of the threat to arrest a number of officers on account of the murders. With the disappearance

of Baqir Sidqi, the political exiles of the previous October began to return ; prominent among them being General Nuri es Said, the well-trusted former Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, who, however, appeared not to be in agreement with the new Government for he soon returned to Egypt. One of the reasons given for the murders and the overthrow of the Cabinet was a fear of the growing power and supposed ambitions of Turkey to which state the Dictator was especially friendly. The previous June had seen an earlier but milder Cabinet crisis in the course of which four Ministers resigned, in protest against the methods of the Army, especially in the suppression of some unimportant trouble among one or two tribes.

The negotiations with Iran over several unsettled points came to an end on June 29, and an agreement was signed on July 4. This agreement brought to an end the long-standing frontier dispute between the two Powers regarding the Shatt-el-Arab, and removed the only remaining difference between them. Five days later the Foreign Ministers of Iraq, Iran, Turkey, and Afghanistan signed a pact of mutual non-aggression and friendship which had been initialled in October, 1935, and had been awaiting the confirmation only of the Iraq-Iran frontier agreement. Events in Palestine had their echoes in Iraquian Government circles, and both the Cabinets of the year defended the cause of the Palestinian Arabs in Baghdad, London, and Geneva, and showed a lively interest in all developments.

The problem of the settlement of the Assyrian refugees remained unsolved, although an endeavour was made to put on a permanent basis the colony of some 8,000 refugees who had made their homes on Syrian territory. The Iraqi Government undertook, with the assistance of the British Government and the League of Nations, to settle a further 20,000 in agriculture, and to grant to all of the Assyrians in the kingdom the status of Iraqi nationals.

PALESTINE.

When the year 1937 opened the Royal Commission which had been sent to Palestine to investigate the causes of the Arab outbreak and to make recommendations for a satisfactory and permanent settlement, was still sitting. The Arabs, dissatisfied with the decision of the Government not to suspend immigration, had boycotted the Commission and it was only in January, when the Commission had apparently done everything within its means in Palestine and had announced its imminent departure, did the Arabs, at the instance of the rulers of the Arab States, relent and consent to put their case before it. The Arab witnesses were few ; their case simple. They asked for a National Government, no immigration of Jews, and no sale of land to Jews.

The last sitting of the Royal Commission in Palestine was on January 18. After its return to England it heard a few other witnesses, for the most part the two ex-High Commissioners, former Secretaries of State, and Mr. Lloyd George, during whose Ministry the Balfour Declaration was issued.

The Royal Commission reported in June, and within a fortnight the Report was published, together with a White Paper announcing the Government's decision on it. For some time before the publication of the Report rumours gained currency, and as time passed became stronger and stronger, that the Commission would recommend the separation of Palestine into two independent States, one Jewish, the other Arab, with the reservation under British rule of the Holy Cities and perhaps Haifa. The Arab half, so the rumours ran, was to be joined to Transjordan, the whole to be under the rule of the Amir Abdullah of Transjordan. The rumours were at first received with incredulity by both Jews and Arabs, but as time passed this incredulity gave way to consternation, and a practically unanimous opinion of both Jews and Arabs, within and without Palestine, was given against Partition. As early as April 26 the World Zionist Executive, sitting in Jerusalem, formally resolved that the Zionist Organisation would resist any attempt to curtail the rights of the Jews as defined in the Mandate, either by Partition or any other measure. The Arabs were equally determined, excepting that a small group, headed by Ragheb Bey Nashashibi, which had frequently differed more on personal than on other grounds from Haj Amin el Husseini, the Mufti of Jerusalem, who had behind him the great majority of the Arabs, and were known as friends of the Amir Abdullah, began to adopt a more equivocal position. On July 5, two days before the publication of the Report and the Government decision, this group seceded from the Arab Higher Committee which had hitherto represented all parties. The reason given was that of protest against the arbitrary conduct of affairs by Haj Amin, but the reasons were generally believed to go far deeper. However, public opinion was too strong for Ragheb Bey, and after a little hesitation he and his friends adopted a position that was, if anything, more determined than that of Haj Amin in opposition to Partition.

When the Report was published the worst anticipations were realised. Palestine was to be divided into three parts. Jerusalem, Bethlehem, with a corridor to Jaffa, Nazareth, and the Sea of Galilee were to remain under a perpetual British Mandate. Britain was also to retain temporarily control of Haifa, Acre, Safad, and Tiberias, cities with mixed populations, and Akaba. The whole of Galilee, the Emek Jezreel, the Plain of Esdraelon, **and** the Coastal Plain, with the exception of Jaffa, the southernmost part and the district around Tulkarm, were to form a

Jewish sovereign State. The remainder of the country was to be joined to Transjordan to form an Arab sovereign State. Britain was to use her good offices to secure the admission of both States to the League of Nations. There were other recommendations, including grants from the British and Jewish Exchequers to the new Arab State, the protection of minorities, and a possible settlement of Arabs left under Jewish rule, in Transjordan. The British Government promptly accepted the recommendations in principle.

The Report was nowhere received with enthusiasm. British public opinion admitted that it was a confession of failure. In the absence of an alternative it was nevertheless accepted, though with obvious reluctance. Arab opinion within and without Palestine, with the exception of the Amir Abdullah, rejected the recommendations on every ground. Jewish was more divided. On the whole the Western Jews and those of the East whose minds were controlled by the Russian devotion to "principle" at any cost, were against them. Other East and Central European Jews, attracted by the bait of unlimited immigration into the Jewish territory, and dazzled by the idea of a Jewish sovereign independent State, were more friendly. There were similar discussions within the Jewish Agency and Zionist Executives, but all were united in the opinion that the limits of the proposed Jewish State were too narrow and would have to be enlarged.

The announcement of the Government decision was prefaced a couple of months earlier by the grant of a Labour Immigration Schedule for four months. The Jewish Agency had asked for 11,250 Jewish labourers and artisans with their wives and children. They were granted 770, and of these all but 220 were withdrawn from their control. The reason given for this drastic and unprecedented reduction was the increasingly unfavourable economic situation and the growing volume of unemployment. The Jews received the decision as an insult, and the Jewish Agency Executive resolved to decline to accept the few score immigration certificates that were at their disposal. All the deeper was the disappointment on account of the increasing pressure on the Jews of Europe, especially in Poland and Germany. Later, after the Report of the Royal Commission, the Government introduced a political maximum for Jewish immigration of 1,000 a month, independent of the economic absorptive capacity of the country.

In August the Report of the Royal Commission, and the British Government's proposals regarding its recommendations came before both the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations and the Zionist Congress. The Mandates Commission also examined the reports on Palestine of the Mandatory Government for the years 1935 and 1936. The Secretary of State

appeared in person before the Mandates Commission which questioned him in great detail. The Commission showed anything but enthusiasm for the proposed line of action of the British Government. It could see little in favour of the creation of three small States in place of one, and was by no means satisfied that the Mandate was unworkable, after perhaps, some amendment. Further, it expressed doubts whether either of the proposed States was yet fit for self-government. It also showed itself not altogether satisfied in all respects with the actions of the Palestine Government during the period of the disturbances. The Council of the League, on September 16, agreed to the British request that it should be authorised to carry out the necessary inquiries to prepare the way for Partition and that a further Commission should be sent to Palestine for the purpose. It was expressly stated that no scheme would be put into effect without the specific approval of the Council. Even to this modified decision Iraq, Egypt, and Ireland were opposed. The Prime Minister of Iraq had previously very emphatically expressed his opposition to any scheme for the partition of Palestine.

At the Zionist Congress there were two opinions. The one, whose principal exponent was Dr. Weizmann, advocated the acceptance of Partition, subject to certain amendments of the scheme if these could be obtained. For a fortnight the discussion continued day and night. Dr. Weizmann and his lieutenants made Herculean efforts to secure a decisive majority for acceptance. The Opposition demanded unequivocal rejection. In the end Dr. Weizmann won, by 300 votes to 158, but his victory can have given him little satisfaction. Instead of receiving a free hand to accept Partition on the best terms that were obtainable, he was forced to accept permission merely to negotiate with the British Government on the basis of the Royal Commission's Report, without authority to commit the Executive or the Zionist Organisation or the Jews of Palestine. Even then some 70 or 80 of the delegates who voted with the majority announced that their vote must not be taken as an acceptance of Partition. The Jewish Agency, of which the Zionist Organisation forms part, was even more reserved. After much discussion it adopted the Zionist Congress resolution, but added to it a rider that before Partition was considered every effort for an agreement between Jews and Arabs should be made. Such a solution of a settlement by means of agreement between Jews and Arabs was also strongly pressed by influential Jews outside of the Jewish Agency. A solution on these lines gained increasing support in all quarters, British, Jewish, and Arab, in the succeeding months.

In the meanwhile, although the major disturbances came to an end in October, 1936, isolated outrages and murders continued

almost without cease, and at times it seemed that the rebellion was about to break out again. The attacks became more concentrated on British officials, military and police, and among the victims were Mr. Lewis Andrews, an acting district commissioner, and Mr. Avinoam Yellin, the senior Government inspector of Jewish schools. Both were murdered. The other victims included both Arabs and Jews, among the former innocent passers-by as well as politicians believed to be in opposition to the policy of the majority. The murder of Mr. Andrews and his police guard was followed by drastic action. The Arab Higher Committee was dissolved (October 1), and those members who could be caught were deported to the Seychelles. The others were ordered to be excluded from Palestine. Haj Amin el Husseini, the Mufti of Jerusalem, the accepted political leader of the Arabs of Palestine, was deprived of all his non-ecclesiastical offices and shortly afterwards left Palestine surreptitiously and took refuge near Beirout. At the same time Palestine was placed under a modified form of martial law, military courts being set up and capital punishment laid down for a number of offences short of murder. These measures did not, however, stop the course of the outrages which continued with little, if any, abatement. At the end of October, the High Commissioner, General Sir Arthur Wauchope, who was on leave in England, resigned, and Sir Harold MacMichael, the Governor of Tanganyika, was appointed in his place.

On September 8, 400 delegates from all parts of the Arab world met in conference at Bloudan near Damascus to consider the Palestine question. All of the Arab States, with the exception of the Yemen, as well as Palestine, were represented. The President was a former Iraqi Prime Minister, and an Egyptian ex-Cabinet Minister also took part. The conference, after four days' deliberations, resolved unanimously that Palestine is an integral part of the Arab fatherland, rejected the proposal for partition, and the establishment of a Jewish State, and demanded the annulment of the Balfour Declaration, the abrogation of the Mandate, and the conclusion of an Anglo-Palestine treaty establishing an independent Palestine with safeguards for the minorities.

In the meanwhile the economic state of affairs became progressively worse. Deterioration set in in the autumn of 1935, six months before the beginning of the outbreak. This held up the orgy of speculation from which the country had previously suffered, and with a diminution of the import of capital and the consequent scarcity of money, conditions became worse. Unemployment which had been practically unknown for years again put in an appearance. The tourist traffic, one of Palestine's principal sources of income, was reduced, and the 1936-37 orange season proved financially unsatisfactory. Among

the Jews of Palestine there was a call for relief funds **for** the workers: members of the middle class, finding conditions discouraging, began to look abroad for opportunities of emigration. Nevertheless the Zionist Organisation was able to found a number of new agricultural settlements in the course of the year. Among the Arabs the unemployment and consequent distress was still greater.

A by-product of the troubles in Palestine was a controversy that arose between the British and Italian Governments regarding propaganda in Arabic. The Italians had for years been sending broadcasts in Arabic from Bari, whose tendency was to aggrandize Italy and all things Italian at the expense of the British. When as a consequence of the Italian attack on Abyssinia relations between the two Powers became a little strained, the intensity and vehemence of the Italian propaganda were increased. Occasional remonstrances were made and promises given to keep the broadcasts within reasonable limits, but these promises were observed for very short periods, if at all. The troubles in Palestine were seized on as opportunity for intensifying the anti-British campaign in Arabic. At length the British Government lost patience and decided to introduce broadcasts of its own—in Arabic.

SYRIA AND LEBANON.

The year 1937 in Syria was somewhat disturbed. The treaty granting Syria and the Lebanon their independence had been adopted by the Parliaments of both States in the previous year, but differences arose on certain points of minor importance, and at the end of 1937 the treaties were still awaiting ratification. With the signature of that with Syria she was at once granted a modified independence, and the Syrian Government soon realised that the way of self-government was not always smooth, and that the population of the half-Syrian districts near her frontiers might hold the seeds of considerable trouble. The differences arose not only out of the suggestions and demands for a special status for the border provinces of Jebel Druze and the Alawite State—the Sanjak of Alexandretta is dealt with in more detail below—but also over such questions as the Syrian Bank Concession and oil concessions.

In order to resolve all these difficulties, the Syrian Premier, Jamil Mardam Bey, went to Paris at the end of November, but a settlement had not been reached at the end of the year. The proposed treaty was under consideration by the Mandates Commission of the League in November in connexion with the Annual Report on Syria and the Lebanon, and it gave it general acceptance. In the course of the year there were some disturbances in different districts. In February there was a clash between French troops and Nationalist " Ironshirts " at Latakia.

Previously there had been similar incidents between the two forces at Aleppo. Later there were further clashes between Arabs and Turks at Antioch, and a Kurdish attack on a Christian village in August. Antioch remained for some months in a sort of state of siege in which Arabs and Turks faced one another with anything but friendly feelings. In December the Turkish Government denounced the Turco-Syrian Treaty of Friendship and Non-Aggression of 1926 with the view to the negotiation of a new one.

The status under the new Syrian Constitution of the Sanjak of Alexandretta, whose population is largely Turkish, was a cause of dissension between Turkey and Syria, and of anxiety in Syria throughout almost the entire period of the year. At one moment—early in January—there seemed almost the risk of a Turkish invasion, and relations between Turkey and France became somewhat strained. This was the state of affairs at the beginning of the year, despite the appointment by the Council of the League of Nations of a small Commission to investigate the question on the spot. However, the dispute between the two Powers came to an end on January 27 when, under the ægis of the Council of the League, an agreement was reached. Under this agreement the Sanjak was given an individual status with complete independence in internal affairs. In foreign and other general matters, such as currency and customs, the Sanjak will be an integral part of Syria. Turkish will be an official language. In Syria, however, the agreement had a very unfavourable reaction. There were political strikes and anti-Turkish demonstrations in all the towns, including Alexandretta, and the Opposition Party went so far as to denounce the agreement as a breach of the Franco-Syrian Treaty. In May the formal draft of the agreement which had been drawn up by experts appointed by the Council of the League came before that body. In this draft the general principles laid down in the earlier agreement were accepted and elaborated. A new clause provided for a Turkish Free Zone in the port. The new statute and fundamental law were adopted by the Council of the League and accepted by the French and Turkish Governments on May 29. The local Arabs were still not satisfied, and martial law had to be proclaimed in the Sanjak at the beginning of June in consequence of riots between Arabs and Turks. Nevertheless, in accordance with the agreement the new regime came into existence on the appointed day, November 29. At the same time Turkey guaranteed the frontiers of both the Sanjak and Syria proper, but the unsettled feeling did not subside, and as late as December there were clashes between the rival races and bloodshed at Antioch and Alexandretta.

On January 4 the Lebanese Constitution of 1926, which had been suspended in 1932, was restored by decree of the High

Commissioner, the President and Parliament remained in office, and a Cabinet was appointed. At the end of November there were riots in Beirut in the course of which a number of people were killed and injured, and some hundreds arrested. The riots arose over the action of the Lebanese Government in dissolving the local political, largely para-military, associations which had been a cause of disturbances in the past. The disturbances lasted for some days, and developed into a general strike. The movement was entirely anti-Government, and took the form, in part, of an agitation for the transfer of the Tripoli district to the State of Syria from which it had been detached when the French first occupied the country.

ARABIA.

The year 1937 in Arabia had little to distinguish it. After an interval of twelve years the Mahmal or Holy Carpet was once again sent from Cairo to Mecca, in February, and this act symbolised the full restoration of friendly relations between the two capitals.

In May the King of the Yemen announced his adhesion to the treaty of amity and alliance that had been signed between Iraq and Saudi-Arabia a year earlier. In September the rumours, that had for some months been persistent, of a treaty between the Yemen and Italy obtained greater emphasis. It was said that Italy had undertaken to supply the Imam with arms, and in due course, advisers.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FAR EAST : CHINA—JAPAN—THE NETHERLAND INDIES.

CHINA.

AT the beginning of the year, after the submission of General Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 275), the Central Government issued orders for the reorganisation of the Shensi Provincial Government and the military administration of the North-West. Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, although he was pardoned for his attack on the person of Chiang Kai-shek, was not restored to his command, or even to his civil rights, and his forces, which were believed to be in sympathy with the Communists, were transferred from Shensi to Kansu, while Chang's associate, Yang Hu-cheng, was sent to the north of the Wei river. The Communists were also allowed to retire to North Shensi, and the withdrawal having taken place—not without some opposition on the part of the more radical elements—the Government troops

early in February occupied Sian and the Lunghai railway area without opposition.

The Third Plenary Session of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee, which lasted from February 15 to 22, restored full civil rights to Chang Hsueh-liang. It also issued a manifesto declaring that no infringement of China's territorial sovereignty would be tolerated, and that China was prepared to fight in defence of her rights. On the other hand, it refused to entertain the idea of a "united front" with the Communists against Japanese aggression, declaring that there could be no possibility of the employment of the Communist armies in any military capacity unless their leaders were prepared to surrender their forces completely to the Central Government and dissolve the Communist administrations set up in the areas under their control. The Convention of the "National Assembly," which had been so often deferred, was also fixed for the coming November.

When these decisions were taken, Japan's intentions with regard to China seemed to be pacific, and the emphatic repudiation of the Communists was chiefly meant to avoid giving Japan any excuse for armed interference. On the other hand, the reference to territorial sovereignty contained an indication that the Central Government was in no way inclined to renounce its rights in Northern China, and that it looked upon the Japanese authorities and their proteges there as intruders. During the first half of the year no change took place in the situation ; the Japanese themselves seemed to be hesitating as to what policy they should pursue, and any attempts at encroachment on their part were skilfully parried by the diplomacy of General Sung Cheh-yuan, the head of the Hopei-Chahar Political Council and commander of the 29th Army division. The nation at large remained bitterly anti-Japanese, and both the Communists and Canton showed themselves willing to assist the Central Government in resistance to Japanese aggression.

The supreme test of Chinese patriotism came rather sooner than had been expected. On July 8 some Japanese troops which had been carrying out night manoeuvres at Lukouchiao, a place about 20 miles west of Peiping (Peking), came into violent conflict with a battalion of the Chinese 29th Army in the neighbouring town of Wangping, both inflicting and suffering heavy casualties. The Japanese authorities demanded satisfaction from Sung Cheh-yuan. Sung refused to take any steps save with the concurrence of the Central Government at Nanking. The Japanese Government thereupon insisted that the matter was one of purely local concern, and ordered the despatch of large reinforcements to the Peiping area, where there were already about 7,000 Japanese troops. In reply General Chiang Kai-shek, the head of the Central Government, ordered the 37th Army to march into Southern Hopei, and issued a declaration asserting China's sovereign rights over the

northern provinces. After about a fortnight of confused negotiation and wrangling, in the course of which numerous clashes took place between Japanese and Chinese soldiers, the Lukouchiao incident was settled to the satisfaction of the Japanese, and they now demanded the withdrawal from Hopei of the Chinese 37th Army, whose presence there they alleged to be contrary to the Umezo-Ho Agreement of 1935. The Chinese refused to withdraw unless the Japanese also retired to their original positions. On July 26 the Japanese sent an ultimatum to General Sung, ordering him to withdraw the whole of the 29th Division to Paotingfu. The latter, acting on instructions from the Central Government, refused to do so, and the Japanese then opened hostilities *in earnest*, though without any formal declaration of war.

By the middle of August the Japanese had about 120,000 men in North China. The Chinese were not inferior in numbers, nor did they on this occasion show themselves lacking in courage, but they were no match for the Japanese in equipment and the art of war, and were rapidly overwhelmed. They evacuated Peking without a struggle, and were soon driven from the whole Peking-Tientsin area. Retiring along the Peking-Hankow railway, they made a brief stand at Paoting, but were soon dislodged from here also. They then fell back on a strongly fortified line at Shihkiachwang, at the junction of the Peking-Hankow and Chengting-Taiyuan railways, behind the river Puto, their line extending east and west over a length of 40 miles. Here on October 10 they were outflanked by the Japanese on both sides and totally defeated with a loss of 30,000 men, their army of 200,000 becoming a mass of fugitives. For a time Chinese forces held up the invaders in the Nankou pass, between Peking and Kalgan, and in the Niangzuktwan pass between Hopei and Shansi [*vide Japan*], but here too the invaders eventually broke through, and before the end of October the Chinese troops had been driven out of Hopei, Chahar, and the northern part of Shansi, and the way was more or less open to the Japanese as far as the Yellow river.

In Shanghai, which was also attacked by the Japanese in the middle of August [*vide Japan*], the Chinese gave a much better account of themselves. Here the 87th and 88th Divisions kept the invaders at bay for several weeks, inflicting very heavy casualties upon them, and though they were eventually driven from the town, they retired in good order, and with the greater part of their forces intact. No effective resistance was, however, offered to the invaders on their march from Shanghai to Nanking, and the capital itself fell on December 13, after a siege of three days, the seat of government having meanwhile been removed to Hankow.

The Japanese invasion was accompanied by a ruthless and barbarous campaign of both aerial and naval bombardment which caused untold suffering to the civilian population, and aroused horror in the civilised world. Peiping was spared, but the native

sections of Tientsin were heavily bombed and the great University of Nankai there was razed to the ground. Air-raids were carried out not only over Nanking, Hankow, and Canton, but over numbers of peaceful towns and villages, and such was the terror spread by the Japanese that whole populations of the lower reaches of the Yangste began to flee westwards *en masse*. The Chinese retaliated by burning all the Japanese mills in Tsingtao, to the value of about 15,000,000Z. In spite of its terrifying experiences, the spirit of the people remained unbroken, and there was no talk of surrender.

At the end of August the Chinese Government notified the League of Nations of the facts relating to the conflict with Japan, but without making any appeal. On September 15, at a meeting of the Assembly, Dr. Wellington Koo, the Chinese Ambassador in Paris, requested the Assembly to take note of the armed aggression of Japan and to denounce the practice of indiscriminate bombing and the illegal blockade of the Chinese coast, and he appealed for action by the League. On November 22, at a meeting of the International Far Eastern Conference in Brussels, Dr. Koo expressed China's dissatisfaction with the work of the conference and its failure to afford her substantive help. Nevertheless, though left to face the aggressor alone, China did not give way, but made renewed preparations for meeting the invader in the field. A sign of the new spirit of unity pervading the people was the fact that at the end of August Chiang Kai-shek appointed as Commanders-in-Chief of the Chinese forces in the field and of those in the three provinces nearest to Shanghai respectively, Generals Pai Chung-fsi (Kwangsi) and Chang Fa-kuei (Kwangtung), former associates of his who had turned against him largely on account of his too accommodating attitude towards the Japanese. Later, Chiang Kai-shek himself resigned his position as head of the Executive in favour of Dr. H. H. Kung, in order to take command of the forces in the field.

On various occasions offers of peace were made by the Japanese on terms of what they euphemistically called "collaboration and co-operation," but as they involved renunciation of Chinese sovereignty, they were rejected out of hand by the Chinese Government. Before the end of the year a strong position was taken up by the Chinese forces on the Loyang railway, in order to prevent the junction of the Japanese forces marching from the north and from the south along the Tientsin-Pukow railway. In spite of her severe losses, China was not without hope of being able to prolong the war by guerrilla tactics until Japan should be exhausted.

During the first seven months of the year, the revenue from the Maritime Customs was higher than in any previous corresponding period. Naturally it fell off very much during the war, but nevertheless the figure for the whole of 1937 was 342,000,000 dollars, compared with 324,000,000 dollars for 1936,

JAPAN.

At the beginning of the year the Premier, Mr. Hirota, laid before the Diet the Budget for 1937-38, in which the Army Estimates amounted to about 45,000,000l. out of a total of 179,000,000l. He met with a stormy reception, members of all parties giving vent in outspoken terms to their resentment at the excessive demands of the Army and its interference in politics. Unable to obtain a majority, he was forced on January 23 to resign. The Emperor, on the advice of Prince Saionji, entrusted the task of forming a new Ministry to General Ugaki, whose moderation rendered him popular with the Diet but unpopular with the militarists. General Ugaki's task was rendered impossible by the refusal of the Army to nominate a War Minister in his Cabinet. The Emperor then called on General Hayashi, who formed a Cabinet consisting wholly of military men and business men. He himself took for the time being the posts of Foreign Minister and Minister of Education, while the Finance Ministry was given to Mr. Yuki, a Governor of the Industrial Bank.

On February 12 the new Finance Minister presented a revised Budget in which expenditure totalled 163,000,000Z., the defence Estimates being 80,000,000l., or 2,750,000l. less than the original demands. To this the Diet, though still far from satisfied, was disposed to agree. Its outspoken criticisms, however, caused great annoyance to the Prime Minister and, charging it with obstructionist tactics, he dissolved it on March 31. A General Election took place on April 30, and resulted in the return of a House of very similar complexion. General Hayashi thereupon on May 31 resigned. He was succeeded on June 4 by Prince Konoye, who had the reputation of being a "constitutionalist," and who formed a Cabinet which appeared "moderate" by comparison with its predecessor, and contained two representatives of the political parties. Mr. Hirota, however, returned to the Foreign Office, and the Home Office was given to Mr. Baba, another protege of the Army.

The Budget for 1937-38, as finally passed by the new Diet, balanced at 2,872,135,873 yen (169,000,000l.). The increase on the Budget presented in February was due to the restoration of a large cut in the Home Office vote for grants-in-aid to local finance, and to the inclusion of the 2,750,000l. which the Services had promised to forgo, on their assurance that the money would not be spent in the fiscal year 1937-38. Even so the Diet consented to this only as an emergency measure which was not to be regarded as a precedent. This Budget was the biggest in Japanese history, and necessitated an 80 per cent. increase in taxation, besides increases in Customs and Excise duties, and in receipts from Government undertakings and property. The Defence Estimates were over 20,000,000l. more than those of the previous

year, and more than double those of 1932-33. The Diet passed the Budget only with great misgiving, and attached to it resolutions calling for a radical readjustment of the incidence of taxation as between the capital and the provinces, a just and fair distribution of emergency grants-in-aid to local finance, and the cessation of "the trampling upon the rights of the citizens by procurators and police."

For a solution of her financial difficulties Japan looked principally to increased economic co-operation with China. For this the latter country was naturally not unwilling, but it insisted that the outstanding political differences between the two countries should be settled first. Of these the chief concerned the threat to Chinese sovereignty constituted by Japanese intrigues in North China, and particularly by the puppet administration set up by her in East Hopei. At one time it seemed as if Japan would be willing to meet Chinese demands in this matter. General Hayashi, shortly after becoming Prime Minister, vacated the Foreign Office in favour of Mr. Naotake Sato, a man of liberal views who had lately been Japanese Ambassador in Paris. Mr. Sato's first speeches in the Diet did not belie his reputation; the keynote of them was that Japan's policy in China had been a failure, and that negotiations should be carried on with her on terms of equality. Very soon, however, it was intimated to Mr. Sato by the military authorities that his opinions were not in keeping with the principle of Japan's "special position" in the Far East, and he dutifully qualified his earlier utterances. The replacement of Mr. Sato by Mr. Hirota soon afterwards extinguished any hopes which might have been aroused that Japan intended to relinquish her designs on North China.

A change in policy did indeed soon ensue, but it was in the opposite direction. On July 11, soon after the incident of Lukouchiao [*vide* China], the Japanese Government, under pressure from the militarists, took the momentous decision to send large reinforcements to the Peking-Tientsin area, where Japan kept about 7,000 troops under the Boxer agreement. This step was taken ostensibly for the protection of Japanese nationals in the area, but it was a direct challenge to Chinese sovereignty, and one which the Chinese, rather unexpectedly, showed themselves fully determined to take up. Having gone so far, the Japanese could not draw back, and war became inevitable.

The military party, possessed with a consciousness of a "divine mission" to rule and civilise China, entered into the conflict with alacrity, and by picturing the war as one of self-defence against Chinese aggression, they succeeded in infecting the mass of the population with some of their own enthusiasm. Nevertheless the harmony on this occasion was not so complete as was usual in Japan in times of national emergency. An undertone of doubt and criticism was discernible, and the authorities before the end

of the year found it necessary to make arrests on a large scale, in order to silence opposition.

Hostilities commenced in earnest about the middle of August. Some 300,000 troops were in all sent to North China, though over 50,000 of these were subsequently withdrawn for operations in the south. As in Manchuria six years before, the Chinese, though they fought more bravely than on that occasion, proved no match for the Japanese with their superior equipment and military science. Pursuing them southwards along the Peking-Hankow railway, the Japanese troops on October 9 made a brilliant crossing of the Puto river—which they proudly compared to Mackensen's crossing of the Danube—and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Chinese Army at Shihkiachwang [*vide* China], A little later (October 14) Suiyuan was taken by a force which had marched thither through the Nankou pass and Kalgan. A third force marching on Taiyuan, in Shansi, nearly met with disaster at the same time in the pass of Niangzuktwan, between Hopei and Shansi, which had been strongly fortified by the Chinese, but it eventually made its way through and captured Taiyuan early in November. Before the end of October the Japanese had made themselves masters of the whole of Hopei and Chahar and the greater part of Suiyuan and Shansi.

Meanwhile, the area of hostilities had been vastly extended. The Japanese Navy, which was no less conscious of its "divine mission" than the Army, and envied the laurels of the latter, took advantage of an "incident" at Shanghai on August 9—when a Japanese soldier was shot for entering a Chinese aerodrome—to throw down a similar challenge to Chinese sovereignty, which met with a similar defiance. Here the Japanese task was more difficult, owing to the necessity for landing troops in the face of formidable Chinese resistance. However, after ten weeks of stubborn fighting, accompanied by heavy losses on both sides and enormous damage to the city, they were successful here also; on October 27 the Chinese were evicted from their last stronghold at Chapei, a few miles up the Yangtse, and the Japanese were complete masters of the town and the surrounding area.

At this juncture, the Japanese Government received an invitation from the Belgian Government to the Far Eastern Conference which it was proposed to hold at Brussels. The invitation was refused, on the ground that the conference was inspired by the League of Nations, which had just passed a resolution hostile to Japan. At the same time the Government took the opportunity to assert that the only means of resolving the conflict lay in direct negotiation between China and Japan, and that there would be no hope of such a solution unless China changed her anti-Japanese attitude. Offers of peace had in fact been already made to China, but had been rejected unceremoniously. The Japanese therefore had no alternative but to penetrate further

into the country in an endeavour to destroy the Chinese power of resistance,— " to bring China to her knees," as the Premier put it. Their first objective was Nanking, the seat of the Chinese Government, 180 miles west of Shanghai.

Soochow was taken on November 20, and five days later a breach was made in the Chinese " Hindenburg " line from Kiangyin on the Yangtse to beyond Hangchow on the coast. On December 9 the Japanese reached the outskirts of Nanking and four days later the city fell into their hands. On Christmas Day they captured Hangchow, the capital of Chekiang. Troops were also landed at Bias Bay, in the neighbourhood of Canton, and other preparations made for an attack on that city. Numerous air-raids were also carried out on the Canton-Kowloon railway, by which munitions from abroad continued to reach the Chinese Government. In the meanwhile, the whole area beyond the Yellow river had been cleared of Chinese troops, and the Japanese had taken Tsinan, the capital of Shantung, and advanced some way south along the Tientsin-Pukow railway in order to effect a junction with the troops from Nanking who were marching north.

In December the Japanese set up two puppet Governments in North China, a "Provisional Government of the Republic of China " at Peking, under the protection of the Japanese North China Army, and a " Mongolian Border Federation " under the protection of the Kwantung Army. By the end of the year Japan had practically wrested from the Chinese Government the Provinces of Hopei (including Peking and Tientsin), Chahar, Suiyuan, Shansi, Shantung, Kiangsu, and Chekiang, besides the cities of Nanking and Shanghai. The population, however, was everywhere bitterly hostile, and the effective control of the Japanese extended only to a small distance from the railway lines. In Shanghai, the Japanese troops, in spite of strong protests from foreign Powers, carried out a " victory march " on December 3, and the Japanese authorities later assumed complete control of the town, and began to interfere with foreigners in a way which caused a good deal of irritation. Another source of friction was the blockade of the whole Chinese coast proclaimed in November.

The prosecution of the war by the Japanese was marked by an unusual number of unprovoked assaults on foreigners, mostly Britons and Americans. Though committed by subordinates, the frequency with which they occurred, in spite of repeated protests, led to the suspicion that they had the approval if not the connivance of those in authority. Two of these outrages were exceptionally flagrant—the shooting from the air of the British Ambassador, Sir Hugh Knatchbull-Hugessen, on August 26, when he was travelling from Nanking to Shanghai [*vide* England], and the shelling of the American boat *Panay* and the British *Ladybird* on December 12 on the Upper Yangtse [*vide* United States and England]. The Japanese Government made matters

worse by trying to prevaricate, and though in the end it apologised profoundly in every instance, and offered satisfaction when required, it was unable to obliterate the exceedingly bad impression which these incidents, and especially the last-named, made on public opinion in Great Britain and America.

The war in China placed a very great strain upon Japanese finances. Already between July 14 and September 7, Supplementary Estimates were voted to the amount of 2,570,152,015 yen (151.2l. million), of which 1,735,108,270 yen (102l. million) was for the Army. Towards the end of the year, Imperial headquarters, headed by the Chiefs of the Staff of the Army and Navy, were formed to co-ordinate military and naval action, and an Advisory Council of ten members—including both moderates like General Ugaki and extremists like General Araki, and also some civilians—was appointed to advise on national policy.

In the summer, an Air Defence law was passed by the Diet ordering local authorities to establish air defence schemes, and giving them the necessary powers for this purpose. Half of the expense was to be borne by the National Exchequer and half by the local authorities.

The Soviet-Japanese Fisheries Convention (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 198) was in December renewed till the end of 1938.

THE NETHERLANDS INDIES.

As an important producer and exporter of raw materials and articles of consumption it was only natural that the Netherlands Indies, after the exhaustion of stocks and the removal of restrictions on production, should profit considerably by the revival of world trade and the rise in prices on the world market. The devaluation of the guilder gave a further fillip to this upward movement. In fact, even in the first quarter of 1937 the trade balance showed an excess of exports over imports of 57 per cent., although economic activity still remained behind that of the years preceding the crisis. In the ten months January-October, imports represented a value of fl.387.5 million and exports of fl.734 million.

The public finances in 1937 showed similar progress, and again allowed—though on a much reduced scale—of an extension of the efforts of the State on behalf of education, public health, public works and social measures, as appeared clearly from the Budget for 1938. It also became possible to grant again a certain increase in salaries and pensions. A considerable part of the economic and financial gain had, however, to be used for an increase in the military expenditure, as the growing unrest in the East rendered reinforcement of the defences on land, on sea and in the air, a foremost and urgent duty. Almost il.20 million more than last year was considered necessary for defence.

The financial position is reflected in the following figures for the Ordinary Service : 1936, revenue fl.469-1 million, expenditure fl.486 million; 1937 estimate, revenue fl.499-2 million, expenditure fl. 503-5 million ; estimates for 1938, revenue fl.511-4 million, expenditure fl.510-9 million. The Netherlands Indies debt, which in the beginning of 1935 had reached a figure of a milliard and a half, had on October 1, 1937, dropped to fl.1,345 million. By conversion, the normal redemption of the debt rose by fl.13-5 million, whilst the interest service requires fl.9 million less. The exchange value of the currency was maintained.

Throughout 1937 also, the Archipelago remained absolutely peaceful. The decentralisation of governmental bodies was continued in so far as the financial position allowed. The complications in Eastern Asia evidently promoted a feeling of solidarity between the native elements and the European. Even those members of the native population who believe in non-co-operation, showed under the stress of political developments an increased inclination towards co-operation in the public bodies.

CHAPTER VIII.

MOROCCO AND EGYPT.

MOROCCO.

TOWARDS the end of 1936 a great intensification of German activity took place in the Spanish zone of Morocco. Large numbers of German airmen took up their quarters at Ceuta and Melilla to assist General Franco, Germans assumed an increasing part in the economic life of the country, and intense German propaganda was carried on among the natives, representing the Führer as their friend, and inciting them against the Jews. At the beginning of 1937 reports became current that 20,000 German troops were to be stationed in Spanish Morocco. The French Government became alarmed lest these activities portended the alienation of the Spanish zone to Germany, and in the second week of January made energetic representations to Herr Hitler, while at the same time General Nogues, the Governor-General of French Morocco, called the attention of the Spanish authorities to the clause in the Franco-Spanish Convention of 1912 which forbade Spain to alienate or cede in any form, even temporarily, her rights in the whole or any part of her zone of influence, and which seemed already to have been contravened in the Spirit if not in the letter. Herr Hitler gave a reassuring reply, and there was no further expansion of German activities in the Spanish zone.

While recruiting for General Franco's forces still went on in

the Spanish zone, new ground was broken by his agents at the beginning of the year in the Spanish possessions of Ifni and Rio de Oro, in the South of Morocco. Here, owing to the destitution caused by a famine, the response was very good. To prevent the natives of the French zone from following the same example, a decree was issued on February 22 prohibiting the recruitment in or departure from the Protectorate of volunteers for service with the military forces in Spain, Spanish possessions, and the Spanish zone of Morocco, and forbidding any one to cross into Spanish Morocco without special authorisation.

On February 9 the Spanish Government at Valencia sent a Note to the British and French Governments indicating its readiness to consider modifications of the status in Morocco in favour of Britain and France in return for efforts by those countries to procure the withdrawal of foreign troops from Spain. Both Governments replied that respect for existing treaty obligations forbade them to entertain the suggestion.

In the autumn the nationalist movement, which had been for some years fermenting among the natives in French Morocco, assumed for the first time dangerous proportions. There was much discontent with French rule, owing chiefly to the growth of an urban proletariat as a result of the French economic system, and of a French-trained intellectual class which could find no scope for its activities. Nationalist feeling among these classes was fostered partly by encouragement from Left-wing circles in France itself, partly by the general unrest produced by the Spanish civil war. The state of feeling in the country was revealed by a somewhat unpremeditated outbreak which took place at Meknes on September 2 after a demonstration by some hundreds of Nationalists against the diversion of a stream. Order was not restored till ten of the rioters had been killed and about fifty injured. General Nogues took a serious view of the situation, and at once returned to Morocco from France, where he had been on holiday. In the course of the next two months trouble broke out at Marrakesh, Casablanca, and other places, and it required strong efforts on the part of the authorities to prevent the disorder from becoming general. At length, on October 29, General Nogues trapped a number of the ringleaders in the "Medina," or Old City of Fez, and the agitation thereupon died down. According to a statement made by General Nogues, a plot had actually been formed to overthrow French rule. At the beginning of October the French Government decided to co-ordinate control of Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, M. Albert Sarraut being appointed Minister without Portfolio for the purpose. Soon after it was announced that measures would be taken to bring economic assistance to the regions suffering from famine, and to give natives participation in the administration and in representative bodies.

On July 29 a Convention between France and England was signed by which the latter country gave up its capitulatory rights in Morocco, in return for a similar sacrifice made by France in Egypt in May.

EGYPT.

May 8 and 26 were the two dates that will stand out in the history of Egypt in the year 1937. On the former all the Powers concerned signed, at Montreux, a Convention abolishing the capitulatory system, a Convention which had been the goal of a practically united Egypt for twenty years. On the latter date Egypt was admitted to membership of the League of Nations, and thereby acquired a status that could no longer be challenged. The Capitulations Convention was not signed until after almost a month's deliberations by the representatives of the Powers. It was decided at the same time that the mixed Courts should come to an end in 1949, and that in the meanwhile the proportion of European judges in them should be gradually reduced.

Before this satisfactory conclusion was reached there were, however, signs in Egypt of a waning of the popularity of the Wafd and a corresponding increase in the opposition to the Government, apart from personal jealousies and the dissatisfaction of officials at seeing juniors enjoying the favour of members of the Government promoted over their heads. The dissatisfaction was mainly due to financial pressure following the enhanced expenditure that national independence brings with it. Even before the Montreux Conference the "United Front" had ceased to exist, for the invitation of the Prime Minister to the leaders of the other parties to consult with him on the line to be pursued at that conference met with no response. On August 3 Nahas Pasha reorganised his Cabinet. Four members were replaced, the most important withdrawal being that of Nokrashi Pasha, for long the right-hand man of the Prime Minister. The changes came as a surprise, for the resignation of the Cabinet had been considered merely a formality, necessitated by the King's attainment of his majority and the consequent end of the period of regency. In October there was another Cabinet crisis brought about by the young King's appointment of Ali Pasha Maher as Chief of the Royal Cabinet, an office he had previously held, despite the Wafd's strong objection to him. The King had his way and the Cabinet in the end accepted the appointment.

Nokrashi Pasha did not take his removal from office quietly, but at once went formally into opposition. The support he received was not considerable, but included a number of students, always an inflammable element. The students had been a

source of disturbance to Egyptian life, private as well as public, throughout the year. In March there were riots between those who supported and those who opposed the Government. In October similar riots broke out and took the form of attacks on the Blueshirts, a military pro-Government Youth organisation, two of whose camps were burnt. The disturbances were suppressed after a few days, but a few weeks later, on the occasion of the festival celebrating the opening of the struggle for independence, they broke out again, aroused this time by attacks by the Blueshirts. There were attacks on the residences of the leaders of the Opposition, and charges against the latter of inciting the anti-Government students to break out.

The opening of Parliament on November 18 led to a renewal of political activity. There were a few not very important changes in the Cabinet, and Nahas Pasha announced that the Government intended to suppress all student disturbances no matter from which side they emanated. At the same time the Opposition, led by two ex-Prime Ministers, protested to the King against intimidation by the Blueshirts and other Government supporters, and complained that the Government took all the credit for the successes in foreign affairs which had in reality been attained by the National Front. Ten days later a man wearing a green shirt fired four shots unsuccessfully at Nahas Pasha. A number of arrests followed, but no reason was found for believing the attempt to have any serious backing.

The last days of the year saw a first-class constitutional crisis. There was a definite break between the young King and his Cabinet. The King objected to a proposed measure, to which his father had also objected, imposing vindictive penalties on any Prime Minister who might govern without the support of a Parliament, and also to certain appointments the Prime Minister proposed to make. He also demanded that the Blueshirts, a sort of private army of the Wafd, should be dissolved. Negotiations with the Prime Minister, who was confined to his house by illness, ensued. After a fortnight of uncertainty the Prime Minister, Nahas Pasha, was invited to resign and form a Coalition Government, or alternatively to submit to arbitration the constitutional differences that divided the two parties. He refused and was dismissed (December 30), and Mohamed Pasha Mahmoud, a former Prime Minister, appointed in his place. Mohamed Mahmoud, within a few hours, submitted the names of a complete Cabinet without the assistance of any member of the Wafd. The new Prime Minister's first act was to suppress the Blueshirts and all similar bodies.

CHAPTER IX.

AMERICA : THE UNITED STATES—ARGENTINA—BOLIVIA—BRAZIL
—CHILE—MEXICO—PARAGUAY.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

LOOKING back upon it, the outstanding feature of 1937 becomes quite clear,—the emergence of the swiftest and most disconcerting slump in business activity which the United States has thus far ever experienced.

On January 18, two days before the President was inaugurated for his second term, bond prices on the New York Stock Exchange reached their peak and began to give way ; twenty-five days later, on March 10, the " bull market " in common stocks, which lacked only eight days of completing a full two years of exhilarating existence, quietly gave up the ghost; on April 8 a popular index of " sensitive commodity prices " turned abruptly downward, followed some weeks later by almost all wholesale prices.

These signs, though duly noted, were pretty generally resisted. As late as October, writers of banking reviews were marshalling formidable arguments to prove that nothing more serious than a " mild recession " was occurring. But the year ended in their complete rout.

In a series of alarming crashes, the aggregate value of all the stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange fell 35 per cent, during the twelve months, from 59 milliard to approximately 39 milliard dollars.

Railroad net earnings fell by nearly 50 per cent, and two well-known roads had to be assisted financially.

Steel production had the steepest decline in history, falling from a rate of 80.4 per cent, of the industry's estimated capacity in September to 19.2 per cent, in December, eclipsing in speed even the post-war slump of 1920-21. The Federal Reserve Board's somewhat stodgy index of production, covering the volume of goods produced, fell 30 per cent, in seven months, reflecting a quite unprecedented swiftness in shutting down production. The New York *Annalist's* index of business activity, covering a wide cross-section of statistically measurable activity, reached in August a peak of 111.0—the highest since 1929—and straightway slid to 80.9 in December, the lowest level seen since November, 1934, and a fall in four months of 27 per cent.

On top of these, with surprising celerity, came dismal earnings reports. Heavy inventories of raw materials, purchased in the spring at high prices and in excess of immediate needs, plus high taxes and high wages, made heavy inroads upon company profits. Five years of " recovery " seemed about to be wiped out.

But, politically, the key to the year was the conviction in the President's mind that there was something artificial, at least in its early stages, about this slump.

A strong believer in mass purchasing-power as the foundation of prosperity in a Western capitalist economy, Mr. Roosevelt made it clear that he found it difficult to reconcile this apparent collapse in business activity with a national income, for the whole people, in 1937 estimated at 68 milliard dollars compared with 60 milliards in 1936, 48 milliards in 1934, and 39 milliards at the bottom of the depression in 1932. What could possibly be wrong with purchasing-power when payrolls, wage rates, and real wages were higher than in any previous year since the slump and when the cash income of farmers, at 8*5 milliards, was the highest since 1929?

Reputable economists, quoting chapter and verse, had urged him in 1933 to "prime the pump" of business by creating employment through the fearless creation of debt. He had done so; he had increased the National Debt by 16 milliard dollars since he first took office and of this sum about 15.3 milliards had gone, partly into direct relief but mainly into an immense variety of public relief enterprises. Up to November, 1936—when he had crushed his powerful political opponents at the polls—this scheme had obviously worked. There was something odd and unconvincing to him in the suddenness, following his re-election, with which it ceased to work.

He seemed to find enlightening the fact that every setback in the stock market, every disturbance to "business confidence," instead of being hushed up and minimised, was blazed forth with astonishing candour and energy, always coupled with an attack upon the "New Deal." He and his advisers appeared to conclude from all these circumstances that the President was opposed by a set of powerful industrialists and magnates who were prepared to go to great lengths in forcing him to abandon those features of the "New Deal" which they found obnoxious. These were numerous, but the most obnoxious were his efforts to break up the big financial "holding companies" in the electric light and power field, his stringent regulations of the stock and commodity markets and of investment banking, the expensive social security programme, the proposed Federal legislation enforcing minimum wages and regulating the hours of work, and his taxation of the undistributed earnings of companies. His open support—at least for a time—of aggressive trade unionism as embodied in the Committee for Industrial Organisation was also resented.

But as all these seemed to the President very definite gains, to be vigorously defended, he was not only disinclined to heed the clamour about the trade recession but also inclined to fight back. Something very like a "civil war" between the Administration and "Big Business" occupied at least ten months of the year.

This was mainly evidenced in a return to the old American policy of enforcing the "anti-trust" laws forbidding all combinations "in restraint of trade." These laws, which had been on the statute books since 1890 and enforced with varying degrees of vigour, had been virtually suspended by the National Industrial Recovery Act which not only permitted, but demanded, that companies in the same line of business should get together, eliminate unfair trade practices and, on the basis of reasonable prices to the consumers, establish common improved standards of wages, hours, and working conditions.

That Act—hailed in the dark days of the slump as a glorious experiment in industrial co-operation—had proved completely unworkable. Neither Government nor business nor labour—apparently—was equipped to cope with its complexities. It entailed interference with business in the two fields of prices and wages where interference was most deeply resented, nor were the trade unions particularly happy for its chief result—from their point of view—was the emergence of company-controlled unions as rivals to their own organisations. Apparently few were grieved when the Supreme Court finally declared the N.I.R.A. unconstitutional.

Nevertheless, that Act had been educational; it had brought erstwhile business competitors together around a table and the contacts thus made, originally with the blessings of the President, still lingered on and resulted, according to the Federal Trade Commission, in open or tacit price agreements. These were visible in a certain rigidity of prices—those that were thus controlled—after farm prices and the prices of most raw materials had begun to decline.

Whereupon the Government brought a number of important suits against various groups for alleged violation of the "anti-trust laws." Perhaps the most important of these was the suit brought against twenty-three big oil companies, including most of the major units, and some fifty leading oil executives on the charge of conspiring, through fixed prices, to drive certain small oil producers out of business.

This suit and others, notably one launched late in the year against the "Bell telephone" system and the telegraph companies, infuriated the conservative section of the Press which charged the President with "playing politics" in this improvised anti-monopoly campaign, suddenly finding iniquitous in 1937 what he had extolled in 1934.

Like his predecessor, the late Theodore Roosevelt, the President probably knew that a "trust-busting" campaign made a strong appeal to small business men and to the farmers. Over the past several decades the American electorate has frequently swung from whole-hearted admiration of the size and polished efficiency of the huge American companies to alarm at their apparent power

and alleged ruthlessness,—these moods depending mainly upon the state of the trade cycle.

But the President, by launching an anti-monopoly fight which can hardly be liquidated during the remaining three years of his administration, has apparently moved permanently to the Left. This may conceivably be a factor delaying the looked-for recovery which business insists can only be based on an ending of the "civil war" and a restoration of "confidence."

However, the domestic issue that most absorbed the President's energy and the interest of the public was the fight over the Supreme Court (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1936, p. 287 *et seq.*). Finding the majority of the Supreme Court implacably opposed to all "advanced" legislation and the lower Federal Courts all too prone to paralyse the Government's efforts to administer the law, the President on February 5 sent a fairly sensational message to Congress demanding a reorganisation of the entire Federal judiciary.

In that message the Supreme Court, in effect, was pictured as a tribunal of nine elderly men so behind in their work that of the 867 petitions for review presented to them in the previous year, they had declined to hear 717, while of 803 applications of private litigants, they accepted only 103.

The lower Federal Courts were similarly described as behind in their work and contributing to the paralysis of Government by a welter of conflicting decisions, the encouragement of dilatory proceedings and by injunctions against the Executive arm of the Government "issued almost automatically, sometimes even without notice to the Government."

The President drew a startling conclusion: "It matters not that Congress has enacted the law, that the Executive has signed it, and that the administrative machinery is waiting to function . . . the judiciary, by postponing the effective dates of Acts of Congress, is assuming an additional function and is coming more and more to constitute a scattered, loosely organised and slowly operating Third House of the National legislature." This immense power, he declared, was wielded by old men who "assuming that the scene is the same as it was in the past, cease to explore or to inquire into the present or the future."

He sent to Congress a Bill embodying his ideas. It proposed that whenever a Federal Judge (enjoying, of course, life tenure), who is 70 years old and has served for ten years, fails to resign or retire within six months thereafter, the President may appoint an additional judge to that court. The total number of Federal judges who may be thus appointed was limited to 50 and the membership of the Supreme Court, under this arrangement, was limited to 15 as compared with the present 9.

In addition, the Bill provided that appeals from the lower courts on constitutional questions should go, without further

delay, to the Supreme Court, and finally that no lower Federal Court could issue an injunction arresting the action of the Government until Government attorneys had been heard.

The uproar which greeted this message and the Bill was colossal in volume, and some of it may appear to future historians as hysterical in tone. Commonest charge was that the President demanded the right "to pack the Supreme Court" with judges amenable to Executive pressure. Spokesmen for property rights denounced the scheme as "fascism," a big step towards the President's secret goal of a "dictatorship."

The conservative American Bar Association passed resolutions condemning the scheme. The venerable President-Emeritus of Harvard University, in a radio address, urged the people to arouse themselves in defence of the independence of the judiciary; "in the words of the other President Roosevelt, 'We stand at Armageddon.'" Most unusually, Mr. Hughes, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, issued a public statement defending the Court from the charge of being behind in its work, and in a public address warned the country against "the often unwise fervour of crusaders which may carry a dominant majority over into oppression, destroying the basic values of democratic government."

Congress was distinctly alarmed at this uproar and almost immediately backed away from support of the Administration. Both Houses whipped through a palliative measure, which the President signed on March 1, permitting the voluntary retirement of Supreme Court justices on full pay, but the President's own Bill remained the storm centre until the Senate, by 70 votes to 20, decisively killed it on July 22.

Mr. Roosevelt's enemies were jubilant; the people, rallying to the Constitution, had thrown back upon him his iniquitous scheme. His "prestige" was gone.

Nevertheless, it must be recorded that a curious change came over the Supreme Court.

Between the dispatch of his message on February 5, with its blunt description of the alleged perversion of the judicial machinery, and the final defeat of his Bill on July 22, the highest tribunal discovered constitutional soundness in a number of "New Deal" measures whose rejection had been confidently anticipated.

On March 29, by five justices to four, the Supreme Court pronounced constitutional the Minimum Wage for Women Act of the State of Washington, though in 1936 it had been thrown out, as unconstitutional, a somewhat similar Act of the State of New York. It also approved a Moratorium Act for farm mortgages, despite the obvious fact that it took away "property rights," and it found constitutional the collective bargaining sections of Railway Labour Act which was pure "New Deal."

On April 12 it upheld the so-called Wagner Labour Act under the same "commerce clause" of the Constitution which had been

the basis of its previous rejection of the Guffey Coal Act, and on April 26, confronted again with the Guffey Coal Act (in a modified form but nevertheless placing the entire bituminous coal industry under a large measure of government control), it pronounced it sound. And it rounded off this display of social sensitiveness by approving on May 24 the Social Security Act, quite the most revolutionary and "un-American" of the New Deal measures.

Property, conscious of its slipping power, may well have wondered precisely who had won "the battle of the Supreme Court."

But Mr. Roosevelt found another aspect of this Supreme Court controversy less happy. Mr. Justice Van Devanter—one of the conservative justices—retired from the Supreme Court on May 18 at the age of 78, and on August 12 the President rather disconcerted the country by naming to the vacancy Senator Hugo Black, of Alabama, a politician who had been useful in the President's "New Deal" battles in the Senate.

The appointment awoke no enthusiasm in the American Bar which regarded it, indeed, as a very tasteless example of "packing the court." But what made it worse was the fact that an enterprising newspaper in Pittsburg discovered documents proving that Senator Black had once belonged to the "Ku-Klux-Klan," and some evidence tending to suggest, though not proving, that the new Justice was still a member of that notorious organisation.

This was a great shock but the President kept out of the controversy. Senator Black, before taking his seat on the Supreme Court, gave a radio address to the country admitting that he had once joined the organisation but contending that he had subsequently resigned from it and no longer approved of it in any way. Thereafter the issue was dropped.

Perhaps nothing could sum up more succinctly the country's economic experience in 1937 than the fact that while the President's message to Congress on January 8, 1937, forecasted a balanced Budget for 1938-39, his message to Congress just twelve months later acknowledged the necessity of more "pump-priming" to stave off the depression and forecasted a deficit for 1938-39 in excess of one milliard dollars.

Developments in the field of labour were extremely interesting. Perhaps the one most startling to the public was a completely unexpected trade union agreement reached between the United States Steel Corporation, which previously had always fought the unionisation of its employees, and the radical Committee of Industrial Organisation, headed by John L. Lewis. As no attempt had been made to call a strike in the plants of the Steel Corporation, this apparent capitulation "without a blow being struck" amazed the public. The explanation would appear to be a purely personal one, that Mr. Myron Taylor, Chairman of the Corporation, decided, on reflection, that the company's anti-union stand was wrong and forthwith abandoned it. However, the

" independent " steel companies stuck to their anti-union policies and succeeded in beating off the attacks of the C.I.O.

Next most significant development was the perfection of the technique of the " stay-in " or " sit-down " strike which was used effectively against the General Motors Corporation in a strike which provoked considerable violence and a resort to the courts.

Effectiveness of the " stay-in " strike lay in the fact that as the workers remained in possession of the plants—at one time, it was said, strikers were in possession of some fifty plants in twenty-five cities—it was almost impossible to replace them with non-union workers. Indeed, the only really successful attempt to make them evacuate a plant was at a chocolate factory in Hershey, Pennsylvania, where 3,000 local farmers, who were losing the market for their milk as long as the strike lasted, invaded the factory and forcibly drove out some 500 " stay-in " strikers.

But the legality of this type of strike was widely questioned, both in and out of Congress. Even the conservative American Federation of Labour—jealous of Lewis's success in unionising steel and motors, two major industries which had always resisted the efforts of the old style " craft unions "—issued a statement in March warning labour that the " stay-in " strike was " illegal " and that if it were persisted in, it would result in legislation harmful to the workers. The State of Vermont, in fact, passed legislation making that type of strike illegal, and several State Governors announced that they would, if necessary, use troops to evacuate strikers from a plant.

Broadly, the effect of these labour advances was to alarm the propertied classes and to deepen their conviction that " communism," far from being merely a European " ideology," was actually rampant in the American labour movement. The Communist Party, as such, remained completely unimportant; in New York State, where the Communists were the strongest, they actually polled so few votes that they lost their place on the ballot for State elections. But " communism," as a fighting attitude toward capital, certainly swept thousands of native American working men and women into the ranks of the C.I.O. However, it was noticed that the rapid deterioration of the employment situation in the latter part of the year brought about a decrease in the number of strikes of all kinds.

Foreign affairs occupied the attention of the country to an increasing degree, due to the apparent worsening of the European situation, the reported spread of Fascism to South America, and above all, to the Japanese invasion of China.

On January 6 Congress renewed and extended the Neutrality Act [see Public Documents] forbidding direct or indirect shipments of arms to Spain or to any other countries proclaimed to be at war, and on September 14 the President followed this up by an Executive order forbidding Government-owned merchant

vessels from carrying war materials to either China or Japan. The latter made no comment about the order, but the Chinese Government strongly protested that it was unfair,—a point strongly endorsed by those who were opposed to the whole neutrality policy.

While the Japanese invasion of China, with its bombing of crowded cities and its persistent succession of annoying "incidents/" aroused widespread condemnation and indignation, it is important to realise that there was little or no pressure upon the State Department from the business community to intervene in the Pacific conflict.

For, contrary to the belief widely held abroad, the business interests and the investment stake of the United States in the Far East are not only vastly less than those of Great Britain, but also a completely negligible proportion of her total interests abroad.

According to the figures compiled by Dr. A. Whitney Griswold of Yale University,¹ at the beginning of 1936 total American investments in the Far East, including the Philippines, were only some 758,000,000 dollars, or about 5 per cent, of her total foreign investments. Furthermore, in spite of the years of friction with Japan, American investments in Japan, at 387,000,000 dollars, were nearly three times her investments in China, at 132,000,000 dollars. China simply has not appealed to American capital in the same way that other portions of the globe have appealed.

Of the total investments in China (including Manchuria) held by foreigners in 1931 the American share, at 197,000,000 dollars, was only 6 per cent, of the total; British investments estimated at 1,189,000,000 dollars, were six times as great; Japanese investments were 1,137,000,000 dollars. These proportions, in Dr. Griswold's opinion, have not changed appreciably since 1931.

Nor has American trade with the "teeming millions" of the Orient ever approached in dimensions the trade enjoyed with other, less difficult, portions of the globe.

American trade with the entire Far East, including the Philippines and Asiatic Russia, is only about 19 per cent, of America's total trade; it is about one-half the volume of her trade with Europe and far surpassed by her trade with Canada and Central and South America. And again, despite the friction with Japan, trade with Japan was about 43 per cent, of America's total trade with the Orient while her trade with China and Hong-Kong together was only 14 per cent.

Thus the American diplomatic policy in China, of "the open door" and the "territorial integrity of China," may be a strong State Department tradition—as it is—but it has no strong economic expansion behind it. In 1931, when the United States

¹ See *Yale Quarterly Review*, Winter Number, 1938.

Government made persistent efforts to secure European co-operation in defence of Manchuria, its threatened trade with that province was less than one-third of 1 per cent, of its total commerce.

Hence, as the State Department has had only a nominal success with its traditional policy (and no success at all whenever Japan has chosen to flout it), there were no strong voices raised demanding intervention on China's behalf. On the contrary, the most articulate opinion was that which contended that American intervention in the Far East would suit British interests only too well, and that if the United States did not move warily, it would find itself presently pulling John Bull's chestnuts out of the fire.

Cabled editorials from the London newspapers reflecting—not without a certain delicate jubilation—the belief that America's patience with Japan was wearing thin, and reports of occasional speeches in the House of Commons reminding the United States that she was free to tackle the advancing "Jap" while Britain, alas, was fully occupied in defending civilisation in Europe,—these all served as cold douches upon the intervention sentiment. They made it seem difficult to check Japanese imperialism without appearing to be the victims of British guile. Hence, widespread boycotts of Japanese goods and collections for the relief of the Chinese victims were made to do as substitutes.

Nevertheless, it is probable that if the Brussels Conference of the Powers on the Chinese situation in November could have reached agreement on a drastic common programme—naturally, a very large "if"—the "isolationists" could have given the President very little trouble in his underwriting of the American share. The President, in recalling the American delegates somewhat abruptly from the scene of their conspicuously fruitless discussion, may have been—as some newspapers argued—alarmed at an outbreak of "isolationism" in Congress at that time, but it is equally probable that he was, like the country as a whole, merely disgusted with the futility of the discussions.

Certainly there is no reason to think that he regretted politically his speech in Chicago on October 5, in which he pledged his administration to a "concerted effort" with other peace-loving nations to "quarantine aggressor nations." Keynote of the speech was his warning: "Let no one imagine that this Western hemisphere will not be attacked," thus cutting considerable ground out from under the feet of the "isolationists," and giving a definite bent to public opinion.

The strength of the "isolation" sentiment is probably much less in connexion with the Pacific than it is in connexion with Europe. It is worth noticing that the President—always a "Big Navy" man—had not the slightest trouble in putting through Congress a naval programme far exceeding anything ever proposed before and that that future Navy was silently visualised by the country as intended mainly for the Pacific. And finally,

owing to the vast distance from Japan and the remoteness of the possibility of large-scale air attacks, the European feeling—that a war postponed for a week may be a war postponed for ever—seems occasionally weaker in the United States than the opposite feeling, that if a war is coming to-morrow—especially if it is to be a remote and fairly "safe" war—it might be better to start it and finish it off to-day.

However, whatever the predominant current of feeling in the country may have been, the President and the State Department displayed true British patience in demanding explanations from Japan for a whole succession of incidents in China and in promptly accepting them. The Japanese bombing and sinking of the American gunboat *Panay* in the Yang-tse-Kiang river on December 12 did, indeed, provoke something disagreeable; since the Japanese apologies had tended to put the blame for incidents upon over-zealous Army and Navy officers of the lower ranks, the American Note stiffly requested that the Emperor himself be informed "of the indiscriminate bombing of American and other non-Chinese vessels on the Yang-tse-Kiang." That request, which gave offence in Tokio, was apparently not complied with though eventually apologies were forthcoming, with promises of an indemnity and suitable punishment for those responsible.

There was much discussion during the year of the alleged spread of Nazism and Fascism to South America. Brazil's emergence as a Totalitarian State seemed to make a deep impression, and the volume of criticism of Brazil grew so strong that Mr. Cordell Hull protested against it, contending that such criticisms scarcely became the "good neighbour," and expressing his complete confidence that Brazil was still, and would remain, among the democratic countries, whatever emergency measures she might feel constrained occasionally to take. However, the United States apparently abandoned its somewhat surprising scheme to lease destroyers and obsolete cruisers to Brazil which had drawn a sharp protest from Argentina.

Relations with Germany and Italy during the year were no more than formal, while the President's speech in Chicago on October 5, which went much further than he had ever gone before, naturally gave offence in Berlin and Rome. The American Ambassador to Germany, Professor William E. Dodd, found his post so uncongenial that he asked permission to resign; on returning to the United States he gave publicly a severely critical account of what he had found in Germany.

Quite possibly the most important development of the year was a solidifying and deepening of American hostility to the three Totalitarian States.

ARGENTINA.

The chief event of the year was the Presidential Election held on September 5. The candidates were Dr. Roberto M. Ortiz, Dr. Marcelo de Alvear, and Dr. Nicolas Repetto. Dr. Ortiz had been Finance Minister under the outgoing President Justo and was supported by the National Democrats, the Anti-personal Radicals, and the Independent Socialists. Dr. de Alvear stood as the candidate of the Radical Party, and Dr. Repetto as an Independent. The three candidates conducted very active electoral campaigns, in which the public did not show great interest. The election itself, however, especially in Buenos Aires Province, was marked by scenes of violence in which many persons were killed or injured, and intimidation was freely practised by the Government. Although Dr. de Alvear carried the capital and the Province of Cordoba, Dr. Ortiz was elected President by a considerable majority; the third candidate polled very few votes. On November 25, both Chambers of Congress met and proclaimed Dr. Ortiz as President and Dr. Castino as Vice-President for the six years commencing February 20, 1938. Most of the members of the Opposition absented themselves as a protest against what they alleged to have been the fraudulent character of the election. Some, fearing that the police would compel them to attend, crossed over into Uruguay.

Early in February the Government announced that it intended to buy up all the privately owned railways in the country as and when its finances permitted. All of these were British-owned, with the exception of three small ones, which were French-owned, and since 1929 they had for various reasons ceased to be really profitable. That the Government, on nationalist grounds, was anxious to remove foreign control from the railways had long been known, but the announcement of its intention came earlier than was expected. The Government had already in the previous year drawn up a provisional agreement for the purchase of the British-owned Cordoba Central Railway, but owing to other occupations of Congress this was not proceeded with for the time being. The project was resumed in November, when a decree was issued providing for State control of the railway for one year. This was replaced on December 29 by a decree authorising the State Railways to take over the administration of the Cordoba Railway for a maximum period of four years, for three of which the Company was to receive annually 380,000l. unless Congress should in the meanwhile approve the purchase of the line by the State, in which case the arrangement would terminate. In pursuance of the same nationalist policy, the Argentine State Oil-fields at the end of 1936 had signed an agreement with the Standard Oil Company for the purchase of the latter's interest for a sum of about 9,000,000l., to be spread over ten years.

Throughout the year unrest prevailed among the railway workers owing to the failure of the companies to restore the **wage** cuts made some years previously, in spite of improved trade. In September and October great public inconvenience was caused by strikes among railway workers and bricklayers, and at the end of October the Government ordered the deportation to Italy of five Italians who had been ringleaders in the bricklayers' strike. Peace was restored by the restoration of wage cuts to the railwaymen and an increase of wages for the bricklayers. The Government also took over control of the Central Cordoba Railway, where the trouble had been worst, placing the men on the same footing as the State employees, and, in response to public protests, promised that the deported Italians would be allowed to land in some friendly country, such as Mexico or France, instead of being taken to Italy.

Early in the year the Government established a subsidy, to a maximum of 15,000,000 pesos (nearly 1,000,000*l.*) a year, for firms exporting beef to the United Kingdom. At the end of October, on account of a sharp rise in bread prices, the export of wheat and flour was prohibited until further notice.

In April contracts were placed by the Ministry of War for the supply of 110 aeroplanes to the Argentine Army; 20 of these were to be constructed in Germany and 90 in the United States.

On August 12 the Government, through its Ambassador in Washington, protested against the proposed lease by the United States Government of six destroyers to Brazil, nor was it satisfied by the assurance of the U.S. Government that it was willing to grant the same facilities to any other South American State. In a statement to the Press a few days later, Dr. Saavedra Lamas, the Foreign Minister, said that Argentina had no objection to Brazil increasing her Navy, nor did she question the entirely friendly intentions of the U.S. in this instance, but she still thought that her action was setting a dangerous precedent, and was irreconcilable with various treaties, especially the Convention drawn up at Buenos Aires in 1936 [*vide* Brazil].

After the *coup d'etat* of Dr. Vargas in November, the Brazilian Government complained to the Argentine Government that the despatches sent to the *New York Times* from Buenos Aires by Mr. John W. White, their chief South American correspondent, were prejudicial to good relations between the two States, and asked that he should be expelled. The Argentine Government accordingly ordered him to leave the country by December 15, but on protests being raised by the Argentine Press Club, the order was suspended until further notice.

A special mission, headed by Don Tomas le Breton, Argentine Ambassador in Paris, was sent to represent the country at the Coronation of King George VI, and an Argentine naval squadron took part in the ceremonies at Spithead. On December 4

President Justo unveiled a monument in the Plaza Britanica in Buenos Aires to George Canning, who as Foreign Secretary had recognised the independence of Argentina in 1824. A message on the occasion was sent by the King of England, expressing his appreciation of the President's interest, in common with his own, in the maintenance and cultivation of Anglo-Argentine friendship.

In November a giant meteorite, for which explorers had searched in vain for centuries, was discovered in Northern Argentina by Senor Baigorri Vela. The existence of the meteorite was known from reports made by the Indians to the early conquistadores ; it had been christened *Mesdn de Fierro*, and in 1884 had been declared by the Argentine Congress to be a boundary mark between the Provinces of Santiago del Estero and the Argentine Gran Chaco. It was now found to lie about 13 miles from the line then drawn at a venture, so that its discovery might involve the transference of some 1,500,000 acres from the Gran Chaco to the Province.

The population of Argentina, according to the census of December 31, 1936, was 12,561,361, an increase of 185,309 on the figure of twelve months before.

BOLIVIA.

On July 13 Colonel David Toro, who had become President in May, 1936, was forced to resign by General Enrique Penaranda, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and Colonel Busch, Chief of the General Staff. Colonel Busch became provisional President and formed a Government composed of eight military men and three civilians. He also promised to call early elections.

In May, Bolivia and Paraguay decided to resume diplomatic relations, which had been severed since July, 1931.

BRAZIL.

In a speech made on New Year's Eve, President Vargas stated that the revenue for the past eleven months had amounted to 2,351,000 contos (about 29,000,000l.) or 208,000 contos in excess of the Budget estimate, and that the country was now so tranquil that it had been judged safe to release many persons who had been arrested as suspects or political prisoners. He outlined a programme for the coming year which included the creation of rural credit, the reform of the Bank of Brazil, the regulation of insurance, the reorganisation of the mercantile marine, and the reform of the Civil Service. He also expressed the determination of the Government to make the Presidential election, due in twelve months' time, a true expression of the national will.

This desire proved incapable of fulfilment. Early in the year

two candidates took the field—Dr. Armande de Salles Oliviera, Governor of Sao Paulo, as head of the Constitutional Party, and Senhor Jose Amerigo. Political feeling ran high, and the state of martial law was continued throughout the year. Frequent clashes occurred between the Integralistas (Fascists) and the National Liberation Alliance; at an Integralist meeting at Campos, in the State of Rio de Janeiro, on August 16, the police found it necessary to use machine-guns and 15 persons were killed and over 50 wounded. In the autumn a "Getulista" Party was formed with the object of retaining Dr. Getulio Vargas in the Presidency. In October the President ordered a concentration of Federal troops in the States of Sao Paulo and Rio Grande do Sui, where opposition to him was strongest, nominally as a precaution against Communist activities. On November 10 he took the decisive step of declaring the 1934 Constitution cancelled and announcing a new Constitution under which his own term of office would be extended for six more years without the necessity of an election. Other details of the new Constitution were not made public, but it was reported to preserve the democratic form of Government and the autonomy of the States. A statement issued by the Brazilian Embassy in London sought to justify Dr. Vargas's *coup d'etat* on the ground that certain Bolshevik elements, taking advantage of the too ample rights granted by the Constitution of 1934 and under cover of the electoral campaign, had sought to upset the country.

Dr. Vargas proved to have the support of the armed forces and of the public at large. Fears entertained both at home and abroad that he would embark on a Fascist policy proved unfounded. He suppressed all political parties, including the Integralistas, and banned Nazi activities among the large German population in the State of Rio Grande do Sui, where they were becoming a menace to the State. He also refused to join the German-Italian-Japanese anti-Communist Pact and declared his adherence to the idea of Pan-Americanism. The payment of the foreign debt, however, was suspended; on November 26 a Technical Council of Economics and Finance was formed to study this question among others.

The Budget for 1938 drawn up at the end of the year estimated revenue at 3,823,623 contos, and expenditure at 3,875,132 contos. A sum of 240,000 contos was set aside for the foreign debt service.

In August the United States Government consented to lease to Brazil six rather antiquated destroyers as a nucleus for "a modest Navy of her own." Exception being taken to this step by the Argentine [*vide* Argentina], the Brazilian Embassy in London explained that, as her Navy had gone entirely out of commission, Brazil had no facilities for training personnel, and intended to use the ships solely for that purpose. In view of Argentina's protest, however, the lease of the destroyers was postponed.

CHILE.

Elections to Parliament were held on March 7. The parties of the Right were organised in a "United National Front," those of the Left—from Communists to Liberals—in a "People's Front." There was a certain swing to the Left, but not enough to overthrow the Conservative majority. The United Front obtained altogether 10 seats out of 25 in the Senate and 66 out of 145 in the Chamber of Deputies. In his address at the opening of Congress on May 21, President Alessandri referred to the elections as being yet another triumph for democracy, and as proving that by legal means and without resort to force it was possible for a Government to maintain public order and guarantee to all citizens freedom in the exercise of their rights. Senor Alessandri also stated that the economic improvement which had been so marked in 1936 was being well maintained, and that foreign claims were being punctually met.

MEXICO.

On March 2, in virtue of powers conferred on him by Congress, and in pursuance of his avowed policy of "Mexico for the Mexicans," President Cardenas promulgated a decree aiming at bringing the whole of the country's oil resources under national control. By this measure the *Petroleos de Mexico Company*, which was controlled but not owned by the Government, was to be wound up, and its place taken by a *National Petroleum Corporation*, a Government agency, which would administer all the property of its predecessor and also all oil-producing lands which the Government might in future acquire under a plan for the complete nationalisation of the industry. Power was given to the President to transfer to the Corporation leases to foreign countries, as they expired. The Government was also given power to regulate the foreign internal market and the export of petroleum and to undertake any kind of operations connected with the industry; and all measures opposed to the decree were declared to be revoked.

The decree was issued in the face of strong protests from the private—mostly foreign-owned—oil companies working in Mexico, which viewed with consternation the prospect of competition from a Government company exempt from taxation and restrictive labour regulations. The President, however, assured them that they had nothing to fear, as the Government merely desired to secure control of the hitherto unworked oil reserves of the country and had no intention of exporting. It was not long, however, before a severe blow befell them from another quarter. At the end of May, after a long dispute between the labour unions and the oil companies, the workers in the oil-fields, to the number of over

17,000, came out on strike, demanding higher wages and better conditions. Offers made by the companies were refused. The Government showed its sympathy with the strikers by declaring the strike legal, which meant that they would still be entitled to receive wages. On the other hand, as the strike was paralysing not only the oil-fields but the whole business life of the country, it could not be allowed to go on, and on June 7, after it had lasted ten days, the men were ordered back to work by the Government—an order which they obeyed with reluctance—and the Federal Conciliation Board assumed the task of arbitrating on their demands. The report of a Committee appointed by the Board, issued on August 3, granted to the men a 40-hour week with 56 hours pay—which the companies had already offered, established a minimum wage of \$1.38 a day, against \$1.18 offered by the companies and an average of \$1.05 actually paid before the strike, and increased pension grants and other social benefits. On the strength of this report the Federal Board in December made an award involving the companies in an extra expense of 1,500,000l. in the next two years. On December 19 the companies issued a vigorous protest against the award, declaring it to lack "all value as a serious contribution towards a settlement of the crisis."

This was not the only blow dealt at foreign interests in the course of the year. In January the general tariff rate was increased by about 25 per cent., and in May a heavy extra tax was imposed on foreign (American) companies which did business in the country through salesmen, without maintaining an office there. At the end of April the President informed the Colorado River Company, an American concern owning some 700,000 acres in Lower California, that its land was liable to immediate expropriation, under the Agrarian Law of the previous year, for division among the peasants. In June it was decided to expropriate the National Railways of Mexico, nearly all the bonds of which were held abroad, chiefly in England and America. Finally, in November, the Government announced its intention of nationalising 350,000 acres of oil lands controlled by the Standard Oil Company of California. These encroachments on the rights of foreigners were viewed with disfavour by the American Government, which, towards the end of the year, intimated to the Mexican Government that it would not tolerate the squeezing out of existence of American oil companies which had invested over \$200,000,000 in the country.

On February 2 President Cardenas, declaring that Mexico was enjoying "an era of organic peace," issued an amnesty to all those accused or convicted of "rebellion, sedition, uprising or disturbance," which, however, did not seem to include ex-President Calles and other prominent exiles. Further mitigation also took place in the anti-clerical policy of the Government; in February

churches were re-opened in the town of Orizaba in Vera Cruz; on May 4 the Federal Supreme Court granted an injunction against the enforcement of the anti-clerical law in the State of Chihuahua; and on May 20 the Governor of the State of Tabasco promised to end the persecution there and to allow the Catholics to worship in their own homes. The Catholics throughout the country were greatly elated, and looked forward to a repeal of the anti-clerical legislation.

On January 9 M. Leon Trotsky, taking advantage of the permission shortly before accorded to him, arrived at Tampico with Mme. Trotsky to take up his residence in Mexico. A special railway coach was provided by the President for their journey to Mexico City.

PARAGUAY.

On August 13 Colonel Rafael Franco, who had seized the Presidency in February, 1936, was forced to resign by a *coup d'etat* led by Colonel Ramon Paredes. On the 17th Dr. Paiva, Dean of the University Law School, who had been Vice-President in 1920, was appointed provisional President and formed a new Cabinet with Colonel Paredes as Minister of the Interior and Dr. Baez as Minister for Foreign Affairs. The new Government promised to restore the Constitution of 1870 and to hold elections within six months. An attempt to restore Colonel Franco was made on September 7, but it was put down before the Colonel could arrive from Buenos Aires. Another attempt was made in the first week of November, but this also was suppressed in a few days.

In February, Paraguay definitively withdrew from the League of Nations.

PART II.
CHRONICLE OF EVENTS
IN 1937.

JANUARY.

1. To mark the Coronation Year, Sir Albert Levy allocated 10,000l. to be equally divided among ten charitable institutions.

3. It was announced in Washington that Mr. Andrew W. Mellon had expressed his willingness to build and endow a National Gallery of Art in Washington to house his valuable collection which he offered to the nation as a free gift. Mr. Mellon's collection is valued at 10,000,000l

12. Mr. Charles Hayden, banker, of New York, who died on January 8, left the bulk of his estate, valued at 50 million dollars, for a foundation for the education of boys and youths.

15. Mr. H. M. MacVicar, of Bath, presented to that town some 24 acres of land for use as a public park and a playing field for children, to be known as " Alice Park," in memory of the donor's wife.

23. Mr. John Smith, of Giffnock, Renfrewshire, a former pupil of Morrison's Academy, Crieff, made a gift of 70,000l. to this school, to be payable in yearly instalments of 10,0002. and to be used for the benefit of the school at the discretion of the Governors.

26. Lord Iliffe's gift to Coventry of Allesley Hall and 52 acres of **land** was accepted by the City Council.

FEBRUARY.

1. In the New Year Honours list, the first of the new reign, and issued a month later than usual, a Viscounty was conferred on Baron Greenwood [Viscount Greenwood of Holbourne, in the County of London], **and** baronies on Sir George Hennessy [Baron Windlesham of Windlesham, in the County of Surrey], Sir Harry MacGowan [Baron **MacGowan** of Ardeer, in the County of Ayr], and Sir Arthur Michael Samuel [**Baron** Mancroft of Mancroft, in the City of Norwich].

— The National **Trust** announced that **Mr. G. Murray Andrews, Mr. H. C. Andrews, Mr. M. F. Maclean** and Miss V. L. **Maclean** had presented in memory of their uncle **and** aunt, **Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Andrews,**

of Toddington, the beautifully situated remains of Hayles Abbey, which lies on the edge of the Cotswolds not far from Winchcombe.

11. During his tour in Australia Lord Nuffield made benefactions to charitable institutions there totalling over 80,000l.

12. Sir George E. Clark, and his brother, Captain Henry D. Clark, made gifts amounting to 100,000l to Belfast hospitals and charitable institutions, in memory of their father, Sir George S. Clark, a Belfast shipbuilder.

24. Mr. F. J. Dickens, of Carnforth, Lancashire, presented the Calf of Man to the National Trust.

MARCH.

2. Mr. Gilbert Ledward, A.R.A., sculptor, and Mr. Harold Knight, A.R.A., painter, were elected Royal Academicians.

— Centenary of the foundation of the City of London School was celebrated by a service in St. Paul's Cathedral.

— During his visit to New Zealand Lord Nuffield made gifts totalling 110,000?. to New Zealand charities.

18. Mr. Herbert L. Eason, C.B., C.M.G., M.D., M.S., F.R.C.S., was appointed Principal of the University of London.

23. Sir Montagu Butler, Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Man, was elected Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, as from October 1.

24. After a sequence of 13 defeats, Oxford won the 89th Boat Race, beating Cambridge by 3 lengths.

27. *The Times* announced that the George Inn, Southwark, the last of the galleried inns of London, which has associations with Charles Dickens, has been presented by the L.N.E.R. to the National Trust.

29. Quadruplets, three girls and a boy, were born in the Royal Northern Hospital. One of the girls was still-born, and the boy lived only about 12 hours. The other infants and the mother (who is 38) made satisfactory progress.

APRIL.

3. Sir William Beveridge, Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science, was elected Master of University College, Oxford.

9. The *Asahi* newspaper's aeroplane, "Divine Wind," which left Tokio on April 5, landed at Croydon, having flown 10,000 miles in 94 hours 18 minutes. The pilot was Mr. Masaaki Iinuma, who was accompanied by his mechanic and wireless operator, Mr. Kenji Tsukagoshi.

22. Sir Edwin Cooper, A.R.A., architect, was elected a Royal Academician.

27. The Graves Charitable Trust presented to the City of Sheffield some 300 acres of woodlands and plantations.

MAY.

3. Mr. H. F. Broadbent completed his flight from Australia to Lympe in 6 days 10 hours 55 minutes, being 1 day 8 hours 55 minutes less than the record solo flight of Mr. H. L. Brook.

5. Mr. H. L. Brook completed his flight from Cape Town to Croydon, having taken 4 days and 20 minutes for the 6,980 mile journey.

7. A gift of 42,000*l.* was announced by Mr. W. G. Player to provide additional accommodation for women patients at the Nottingham General Hospital.

8. Sir John Siddeley presented 100,000*l.* as a Coronation Gift to the Fairbridge Farm Schools.

10. Mr. Richard Merrill, the U.S. air-line pilot, and his companion, Mr. J. Lambie, completed their flight from New York to Croydon in 21 hours and 37 minutes.

11. In the Coronation Honours, besides a number of distinctions conferred on members of the Royal Family, two new Viscounts were created—Sir Robert Home [Viscount Home of Slamannan, of Slamannan, in the County of Stirling], and Sir Herbert Samuel [Viscount Samuel of Mount Carmel and Toxteth, in the City of Liverpool], and baronies were conferred on Dr. Christopher Addison [Baron Addison of Stallingborough, in the County of Lincoln], Sir George Bowyer, Bt. [Baron Denham of Weston Underwood, in the County of Buckingham], Sir John Cadman [Baron Cadman of Silverdale, in the County of Stafford], Admiral of the Fleet Sir Ernie Chatfield [Baron Chatfield of Ditchling, in the County of Sussex], Mr. J. S. Elias [Baron Southwood of Fernhurst, in the County of Sussex], Col. J. C. Denison-Pender [Baron Pender of Porthcurnow, in the County of Cornwall], Sir George Penny [Baron Marchwood of Penang, and of Marchwood, in the County of Southampton], Sir Walter Russell Rea, Bt. [Baron Rea of Eskdale, in the County of Cumberland], and Sir John Siddeley [Baron Kenilworth of Kenilworth, in the County of Warwick].

13. Professor Alexander Morris Carr-Saunders, of the University of Liverpool, was appointed Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science, in succession to Sir William Beveridge [see under April 3].

29. Following on the reconstruction of the Cabinet on Mr. Baldwin's resignation, the King conferred an earldom and the Order of the Garter

on Mr. Baldwin [Earl Baldwin of Bewdley, and Viscount Corvedale of Corvedale, in the County of Salop], and Viscounties were conferred on Mr. Runciman, the retiring President of the Board of Trade [Viscount Runciman of Doxford, of Doxford, in the County of Northumberland], and Sir John Davidson, who was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in Mr. Baldwin's Cabinet [Viscount Davidson of Little Gaddesden, in the County of Hertford],

JUNE.

2. Mrs. G. B. Miller's colt Mid-Day Sun won the 154th Derby at Epsom.

21. Earl Baldwin announced that a gift of 250,000l which had been placed at his disposal by an anonymous donor in appreciation of his services to the country was to be made into a new Imperial Trust, to be administered by independent trustees, for the purpose of strengthening ties of Empire.

24. A fund of about 10 million dollars for cancer research, to be known as the Jane Coffin Childs Memorial Fund for Scientific Research, has been given to Yale University by Mr. Starling W. Childs, a New York investment banker.

29. The new L.M.S. stream-lined train "Coronation Scot" ran from London to Crewe, a distance of 158 miles, in 2 hours 9½ minutes, and returned to London in 1 hour 59 minutes.

30. Flight-Lieutenant M. J. Adam made a new world's height record for aeroplanes by climbing to 53,937 feet up.

JULY.

1. Durham University celebrated the Centenary of its foundation (postponed from 1932 because of adverse economic conditions in the locality).

— Lord Nuffield made a gift of 146,581l. to the Birmingham Hospital Centre to cover the cost of the Nurses' Home and College of Nursing.

2. Lord Nuffield made a gift of 30,000l to the Royal Berkshire Hospital, Reading, to be used for the erection of a new block of buildings.

6. The British ("Caledonia") and American ("Clipper") flying boats, which made the first of the experimental flights across the Atlantic, reached their destination after satisfactory flights.

10. Mudie's Library, founded in 1842, went out of business.

14. Three Russian transpolar airmen, MM. Gromoff, Jumashelf, and Danilin, in a non-stop flight, flew from Moscow to San Jacinto, California, across the North Pole, a distance of some 6,700 miles.

15. The "Caledonia" made its return flight, from America—from Botwood, Newfoundland, to Foynes, on the Shannon—in just over 12 hours.

16. The American "Clipper" made its return flight to America—from Foynes to Botwood—in 16 hours 26 minutes.

— Dr. Egbert Morland was appointed Editor of *The Lancet* in succession to the late Sir Squire Spriggs [see under Obituaries].

17. Sir John Jarvis, M.P., announced that he intends forming a Trust of 200,000L in cash, to be administered by trustees, for the purpose of assisting new or existing industries in Special Areas on Tyneside, particularly in Jarrow.

31. Lord Nuffield made a gift of 50,000L to Worcester College, Oxford, for the better endowment of the College.

— Altrincham, one of the oldest towns in Cheshire, received a charter of incorporation as a borough.

AUGUST.

4. Tom Blower, a Nottingham engineer, aged 23, swam the Channel from Cape Grisnez to Dover in 13 hours 29 minutes.

— *The Times* announced that the island site in South Kensington, offered for sale by the Commissioners of Works and Public Buildings, has been purchased by the Trustees of the Shakespeare Memorial National Theatre Committee for 75,000l.

7. Four boys were born at a nursing home at Thetford, Norfolk, to Mrs. Longwood. The first and the last born died after living 24 hours.

17. Lord Nuffield made a gift of 50,000l to Pembroke College, Oxford, to enable the College to make grants to poor students, especially those intending to study medicine.

SEPTEMBER.

1. The *Belfast News-Letter* celebrated the 200th anniversary of its foundation.

— The P. & O. Company celebrated the centenary of its services.

4. Axel Wenner-Gren, of the Electrolux Company, and publisher of the Swedish journal, *Allehanda*, announced that he intended to provide some 30 million Swedish crowns for a fund to be used to advance scientific research in the Scandinavian countries.

9. M. Jean Lavoine, of Rouen, aged 29, crossed the Channel in a 14 ft. wooden canoe, from Calais to Dover, in 10½ hours.

15. Beddington and Wallington received a charter of incorporation as a borough.

16. Romford received a charter of incorporation as a borough.

21. Dr. George Dyson was appointed Director of the Royal College of Music.

23. Mr. Harry Oakes, of Nassau, Bahamas, made a gift of 80,000?. to the Rebuilding Fund of St. George's Hospital.

26. King Christian X of Denmark opened the Storstrom Bridge, across the Great Sound, between the islands of Zealand Falster. It is the longest bridge in Europe.

28. Bebington, on the Cheshire side of the Mersey, received its charter of incorporation as a borough.

— St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, celebrated the 400th anniversary of its foundation.

29. Sir Harry Twyford was elected Lord Mayor of London for the ensuing year.

— Epsom and Ewell received its charter of incorporation as a borough.

30. The *Morning Post*, the oldest of the London morning newspapers, having been first issued on November 2, 1772, appeared for the last time. On October 1 it was amalgamated with the *Daily Telegraph*.

— Bexley received its charter of incorporation as a borough.

— Lord Nuffield provided 50,000l. towards the rebuilding of the Hospital for Sick Children, Great Ormond Street.

OCTOBER.

2. Wembley received its charter of incorporation as a borough.

5. Mr. Robert Howard Hodgkin was elected Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, in succession to the late Canon Streeter [see under Obituaries].

6. Lord Nuffield placed 100,000l. in the hands of trustees for the development of orthopaedic surgery in South Africa.

8. New College, Oxford, received a legacy of 15,000l. from two anonymous donors, husband and wife, for the furtherance of Greek studies. The bequest, which was due to the wife's indebtedness during a long illness to the medicinal and spiritual value of Greek literature, and particularly to Plato, is to be known as the Ella Stephens Greek Scholarship Fund.

8. Lord Nuffield made a gift of 300,000l. to the Radcliffe Infirmary, Oxford, to form an endowment fund.

13. Lord Nuffield made a gift of 1,000,000l. (including a site value of 100,000l.) for the building and endowment of a graduate college (Nuffield College), to be devoted to the collaboration, particularly in social studies, of theoretical students and practical men of affairs.

— Lord Nuffield also made two further gifts to the University of Oxford : one of 100,000l. for the erection and equipment of a new laboratory of physical chemistry ; and the other of 200,000l. for the erection of buildings at hospitals associated with the medical research scheme endowed by Lord Nuffield.

— Mr. M. P. Charlesworth was elected President of St. John's College, Cambridge, in succession to Mr. E. E. Sikes, who is retiring.

14. Wanstead and Woodford received its charter of incorporation as a borough.

16. The Royal Holloway College celebrated the jubilee of its foundation.

19. As an expression of gratitude for the Oxford Rhodes Scholarships awarded annually to German students by the Rhodes Trustees, Herr Alfred Topfer, a Hamburg merchant, created out of his private means a fund to provide in the first instance not fewer than four scholarships annually, each of the value of 3,000 Rm., for young British graduates who desire to study in Germany, to be known as " The Hanseatic " Scholarships.

The same donor also instituted three prizes, each of the value of 10,000 Rm.—the Shakespeare, the Rembrandt, and the Hendrik Steflens prize—to be awarded annually in Great Britain, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries respectively, for work of conspicuous merit whether in literature, music, painting, sculpture, or architecture.

20. Edmonton received its charter of incorporation as a borough.

24. Miss Jean Batten concluded her solo flight from Australia to England, having covered the 9,900 miles in 5 days 18 hours 15 minutes, and so reduced by 14 hours 10 minutes the record set up by Mr. H. F. Broadbent in May last [see under May 3].

28. The Nobel Prize for Medicine was awarded to Professor Albert von Szent-Gjorge, of the University of Szeged, in Hungary.

30. *The Times* announced that Guy's Hospital had received a gift of 43,000l. from " Five Friends " for the provision of a Psychiatric Clinic.

31. The new meteorological station built on the Sphinx Rock (11,650 feet) above the Jungfrauoch, in the Bermese Oberland, the highest in the world, was opened.

NOVEMBER.

3. Lord Nuffield made a further gift of 150,000l. for specialised orthopaedic treatment of children and others. The first gift for this purpose (86,500l) was made by Lord Nuffield in 1935.

9. King George VI, accompanied by Queen Elizabeth, opened the new building of the Royal Veterinary College and Hospital, Great College Street, Camden Town.

11. The Nobel Prize for Literature was awarded to M. Roger Marten du Gard ; the Prize for Physics divided between Dr. Clinton J. Davisson, of New York, and Professor G. P. Thomson, of London ; the Prize for Chemistry divided between Professor W. N. Ha worth, of Birmingham, and Professor Paul Karrer, of Zurich

16. Mr. Gerald Leslie Brockhurst, A.R.A., painter, was elected a Royal Academician.

— Flying Officer A. E. Clouston and Mrs. Kirby-Green completed their flight from London to Cape Town in 45 hours 2 minutes, thus beating Miss Amy Johnson's record by 33 hours 23 minutes.

18. The Nobel Peace Prize for 1937 was awarded to Lord Cecil of Chelwood.

— Dr. Raymond Edward Priestley, of Melbourne University, was appointed Vice-Chancellor and Principal of the University of Birmingham.

19. Captain G. E. T. Eyston, the British racing driver, at Bonneville Salt Flats, Utah, broke the world land speed record by driving his car "Thunderbolt" twice over the measured kilometre at an average speed of 312.20 miles an hour, thus beating Sir Malcolm Campbell's record with 301.4736 miles per hour.

— *The Times* announced that Major Benton Fletcher had presented to the National Trust Old Devonshire House, Bloomsbury, the Cedars House Hotel, and other property at Cobham, Surrey, and 6 Buckingham Place, S.W., a notable example of a Georgian London House.

20. Flying Officer A. E. Clouston and Mrs. Kirby-Green landed at Croydon, having flown to Cape Town and back in 5 days 17 hours 28 minutes [see under November 16].

22. The French airman, M. Codos, set up a record by flying from France to Buenos Aires in 2 days and 33 minutes.

DECEMBER.

2. **Through** the generosity of Col. Prior-Wandesforde, the National Trust acquired part of Swaledale, in Yorkshire.

6. The University of Coimbra, Portugal, celebrated the 400th anniversary of its foundation.

10. Mr. Geoffrey Mander, M.P. for East Wolverhampton, presented to the nation Wightwick Manor, near Wolverhampton, together with its chief contents, 17 acres of gardens, and an endowment **fund**.

13. **Mr.** Alfred P. Sloan, Chairman of the General Motors Corporation, New York, announced his intention to apply securities worth about 10 million dollars for the endowment of an Alfred P. Sloan Foundation for the dissemination of economic knowledge.

16. Mrs. Harold Barbour, of Lisburn, near Belfast, gave a donation of 20,000l. to the Belfast Council of Social Welfare to enable houses to be provided at less than the present economic rent for the families of lower-paid Belfast workers.

23. Mile. Maryse Hilsz, a French airwoman, beat the record by flying from Paris to Saigon, in Indo-China, in 3 days 20 hours 21 ½ minutes.

31. The weather of the year was marked by a high record of rainfall and a deficiency of sunshine. At Eothamsted the rainfall was 35-39 in. Sunshine was 14*7 hours less than in 1936.

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE IN 1937.

LITERATURE.

(Books marked with an asterisk are specially noticed at the end of this section.)

THE past year, though attaining a record in quantity of publications (17,141), did not rise appreciably above the level of quality of the previous few years. A general view would indicate that the library renaissance so passionately awaited has yet to make itself felt, that the disturbance of public feeling, the unhappy tension in which most countries are living, the steady deterioration in standards of human justice, the discouragement of free speech, in contrast with earlier epochs, have tended to deaden creative effort rather than stimulate it. This is an age of dissemination and communication rather than of new achievement. The novel is still respectable in accomplishment, with a larger proportion of translated works of merit. Poetry this year is notable for the volumes by older and more established poets, and the best are either translations from the Chinese as in Mr. Arthur Waley's *Book of Songs* (Allen & Unwin), or the work of such dead masters as A. E. Housman and Isaac Rosenberg. There is no Gibbon or even Green among the historians. Biography has succumbed more than ever to the level of the decorative title, and nobody dares to offer a blunt "Life and Times." There is a wider interest in art, and the influence of the immigration of German art historians is already being felt in a clearer perspective. An important factor in popularisation is to be seen in the new sixpenny series of reprints. It has been found possible, after exhausting the successive publics tempted by the diminishing scale of prices from, say, 12s. 6d. through reprints at 1s. 6d., 5s., 3s. 6d. and 2s., to find a market at sixpence a volume for paper-covered editions, totalling several millions of copies, of some of the very best literature, fictional and non-fictional, of the past few decades. The effect, not only in England, but abroad, where English books are almost prohibitive in price, of the replacement of ephemeral reading by serious works, is immense, and imposes a very heavy responsibility on the publishers. That this responsibility has been felt is shown by the provision, in fiction, of such works as George Moore's *Esther Waters* and E. M. Forster's *Passage to India*, and in non-fiction, of Edmund Blunden's *Undertones of War*, Elie Halevy's *History of the English People*, Roger Fry's *Vision and Design*, R. H. Tawney's *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, and Sigmund Freud's *Psychopathology of Everyday Life*.

The progress of poetry during 1937 can be judged in selection in *The Year's Poetry, 1937*, edited by D. K. Roberts and G. Grigson (Lane). Under the new editorship every encouragement is given to the youngest talents, and in many instances a contemporary immortality is conferred which may well console for a later oblivion. The nursery was opened for inspection in Neville Coghill and Alistair Sandford's *New Oxford Poetry, 1937* (Blackwell), and following the tradition of this publication, several of the young trees will be found later in the mature forest. Mr. Thomas Moulton issued his gleanings from the magazines under his customary title of *The Best Poems of 1937* (Cape). Of the older poets, Mr. W. De la Mare showed his still living quality in *This Year: Next Year* (Faber), Mr. Lawrence Housman issued *Poems, Letters and Memoirs* of his brother, the late A. E. Housman (Cape), the third volume completed the *Collected Poems of John Drinkwater* (Sidgwick & Jackson), and Mr. Robert Frost, still as powerful as ever, gave *A Further Range, Bk. IV* (Cape). From America also came Mr. Ezra Pound's persistent pioneer work in *Fifth Decad of Cantos* (Faber), Mr. E. E. Cummings's all-too-underrated work in *1-20 Poems* (R. Boughton), Mr. Allen Tate's profoundly interesting and serious *Selected Poems* (Scribner's), and Mr. Archibald Macleish's accomplished and challenging *Face of the City* (Boriswood). To the same medley of generations in England belong Mr. Richard Aldington's *The Crystal World* (Heinemann), Mr. Edmund Blunden's sure and alert *Elegy and Other Poems* (Cobden Sanderson), Mr. Edwin Muir's searching *Journeys and Places* (Dent), and Mr. W. H. Auden's question-asking *Spain* (Faber). From Spain, too, comes an important document in the form of a translation of *Lament for the Death of a Bull Fighter, and other Poems*, by the murdered poet, Federico Garcia Lorca (Heinemann), and as a report from a yet further land the *Letters from Iceland*, part in verse and part in prose by W. H. Auden and Louis MacNeice (Heinemann). Mr. Arthur Waley gave one of the finest volumes of recent years in his influential and beautiful collection, *The Book of Songs*, translated from the Chinese (Allen & Unwin). The younger poets continued to offer material for debate, Mr. George Barker with *Calamiterror* (Faber), Mr. Clifford Dymont with *Straight or Curly* (Dent), Mr. Charles Madge with *The Disappearing Castle* (Faber), Mr. Rex Warner with *Poems* (Boriswood), and Mr. Rayner Heppenstall with *Sebastian* (Dent). An unusual volume was the *Ornament of Honour* in memory of Colonel T. E. Lawrence, by G. H. R. Altounyan (Cambridge University Press). The satirical poetry of the year included Mr. Humbert Wolfe's *Don J. Ewan* (Barker), and Mr. Osbert Sitwell's *Mrs. Kimber* (Macmillan). The most outstanding and most distinguished volume of poetry of the year was * *The Complete Works of Isaac Rosenberg*, edited as a definite memorial to that dead though still influential poet, by D. W. Harding and Gordon Bottomley, with a foreword by Siegfried Sassoon (Chatto & Windus).

In drama and related fields the list is much larger than usual. From England came Mr. Louis MacNeice's *Out of the Picture*, performed by the Group Theatre (Faber), Mr. Noel Coward's sparkling *To-night at 8.30* (Heinemann), Mr. Lawrence Housman's *Palace Scenes: More Plays of Queen Victoria* (Cape), and Mr. J. B. Priestley's much-discussed *Time and*

the Conways (Heinemann). Foreign plays included Jack Kirkland's *Tobacco Road* from America (Seeker & Warburg), Jean Cocteau's *The Infernal Machine*, on the *Œdipus* theme from France (Oxford University Press), H. Lenormand's *In Theatre Street* (Gollancz), Mr. Ernst Toller's *No More Peace* (Lane), and from Russia Maxim Gorki's *Last Plays* (Lawrence & Wishart), and a very instructive and important volume of *Four Soviet Plays*, containing Gorki's *Yegor Bulichev*, Vishnevsky's *Optimistic Tragedy*, Pogodin's *Aristocrats*, and Kocherga's *Masters of Time* (Lawrence & Wishart). A fascinating volume was Messrs. L. C. Arlington and H. Acton's *Famous Chinese Plays* (Kegan Paul).

The most important publication on the history of the theatre was Professor Allardyce Nicoll's * *Development of the Theatre* (Harrap), issued with numerous new illustrations and the first publication of the earliest modern work on stagecraft, the Dialogues written by the Mantuan Jewish producer, Leone de Sommi, in the sixteenth century. A magnificent illustrated work was *Masks of the World* (Batsford), by the Director of the Vienna Theatre Museum, Dr. Joseph Gregor. Two important works came from Russia in C. Stanislavsky's long-awaited analysis of the actor's art in *The Actor Prepares* (Bles), and the Memoirs of his fellow-founder of the Moscow Art Theatre, V. Nemirovitch Dantchenko, *My Life in the Russian Theatre* (Bles). Mr. Kurt London's *Seven Soviet Arts* (Faber) brought the story up to more modern times. The American theatre was treated in G. C. Odell's *Annals of the New York Stage, 1870-75* (Oxford University Press), and in A. H. Quinn's *History of the American Drama* (Pitman). An entertaining work, well documented from his rich circus collection, was Mr. Willson Disher's *Greatest Show on Earth* (Bell), telling the story of Astley's Circus. A popular success was commemorated in Rosamond Gilder's *John Gielgud's Hamlet* (Methuen), with a chapter by Mr. Gielgud himself on costume, acting, and stage business. Mr. J. C. Duggan's *The Stage Irishman* (Longmans), Mr. L. A. G. Strong's suggestive and concise *Commonsense about Drama* (Nelson), and Mr. Richard Southern's practical guide to *Stage Setting* (Faber) rounded off the list of purely theatrical works.

The world of the cinema evoked four interesting volumes. Mr. C. Davy's valuable assembly of essays by experts under the title of *Footnotes for the Films* (Dickson), Mr. G. Seldes' stimulating and lively *Movies for the Million* (Batsford), and Mr. Alastair Cooke's anthology of film criticism in his quaintly named *Garbo and the Night Watchman* (Cape). The ballet continued its popularity, and in its sunshine Mr. Arnold Haskell wrote his diplomatic *Dancing Round the World* (Gollancz), while something of the shadow appeared in V. Nijinsky's *The Diary of Nijinsky* (Gollancz), and A. Bourman's *The Tragedy of Nijinsky*. Mr. Cyril Beaumont's *Complete Book of Ballets* (Putnam) was a valuable work of reference based on long devotion, and Mr. Gordon Anthony's *Studies* gave memorable durability to a fleeting art (Bles). A few musical publications were also of general interest, Emily Anderson's *Letters of Mozart and His Family*, in 3 vols. (Macmillan), Bruno Walter's *Gustav Mahler* (Routledge), Leigh Henry's *Dr. John Bull, 1562-1628* (Herbert Joseph), and Sir James Jeans' easy discussion of *Science and Music* (Cambridge University Press).

In several disciplines a small group of works transcended the purely technical sphere and provided material for general reading. In anthropology Mr. T. Harrison's *Savage Civilization* (Gollancz) was widely read and discussed. Sir James Frazer added yet another volume to his exhaustive surveys in *Totemica* (Macmillan), Professor A. Goldenwieser provided a very valuable guide in *Anthropology: An Introduction to Primitive Culture* (Harrap), and under the somewhat lurid title of *Sex Custom and Psychotherapy*, Mr. B. J. P. Laubscher gave a profound and fascinating study of *South African Pagan Natives* (Routledge). In philosophy Mr. Donald R. Dudley's *History of Cynicism from Diogenes to the 6th Century A.D.* (Methuen) was of wider interest than usual, Mr. A. Torossian issued a *Guide to Aesthetics* (Oxford University Press), and Professor Leon Roth's *Descartes' Discourse on Method* (Clarendon Press) was a timely and pregnant discussion. In political theory and economics, usually productive of ephemeral though exciting works, several volumes were of more permanent interest. L. P. Curtis's ** Civitas Dei* issued its second and third volumes (Macmillan), Mr. H. E. Cohen studied *Recent Theories of Sovereignty* (Oxford University Press), and M. C. Swabey described the *Theory of the Democratic State* (Oxford University Press). Of very wide interest was Alfons Dopsch's *Economic and Social Foundation of European Civilization* (Kegan Paul). Walter Lippman provided a stimulating study of a timely problem in ** The Good Society* (Allen & Unwin).

Psychology, apart from a large number of technical works of private and professional interest, offered some important general volumes. The Hogarth Press issued a *General Selection* of Sigmund Freud's writings under the editorship of John Rickman, Mr. W. D. Ellis edited an important *Source Book of Gestalt Psychology* (Routledge), and Professor C. Spearman gave an impressive survey of *Psychology Down the Ages*, 2 vols. (Macmillan). In the field of animal psychology, in which so much valuable work has been done in recent years, Professor Y. P. Frolov presented the achievement of the greatest research physiologist of modern times in his *Pavlov and his School* (Kegan Paul), and under the lively title of *Fish who Answer the Telephone* (Routledge) offered his own experiments in the same direction. Professor David Katz rendered a report of his comparative studies in *Animals and Man* (Longmans), and Mr. Gerald Heard instituted the first of a much-needed series of surveys of the march of science in *Science Front*, 1936 (Cassell).

The restless curiosity of the modern mind continues to provide a number of fascinating explorations on the margin of the more orthodox categories. Mr. Aldous Huxley takes the modern world for his oyster in **Ends and Means* (Chatto & Windus), and shows us his picture of man in relation to the problem of ideals. It will be interesting to see how this marginal activity enters into his next novel. The observer in the modern world is beginning to organise himself, and in *Mass Observation Day Survey* Messrs. Humphrey Jennings and Charles Madge (Faber & Faber) put up an interesting smoke-screen of some importance for politics, if not of to-day, at least of to-morrow. Less conscious observers, but none the less profound, include the late Paul Cohn Portheim, whose *Spirit of Paris* (Batsford)

is a memorial to a very delicate and sensitive spirit for whom the real life of cities had few secrets. Miss Margaret Barton in *Tunbridge Wells* (Faber & Faber) recreated the spirit of place, as did Mr. Sacheverell Sitwell in his exquisite little *La Vie Parisienne* (Faber & Faber) with its account of Offenbach in Paris of the 'sixties. A modern classic was born in Walter Rose's *The Village Carpenter* (Cambridge University Press), a worthy companion to George Sturt's famous *The Wheelwright's Shop*. Observation in its military categories of close observation and distant observation was represented, the former in a remarkable account by Mr. Elliot Paul of the tragedy of the tiny Balearic Island of Ibiza in *The Life and Death of a Spanish Town* (P. Davies), while a perspective of the contributory causes of this tragedy was given by Professor Stephen Roberts in * *The House that Hitler Built* (Methuen). Miss Baskerville furnished a parallel study of the Italian scene in * *What Next, O Duce?* (Longmans). Mr. Geoffrey Dennis's ill-fated *Coronation Commentary* (Heinemann) and Mr. Harold Nicolson's *Small Talk* (Constable) were both of special interest, and Mr. Louis Golding's *In the Steps of Moses the Lawgiver* (Rich & Cowan) was an experiment in imaginative archaeology which roused much comment. *New Writing*, edited by Mr. John Lehmann (Lawrence & Wishart), in its autumn number continued its offering of literature orientated towards present trends of thinking, and Mr. C. Day Lewis edited an important symposium revelatory of the contemporary mind in *The Mind in Chains* (Muller). The world of publicity received attention in the witty group of parodies, *Press Gang*, by various authors (Hutchinson), a companion to the searching *Parody Party* of the previous year, and in Mr. Cyril Sheldon's pioneer *History of Poster Advertising* (Chapman & Hall). A book that should not be overlooked was published by the most brilliant and serious of continental graphologists in Rafael Schirrmann's *Secrets of Handwriting* (Rider).

The serious study of literature and language in England advanced with steady tread, and although not so many works of individual significance were published, the march of knowledge was satisfactory. Two works stood out. Mr. Eric Partridge's *Dictionary of Slang* (Routledge), the result of many years of affectionate and serious study, was a pioneer work whose dictionary form obscured its value as a repository of wisdom concerning the real life of the English language in its intimate and outspoken facets. Without such material all dictionaries and histories of the language are incomplete and false. To ignore the vital forces of a nation's verbal life is to live in a fool's paradise of elegant speech. The other revealing work was the late B. S. Allen's * *Tides in English Taste*, 2 vols. (Oxford University Press), an account of those fluctuations, mental and emotional, monumental and decorative which really determine the form of a nation's art and literature. Another work of provocative brilliance was * *Illusion and Reality* (Macmillan), a philosophical and profound study of the sources of poetry by Christopher Caudwell, a young man tragically killed in the Spanish conflict. More general works were Mr. W. de la Mare's *Poetry in Prose* (Oxford University Press), Mr. E. S. Bates's *Inside Out*, an introduction to Autobiography (Blackwell), and Mr. Alec Craig's chastening

The Banned Books of England (Allen & Unwin). More technical were Miss E. E. Wardale's long-awaited *Introduction to Middle English* (Kegan Paul), and Mr. E. K. Dobbie's *Manuscripts of Caedmon's Hymn* (Oxford University Press), and *The Exeter Book* (Routledge).

The English Renaissance continued to find students. Mr. R. de la Bere re-examined the work of *John Heywood*, *Entertainer* (Allen & Unwin), an important edition was issued of Palsgrave's version of *The Comedy of Acolastus* (Oxford University Press), and Professor Chambers gave a spirited defence of *The Place of St. Thomas More in English Literature and History* (Longmans). The important variorum edition of Spenser reached the 5th Book of the *Faerie Queen* under the editorship of Mr. Ray Heffner (Oxford University Press). J. F. Mozley wrote an important new biography of *William Tyndale* (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge), and W. G. Crane in *Wit and Rhetoric in the Renaissance* (Oxford University Press) discussed the formal basis of Elizabethan Prose Style. Mr. E. S. Bates, following the pioneer efforts of Professor R. G. Moulton, caught the public fancy with a well-printed gift-book, *The Bible Designed to be Read as Literature* (Heinemann). Shakespeare did not attract as much attention as usual. Messrs. Ebisch and Schiicking issued a welcome supplement to their *Shakespeare Bibliography* (Oxford University Press), covering the publications of the years 1930-35; Professor Tucher Brooke edited a finely printed new arrangement of *Shakespeare's Sonnets* (Oxford University Press), Professor L. L. Schiicking wrote a suggestive book on *The Meaning of Hamlet* (Oxford University Press). Two young scholars, Messrs. Kenneth Muir and Sean O'Loughlin, explored provocatively *The Voyage to Illyria* (Methuen), Mr. Roy Pascal wrote on *Shakespeare in Germany, 1740-1815*, and Professor L. Hotson wrote up a number of his Elizabethan gleanings under the title of *I, William Shakespeare* (Cape).

The seventeenth century saw a renewal of attention and the appearance of some interesting works. Mr. C. M. Coffin gave a serious exploration of *John Donne and the New Philosophy* (Oxford University Press), Mr. L. C. Knights wrote an interesting and suggestive account of *Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson* (Chatto & Windus), Mr. A. Harbage gave the first unified picture of *Cavalier Drama* (Oxford University Press), and Professor AUardyce Nicoll published a pioneer survey of *Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage* (Harrap). Mr. A. B. Langdale wrote on *Phineas Fletcher* (Oxford University Press), and Miss H. C. White on *The Metaphysical Poets: A Study in Religious Experience* (Macmillan). Mr. Geoffrey Keynes published another of his super-bibliographies with a wealth of information about *John Evelyn* (Cambridge University Press), and Mr. R. A. Richards a welcome study of *Hudibras in the Burlesque Tradition* (Oxford University Press). Milton attracted some valuable attention in H. J. C. Grierson's *Milton and Wordsworth: Poets and Prophets* (Cambridge University Press), in Mr. W. R. Parker's *Milton's Debt to Greek Tragedy in Samson Agonistes* (Oxford University Press), and in volume 12 of the Columbia edition containing *Familiar Letters and Miscellaneous Correspondence* (Oxford University Press). An important addition to the dramatic literature of the period was W. S. Clark's edition of *The Works of R. Boyle (Earl of Orrery)*,

2 vols. (Oxford University Press). Mr. Hugh Macdonald edited a beautifully printed edition of a hitherto unknown satire on Dryden and his contemporaries, *A Journal from Parnassus* (Dobell), and Messrs. G. R. Noyes and G. R. Potter examined critically the *Hymns Attributed to John Dryden* (Cambridge University Press). Mr. J. Lindsay fluttered academic serenity with *John Bunyan : Maker of Myths* (Methuen).

The eighteenth century received more serious attention than usual. Mr. G. N. Hooker provided a much needed and long-awaited edition of *The Complete Works of John Dennis (1657-1734)* (Oxford University Press), Professor J. R. Sutherland wrote an excellent account of *Defoe* (Methuen), Mr. K. Maclean gave an account of *John Locke and English Literature of the 18th Century* (Oxford University Press), and Mr. M. B. Gold discussed *Swift's Marriage to Stella* (Oxford University Press). M. G. Segar issued an important edition of the much maligned *Poems of Ambrose Philips* (Blackwell). A more important poet was studied by E. G. Ainsworth in *Poor Collins: His Life, his Art and his Influence* (Oxford University Press). Richardson and his progeny received special attention this year. Professor A. D. McKillop published a very important first-hand study of *Samuel Richardson: Printer and Novelist* (Oxford University Press), W. M. Sale, Jr., wrote *Samuel Richardson : A Biographical Record of his Literary Career* (Milford), R. P. Utter and G. Needham gave an account of his influence on the novel in *Pamela's Daughters* (L. Dickson & P. Davies), and A. B. Shepperson took the lighter theme of satire and parody in *The Novel in Motley* (Oxford University Press). A fascinating set of glimpses of English life was offered in J. A. Kelly's *German Visitors to English Theatres in 18th Century* (Oxford University Press). Three of the greater figures were dealt with. Mr. Allen T. Hazen edited *Samuel Johnson's Prefaces and Dedications* (Oxford University Press), Mr. W. S. Lewis edited the first part of a new monumental edition in *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with William Cole* (Oxford University Press), and Mr. D. M. Low wrote the finest modern study of **Edward Gibbon* (Chatto & Windus). A transitional figure was studied by J. V. Logan in *The Poetry and Aesthetics of Erasmus Darwin* (Oxford University Press).

The Romantic movement of the nineteenth century received measured attention. Fanny Brawne's *Letters to Fanny Keats (1820-24)* (Oxford University Press) were a startling discovery, and C. A. Brown's contemporary *Life of John Keats* (Oxford University Press) rescued an informative and first-hand document. Dorothy Hewlett gave a more personal view in her *Adonais ; A Life of John Keats* (Hurst & Blackett). Shelley was studied in E. Barnard's *Shelley's Religion* (Oxford University Press), and C. Grabo's more literary *The Magic Plant: The Growth of Shelley's Thought* (Oxford University Press). A welcome book was that by George R. Preedy on *Mary Wollstonecroft Godwin, 1759-1797* (Collins). The steady publication of letters by the greater Romantic figures continues to add valuable information. Professor E. de Selincourt issued two volumes of *Wordsworth's Letters : The Middle Years, 1806-20* (Clarendon Press), G. E. and E. L. Griggs published the *Letters of Hartley Coleridge* (Oxford University Press), and G. D. H. Cole edited the *Letters of William*

Cobbett to Edward Thornton, 1797-1800 (Oxford University Press). Professor D. Bush continued his brilliant work in *Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in English Poetry* (Oxford University Press), and Mr. L. A. G. Strong under the title of *The Minstrel Boy* gave a portrait of Tom Moore (Hodder & Stoughton). J. R. Wilson and Helen Lloyd wrote another life of *Amelia Opie* (Oxford University Press), Geoffrey West gave a concise account of *Charles Darwin* (Routledge), and Miss Margaret Thorp published her solid survey of *Charles Kingsley (1819-1875)* (Milford). A very useful *Browning Handbook* was compiled by W. C. de Vane (Murray), and Dr. E. A. Baker continued his *History of the English Novel* with a volume on fiction from the Brontes to Meredith (Witherby). Two lighter aspects of Victorian literature were touched on by E. M. Delafield in *Ladies and Gentlemen in Victorian Fiction* (Hogarth), and W. Henderson in *Victorian Street Ballads* (Country Life). A serious but tough piece of writing was H. V. Routh's *Towards the Twentieth Century: Essays in the Spiritual History of the 19th* (Cambridge University Press). A more modern field was approached in the late R. Fox's *The Novel and the People* (Lawrence & Wishart), and in John Eglinton's *Memoirs of A. E. (George William Russell)* (Macmillan). A. W. Lawrence's *T. E. Lawrence: By his Friends* (Cape) was an exciting and important body of material towards a final estimate of that variously judged genius. Those who feel the influence of Gerard Manly Hopkins welcomed his *Notebooks and Papers* (Oxford University Press), and C. C. Abbott's edition of his *Further Letters* (Oxford University Press).

Foreign literature, ancient and modern, was more generously studied this year. Sir Paul Harvey issued his useful *Oxford Companion to Classical Literature* (Oxford University Press), Mr. J. W. Duff his account of *Roman Satire : Its Outlook on Social Life* (Cambridge University Press), Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* was translated by Mr. R. C. Trevelyan (Cambridge University Press), and Euripides by three different hands. *Alcestis*, by Dudley Fitts and Robert Fitzgerald (Faber & Faber), *Ion*, by H. D. (Chatto & Windus), and *Four Dramas*, by Hugh Owen Meredith (Allen & Unwin). French literature was represented miscellaneously by Daniel Mornet's brilliant *Short History of French Literature* (Philip Allan), and M. Bishop's *Pascal* (Bell), the very important translation and edition of *The Essays of Michel de Montaigne*, by Jacob Zeitlin, 3 vols. (Knopf), by an attempt at a translation of *The Best Plays of Racine*, by L. Locket (Milford), by Mr. Bechhofer Roberts' life of *Paul Verlaine* (Jarrolds), and by Mr. Lewis Galantieri's much-needed specimen of *The Goncourt Journals, 1851-70* (Cassell). German studies were represented by H. R. Garland's *Lessing* (Bowes & Bowes), by E. Tonnelat's *History of the German Language* (Harrap), and A. Taylor's *Literary History of Meistersong* (Oxford University Press). Spain offered Mr. I. L. McClelland's useful *Origin of the Romantic Movement in Spain* (Liverpool Institute of Hispanic Studies), Italy, Mr. Walter Starkie's revised *Luigi Pirandello* (Murray), and Mrs. Catherine Carswell's portrait of Boccaccio under the title of *The Tranquil Heart* (Lawrence & Wishart), and Scandinavia offered two important studies, T. Hacker's account of the philosopher *Soren Kierkegaard* (Oxford

University Press), and Freda Strindberg's account of her life with Strindberg in *Marriage with Genius* (Cape).

A more important section of the year's publications than usual was devoted to art in general and particular. Mr. Herbert Read surveyed general principles on a practical basis in *Art and Society* (Heinemann), and George V. Plekhanov's historically important *Art and Society* was translated (Critic Group). An influential American Exhibition was commemorated in A. H. Barr's edition of *Fantastic Art: Dada, Surrealism* (Oxford University Press), and the outward garment of art examined in C. W. Cunnington's *English Women's Clothing in the 19th Century* (Faber), based on the unique collections which he has since offered to the nation, and in James Laver's *Taste and Fashion from the French Revolution until To-day* (Harrap). Helen Gardner's *Art Through the Ages* (Bell), probably the best single volume survey of the whole field, was issued in a new edition. Earlier art was studied in some exciting works, including Professor L. Frobenius's account of *Prehistoric Rock Pictures* (Allen & Unwin), H. M. Bossert's *Art of Ancient Crete from Earliest Times to the Iron Age* (Zwemmer), I. Nosky's *The Arts in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Oxford University Press), and H. Ranke's edition, for the remarkable Phaidon series, of *Art in Ancient Egypt* (Allen & Unwin). H. Minamoto's *Illustrated History of Japanese Art* was also a useful work (Luzac). European art went as far back as *Giovanni di Paolo, 1403-83*, by Mr. J. Pope Hennesey (Chatto & Windus), and Mr. G. M. Richter's *Giorgio da Castelfranco called Giorgione* (Cambridge University Press) provided ammunition in the fierce battle over the National Gallery Giorgiones. Sir L. Preston cleared up many mysteries of the *Sea and River Painters of the Netherlands in the 17th Century* (Oxford University Press). Two important studies of Baroque art were E. K. Waterhouse's *Baroque Painting in Rome, 17th Century* (Macmillan), and T. H. Fokker's *Roman Baroque Art*, 2 vols. (Oxford University Press). An exciting chapter was written and illustrated by W. Gaunt in ** Bandits in a Landscape* (Studio), and Mr. Sacheverell Sitwell wrote a sensitive and subtle account of *Narrative Pictures* (Batsford). The moderns were represented by *Degas* (Heinemann), and two Phaidon bargains in *Paul Cezanne* and *The Impressionists* (Allen & Unwin). A particularly interesting work was L. Goldschneider's artistic and psychological treasury of *Five Hundred Self Portraits* (Allen & Unwin). Two charming volumes of Old Master Drawings were E. Schilling's edition of *Drawings of the Holbein Family* (Faber & Faber), and J. Mathey's selection of *Portraits and Studies of Women 18-19th Century* (Faber & Faber). English art and collecting was well represented. An important work was the Hon. Andrew Shirley's enlarged edition of C. R. Leslie's *Memoirs of the Life of John Constable* (Medici Society) to mark the centenary of his death. Geoffrey Webb's *Wren* was a masterly addition to the *Great Lives* series (Duckworth). G. Baldwin Brown's *Art in Early England covered the field of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture* (Murray), and at the modern extreme Dr. N. Pevsner issued *An Inquiry into Industrial Art in England* (Cambridge University Press). The British Museum in its third album of *Facsimiles of Drawings* made public some of its vast collection of J. M. W. Turner (Oxford University Press), and the

Royal collections were represented in Mr. R. Bishop's *Painters of the Royal Collection* (Harrap), and M. Randall Davies's *Victorian Watercolours at Windsor Castle* (Country Life).

The yield of history lay chiefly in secondary works useful in filling in gaps and giving a greater intimacy to the life of the past. For the classical period John Buchan's *Augustus* (Hodder & Stoughton) was an interesting attempt at interpretation, and Professor F. A. Wright gave the first treatment in English of *Marcus Agrippa* (Routledge). An important translation was that of H. Sketelig and H. Falk's *Scandinavian Archaeology* (Oxford University Press). The Oxford History added an important survey of *Roman Britain and the English Settlement*, by R. G. Collingwood and J. L. Myres (Oxford University Press). The mediaeval period produced some works of importance in Dom Adrian Morey's *Bartholomew of Exeter: A Study of the 12th Century* (Cambridge University Press), and R. F. Bennett's *Early Dominicans* (Cambridge University Press). G. A. Campbell studied *The Templars: Their Rise and Fall* (Duckworth), and R. L. Kilgour, *The Decline of Chivalry* (Oxford University Press). Mr. Hilaire Belloc displayed his inexhaustible liveliness on *The Crusade* (Cassell), and one of the freshest and most convincing studies of the year was Mr. H. S. Bennett's *Life in the English Manor* (Cambridge University Press). The Renaissance in various countries continued to attract scholars, and R. Trevor Davies examined *The Golden Century of Spain, 1500-1621* (Macmillan), Sir Charles Oman wrote *A History of the Art of War in the 16th Century* (Methuen), Mr. Lester K. Born translated Erasmus's *Education of a Christian Prince* (Milford), Mr. Geoffrey Baskerville wrote on *English Monks and the Suppression of the Monasteries* (Cape), and the Phaidon Press issued a magnificently illustrated edition of that great classic, J. Burckhardt's *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (Allen & Unwin). Two biographies of interest were Mr. A. L. Rowse's *Sir Richard Grenville of the "Revenge"* (Cape), and Mr. G. B. Harrison's *Life and Death of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex* (Cassell). Professor P. Geyl continued his Dutch history with *The Netherlands Divided (1609-1648)* (Williams & Norgate), Professor Ferdinand Schevill wrote an excellent *History of Florence* (Bell), and a new monumental edition issued its first volume of *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* containing over seven hundred new letters, under the editorship of Professor Wilbur C. Abbott (Milford). The Oxford History included Mr. G. Davies's *The Early Stuarts (1603-60)* (Oxford University Press), and the late Sir Charles Firth's *Commentary on Macaulay's History of England* (Macmillan) was issued as a special volume. *The Travels of Peter Mundy* were completed by the issue of the fifth volume (Hakluyt Society and Quaritch), and Mr. Neville Connell wrote on *Anne, the Last Stuart Monarch* (Thornton Butterworth). Two important volumes on India were *The Moghul Period* as volume iv of *The Cambridge History of India*, and Mr. H. G. Rawlinson's *India; A Cultural History* (Cresset Press). The fate of the son of Louis XVI was once again considered in * *The Dauphin* (Longmans), by J. B. Morton.

The modern period included work of varying quality and interest. Mr. C. M. Andrews issued the second volume, *Settlements* of his *Colonial*

Period of American History (Oxford University Press), and a series of interesting social studies included H. G. Graham's *Social Life of Scotland in the 18th Century* (Black), G. N. Evans's *Social Life in Mid 18th Century Anglesey* (Oxford University Press), and Mr. R. B. Powell's, *18th Century London Life* (Murray). Mr. H. L. Beales gave an excellent account of *Chartism* (Gollancz). Two studies of Talleyrand appeared in the Comte de Saint-Aulaire's *Talleyrand* (Macmillan), and C. Brinton's *The Lives of Talleyrand* (Allen & Unwin). Some private glimpses of history were given in Pierre Crabites' *Victoria's Guardian Angel: A Study of Baron Stockmar* (Routledge), and the amusing and piquant *Private Letters of Mme. de Lieven to Prince Metternich, 1820-26* (Murray). An important illumination was given in Pierre Dreyfus's *Dreyfus: His Life and Letters* (Hutchinson). Two entertaining panoramas were given in R. W. Seton-Watson's *Britain in Europe, 1789-1914* (Cambridge University Press), and Andre Maurois' *A History of England* (Cape). A chastening and serious book was Mr. Guy Chapman's anthology survey of the war in all its activities and places under the title of *Vain Glory* (Cassell). Contemporary history in the making was seen in the first volume of Maxim Gorki's collective work on *The History of the Civil War in the U.S.S.R.* (Lawrence & Wishart), and an interesting modern personality was commemorated in Granville Hicks's *John Reed: The Making of a Revolutionary* (Macmillan). *The Case of Leon Trotsky* (Seeker & Warburg) gave material for judgment on a fascinating personality. An attempt at perspective was made on J. Bunyan's *Intervention, Civil War and Communism in Russia, Apr.-Dec. 1918* (Oxford University Press), and more actual problems were surveyed in the brilliantly written and passionately sincere work of the fine Spanish novelist, Ramon Sender on *The War on the Spanish Front* (Faber & Faber). Mr. Arnold J. Toynbee's searching *Survey of International Affairs, 1935*, occupied two volumes (Oxford University Press), and Mr. A. Calder Marshall attempted an interpretation of recent life and history in *The Changing Scene* (Chapman & Hall). Mr. W. H. Hindle wrote a fine memorial to the departed *Morning Post* (Routledge).

Autobiography presented a medley of candidates for fame, and included some fascinating personalities in an interesting variety of experience and achievement. The literary world was represented in the earlier portion of Mr. Frank Swinnerton's *An Autobiography* (Hutchinson), with its important glimpses of the publishing world, in Rudyard Kipling's legacy *Something of Myself* (Macmillan), in Lawrence Housman's *The Unexpected Years* (Cape), Mr. H. A. Vachell's *Distant Fields* (Cassell), Sir John Squire's agreeable ramblings, *The Honeysuckle and the Bee* (Heinemann), J. M. Barrie's *The Greenwood Hat* (P. Davies), a group of essays and autobiographical notes published in an edition of fifty copies in 1930, Miss Sheila Kaye-Smith's *Three Ways Home* (Cassell). The world of public action contributed Sir Ronald Storrs' sprightly and diplomatic *Orientations* (Nicholson & Watson), Augustine Birrell's *Things Past Redress* (Faber & Faber), and Harold Nicolson's *Helen's Tower* (Constable). More exciting were Juan Belmonte's *Killer of Bulls* (Heinemann), the autobiography of a Matador, Mr. Oliver Gogarty's coat-trailing *As I was Going Down Sachnille*

Street (Rich & Cowan), and Sir P. Chalmers Mitchell's *My Fill of Days* (Faber & Faber). The world of art was given in varied forms in Mr. C. R. W. Nevinson's *Paint and Prejudice* (Methuen), in Mr. H. M. Bateman's unexpected account of life as seen *By Himself* (Collins), and in M. Jacques-Bmile Blanche's pageant of personalities, *Portraits of a Lifetime* (Dent). Music produced Mr. J. H. Squire's *And Master of None* (Herbert Jenkins). Perhaps the most interesting group of reminiscences included six fascinating volumes in which Mr. Noel Coward brought his peculiar view of life into *The Present Indicative* (Heinemann), Mr. Frank Griffin gave his startling report on how *I Joined the Army* (Seeker & Warburg), Mr. Egon Erwin Kisch brought many contemporary problems into discussion in *Australian Landfall* (Seeker & Warburg), Mr. James Hanley went grimly into *Broken Waters* (Chatto & Windus), Mr. Wyndham Lewis threw piercing searchlight on the artistic and literary life of London from about 1910 in his *Blasting and Bombardeering* (Eyre & Spottiswoode), and Miss Francesca Allinson spoke delicately and exquisitely of *A Childhood* (Hogarth Press).

General biography was not so fortunate. Apart from the usual spate of cream-skimming actualities, not two dozen biographical works deserve special mention. A very important publication was the supplement to the *Dictionary of National Biography* covering the years 1922-30 (Oxford University Press). A number of public figures were commemorated. G. M. Trevelyan wrote on *Grey of Fallodon* (Longmans), Sir Frederick Maurice on *Haldane, 1856-1915* (Faber & Faber), Mr. Orrin E. Dunlap on *Marconi: The Man and his Wireless* (Macmillan), and A. F. Tchiffely wrote a pleasant account of R. B. Cunninghame Graham under the title of *Don Roberto* (Heinemann). Eric Sutton's *Diaries, Letters and Papers of Gustav Stresemann*, vol. ii. (Macmillan) was an important volume. Older figures received varying attention. Lord Eustace Percy wrote on *John Knox* (Hodder & Stoughton), Miss Marjorie Juta, a life of Paul Kruger under the title of *The Pace of the Ox* (Constable), Mr. Hesketh Pearson on *Tom Paine* (Hamish Hamilton), Mr. Robert Gore-Browne examined the romance of *Lord Bothwell* (Collins), Miss Muriel Wellesley on her ancestor, *The Man Wellington* (Constable), Miss V. Sackville-West gave a really romantic treatment of her own *Pepita* (Hogarth Press). Daphne du Maurier rattled some family skeletons in her account of *The Du Mauriers* (Gollancz). Herbert Asquith in *Moments of Memory* (Hutchinson) recalled the distant world of Asquith and his friends, Algernon Cecil gave *A Portrait of Thomas More* (Eyre & Spottiswood), Mr. M. Korngold wrote on *Robespierre, the First Modern Dictator* (Macmillan), and two interesting figures were made more familiar to English readers in Mr. E. H. Carr's *Michael Bakunin* (Macmillan), and Mr. Carl Crow's study of Confucius under the title of *Master Rung* (Hamish Hamilton).

Of the enormous annual production of fiction, a little over one hundred volumes, native and translated, are deserving of special mention, and assuming normal curiosity and leisure on the part of the general reader, it would be reasonably possible to cope with this production at the steady rate of two novels per week. It is, as usual, difficult to provide any

scientific classification, but of the English works a number are obviously in the first class, either by reason of achievement, or of promise on the part of new or young authors. Mrs. Virginia Woolf's * *The Years* (Hogarth Press) was a brilliant piece of atmospheric recapitulation through fifty years of modern human life and tragedy. Mr. Stephen Hudson's *The Other Side* (Cresset Press) was an amazingly successful evocation of America half a century ago, as part of the epic structure of his Kurt Saga, so fresh and modern that it was greeted by some critics as the work of a young and promising new talent. Miss I. Compton-Burnett's * *Daughters and Sons* (Gollancz) continued its lineage of subtle, sensitive, and firm characterisation. Mr. Frank Tilsley's * *Devil Take the Hindmost* (Seeker & Warburg) added stature to a novelist whose fierce understanding of modern society is beginning to find a fit audience. Mr. H. G. Wells's * *Brynhill* (Methuen) offered yet another scarification of that world of literature for which he has so ingrowing a hatred. Mr. Somerset Maugham in * *Theatre* (Heinemann) in his quiet, masterful and sinuous fashion demolished yet another of the world's pretences.

Among the younger and newer talents the American writers occupy a prominent position. Horace McCoy followed his brilliant *They Shoot Horses* with the tragic *No Pockets in a Shroud* (Barker), and Richard Sale's *Is a Ship Burning?* (Cassell) was a shapely and restrained achievement. James Curtis's *You're in the Racket Too* (Cape), and David Thome's *Business and Desire* (Routledge), both attracted attention by their vividness. Don Tracy's *Last Year's Snow* (Constable) was a worthy follower of his *How Sleeps the Beast*. From America also came Elmer Rice's panorama, *Imperial City* (Gollancz), and the veteran Upton Sinclair's fresh comment on the Spanish War in *No Pasaran* (Werner Laurie). William Faulkner's *Absalom, Absalom!* (Chatto & Windus) provided further ammunition in the battle about his reputation, and Ernest Hemingway in * *To Have and Have Not* (Cape) gave a startling denial in form, precision, and social relevance to those who were prepared to write his obituary.

Younger English novelists continued to give life to fiction. Mr. A. Calder-Marshall in * *Pie in the Sky* (Cape) poignantly exposed the problems of the newer generation, Mr. George Buchanan in *Rose Forbes* (Constable) brought to fiction some of the directness of his essayistic approach to life, Mr. C. Day Lewis in *Starting Point* (Cape) presented modern character and destiny, and Mr. Walter Brierley in *Sandwichmen* (Methuen) explored the social scene. Mr. Christopher Isherwood in his short novel *Sally Bowles* (Hogarth) displayed once more his sense of person and place, and the late Ralph Fox in *This Was Their Youth* (Seeker & Warburg) made us regret the passing of a more than promising talent. Miss Edith Sitwell must also be included among the youngsters with her fierce and poetical fantasy, / *Live Under a Black Sun* (Gollancz).

The world of the short story was very active and productive. Mr. William Saroyan's * *The Gay and Melancholy Flux* (Faber & Faber) and his *Little Children* (Faber & Faber) continued to create their alert and individual world. Mr. James Hanley pulled a grim harvest from the sea in *Half an Eye* (Lane), Mr. H. E. Bates in *Something Short and Sweet* (Cape)

added profundity to beauty, Mr. A. E. Coppard in *Ninepenny Flute* gave twenty-one of his delightful fantasies (Macmillan), Mr. Liam O'Flaherty showed some of his best work in his collected *Short Stories* (Cape), Mr. T. O. Beachcroft in *The Man who Started Clean* (Boriswood), and Mr. A. Calder-Marshall in *A Date with a Duchess* (Cape), offered some of the best of the younger work. From Ireland came Mr. Sean O'Faolain's *A Purse of Coppers* (Cape), and from America Miss Mary Boyle's *The White Horses of Vienna* (Faber & Faber), and her *First Lover and Other Stories* (Faber & Faber). Mr. E. J. O'Brien made his customary brilliant and ruthless selection of *The Best Short Stories of 1937* (Cape).

The established reputations among the older writers continued their steady output. Mr. Francis Brett Young, his brilliant *Portrait of a Village* (Heinemann), Mr. Compton Mackenzie gave two immense instalments of a huge work in *The South Wind of Love* and *The East Wind of Love* (Rich & Cowan). Mr. Frank Swinnerton wrote *Harvest Comedy* (Hutchinson), Miss Rose Macaulay another gentle satire in *I Would Be Private* (Collins), Mr. Michael Sadleir wrote *These Foolish Things* (Constable), Mr. John Masefield contributed further to fiction in his ** Square Peg* (Heinemann), and Sir Hugh Walpole in *John Cornelius* (Macmillan) gave a portrait of the literary world on unexpected mildness. The late Edith Wharton in *Ghosts* made us regret the departure of one of the greatest of modern artists of the novel. Richard Aldington published *Very Heaven* (Heinemann), and Richard Church, *The Porch* (Dent). Liam O'Flaherty wrote *Famine* (Gollancz) and David Garnett, *Castle Bigod* (Chatto & Windus). The women writers offered a group of excellent works. G. B. Stern with *Oleander River* (Cassell), E. M. Delafield with *Nothing is Safe* (Macmillan), Stevie Smith, *Over the Frontier* (Cape), Pamela Hansford Johnson, *World's End* (Chapman & Hall), F. Tennyson Jesse, *Act of God* (Heinemann), Norah Hoult, *Coming from the Fair* (Heinemann), and Storm Jameson, *Delicate Monster* (I. Nicholson & Watson). Some specially notable works included Mr. Wyndham's Lewis's political satire, *The Revenge for Love* (Cassell), Richard Blaker's historical reconstruction, *David of Judah* (Nisbet), Mr. Alec Brown's brilliant *Breakfast in Bed* (Boriswood), Mr. H. M. Tomlinson's *All Hands* (Heinemann), Mr. John Brophy's *Felicity Greene* (Cape), Mr. F. Prokosch's *The Seven who Fled* (Chatto & Windus), and Mr. Rhys Davies's powerful *A Time to Laugh* (Heinemann). Among popular successes were Mr. A. J. Cronin's *Citadel* (Gollancz) and Mr. Vaughan Wilkins's *And so Victoria* (Cape).

Among translations of foreign novels the German contingent was very large. The best book of the year, foreign or native, was F. Kafka's remarkable *The Trial* (Gollancz), with its rigorous method and sensitive approach fully justifying the reputation *The Castle* had given him as a powerful new force in literature. His story *The Metamorphosis* (Paston Press) gave another view of his strange imagination. Franz Werfel published his massive *Twilight of a World* (Jarrolds), and Joseph Roth his strange *Confession of a Murderer Told in One Night* (Hale). Bruno Frank wrote *Closed Frontiers* (Macmillan), and Stefan Zweig his fantasy of *The Buried Candelabrum* (Cassell). Heinrich Mann's *King Wren (the Youth of*

Henry IV (Seeker & Warburg), Arnold Zweig's *The Crowning of a King* (Seeker & Warburg), and L. Feuchtwanger's *The False Nero* (Hutchinson), were of special interest, and Erich Remarque's *Three Comrades* (Hutchinson), Bert Brecht's brilliant fantasy, *A Penny for the Poor* (Hale), and Hans Fallada's *Sparrow Farm* (Putnam) completed as notable a group as any nation could offer. From France the quality was more mixed, but some important volumes were issued. M. Georges Duhamel was generous with his wide national surveys in * *The Pasquier Chronicles* (Dent) and *Salavin* (Dent), M. Henri de Montherlant surpassed his previous achievement in *Pity for Women* (Routledge), M. L. F. Celine wrote his strange *Death on the Instalment Plan* (Chatto), M. Georges Bernanos his sad and powerful analysis *Diary of a Country Priest* (Boriswood). R. van der Meersch gave two novels, his *Invasion 14* (Constable) and *Hath Not the Potter?* (Constable). Jules Romains continued his *Men of Good Willy XI and XII* (Hamish Hamilton), Jean Cocteau wrote a sprightly *Round the World Again in 80 Days* (Routledge), Louis Aragon gave *The Bells of Basel* (P. Davies & L. Dickson), and Georges Simenon, *The Disintegration of J. P. G.* (Routledge). From Spain came Ramon J. Sender's passionate *Mr. Witt and the Rebels* (Faber & Faber), and from Czechoslovakia Karel Capek's more than brilliant fantasy, in continuation of his *R.U.R.* motive, in *War with the Newts* (Allen & Unwin). The Scandinavian countries sent Johan Bojer's *By Day, By Night* (Appleton Century), Trygve Gulbrannssen's *The Wind from the Mountains* (Butterworth), Magnhild Haalke's *AlWs Son* (Gollancz), Hjalmar Bergman's *Thy Rod and Thy Staff* (Cape) from the Swedish, and Sigrid Undset's *The Faithful Wife* (Cassell). From Russia came Boris Zaitsev's *Anna* (Allen & Unwin), Yuri Herman's *Antonina* (Routledge), Peter Sheraeff's *Taglioni's Grandson* (Putnam), V. Kataev's *Lonely White Sail* (Allen & Unwin), and M. Zostchenko's superlatively brilliant short short-stories, *Russia Laughs* (Lathrop Lee).

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 Works, by Isaac Rosenberg (Chatto & Windus).—The definitive edition of Rosenberg's poetry, poems, and letters marks the return to his own kingdom of a poet whose influence, since his death in action on All Fools' Day, 1918, has been greater than his public fame. By a strange irony his inclusion in *Georgian Poetry* earned him nothing but the cold shoulder from the Georgian pundits, and it was left to Miss Edith Sitwell of the rival *Wheels* group to recognise his greatness, as she had recognised that of Wilfred Owen, the other poetical sacrifice of the war. Since then his influence on Robert Graves and the youngest generation of poets, the admiration of Colonel T. E. Lawrence, Gordon Bottomley, Lascelles Abercrombie, and Siegfried Sassoon, testify to the width of his appeal.

The present edition owes its origin to the enthusiasm of the *Scrutiny* group, and Mr. Denys Harding has expended the editorial care which a classic deserves, rescuing copies from oblivion, collecting letters and preserving fragments, and reproducing some remarkable specimens of his power as draughtsman and painter. Of two self-portraits, one of 1911 gives him as he appeared to his friends, and another in steel helmet shows the incongruous fancy dress of the war which moved him to such powerful expression. His poetry has a special function at the present day, when the old music is being replaced by new ideological speech. Like Cezanne, he moulded his art anew as though he were learning a new language of expression, like Cezanne he has much naivete, and like him astounding successes. His imagery, traditional with the authority of the Bible, of Milton, of Shakespeare, of Shelley, of Blake, and of Donne, is yet a personal idiom, grinding its way to a sculptural certainty and solidity. The explorations of *Moses* and *The Unicorn* and the achievement of great war poetry such as *Dead Man's Dump*, give him a double claim to the poet's discipleship and the public's esteem. The publication of this generous volume should rank as a landmark in modern poetry with the appearance of Gerard Manly Hopkins.

The Development of the Theatre, by Allardyce Nicoll (Harrap).—After an interval of ten years Professor Nicoll has offered his standard account of the stage in a vastly enhanced form. The rich illustration, which forms one of the indispensable factors of its authority, has been augmented on the modern side, and the chapter on the contemporary theatre has been rewritten to bring it more in line with the facts of contemporary practice. Professor Nicoll has also endeavoured to bring the bibliography up to date, since the spread of interest in theatrical history has produced a new standard of scientific accuracy in theatrical scholarship. The new and definitive recognition of the role of the producer in the earlier theatre has added much to our knowledge of the theatre of Moliere and the public and private stages of Shakespeare's time. Pictorial evidence is indispensable, and Professor Nicoll whets our appetite with a series of specimens from the collection of over thirty thousand prints and drawings gathered by his troupe of travelling photographers in European and American museums and print-rooms. The most startling addition, which gives the volume the dignity of an *editio princeps*, is the long-awaited complete translation of the "Theatrical Dialogues" of Leone de Sommi, the Mantuan Jewish producer of the sixteenth century who was the first European to write a treatise on the art of the theatre. This member of a family of Jewish court physicians found time, in the intervals of founding synagogues, writing out Scrolls of the Law, and composing Hebrew comedies, to conduct the Court theatrical performances, and to discuss, in an enlightened and modern manner, the chief problems of staging, acting, and producing in the Renaissance theatre. It throws a flood of light on contemporary attitudes and practice, and Professor Nicoll deserves our gratitude for presenting it as a bonus to his faithful followers, instead of issuing it as a luxury booklet for a small circle of theatre specialists.

Civitas Dei, by Lionel Curtis, vols. ii. and iii. (Macmillan).—In his first volume Mr. Curtis set out to discover "a guiding principle in public affairs." Having found such a principle, he surveys in his second volume the whole sweep of world history with the principle in mind. He has accordingly written a sort of "outline" of history of quite an original sort. His broad generalisations, his sound view that the history of civilisation is not limited to Europe but must also include the Far East, his stress on the long conflict between authority and liberty—to mention but three features of his survey—will delight not only the professed student of history but anyone interested in the world around him. The chapters which survey early centuries and early movements tend to be brief; as the author approaches our own time, his chapters lengthen. But all his chapters are readable: that is one of the attractive features of the book. Mr. Curtis also takes colonial history in his stride, and interesting indeed are his chapters on Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Obviously he has in view the British Commonwealth of Nations, which he regards as the nearest approach to his *Civitas Dei*. But he does not overlook the movements away from that ideal—in Germany, in Italy, in Russia; and in his last chapter he leads up to a magnificent evaluation of the picture he has painted. Despite the shade, he sees the light and he believes in its ultimate triumph. How that triumph will come about is elaborated in his third volume, which may be summarised as a confession of faith in the all-pervading influence of goodness, springing as it does from a deeply religious nature. Mr. Curtis is a convinced believer in the reality of the Kingdom of God, and he holds that its establishment on earth is not outside the bounds of possibility. Goodwill is called for in order that it may be achieved. Already that goodwill is found between Great Britain and the United States and between the Dominions within the British Commonwealth. Why should not that goodwill be extended to other nations, and, indeed, why should not the British Commonwealth include other nations, say, Holland and the Scandinavian countries? It is a fascinating theme, considered by a man with deeply religious convictions. The work as a whole stands out as something quite exceptional; it should give pleasure to discerning readers.

The Good Society, by Walter Lippman (Allen & Unwin).—Much has been heard of late concerning the conflict of political ideologies and the tendency to divide European countries into camps according as their government is democratic or tyrannic. Thinking people desire guidance as to the inward meaning of the new political philosophies and their contrast with the old. For such Mr. Walter Lippman has written a first-rate book, which, by reason of its style and its profound thought, may justly be described as one of the outstanding books of the year. In brief, Mr. Lippman's theme is that the authoritarian states are in reality a harking back to the state of society which existed in Europe centuries ago when privilege, power, coercion, and authority ruled the lives of men. In Germany, Italy, Russia, and some other countries, these forces from which the inhabitants of Europe had emancipated themselves when the nineteenth century had run its course have now been enthroned once more.

Everywhere there is a reaction against freedom, and the masses are being fooled into slavery. Mr. Lippman's characterisation of totalitarianism, whether of the Fascist, National Socialist, or Communist brand, can hardly be bettered. It is readable, informative and stimulating. Nor is he content with criticism alone. Mr. Lippman considers the modern tyrannies, shows where they are wanting, and makes an earnest plea for what may be termed the Higher Liberalism, or what some may prefer to call simply Democracy, with its recognition of the Golden Rule and its subjection to law. The argument rises to a splendid height as it reaches its conclusion, and despite the apparent triumph of tyranny in the modern world, Mr. Lippman is sure that the Good Society will be established in the end. His book is a notable contribution to the political philosophy of our time.

Ends and Means, by Aldous Huxley (Chatto & Windus).—To most readers Mr. Huxley is the representative novelist of an age of maladjustment and disquiet, in which the disillusionment of the war and the destruction of the fundamental optimism of the early twentieth century has produced its harvest of dead-sea fruit. The reproach has frequently been levelled against him that analysis follows annihilatory analysis, and never a word of comfort or constructive precept has been offered. This reproach is no longer valid. The pressure of contemporary evil, social, political and economic, has so wrought on him that the sporadic essayist of the novels has burst into flame as a powerful and constructive philosopher. The synthetic and analytic gifts of a scientific family have produced a vision of the present world based on the widest and most alert reading of contemporary philosophy, psychology, sociology, ethics, and mysticism. His picture of the world of to-day, of the inherent nature of war and the impulse to it, the malevolent conditioning of infancy and adolescence towards the sacrificial altar, the crumbling of democracy and the mushrooming of paranoiac dictatorships is so vivid that it will be regarded either as almost platitudinously axiomatic or as startlingly subversive. Such is the pitch of modern civilisation that the curative and self-corrective impulse is either dead or discredited. He concludes that "the majority of civilised men and women are now incapable of living on their own spiritual resources/" and analyses the rot of education, the rationale of violence, the nature of the modern state with devastating objectivity, and works out suggestions for "non-attachment," the mystical and practical organisation of the self in relation to other men, the programme of disinterested work for reform, a new ethics and a new awareness that is both old-fashioned in its liberal quality and urgently futuristic in its quixotism. It is a depressing book, in that its mastery of exposition almost persuades us of the irrevocable disintegration of modern civilisation and the hopelessness of resistance to the forces of darkness. If society ever recovers, this book will be regarded as a holy book of prophecy instead of a voice crying in the wilderness.

The House that Hitler Built, by Stephen H. Roberts (Methuen).—Nazi Germany has become a menace to the world; everywhere thoughtful men and women desire to understand its policy and its standpoint. Professor Roberts has rendered an immense service by his book, which is

well planned, well written, and well informed. There is not a single aspect of Nazi Germany on which he does not throw abundant light. The men and the movement, the party and the party bosses, the national aims of the Third Reich—all are vividly described in these pages. Though Professor Roberts is a critic of the New Germany and all its devices, it must be admitted that he is scrupulously fair. He sees the attractive window-dressing of Hitler and his associates, but he also sees the devastation behind it. Nazi Germany is a prison ; it holds an enslaved people who are cowed and terrified. They have had a new Gospel preached to them—the gospel of hatred. The cost ? That appears to be of no consequence. Let anyone attempt to understand the various sorts of marks current in Germany and he will begin to appreciate the nature of Germany's currency. Then there is the disappearance of the budget and the extension of the system of compulsory loans. On these as on all other aspects of life in Germany Dr. Roberts will be found a reliable guide. His book, one of the best on Nazi Germany, brings sad reflections to the mind. Here is a great people degraded and demoralised, terrorised, intellectually stunted and merely drilled, turned into Robots whose duty it is to obey. Streicher is the symbol of the new Germany and what an unspeakable creature he is ! There is no truth and no justice in Germany to-day, as the words are understood among civilised peoples. Dr. Roberts' book is a " human document " of great value ; the English-speaking world is in his debt for a picture which convinces by its balance and its sanity.

What Next, O Duce ? by Beatrice Baskerville (Longmans).—Italy is one of the two storm centres in Europe, and in the state of political tension which marked the year 1937, what was needed above all was information as to what was happening in them. Miss Baskerville, with first-hand knowledge, tells the world what was brewing in Fascist Italy. The tyranny of the Dictatorship is described in a readable narrative, from October, 1922, when Mussolini seized power, to October, 1937, when the Abyssinian Empire was conquered. Many people may not be aware that indirectly King Victor Emanuel III was responsible for delivering the fort to Mussolini. Miss Baskerville describes the dramatic situation and traces the consolidation of the dictatorship thereafter, with its secret police, its army of uniformed and plain-clothes spies, its militarization of a nation and its personal and national megalomania ("all that has been invented has been invented by Italians"). Miss Baskerville further illuminates the foreign policy of Fascist Italy—the search for friends, the jealousy against Britain for daring to appear in the Mediterranean, the arrangement with the Pope who is virtually Mussolini's prisoner, and dominating all, the Machiavellian duplicity which governs foreign policy. On all these matters Miss Baskerville writes with knowledge and without bias. The facts speak for themselves. The Italians have been dragooned ; the Empire has been proclaimed. The standard of living may have been reduced in the process, and the Empire may be something of a white elephant. But great is the glory. The question is, where will it lead ? Miss Baskerville is not altogether happy about the answer.

Tides in English Taste, 2 vols., by B. Sprague Allen (Oxford University Press).—Mr. Allen has left a valuable legacy to scholarship in this sensitive and rich analysis of the background of English literature during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The desire to understand the motives and springs of literary creation has led to explorations behind the curtain, but too often the background has been interpreted as the mere political and historical events of the time. Mr. Allen did more wisely. He took as his starting-point the hardening of classical theory after the first impact of the Renaissance in England, and made his starting-point the building of the Banqueting House in Whitehall by Inigo Jones in 1619. By following the taste of the times as shown in diaries, private letters, satirical plays, critical essays, casual comment and formal theory, he was able to trace the main currents and eddies of sensitive feeling as manifested in the successive tides of architecture, the new fever of building in the seventeenth century, and the monumental calm of the eighteenth, disturbed only by the ripples of Gothic, Chinese, and Roccoco design. He explored every avenue which might indicate feeling, whether the formal garden, or the larger planning of a city, the freedom of the landscape garden, the taste for porcelain and lacquer, the contribution of the East to the surface of English life, the grand tourist, and the picturesque tourist, and the closing of an epoch with the return of classical feeling in the Adams style and the new Empire moods. In the course of a very happy journey a hundred fascinating resting-places emerge, from the theory of symmetry to the Gothic cowshed, from the newly invented sash-window to the Palladian taste. This is true history of the spirit, illuminating the body, and leads us to lament the death of so gifted and sensitive an investigator.

Illusion and Reality, by Christopher Caudwell (Macmillan).—The war in Spain is taking as rich a toll of youth and genius as did the "war to end war." Lorca, Fox, Cornford, and St. John Sprigg are but a few of the names on the roll of honour, poets, novelists, and philosophers. "Christopher Caudwell" was Christopher St. John Sprigg, who died at the age of twenty-eight on the Government side in Spain after completing this important "study of the sources of poetry." It is difficult for older generations to understand that youth now talks a completely different language, that convictions no longer content themselves with argument, but lead to death on the barricades. This volume is a landmark in calmness of statement of the new attitude towards art, the attitude of historical materialism which in the view of its followers is the "only one sound sociology," since "art is the product of society, as the pearl is the product of the oyster, and to stand outside art is to stand inside society." The value of this ideological legacy from the trenches lies in the complete absence of hysteria, in the measured logic by which aesthetic is analysed into its components good and harmful, the path indicated, and literature, its history, its process, its psychology, and its ingredients inexorably dissected, not by a mere formal philosopher endeavouring to put art in its place, but by a sensitive lover of many arts of which the art of words, the art of social communication is the chief. The history and technique

of poetry under the successive influence of feudalism, industrialism, and capitalism, the psychological force of poetry as dream-work, the implications of class and class-consciousness for the future of poetry, are all set out with a seriousness and coherence which have the clarity of enunciation of a death message, and make us regret the passing of a man gifted with relevance and passion for the illumination of a world changing in the twilight.

Edward Gibbon, 1737-1794, by D. M. Low (Chatto & Windus).—Mr. Low has long been an authority on Gibbon, and his edition of the *Journal* entitled him to the respect of scholars. Now, to celebrate the bicentenary of Gibbon's birth, he has given a biography which not only is the best modern life of Gibbon, but also sets a standard of sober biography in an age much degraded by fictional incursions. Gibbon's life is not a spectacular one, though much more interesting than many an eighteenth-century life. The smaller eddies and currents of the Augustan age, the Grand Tour, the difficulties of family despotism, the adolescence of a strangely problematic individual, the dedication to a great historical task, the change from shyness to dogmatism, the fluctuations of religion and the quarrel concerning the objective responsibilities of history, are followed through with mastery of judgment and sureness of documentation hitherto unapproached. Not only the personal evolution, which gives the great historian more humanity than he has hitherto been allowed, but the approach to history in his monumental work, the inception of "the use of irony and criticism on subjects of ecclesiastical gravity," the mood of leave-taking of the great task, are all woven into an intellectual feature finely balanced against itself. Some interesting facts emerge. The great historian, so right about the ancient world, was remarkably inaccurate about his own family. There are some important corrections of the Johnsonian legend, and it is not without a secret satisfaction that we learn that Boswell was not a frequent diner at "The Club." The biographer is wise, as befits an historian's historian; he has caught the infection of the footnote; he has absorbed insensibly, by long brooding, the very tone of Gibbon's voice, and takes us back to the leisure and measure of the times he is describing.

Bandits in a Landscape, by W. Gaunt (Studio).—Once in a while a book appears which bridges the gulf between literature and the arts, and makes that difficult transition by sensitive recreation in words of the appearance and moods of artistic masterpieces. The pioneer work of Walter Pater in naturalising the art of Botticelli, Giorgione, and Leonardo da Vinci is symbolised by the purple passage of description of the "Mona Lisa." The Renaissance has long had its reward, but the whirlwind of taste has brought the world of Baroque and Rococo into favour again. The current exhibition at Burlington House, under the innocent title of "The 17th Century in Europe," is really a survey of the ramifications of Baroque, and Mr. Gaunt has enlivened its margin with sensitive studies of Caravaggio, Salvator Rosa, Ribera, and Corenzo. He has taken the wild fantasy of nature and the brigand temperament, the fashion for ruins, the classical interlude of Claude Lorraine, and the wilder later personality of Magnasco with his Jews, monks, and gypsies, the growing romanticism of

Hubert Robert and Delacroix, and the crumbling delicacy of Venetian Guardi, and with evocative description has given back a forgotten world to the modern spirit.

The Dauphin, by J. B. Morton (Longmans, Green & Co.).—Mr. Morton, having already scored a success with a volume of studies of the French Revolution (*The Bastille Falls*), has followed it up with a full-length study of one of the most tragic children in history, Louis-Charles, second son of Louis XVI. Born in 1785, the child became Dauphin on the death of his brother while the States-General were meeting. From that fateful year until his death at the age of ten, his life was a miserable progression of degradation and horror. Mr. Morton's narrative is all the more poignant because he has set it out in a plain workmanlike fashion, eschewing the semi-fictional interludes that have become a fashion with some of our present-day writers of "popular" history. The reader feels that he is in safe hands, that every fact has been drawn by hard study from the embarrassingly numerous authorities, and that the fanciful nights of earlier writers, more romantic or less scrupulous, have been tested by the rigorous scrutiny of a methodical researcher. The major incidents of the Revolution pass before our eyes as the Dauphin plays his rôle in them—encouraged by Marie-Antoinette to ingratiate himself with the people; accepting with tact a gift of dominoes made from the stones of the Bastille; dozing and waking by fits and starts on the ill-fated drive to Varennes; on the return journey playing with the buttons on Barnave's coat; and then—imprisonment in the Temple. Tragedy is piled on tragedy—the fateful day of his father's execution and the little lad's vain dash past the Commissioner of the Commune: "I'm going to speak to the people; I'm going to beg them not to have my father killed"; a few months later separated from his mother and sister, and given a brutish shoemaker as tutor, who plied the boy with drink and taught him obscene songs; at last, a nervous child of eight and a half, immured in solitary confinement, in a cold, dark room, without exercise or care of any sort, his food passed to him through a grille, growing weak from disease. Six dreadful months of this, and then, after Thermidor, some alleviation, until a few months later death released him. Legends in plenty gained currency of the prince's rescue and survival, but Mr. Morton has examined them with scrupulous care and exposed their lack of solid basis. In the final chapters of his book we are given accounts of the four principal of the thirty and more pretenders that after-years threw up. Altogether, this is a model piece of historical writing for the general public; vividness and sobriety are harmoniously blended.

FICTION.

The Years, by Virginia Woolf (The Hogarth Press).—Mrs. Woolf goes on from strength to strength. In subtlety of structural technique and sensitiveness of character evocation she has never once turned back in the course of her exciting and triumphal career. She has passed through the scales from the earliest simplicity of direct narrative, suffered the impact

of modernism in art, as befits an associate of an artistic milieu, has exercised the musical attraction of fugai form, has twice, in *To the Lighthouse* and *The Waves*, experimented with recessive and progressive surge movements, and now, after many hints and tentative palette-trials, has submitted to the prevalent concern with time as a fictional element in a book frankly entitled *The Years*. The chronological jest of *Orlando* now becomes the subtle and measured structure of a novel of time and character. The period is no fantastic stretch of English history, but the poignant fifty years of crescent modernity from 1880. Not only the time-spirit but the time-flavour is recreated, the social attitudes, the decorative elements, the fluctuations of costume, the tightening and loosening of morals, the tensions of finance, the strength and weakness of the family structure. It would be possible to use a hundred phrases from this rich book as guiding lines for a treatise on sociology, but this is only the framework and scaffolding of the real edifice, which, as always with Mrs. Woolf, is the texture and validity of the individual impinging on society. The separate path and the family path are scientifically noted without the hard edges of science. Time passes, as through the window of a time machine. Vignettes fade in and fade out. Musical evocation is still used, in parallel phrases, and communal evocations. Big Ben strikes for all. The weather is one, but changes in a new Camera-Eye mood. The ship of the years slowly moves off, and never is there the hectic rush of an American speed-novel. It is not so much the coming of electric light, the death of Parnell, the Russian ballet, the armistice or the red and green traffic lights which make progress, as the poetic images, the amorous but intermittent thrush, the little claws pushing out from the branches, a frightened child and a pillar-box. In this problem of time and life, Mrs. Woolf gives precious documents and proud decision.

Daughters and Sons, by I. Compton-Burnett (Victor Gollancz).—It is many years now since Miss Compton-Burnett was first discovered by the discerning, and she has always had a following among those who eschew the spectacular and are prepared to accept an individual tang in the building up of a close structure of family relationship. She always takes the extreme instances of a situation, carrying out fully the implication of a title, whether *Brothers and Sisters*, *Pastors and Masters*, *More Women than Men*, and underlines the excruciating agony which comes from excessive awareness of relation. She has transferred to fiction some of the quality of Browning's "In a Spanish Cloister," and reinforces this analysis of agony by means of an arbitrary, almost artificial and stilted dialogue. It may be urged that no group of people consistently and consecutively speaks with the intensity and precision of her characters, but it must be conceded that no group of characters in fiction succeeds in conveying with such intensity and precision the exacerbation of community life. This artificiality is the special tang her admirers enjoy, the special idiosyncrasy of a beloved and rare wine. It is, to extend the analogies, a harpsichord plucking each note exactly and clearly, and the tune is character. The old grandmother, matriarch and monarch, the several children, the tangential characters, are all created absolutely with the sureness of modern

linear draughtsmanship, and it would be self-denial of a vicious kind to refuse to read, and to refuse to applaud.

Devil Take the Hindmost, by Frank Tilsley (Seeker & Warburg).—Mr. Tilsley is rapidly becoming one of the most interesting of the younger novelists. The intense unity of impression, the headlong yet controlled force of his writing, the fierceness of character building, the sureness of social notation, set him apart from the average of optimistically non-chalant writers of to-day. I'd *Do it Again* had a ruthlessness of purpose to be found hitherto only in the short stories of Mr. James Hanley, and the present novel continues that ruthlessness in another direction. It is an analysis of capitalism, not as a system but as a human process, and the forces are presented not as abstract patterns but even more clearly in human notation. The story makes use of the career of a mill-owner's son towards power and wealth. His impetuous and completely unscrupulous character is followed step by step, and the methods by which he ruins his competitors are set out with a virtuosity of industrial and economic detail convincing and bewildering to the honest layman. There is something Marlowian in the sweep of the tragedy; the hero is an industrial Tamberlaine, but gifted with the heroic qualities of courage, confidence, and foresight. It is real tragedy, in the crashing Nemesis that follows the high-piled Hybris, and the tempo of the conclusion is breath-taking. Mr. Tilsley is that rarest of persons, a genuinely contemporary writer, turning the pressure of contemporary evolution into remoulded artistic form. Though he is not so aggressively "proletarian" as the American Cantwell and Halper, no serious discussion of contemporary forces in fiction can afford to leave him unexamined.

Brynhild, by H. G. Wells (Methuen).—Mr. Wells has in him enough chaos to make several universes. The scientific novelist, the propagandist novelist, the sociological novelist, the autobiographical embroiderer, the philosophical romancer, are each large enough for a whole career. In *Brynhild* Mr. Wells pauses awhile in the field of contemporary human relations, that uneasy process of adjustment which he considers to be the characteristic of modern civilisation. It is a jest, but the jest of an experienced writer, taking once more the units who form the world of writing, and showing them, without Swiftian or Capekian technique, for the performing insects he believes them to be. The woman is the heroine, and her gentle, intelligent, sensitive character is delineated with an unusual sympathy, and she is the only human being in a gallery of deliberate grotesques. When she appears there enters an atmosphere of calm as though for Mr. Wells she represents either an ideal or a nostalgia, and she acts as the measure of the self-centred, posing, artificial mechanical world which is increasingly the object of the author's hatred. Mr. Immanuel Cloote, the publicity agent, is a wry picture of a new menace to literature, though the arguments used and implied by Mr. Wells do not seem to be the relevant ones. It would appear that he is concerned with the degradation of personal and human standards, while the real danger more probably lies in the degradation of standards of judgment in the course of a universal ballyhoo. The plot, while it lasts, is amusing, and

in its way adventurous, but the reader is both amazed and disappointed at the huddling up of "The Envoy," a hint of the remaining half of the book, had Mr. Wells been generous enough to write it.

Theatre, by W. Somerset Maugham (Heinemann).—Mr. Somerset Maugham, like Swift, has the gift of flaying a victim with the utmost suavity and in the most limpid of prose. This time he takes the world of theatre in which he has so long moved and whose every heart-beat and nerve-twitch he knows as his own. The moralist in Mr. Maugham seems strangely naked here, the castigation of a worthless and useless though gifted actress is carried through almost as a religious duty. The theme is the emotional career of an actress-manager of ripe years and experience, her infatuation for a young accountant, the humiliations and petty triumphs she passes through, and the smallness of the world of the theatre. The handsome hard-working and flattery-loving husband is well drawn—there are minor grotesques, hard, bitter encounters etched in cool acid, but the triumph is beyond question the heroine herself, an epitome of the commercial theatre, acting in her private life the parts of "The Faithful Adoring and Adored Wife," "The Fond Indulgent Mother of a Difficult Adolescent Son/" "The Platonic Friend of a Noble Admirer," and "The Radiant Lover." Only one contact is given with her powers of acting, and that is the gem of the book, the savage consummate killing of a young actress's career by devices of technique and personality. The conclusion of the book is the heroine's philosophy, and possibly the book's philosophy, "We, the actors, are the reality. We are the meaning of their lives. We take their silly little emotions and turn them into art, out of them we create beauty." It is a poor excuse for such lives as the heroine's, but it points the irony of a debonair satirist's picture of a petty world.

To Have and Have Not, by Ernest Hemingway (Jonathan Cape).—The constant attitude of Mr. Hemingway towards the modern world, as expressed in his hard-drinking, intriguing, bull-fighting characters, has led the public to imagine that no serious comment on modern civilisation was to be expected from him, that he was the prose laureate of the last generation, the Laodicean recorder of a technique of oblivion. The present volume comes as a happy shock. Mr. Hemingway has lost none of his technical cunning. He can, in the simplest and most reticent statement, create a scene of tension, of the precipice of death, of despair among hopeless men, of callousness on the part of the selfish rich, of heroism among simple human beings. He can, in the sheerest of dialogue, display a woman's passion and desperation, the break-up of a home, the hatred of classes, and the disintegration of poverty. All these things are included as structural decoration in the new volume. The surface theme is revolution and gun-running, the life of rich yachtsmen, the infidelity of wives, but the real subject is that indicated in the title *To Have and Have Not*, a study of the two worlds—the two nations defined by Disraeli, "the rich and the poor," and the emotional consequences of the two states of being. It is a fictional parallel to Mr. Aldous Huxley's chapter on "Inequality" on the text "the world which a poor man

inhabits is not the same as the world a rich man inhabits." The same technique of implication hitherto used for personal illumination is now applied to the social scene, and the history of recent America passes in a flash, with its boom, its slump, its suicides, its bread lines, and its moral delinquency. To find Mr. Hemingway at last accepting his responsibilities as a writer in the modern world is gratifying, and makes us eager for his next analysis.

Pie in the Sky, by Arthur Calder-Marshall (Jonathan Cape).—Mr. Calder-Marshall has attracted much attention in recent years by the ripeness of his presentation of modern problems, the sensitive recording of human relationships, and the formal virtuosity by which the fragments of life fall into a pattern. In *About Levy*, *At Sea*, and particularly in *Dead Centre* these powers have grown, and now, in his longest and most ambitious work it is possible to see the results of this experimenting. The patterning has become a richer counterpoint, in which society and sex are the subjects, and the characters with their happenings form the simultaneous variations and adornments. For all its concrete quality, the book is an abstract one, a *roman à thèse* in which the thesis is a little difficult to pin down. This may be symbolical of the state of illusion represented in the irony of the title. The external theme is the relationship between the pathetic lecher, Corder Yorke, a Midland factory owner, and his two sons, one a stuttering weakling still in the business, the other an ideological stutterer in the suburbs of Communism. Their women, their amatory failures and triumphs, the sadness of tramp-life, the corruption of police officers, the clash between magistrate and poacher, the life of political discussion in meeting, cafe, and procession, the raw itch of sex, the mirage of drunken Bohemianism supply the visible strings from which the harmony emerges; and the author evokes from each episode a measured and exact contribution towards that picture of unrest which is ultimately the literature of our day, and only to the converted does he convey clearly the exhortation to action which should justify so long an exposition.

The Gay and Melancholy Flux, by William Saroyan (Faber & Faber).—Since Mr. Saroyan's wonderful arrival with *The Daring Young Man on the Flying Trapeze*, his stories have been growing wilder and more chaotic, until readers have begun to wonder whether there is any system in his work, and whether there is any contribution to literature beyond his intense awareness of the huge frightening beast personality of the American continent beneath the hopeless, drunk-bemused, embittered atmosphere in which his characters move. In this volume, which is clearly a transitional stage, it would seem as though the author is aware of this uneasiness, and offers material for the discussion, if not the solution, of the problem. The title story is an exercise on the theme of the opening sentence: "Now, in the universe we find all things constructed and arranged on the plan of boundless and universal variety," and at the end comes the conscious comment, "I never read such a crazy story in all my life, even if I did write it. Who is it about? What is it about? What's the meaning of all the noise?" Part of the answer is given in "The Great Unwritten American Novel," and the remainder in the form of a strange preface,

tucked away at the end of the volume, masquerading as yet another formless story, or materials for a story, as so many of the pieces can be regarded, and in essence a miniature notebook of comments and suggestions after the manner of Hawthorne's and Tchekhov's notebooks. There an occasional clear statement emerges defiantly, "There is only one way to write a story and only one way to write one sentence and that is to be pious and simple and unwordly isolated; above all things unwordly isolated. . . . A story (or any other work of art) does not occur when one does the actual writing: it began to occur when one began to live consciously and piously." Some of the thumb-nail story sketches give their own aesthetic concisely and implicitly, and his concluding sentence gives his final philosophy: "It is impossible to write one paragraph about man without having plot, and atmosphere, and what is known as style." When these elements are more consciously employed the result is a story like "Love" which goes to join his select band of masterpieces.

The Square Peg, by John Masefield (Heinemann).—In this splendid novel, the poet in Mr. Masefield has given us Margaret Holtspur and led us with her and her lover on the lovely search for the house that is to be their home. If he fails to make us understand the inherent goodness of Frampton Mansell the fault may well be ours, for he has made it clear enough to Margaret and she is a woman of delicate taste and she loved him for the man he was. When death takes her away, in one of those swift accidents that seem so forced in novels and yet happen so often in real life, the poet for the moment lays down his pen and the adventurer takes up the tale. There are thrilling battles, physical and moral, with the Foxhunting gentry, the Council and the Magistrates. Magnificent fights they are, with gains and losses and broken heads; the campaign of Spin* Wood, the battle of the Bridge, the fights for the Housing Estate and the Gunfactory, the skirmishes between the local papers. Good stuff it is, all this fighting business, and full of powder and shot, yet through it all there is heard from time to time the voice of the poet. Through it too from afar sounds the long-drawn cry of Reynard the Fox as he runs hunted along the waterside. Then with the strange reincarnation of Margaret, beauty and love come back to Frampton, the shades of darkness and cruelty are driven at least temporarily from valley and heights, and on a chorus of exultation in a scene of virtuous splendour the curtain falls.

The Pasquier Chronicles, by Georges Duhamel (Dent).—At the present moment the new classicism in the arts has its social implications which point towards a return to discredited modes of social existence. The reign of the emancipated individual covering the extreme years from 1910 to 1930 has ended, and the threat of regimented existence has, for those who clung to older liberal ideas, the outlet of the family life. It is a strange irony that literature which, since 1880, has been crying aloud for emancipation from this incubus, should be compelled to turn back to it. This is the teaching, not so explicitly stated, of Mr. Duhamel's saga. Since Balzac the life of society has been reflected through the life of the family, but there has always been a manifest tendenciousness. The picture is simpler, gentler here, the chronicle continues, with the usual elements of

parental dissension, the keeping of mistresses, the emancipation of individuals, but unlike other chronicles it moves to a new conclusion: " Man is incapable of living alone, and he is just as incapable of living in a group." The Pasquier family triumph over the individual. It is a sweep of nearly half a century, in five novels, and not only are the individuals presented, not only the family, but France itself, humanly, intellectually, with the taste of home cooking, and the irritations of talk at the table, the patriarchal benevolent despotism, the irony, the sentimentality that gives flavour to a people. It makes an interesting comparison with Galsworthy's *Forsyte Saga*, which is perhaps inferior in poetry and subtlety though clearer in didactic pattern. It is the limpid and unobtrusive conviction of the narrative structure which makes the *Pasquier Chronicles* a masterpiece.

ART, DEAMA, CINEMA, AND MUSIC.

I. ART.

EXCEPT for exhibitions concerning the centenary of the death of Constable the year was singularly uneventful, and the winter exhibition at Burlington House, usually most important, was perhaps the least successful, so far as attendance is concerned, of all those that have been arranged by the Royal Academy during the past sixty years. It was purely architectural, and, arranged by some of the best architects of the day, was no doubt useful to members and students of the profession, but to the public in general it made little appeal. However, the architects, though their exhibition failed to attract, scored one success in the year. In 1936 out of the eleven thousand or so of the works of all kinds submitted for exhibition to the Council of the Royal Academy not one was accepted outright, but in the year now under review, when 11,794 were sent in, one only was accepted. It was an architectural drawing, but which of the 235 submitted the Academy report does not reveal. The paintings in oil submitted were no fewer than 5207, most of which were rejected at once by the examiners and only 868 made doubtful; which means that they would be exhibited if room could be found for them. Of the water-colours submitted, 3656 in number, only 315 reached the doubtful stage.

For the first time in the history of the Royal Academy a woman artist served on the Hanging Committee of the exhibition, which is composed of members who take it in turn to carry out a duty which they well know can never give general satisfaction. The woman who took part in this difficult task last year was Dame Laura Knight, R.A., whose principal work in the exhibition was sold for a larger sum than that paid for any other picture. This was "The London Palladium," the catalogued price of which was 1,200l. The other members of the Hanging Committee, all Members or Associates of the Royal Academy, were Sir Edward Landseer Lutyens, Mr. Wilfred Gabriel de Glehn, Mr. Albert E. Richardson, Mr. Alfred F. Hardiman, Mr. Henry Rushbury, Mr. Malcolm Osborne, and Mr. Richard Jack. The sales of the exhibited works to ordinary purchasers were below the average both in numbers and in prices paid; but those bought by the Chantrey Trustees were more numerous than in most years. The existence of the funds which make their yearly purchases possible, is due to money left for the purpose to the Royal Academy by Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A., a sculptor famous in his day, who died in 1841. **The money was, however, left to the Academy contingent on the death of Chantrey's wife, who lived until 1874, and no pictures or pieces of sculpture were bought until 1877. The paintings in oil purchased last**

year were eight in number, and their prices were as follows : " The Ball on Shipboard," by J. J. Tissot, 600*l.* ; a portrait of Mrs. Gerard Simpson, by Mr. Glyn W. Philpot, R.A., 400*l.* ; " Roof, High Holborn," by Mrs. Lily D. Joseph, 150*l.* ; " The Refectory Table," a still life, by Mr. Walter Carter, 150*z.* ; a portrait of Mr. Max Beerbohm, by Mr. R. G. Eves, A.R.A., 300*l.* ; and " Lifeboat, Walberswick," by Mr. Ronald O. Dunlop, 100*l.* Two water-colours were also bought for the Chantrey collection : " Summer Evening, Embankment Gardens," by Miss Grace Golden, 23*l.* 2*s.* ; and " Chimney Stacks and Winding Ways, Whitby," by Mr. Fred C. Jones, 32*l.* From the sculpture gallery one work was purchased, " Old Horse-carved Wych-elm," by Mr. W. G. Simmonds, 250*l.*

The sales of pictures other than those purchased by the Chantrey Trustees, and the already mentioned work of Dame Laura Knight, included a second work by her, " The Gippos " (No. 121), 365*l.* ; Mr. L. Campbell Taylor's little picture, " The Broken Thread " (No. 3), 275*l.* ; " Morning, Blankney " (No. 22), by Sir Walter W. Russell, 105*l.* ; a sea piece, " Trawlers, Dieppe " (No. 325), by the late Terrick Williams, R.A., unpriced ; a small landscape by Mr. Stanhope A. Forbes, " Fading Leaf and Falling Tree " (No. 345), 150*l.* ; " Early Morning, a Solway Port " (No. 355), by Mr. Charles Oppenheimer, 150*l.* ; " El Charro " (No. 336), by Mr. Arthur Hayward, 105*l.* ; " The Ettrick Shepherd " (No. 363), by Mr. J. McIntosh Patrick, 262*l.* 10*s.* ; " Yacht Racing " (No. 388), by Mr. Norman Wilkinson, 350*z.* ; and " Angel Fish and Corals " (No. 500), by Lady Patricia Ramsay, 100*l.*

Of the exhibitions of paintings by Constable the most important was that held at the Tate Gallery in May and June ; but another collection of considerable interest was on view at the same time in Bond Street, at the Wilderstein Gallery. The exhibition of Bonington's pictures by the Burlington Fine Arts Club was excellent, both in quality and arrangement ; but this and all the other " one-man shows " were less important than the Reynolds exhibition, held in the spring in Park Lane, in the same rooms in Sir Philip Sassoon's house as those in which Gainsborough's pictures had been shown in the preceding year. A famous Gainsborough, the portrait of Christie, the auctioneer, was on view at Messrs. Agnew's at the time of their annual water-colour show, which was as attractive as it has always been for many years past. At Messrs. Colnaghi's, the last of their exhibitions, opened in December, was one of the best. It was composed of Old Master drawings, by English and Continental artists, and contained works of interest by Rowlandson, Romney, Richard Wilson, and Fuseli among the first mentioned ; and by Claude, Tintoretto, Cuyp, Ostade, and numerous others among the second. At the Leger Gallery the best of the exhibitions was a late one, composed of " Narrative Pictures of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." Other late ones were of paintings by two artists recently deceased, the eminent landscape painter, Sir Herbert Hughes-Stanton, which was held at the Fine Art Society's Gallery in New Bond Street ; and Mr. Philip A. de Laszlo, the Austrian artist whose popularity as a portrait painter during recent years exceeded that of any Englishman. The last-mentioned exhibition was arranged by de Laszlo

himself, but he died, unfortunately, the day before the private view. At Mr. Lockett Thomson's gallery paintings by Mr. Steer, and by the lately deceased painter and teacher Henry Tonks, were on view, and the most attractive of many good exhibitions at the Leicester Galleries was the Victorian Life Centenary, composed of pictures and drawings illustrating and concerned with the reign of the great Queen.

At the art school of the Royal Academy the year was a "great" one, which means the one in which the biennial prizes are awarded, including the gold medal and travelling studentship of 200*l.* for figure composition in painting. The gold medal and travelling studentship which dates from the foundation of the Royal Academy in 1769, and has been won in the past by John Hoppner and his son Lascelles in the eighteenth century, and by Maclise, Millais, and Frank Holl in the nineteenth, was awarded in this year to John Erhart Kashdan for the best painting of the subject "A Picnic." The similar gold medal and travelling studentship for architecture fell to John Joseph Adams.

Business in the saleroom was not remarkable, but bidding was high when anything of uncommon interest came under the hammer. Perhaps the most important of the sales was that of the contents of the house in Piccadilly, next door to that of the Duke of Wellington, and long occupied by generations of the Rothschild family. At this sale a famous picture by de Hooch was bid up to 17,500*l.* before the hammer fell. More remarkable was the bidding for five pictures by a famous eighteenth-century painter, Francois Boucher, many of whose works are in the Wallace Collection. The five pictures had been hanging for many years in a country house in the Midlands, where their value was perhaps unsuspected. When put up to auction the bidding for them was keen and went up to 21,000 guineas before they were knocked down to Messrs. Leggatt. A sheet of chalk studies of a woman's head by Watteau fetched 5,800 guineas; and a portrait of Rembrandt by himself was withdrawn at 11,550*l.*

II. DRAMA.

For the first half of its length, 1937 promised to be as dismal a year in the theatre as anybody could remember. A glance back at the record of plays produced during its early months reveals title after title of plays which have gone their way into limbo without leaving the faintest trace of an impression on the memory of one at least of their beholders. What is more, the only titles of plays, produced during those months and destined to hold their places in the playbills, belong to compositions of the lightest possible texture.

This melancholy state of affairs went on until the end of June, when the production of *Victoria Regina* put an end to it. This play provided at once the greatest success and the chief romance of the year. Laurence Housman's collection of short plays about Queen Victoria had long been in existence in printed form, and had found many admirers. They were, however, absolutely banned from production on the public stage. A production at the little Gate Theatre which, being a private club, did not

come under the censor's jurisdiction, had been extremely successful some time earlier ; and a public production in New York had proved to be the hit of the season there. In England, however, the play could still not be acted before that public which would have most cause to appreciate it.

Then the ban was lifted. On June 21 the play was staged at the Lyric Theatre with Pamela Stanley—the unknown actress who had played the part at the Gate—as Queen Victoria. Author, actress, and play were received with an enthusiasm such as is seldom reached even by a theatre audience, and the piece ran to the end of the year before packed houses.

Some of the enthusiasm was no doubt due to causes outside the play's artistic merit. After his long years of ill-luck, Mr. Housman had one tremendous compensating stroke of good fortune, that his play was made available for production at a moment when interest in the personal life of our Royal Family was at white heat. ' The piece had in fact no continuous dramatic interest, being only a selection of episodes in the life of Queen Victoria made from half-a-hundred or so of which Mr. Housman's book is composed. Each episode in itself is exquisitely done—but without that special and topical interest in its subject, *Victoria Regina* might well have seemed to the general public a scrappy and unsatisfactory entertainment. Time alone can prove its real merit.

This success heralded a great change. All through the autumn months one serious play followed another, till the spring of our discontent was forgotten. And though Mr. Housman still boasted the biggest individual success, collectively he was easily outdone by J. B. Priestley, who at one time had three new plays running simultaneously in the west end of London, *Time and the Conways* (Duchess), *I Have Been Here Before* (Royalty), and *People at Sea* (Apollo). The first two, in spite of the fact that they were based on the time-theories of Ouspensky and Dunne, and were therefore more philosophical in character than the British public might be expected to like, were still enjoying great favour when the year ended and had showed no signs of flagging. The third, a more ordinary but still very interesting play, had a run of a few weeks only. Three plays of such high quality served to put Mr. Priestley even more firmly than before at the head of the younger school of dramatists. *I Have Been Here Before*, which brought together at a Yorkshire moorland inn a group of people whose meeting on the same spot in a previous time-cycle had led to tragedy, was the most imaginative, the most ambitious, and the most artistically satisfying of the three. Also, it gave Wilfrid Lawson the opportunity for one of the year's outstanding feats of acting. *Time and the Conways* was a more obvious and more popular piece of work, in which Jean Forbes-Robertson greatly distinguished herself.

Another established dramatist who added to his reputation was St. John Ervine, whose *Robert's Wife* (Globe) was a most satisfactory achievement. Some people objected that it lacked the keen austerity of his earlier work, that it dealt with its problem of the conflicting careers of a married couple in a comfortable and settled middle-class way. There is truth in this. But such loss as it may denote is more than made up by the fact that in this play at last Mr. Ervine has succeeded in writing

a comedy that blends the seriousness of his youth with the mellowness of his maturity. Always till now he has had a tendency to over-emphasise his comic scenes, as though he believed that laughter could be excited only by main force.

Dodie Smith, who until this year had been content to write romances which showed an astonishing gift for realistic character-drawing, now tried her hand at something deeper in *Bonnet Over the Windmill* (New). The result was a play which for two of its three acts exhibited her usual style at its most attractive, but then fell to pieces. Even so, the play had a fair run ; and it must in any case be welcomed as a courageous experiment.

Keith Winter contributed in *Old Music* (St. James's) a costume play which deserved a longer run than it achieved. John van Druten's *Gertie Maude* (St. Martin's), also a period piece, since it dealt with a chorus-girl of the old Gaiety vintage, had only a short run, and was not one of its author's best works. A. A. Milne made a pleasant return to his very lightest manner with *Sarah Simple* (Garrick), which ran very well. Margaret Kennedy was represented by *Autumn*, adapted from the Russian, and a collaboration at that. It was not a good play—but Miss Kennedy has a way of defying the laws of geometry and making the part greater than the whole. As before for Elisabeth Bergner, so now for Flora Robson, she provided an opportunity for acting which excused a multitude of faults in her story.

James Bridie was represented this year only by a Sunday production, but the play, *Susannah and the Elders* (Duke of York's) had far more than average merit. It was a dramatisation of the story from the Apocrypha, in much the same modernistic manner as he used in *Tobias and the Angel*. Emlyn Williams, with *He Was Born Gay* (Queen's), was much below form. This piece happened to come towards the end of the lean period already mentioned, and its arrival with John Gielgud as the lost Dauphin of France seemed to hold out promise of better things. Its lack of quality and its swift failure were therefore the more disappointing.

At the little Mercury Theatre, W. H. Auden and Christopher Isherwood had *The Ascent of F 6*, a satire on modern methods of self-advertisement which came near to being a very fine piece of work. Ashley Dukes's *House of Assniation*, at the same theatre, was a less successful venture in the manner of his *Man With a Load of Mischief*. Other established dramatists who contributed to the year's output were Vernon Sylvaine, who followed up his successful farce, *Aren't Men Beasts ?* (Strand) with another nearly as successful in *A Spot of Bother*; and Ian Hay, whose adaptation of an Edgar Wallace story, *The Gusher*, was not so fortunate, though it ran for four months. Dorothy M. Sayers, the most scholarly of all our detective-story writers, gave her higher self its head and wrote *The Zeal of Thy House* for the Canterbury Cathedral Festival. It may be mentioned in passing that both Ian Hay and Miss Sayers were in that select class of dramatists who saw a play of theirs run clean through 1937. Ian Hay's *Housemaster*, produced in 1936 at the Shaftesbury, moved to the Aldwych, and was still going strong when 1937 ended. Miss Saver's *Busman's Honeymoon*, beginning the year at the Comedy, moved to the Victoria Palace, and was

still being shown there, though at matinees only, during the after-Christmas holiday. Two other plays ran through the year. These were Mazo de la Roche's *Whiteoaks* (Playhouse), and Terence Rattigan's *French Without Tears* (Criterion).

Among authors less well known to the theatre, the outstanding successes of the year were made by writers of very light comedies. *George and Margaret* was the best of these. It was put on at Wyndham's very early in the year, and the end of its run was nowhere in sight when the year ended. Its author, Gerald Savory, had a curious experience with this play. Its texture was so light, its plot so tenuous, that he could persuade no manager to venture on its production. It depended for its effect partly on a quick eye for human foibles and partly on a superb theatre-sense which the author had inherited from his actor parents, Kenneth Douglas and Grace Lane. These qualities are not always easy to detect in a play in manuscript; but as soon as a trial performance was arranged by the Repertory Players, perhaps the best of the Sunday night producing Societies, it became apparent that this was an outstandingly funny piece. The managers who had failed to see any possibilities in it now competed for permission to present it.

Its success started a fashion in plays which had for subject the eccentricities of a family circle. Two other plays with a strong resemblance to *George and Margaret* were produced, both, as it happened, at the Ambassadors. The first of these, *Bats in the Belfry*, by Diana Morgan and Robert MacDermot, was rather forced in its manner. It ran for some time, but never really took the public fancy. The second, *Yes and No*, by Kenneth Home, was a better piece of work, and had more success. It did not depend for its appeal purely on the humours of absent-mindedness and other forms of mild domestic dementia, but had an original idea and a sense of form as well.

Of serious plays by new authors, the most striking was one which had no real right to be put in this category at all. This was the clumsily-named *Thanh You, Mr. Pepys* (originally called *Ninety Sail*), by W. P. Lipscomb (Shaftesbury). Mr. Lipscomb was a new author in the sense that he had never before had a success on the London stage with a play of his own. But he had collaborated in *Clive of India*, and was also one of the best-known and highest-paid scenario-writers in Hollywood. The Pepys play therefore put him at last in a position which had been within his grasp for a long time past. Humbert Wolfe made a rather unfortunate appearance as playwright with *The Silent Knight* (St. James's), a play in verse based on a Hungarian original. The story and characterisation in this piece seemed so weak that it was difficult to see why a writer of Mr. Wolfe's quality had been attracted to it. There is, however, a curious lack of appeal to the English mind in the kind of play which Hungary likes. Perhaps it would be better, therefore, to put down the failure of *The Silent Knight* to this incompatibility of temperament, for its original, by Heltai, was very highly esteemed in Budapest.

First Legion, which had the melancholy honour of being the last play ever to be produced at Daly's Theatre, was a very meritorious piece of

work by Emmet Lavery. Its subject was unusual, for it dealt with a community of Jesuits. It was a most sincere and moving piece of work, and it **had** that curiously solid air which is nearly always achieved by any serious play with an all-male cast. It had a fair success, but was not at any time likely to appeal to more than a certain limited public.

Black Limelight, by Gordon Sherry (Duke of York's), was a play which did not aim particularly high, but contained finer workmanship than most of its unpretentious class. Also, it provided Margaret Rawlings with a spectacular acting part. It was a "thriller," but it contained an interesting study of how it must feel to be an innocent man suspected, on strong circumstantial evidence, of murder. *Wise To-morrow* (Lyric), by Stephen Powys, had a popular success, but it was a meretricious piece. *They Game By Night* (Globe), served to show that Barre Lyndon's *The Amazing Doctor Clitterhouse* was no flash in the pan, but did not add much to this author's reputation otherwise.

The most spectacular failure of a new English play during the year was *Goodbye to Yesterday*, by James Parrish. This play was chosen from among many others by Gladys Cooper and her husband, Philip Merivale, for her return to London and their first joint appearance in this country. It was launched at the Phoenix amid high hopes; and it ran for four performances. The play had much merit—indeed, its worst fault was that the dramatist did not carry quite enough guns for the theme he had chosen. The cause of the failure, however, was something else. The main incident of the plot was the accidental shutting into a cupboard of a nervy small boy, who was taken out mad. This was handled with great delicacy, but was too painful a scene for playgoers to wish to endure.

Prominent among the failures of the year were three of New York's greatest current successes—*Tobacco Road*, *You Can't Take It With You*, and *Yes, My Darling Daughter*. The first of these was so entirely American in subject and so unpleasant in treatment that its production at the Gate Theatre could only be regarded as a curiosity. This play pictured with brutal frankness a community of "poor whites" in a Southern State, and was in the fourth year of its run in New York. *You Can't Take It With You* (St. James's), by George S. Kaufman and Moss Hart, was a very different affair. Like *George and Margaret*, or still more, like Rodney Ackland's *After October*, it dealt with a crazy family of pleasant Bohemians. Its humour and truth to life had swept America; but played by an English cast which was very badly chosen, it was thought in London neither funny nor true, and it perished. The same fate overtook *Yes, My Darling Daughter*, in an adaptation by Mr. Ackland, more slowly at the same theatre.

Another comic American success, *Room Service*, by John Murray and Allen Boretz, was played at the Strand by an American cast, and did well. Elmer Rice's *Judgment Day* started well at the Strand, but failed just as hopes of a long run were rising. One would guess that its failure was due less to the fact that it was American than to a suspicion that it was political propaganda. Robert Sherwood's *The Road to Rome*, tried out with success at the Embassy, was then given a chance at the Savoy

to redeem its west-end failure of some years ago. Once again, however, London refused to like it. Nor did it take to Jules Eckert Goodman's *The Great Romancer*, in spite of Robert Morley's brilliance as the elder Dumas.

The most noteworthy success of the year with an American play (perhaps with any play) was achieved at the little Westminster Theatre, where Eugene O'Neill's massive modernisation of an iEschylus trilogy, *Mourning Becomes Electra*, was staged. In spite of its four and a half hours of deep gloom, it drew playgoers in crowds such as the Westminster had never before seen, and continued to do so for an extended run until at last—at a date which is outside the scope of this article—it was moved to a regular theatre. Beatrix Lehmann, Laura Cowie, and Robert Harris, for their acting in this play, deserve particular praise.

1937 was a year rich in notable revivals. Chief among them were those of John Gielgud at the Queen's. Going into management on his own account, he led off with his own very fine production of *King Richard II*. When this had at last exhausted its popularity he followed with a brilliant but over-fantasticated production, by Tyrone Guthrie, of *The School for Scandal*. The Old Vic also did some striking work. Here Mr. Guthrie atoned for the liberties he had taken with Sheridan by a brilliant *Midsummer Night's Dream* in the Victorian manner, with Ralph Richardson as Bottom. Here, too, were fine revivals of *Pygmalion*, of *Ghosts* and of *Macbeth*.

A cloud was cast over the production of the last play by the sudden and unexpected death of Lilian Baylis, under whom this theatre had risen to greatness. The death of Barrie, earlier in the year, had removed from our theatre a figure held in even more honour and affection. But Barrie was an old man, and his work was finished; much of Miss Baylis's, it had seemed, was still to come.

III. THE CINEMA.

After a short boom British films suffered a severe setback during 1937.

In March, Gaumont-British, one of the oldest producing companies, closed down their studios at Lime Grove, Shepherd's Bush. (This despite the fact that the studios had been modernised at a cost of 300,000l. in 1933.) The closing of the studios did not affect the company's other business interests. They are the owners of 400 cinemas.

The Twickenham Film Studios, Twickenham Film Production Ltd., and J. H. Productions Ltd. were shortly after in the hands of the receivers. All the companies were under the direction of Julius Hagen, who had been an independent producer since 1929, and who for many years had been successful in making inexpensive pictures. After the crash he was able to form a new company with John Maxwell. Their policy was to make pictures that could recoup their cost this side, rather than gamble on the doubtful American market.

Many other companies carried on at a loss, and there were several all-round salary cuts. Repeated efforts to penetrate the American market

failed. An occasional New York booking was relatively unimportant. Producers still found it impossible to cover costs with only the entry to the British and Empire markets. Many film companies paid no dividend for the last four years.

Not frightened by the situation Jack Buchanan, stage and screen star, became the managing director of a new private company for the production of films.

It was clear that without further protective legislation the British film industry would die a natural death.

As the existing Films Act expires in March, 1938, steps were taken to replace it. Already in 1936 the Board of Trade had received the report of their Committee of inquiry. Based on this were their proposals for legislation which came as a white paper in June. This called for a quota starting at 15 per cent, and rising to 25 per cent, over a period of ten years. The test of quota films was based on cost. In November, in deference to the wishes of the film trade, Mr. Oliver Stanley, President of the Board of Trade, moved an amendment doing away with the clause basing the quota eligibility of a film purely on cost. He proposed that the right of any particular film to rank as "quota" be decided by the Board of Trade officials. The Bill continued the usual restrictions as to blind and excessive advance booking.

Meanwhile two major American companies joined the number of those making pictures in this country. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer promised that the pictures they made in England would be as good as the pictures they made in America. Their first was "A Yank at Oxford," starring Robert Taylor and Maureen O'Sullivan. The tumultuous welcome accorded here to Mr. Taylor was of such an hysterical character that it embarrassed his employers, who felt that it might react adversely on his popularity. Twentieth Century Fox also planned to make pictures in England. They have already contracted with Gracie Fields for five years. Her first film for them was "He was Her Man," made at Pinewood, with Victor McLaglan in support.

The Coronation tried the News Reel companies to the utmost. The weather was not too kind, and the results on the whole were disappointing. On the actual night of the Coronation the cinemas advertised the film, but the public were indignant when they found that it only ran for a minute and a half. The reason for this was that there were not enough printing laboratories in the country to handle more footage in such a rush. The news reel had to be distributed to Britain's 4,000 theatres. The next day the 150 feet was increased to 1,050 feet, running some twelve minutes. The full record and the colour film was not available till the end of the week. The Dufaycolour record was added to the collection of historical pictures at the British Film Institute.

Alexander Korda surprised every one by stopping half-way through his production of "I, Claudius," of which Charles Laughton was the star. The reason given was that Merle Oberon had an accident which would keep her out of the studio for a fortnight. Some 50,000l. had already been spent, but the film was shelved.

British history has been well to the fore on the screen. " Fire Over England " gave us Flora Eobson as Queen Elizabeth, and Anna Neagle was seen in " Victoria the Great." An Empire touch was supplied by Sabu, the Indian boy actor, in " Elephant Boy," adapted from Kipling's " Tomaii of the Elephants." The Irish troubles were the background of " Beloved Enemy," with Merle Oberon and Brian Ahearne. One of the least pretentious and most artistic productions of the year was Michael Powell's picture of the Island of Foula in " Edge of the World."

American acting honours go to Paul Muni for outstanding performances in " The Good Earth " and " The Life of Emile Zola " ; both pictures were magnificently produced. For brisk modern commentary the honours go to all concerned in " Dead End," a story of life in the gutters of New York. Greta Garbo gave us " Camille " and " Marie Walewska." In the latter she was eclipsed by Charles Boyer, probably the best Napoleon ever seen on the screen.

" Lost Horizon " restored Ronald Colman to the height of his former popularity, though he dropped back a little with " The Prisoner of Zenda." Clark Gable gave us an unbearded, un-Irish " Parnell." Janet Gaynor made a successful comeback in " A Star is Born," one of the best colour pictures yet shown.

In June, Lord Tyrrell, President of the British Board of Film Censors, introduced a new film classification called " H " to apply to horror films. Pictures so labelled will not be shown to children under 16, whether accompanied by an adult or not. The first to fall under the ban was Metro-Goldwyn's version of " The Thirteenth Chair."

A rapid rise to stardom and popularity came this year to Universal's 15-year-old singer Deanna Durbin, and to Norway's young skating champion Sonja Henie.

The screen lost two popular British actors. Sir Guy Standing, who though he worked for many years in Hollywood was British by birth, and Guy Newall, star of silent and talking pictures, who died at the age of 51.

IV. MUSIC.

Musical affairs during 1937 were marked by the same degree of activity as in previous years, but fewer events of prime importance. No new masterpiece was revealed, no star performer of the first magnitude appeared, no new vogue was taken up. Yet for those who could dispense with novelty there was plenty to keep the interest alive. To an unusual extent English musicians were accorded outside testimony that they lived in a flourishing musical state, for foreign onlookers were present in great numbers, and their opinion, all the more freely uttered for the element of surprise that accompanied it, was that London had as good a claim as any other city to be called the centre of the world's music ; and that, if modern opera were left out of account, any musically-inclined person who lived within hail of Queen's Hall, Co vent Garden, Broadcasting House, and Sadlers Wells, and had Glyndebourne on his horizon, was given a broader contact

with the various schools and ages of music than he could obtain in any other centre.

That the voice of approval should resound more loudly than usual was due in part to the influx of visitors at Coronation time, in part to the unusual number of foreign musical organisations that came to London during the year bringing interested observers of our musical life. Such international courtesies play a part in every musical season, but never before had they been so frequent. These visits gave a special note to the year's proceedings and may therefore take precedence in the summary of events.

The share taken by the Paris Opera in the Covent Garden summer season is described below. Cologne sent its Chamber Orchestra in March to play classics under Erick Kraack at a Van Wyck concert. The same agency brought the Salzburg Mozarteum Orchestra in April. This expert body of thirty-two players, mostly professors of their instruments, played Mozart's music with a special blend of refinement and vitality. Furtwangler and the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, absentees in 1936, gave Beethoven's ninth symphony on Saturday, May 1, and Bruckner's seventh the following afternoon. The Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra played at Queen's Hall under Bruno Walter on June 25 and 26. Bruckner's eighth symphony occupied seventy minutes of the first programme without to that extent propitiating the less-willing adherents to the Brucknerian faith. The Prague Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Kafeel Kubelik (a son of the famous violinist), was heard in London on two occasions in the course of a tour that took them to sixteen English and Scottish towns in three weeks. Their way of playing Czech music was inimitable, and they became general favourites. A fourth large orchestra was that of the Concerts Colonne, brought from Paris to London by Anglo-French societies on November 22. The choice of Liszt's long-drawn "Faust" Symphony reduced the audience for this important event. On turning to French music M. Paul Paray's Orchestra gave some of the most exquisite playing that we have heard in London.

Despite the importance and interest of this multiple liaison with the Continent the public gave a greater welcome to a single visitor from abroad—Toscanini, who conducted the B.B.C. Orchestra six times in May and June and opened its autumn season with two choral concerts—Brahms's Requiem on October 30 and Beethoven's ninth symphony on November 3. Toscanini's interpretations of familiar works, classical and romantic, again showed their characteristic blend of naturalness and fine organisation.

The regular supply of orchestral music was maintained as usual by six concert-series. (1) The Royal Philharmonic Society brought the Huddersfield Choral Society to London for Walton's "Belshazzar's Feast" on February 11 and the Leeds Festival Chorus for Beethoven's Mass on October 14. A concert under Nadia Boulanger on November 4 offered some rarities by Rameau and Monteverdi and a repetition of the Requiem by Faure" that had charmed everyone when Madame Boulanger introduced it to England in 1936. The novelties of the Philharmonic season were two works for saxophone on January 14—a Concerto by Glazounov and Debussy's Rhapsody, played by Sigurd Rascher, the world's leading straight

saxophonist; a Piano Concerto by Pfitzner on February 25; and Rachmaninov's third symphony (in A minor) on November 18. This proved to be a work of distinguished utterance and unmistakable sincerity but lacking in inspired and clinching ideas. The Society's Gold Medal was presented to Felix Weingartner on November 3. (2) The London Symphony Orchestra gave its annual performance of Bach's "The Art of Fugue" on January 21, brought the Croydon Philharmonic Society to Queen's Hall for Elgar's "The Apostles" on March 10, and on December 16 gave the first performance of a symphony by Dr. George Dyson, principal-elect of the Royal College of Music in succession to Sir Hugh Allen. (3) The B.B.C. Orchestra gave fifteen Queen's Hall concerts besides the eight conducted by Toscanini. Vaughan Williams' Norwich Festival work, "Five Tudor Portraits," to which reference was made in the ANNUAL REGISTER for 1936, was brought to London on January 27. (During the year it established itself in popularity among the provincial choral societies.) On March 17 a concert performance of Busoni's opera, "Doktor Faust," made known a work that is unlikely to be seen on an English stage. John Ireland's choral piece, "These things shall be" (J. A. Symonds), was given a public performance on December 1, having previously been heard only as a Coronation broadcast. It is one of many proofs that a composer can be at his best when writing to order. Works revived at these concerts included Rachmaninov's "The Bells," Stravinsky's "Le Sacre du Printemps," Hindemith's "Mat his der Maler," and Tovey's "Cello Concerto with Casals as soloist. (4) The Courtauld-Sargent series introduced Stravinsky's new ballet, "Jeu de Cartes," on October 18 and Hindemith's Viola Concerto, "Der Schwanendreher," on December 6 with the composer as soloist. (5) The Beecham Sunday concerts crowded Covent Garden for seventeen afternoons. In a mainly classical scheme the least unimportant of three novelties was Glazounov's second Piano Concerto, in B major, played by the composer's daughter on December 12. (6) Novelties at the Promenade Concerts (August 7 to October 2) included a Harp Concerto by Tailleferre, a Fantasia for violin by Edmund Rubbra, a Violin Concerto by Malipiero, Frederic Austin's Overture "Sea Ventures," Variations on an Original Theme by Gordon Jacob, an "Essex Suite" for strings by Armstrong Gibbs, and Arnold Bax's "London Pageantry."

Music of a modernist type was mainly provided by the B.B.C. Concerts of Contemporary Music at Broadcasting House. Van Dieren (April 9) and Szymanowski (October 30) were commemorated by special programmes. Similar work was done by the London Contemporary Music Centre and by three Lemare concerts at which twelve modern British progressives were represented. An Ernest Bloch Society, inaugurated towards the end of the year, gave two chamber concerts at Æolian Hall and succeeded in rousing widespread interest in one whom many people consider the most independent and powerful composer of the day.

A band of mainly young but competent artists organised a series of eight London Theatre Concerts at the Cambridge Theatre on Sunday evenings about once a month. The first season's programmes, begun in November,

were entirely devoted to Mozart's music, with little-known Piano Concertos as the principal feature. Mrs. Augustus Ralli, patron of these concerts, included among her musical enterprises a concert performance of Respighi's opera, "*Maria Egiziaca*," at the Hyde Park Hotel on April 11.

The principal recitals of the year were given by Schnabel, Austral, Chaliapin, Rachmaninov, Landowska, Kreisler, Tauber, Gigli, Flagstad, Astra Desmond (in a programme of Greig's songs sung in Norwegian), Tibbett, Marian Anderson (a coloured contralto singer), Elisabeth Schumann, and Jussi Bjorling, a tenor from Sweden who came with a big reputation as an opera singer.

The Coronation Season of Grand Opera at Covent Garden was distinguished from other seasons by its greater length (April 19 to June 30), an unusually large repertory, and the co-operation of the Paris Opera and and Opéra-Comique. Each of the productions brought over by the Parisian company was representative of the subsidised art of opera in France and remote from the necessarily safer routine at Covent Garden. The sombre luxuriance of "*Ariane et Barbe-Bleue*," by Paul Dukas (who died in 1935), revealed the deeper and more genuine poetical gifts of a composer long known to the English public solely by a work of brilliant humour. Gluck's "*Alceste*," a complete novelty to modern opera-goers in London, was played with appropriate dignity. In a delicate performance of Debussy's "*Pellets et Melisande*," an English Melisande, Lisa Perli, showed herself at home in French company. Gluck's "*Orphée*" was later added to the season's rarities, the version performed by a mainly French company being that which allots the principal part to a tenor (Andre* Burdino). Elysian spirits from the Russian ballet added to the interest of this production. These works were performed under Philippe Gaubert and Albert Wolff with an intimacy and finesse that are seldom attained under Covent Garden conditions.

For the rest, the German singers maintained their supremacy. No new star appeared among them, the familiar galaxy being all-sufficient. The most conspicuous was Ludwig Weber, who played six Wagnerian parts. Flagstad, as Briinnhilde and Isolde, renewed her triumphs of 1936. Furtwangler's conducting in the two cycles of "*Der Ring des Nibelungen*" was remarkable for its sensitiveness.

The Italian performances as a whole were redeemed by one outstanding artist. After many years of absence the veteran Giovanni Martinelli re-appeared and sang the principal tenor parts in "*Otello*," "*Turandot*," "*Aida*," and "*La Tosca*." Though his voice no longer had the lustre and physical power of his early days, his purity of style was sufficient compensation. It was for lack of the standard virtues of singing that a revival of Donizetti's "*Don Pasquale*" failed to please. "*Falstaff*" was included with Formichi as the knight. A performance of "*Carmen*" with a French company was not a happy one. "*Prince Igor*," given in French with Dennis Noble as Igor, was broken up and rearranged in order that the evening might end with the first appearance on the scene of the Russian dancers. On June 24 Eugene Goossens conducted his new opera, "*Don*

Juan de Mafiara," musically an interesting blend of the romantic and the modern, but vocally hampered by its libretto, a play by Arnold Bennett that did not lend itself to singing. In the principal part one of the finest impersonations of the season was given by Lawrence Tibbett, a well-known American baritone who shortly before this had made his first appearance in England as Scarpia in "La Tosca." In the course of the season a useful and creditable part was again played by British artists, among them Eva Turner (Turandot), Robert Easton, Dennis Noble, Walter Widdop (Tristan), Henry Wendon, Stella Andrevia, and Maggie Teyte (Eurydice). The conductors besides those mentioned were Fritz Reiner, Francesco Salfi, John Barbirolli, and (in German, French, Russian, and Italian operas) Sir Thomas Beecham.

The De Basil company of Russian Dancers was in possession of Covent Garden during June and July and again in September. Between the two seasons Col. de Basil lost the services of Leonide Massine and acquired those of Michel Fokine, the most distinguished choreographer of the Diaghilev period. The most successful of the four new ballets was Fokine's "Coq d'or," a reduction of Rimsky-Korsakov's opera. Lichine's "Francesca da Rimini" was a picturesque and dramatic interpretation of Tchaikovsky's tone-poem.

At Sadlers Wells the opera and ballet companies were at work for thirty-three weeks. Two of Lilian Baylis's more venturesome productions—Moussorgsky's "Boris Godounov" and Stanford's "The Travelling Companion"—were seen during the early months but failed to reappear in the autumn. A third, Vaughan Williams's "Hugh the Drover," maintained its place in both lists. The autumn season saw two productions of the highest importance: Beethoven's "Fidelio," preceded by a lecture, and Wagner's "The Valkyrie." Contrary to general expectation the latter proved to be well within the company's artistic resources. The ballet company, directed by Ninette de Valois, revived "Giselle" and Lambert's "Pomona," and brought out three new creations that in their variety and interest comprised the most vital contribution to the art of the ballet that London witnessed during the year. These were "Les Patineurs," by Frederick Ashton, to music by Meyerbeer; "The Wedding Bouquet," a comedy ballet with choral singing by Ninette de Valois, to music by Lord Berners and words by Gertrude Stein; and "Checkmate," a symbolical chess ballet, by Ninette de Valois, to music by Arthur Bliss. While the characteristic spirit of enterprise was thus maintained on the Sadlers Wells stage in both opera and ballet, two events of a different order set their mark upon the year. One was the Treasurer's announcement that a season's workings had for the first time shown a profit. The other was the death of Lilian Baylis on November 25, an irreparable loss. [See under Obituaries.]

Glyndebourne opened its newly-enlarged opera house on May 19. Six weeks of continuous public success proved that there had been no need to change the repertory, which consisted of Mozart's "Don Giovanni," "Le Nozze di Figaro" and "Così fan tutte" (in Italian), "Die Zauberflöte" and "Die Entführung aus dem Serail" (in German). There were

few changes in the company, and the conductor and producer were again Fritz Busch and Carl Ebert.

Other enterprises varied the provision of opera and ballet during the year. A mixed British and foreign opera company was in possession of Covent Garden when the year began. Puccini's "Manon Lescaut" was revived on January 4. A week later Strauss's "Salome," with a mainly German cast, failed to re-awaken the thrills felt by an earlier generation. In January Rutland Boughton's Arthurian opera, "The Lily Maid," was performed at the Winter Garden Theatre for a short season under the direction of Stuart Wilson, the well-known tenor. The Rambert Dancers, or Ballet Club, were at the Duchess Theatre in February, their principal novelty being Anthony Tudor's "Dark Elegies," a stage interpretation of Mahler's song-cycle, "Das Lied von der Erde." In June the Ballets de Monte Carlo, under M. Blum, were at the Coliseum and the Philadelphian Ballet, a charming company, at the Hippodrome. In the late autumn the Imperial League of Opera presented a British company at Covent Garden for a fortnight. A young ballet company from Poland, directed by Nijinska, appeared at Covent Garden during the Christmas season.

In the Provinces the chief events were the Three Choirs Festival at Gloucester on September 5-10 and the triennial Leeds Festival on October 5-9. At Gloucester the Hungarian composer, Zoltan Kodaly, conducted three hitherto unknown works of his own, named "Te Deum," "Christ and the Traders," and "Dances of Galanta," the last being orchestral. The Leeds novelty was Walton's setting of Dunbar's ode, "In Honour of the City of London," a work that London itself heard on December 1. Other features of the festival were Roussel's symphony in B flat, a tribute to the composer, who died in August, and Rossini's "Petite Messe Solenne."

SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

THE BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

Human Evolution.—The validity was questioned of skull and skeletal measurements and of the relation of endo-cranial casts to brain morphology. The older paleoanthropines seem to be structurally ancestral on the one hand to Neanderthal man and on the other to modern man. There was controversy as to the age and standing of *Pithecanthropus* and *Eoanthropus*. Java deposits of not later than middle Pleistocene age yielded a female skull of *Pithecanthropus* of about 750 cc. capacity and a lower jaw fragment with four teeth. Further *Sinanthropus* discoveries made possible a reconstruction of a complete adult male skull of about 1,200 cc. capacity. *Sinanthropus* combines very primitive characters with others giving an approach to modern man and specific resemblance to certain of the modern Mongols. Evidence suggests a continuous line linking *Pithecanthropus* and *Sinanthropus* through *Javanthropus* or Neanderthal man to recent man. Five more teeth of *Australopithecus* were found, and S. Germany yielded a skull showing marked resemblances to and differences from the Neanderthal type. Bethlehem beds of not later than early Pleistocene age yielded artefacts, and remains of an extinct Asiatic fauna including *Hipparion* and *Stegodon*. Worked bones of an extinct deer gave the first sign of palaeolithic man in Japan, and evidence suggested that, in Rhodesia, man was at least as early as in Europe. America provided definite evidence of man's association with the mammoth, camel, horse, and ground sloth. Minnesota man, of late Pleistocene age, seems to have been a primitive *Homo sapiens* of an early type of evolving Mongoloid suggestive of the Eskimo, although this interpretation was disputed. In general, evidence suggested that the chief races of modern man separated early in the Pleistocene, undergoing parallel changes giving them their modern characteristics. The blood grouping of the Veddahs, Eskimos, Tibetans, and Bantus was studied, the latter proving to be more primitive serologically than the Bushman. The Australian seems to be a major race and an earlier stage in the development of *Homo sapiens* than any other existing race. The presence of a Mediterranean element in neolithic Britain was questioned. Books included Weidenreich's "New Discoveries of *Sinanthropus pekinensis* and their Bearing on the *Sinanthropus* and *Pithecanthropus* Problems," Chockalingam's "Origin of the Indo-European Races and Peoples," Montandon's "Civilisation Ainou et les cultures arctiques," Shapera *et al.* "Bantu-Speaking Tribes of S. Africa," Adams' "Interracial Marriage in Hawaii," and Dover's "Half Caste."

Cytogenetics.—Russia continued to lead in this field of work. Increased attention was given to the physiology of genetics and to methodology: a new technique of artificial fertilisation of *Drosophila* opened up fresh vistas in genetic research. The physico-chemical mechanism of X-ray-induced mutations was further analysed, and the view advanced that spontaneous mutations are mono-molecular reactions produced by thermal agitation when this oversteps the energy threshold of the chemical bonds. On the other hand the gene concept itself was criticised and geneticists were asked to "acknowledge that gene mutations have as little existence as genes themselves." Advance was made in knowledge of chromosome structure and behaviour, an interesting discovery being the specific action of colchicine in inhibiting anaphase, and emphasis was laid on the importance of crossing-over as the primary variable in the evolution of genetic systems. It was generally recognised that species in Nature are realities although higher categories are artificial conventions, and that speciation is not a simple clear-cut phenomenon or due to any one cause or series of causes. An "Association for the Study of Systematics in Relation to General Biology" was founded in London. Books included Reinig's "Melanismus, Albinismus u. Rufinismus," Timofeef-Ressovsky's "Experimented Mutationsforschung in der Vererbungslehre," Stubbe's "Spontane u. Strahleninduzierte Mutabilität," Dobzhansky's "Genetics and the Origin of Species," Melin's "The Problem of Ornithophily," McKerrow's "Evolution without Natural Selection," Schmidt's "Die Doppelbrechung von Karyoplasma, Zytoplasma u. Metaplasma," White's "Chromosomes," Lawrence's "Practical Plant Breeding," and Newman *et al.* "Twins."

Zoology.—There were published numerous parts of the monumental systematic and morphological treatises associated with the names of Oppenheimer, Pincussen, Kiikenthal, Berger, Schmid, Mollendorf, etc., and valuable reports of many oceanographic and other expeditions. General books included Roughley's "Wonders of the Great Barrier Reef," Sanderson's "Animal Treasure," Lindsay's "Science of Animal Life," Norman and Fraser's "Giant Fishes, Whales and Dolphins," Grindley's "Intelligence of Animals," and Gatenby's "Biological Laboratory Technique." Many ecological and zoogeographical surveys were carried out, a welcome feature being the attention paid to physiological aspects. Further analysis was made of the complicated distributional patterns of to-day in terms of the movements of plants and animals resulting from slow climatic changes, and increased accuracy was given by new methods of biogeographical mapping. Reinig published "Die Holarktis," Heptner "General Zoogeography," and Steers "Scot Head Island."

Numerous studies in morphology and comparative anatomy filled gaps in knowledge and gave fuller understanding of animal structure and phylogeny, and there was a welcome tendency towards the correlation of development with physiology. Books included Henneberg's "Der Wanderratte," Eisentraut's "Die deutschen Fledermäuse," de Beer's "Development of the Vertebrate Skull," Mann's "Developmental Abnormalities of the Eye," Grinnell *et al.* "Fur-Bearing Mammals of California,"

MacEwen and Ewen's "Canadian Animal Industry," Cox's "Evolution of the Australian Merino," Thorpe's "Merycoidodontidae" and Matthews' "Paleocene Faunas of the San Juan Basin." Bird study remained primarily descriptive and systematic, and books included Kirkman's "Bird Behaviour," Peters' "Check List of Birds of the World, III," Linsdale's "Natural History of Magpies," Bent's "Life Histories of N. American Birds of Prey," Niethammer's "Passeres," Beebe's "Pheasants," Rand's "Madagascar Birds," Archer and Godman's "Birds of British Somaliland," Evans' "African Hesperiidæ," Friedmann's "Birds of Ethiopia and Kenya Colony," and Mayr and Rand's "Birds of the Papuan Expedition." Curran and Kauffeld published "Snakes and Their Ways." In addition to much systematic and anatomical work on fishes, novel tendencies were studies on races in fishes and on fish physiology: the sexual cycle in fish, like that of mammals and birds, is a photoperiod function. In fisheries investigations attention was given especially to the herring, salmon, and sea trout, black bass, sardine, and haddock, and also to the lobster and oyster. The rhythms and distribution of plankton in relation to fish were studied with recognition of the importance of phosphates and nitrates as limiting factors. The antarctic plankton were found to show a seasonal circulation on a scale unrivalled elsewhere. Books included Walford's "Marine Game Fishes of the Pacific Coast," Ford's "The Nation's Sea-Fish Supply," and Orton's "Oyster Biology and Oyster Culture."

Entomologists published numerous studies of the systematics, development and anatomy of insects although comparatively little on insect physiology, and interesting work was done on insect populations with special reference to density effects. There was increased acceptance of the symphylian theory of insect phylogeny. Monographs included Folsom's "Nearctic Isotomidae," Austen's "Bombyliidae of Palestine," Ferris' "Atlas of the Scale Insects of N. America," Seguy's "Dipteres," Talbot's "Delias, VI," Cockerell's "Ceratina, Halictus and Megachile," Sewell and Talbot's "Sphingidae," Ribaut's "Homopteres Auchenorrhynques," and "Typhlocybid," Killington's "British Neuroptera, VI," and Oudemans' "Kritisch Historisch Overzicht der Acarologie." More applied works included Chrystal's "Insects of the British Woodlands," Masee's "Pests of Fruits and Hops," Fox Wilson's "Pests of Ornamental Garden Plants," Deshpande and Nadkarny's "Spotted Boll-Worms of Cotton," Uvarov's "The Locust Outbreak in Africa and W. Asia in 1935," Taylor's "The Biological Control of an Insect in Fiji," Corbett *et al.* "Insects, Fungi and Bacteria associated with Copra in Malaya," and Roack's "Tephrosia as an Insecticide." Of other invertebrates mention may be made of a general tendency towards the synthesis of morphological findings and experimental studies of behaviour, and of the discovery of sex in Paramecium. Books included Wesenberg-Lund's "Invertebrata," Galtsoff *et al.* "Culture Methods for Invertebrate Animals," Jensen *et al.* "Zoology of the Faroes, II," Rathbun's "Oxystomatous and Allied Crabs of America," Petwardhan's "Palæmon," White's "Mytilus," Schenck's "Acila," Gilbert's "Pelecypodes," Pickford's "Acanthodriline Earthworms of S. Africa," Lapage's

" Nematodes Parasitic in Animals," and Sewell's " Ciliophora of British India."

General Physiology.—In nerve study it was generally recognised that both electrical and chemical conditions are involved in transmission of excitation in living material. " Brain waves " received attention, and it became clear that in normal persons the pattern of electrical activity in the brain is characteristic, each having his individual potentials which are highly consistent from day to day. Books included the Cold Spring Harbor " Symposium on Quantitative Biology, IV," Erlanger and Gasser's " Electrical Signs of Nervous Activity," Gurwitsch's " Mitogenetic Analysis of the Excitation of the Nervous System," in which a chain reaction theory of excitation was put forward, and Cannon and Rosenblueth's " Autonomic Neuro-Effector Systems."

A vast amount of research was done on hormones, vitamins, enzymes, carcinogens, organisers, and cognate problems, since the complexities of animal development depend upon the influence and interaction of growth rates, genie action, infective and nutritional factors, rhythms of production of hormones, and threshold values. Evidence supported the view of a nervous control of the anterior pituitary, whilst the adrenal was recognised as second only in importance to the pituitary in the endocrine system. Bisexual properties were found in nearly all the sexual hormones, the co-operative activity of most of them with oestrone or oestradiol was demonstrated, and knowledge advanced of the relation between molecular structure and the cestrogenic activity of the sex hormones. The phenanthrene nucleus is common but not essential for the various cestrogenic substances either naturally existing or artificially prepared. It seems probable that the various sex hormones are prepared in the body from the sterols and that the carcinogenic agents may be formed in the body cells by a degradation metabolism of the sterols. (Estrin, styryl blue, the acenaphthene derivatives and squalene can act as efficient evocators in embryological induction: the presence of an organisation centre in the mammalian embryo was confirmed. A new male sex hormone (epiallopregnanolone) was isolated and made synthetically, and a compound was synthesised (21-oxy-progesterone) with activity similar to corticosterone. Zinc protamine insulin was used successfully in diabetes. Books included the British Medical Journal's " Endocrines in Theory and Practice," and Fels' "Das Hormon des Corpus Luteum."

It was generally recognised that animals are primarily dependent upon the carotene of grass for their supply of vitamin A: a crystalline vitamin A concentrate was obtained. Aneurin (B1) was synthesised; in animals, it seems to be necessary for the synthesis of fats from carbohydrates. Vitamin C in small amounts was found to inactivate infective doses of vaccinia: in Russia this vitamin was made on a factory scale from the sweet-brier rose. Deficiency of vitamin E seems to be an important cause of the habitual abortion—stillbirth syndrome. Vitamin K was obtained in crystalline form. Vitamin P seems to require traces of ascorbic acid, and a new vitamin " P " was reported which appears to be closely related to vitamin C. Vitamin growth factors were found for a wide range of

animals and plants, and much research was done on synergism and antagonism of vitamins. Vitamins may be united with proteins giving compounds of quite different properties, and phosphorylation may be as important as combination with protein. The great importance was recognised of porphyrin derivatives in the lives of animals and plants, and of compounds combined with protein either as loose compounds or as prosthetic groups. Further work was done on the molecular constitution of proteins, and the cyclol hypothesis was extended to globular proteins. Two conflicting trends were evident in enzyme theory, one emphasising the absolute character of the specificity and the other pointing to a wide range of activity. Certain minor elements in plant and animal nutrition seem to act as catalysts of the vital enzymic reactions of the organism. Eddy and Dalldorf published "The Avitaminoses," and Coward "Biological Standardisation of the Vitamins."

The problems of the mechanism of carcinogenesis and of whether the immediate stimulus to malignant proliferation is chemical or microbic remained unsolved; in experimental work, the importance of the species, strain, and sex of the animals employed was clear. Further interesting results were obtained on the geographical distribution of cancer and the relation of diet to cancer. Normal tissue may yield a substance apparently harmless to normal cells which prevents or retards the growth of cancer cells. Work on transmissible tumours indicated that even in tar sarcomas of fowls a virus-like agent may be concerned. The Rous agent is probably not a lipoid substance but a protein; and a high molecular weight protein apparently associated with the viral activity was isolated from the Shope rabbit papilloma. Books included Ward *et al.* "Some Fundamental Aspects of the Cancer Problem," and Hoffman's "Cancer and Diet."

In human nutrition studies the primary emphasis was laid on the value of safe milk as the key to proper nutrition. Compulsory pasteurisation seems the only safeguard against milk-borne disease and, except for reduction in vitamins B and C, the process does not decrease the nutritive value. In cold and gas storage physiology interesting results were obtained on the retention of fertility in eggs during storage, and gas storage was extended to pears, vegetables, and other plant and animal products.

The physiological action of various rays received much attention. On the question of mitogenetic rays the curious position continued that English and American workers could find no evidence of their existence, whilst Russian and central European workers could measure their effects. Books included Scott's "Biological Action of X- and Y-Rays," Hollaender and Claus' "Experimental Study of the Problem of Mitogenetic Radiation," and Stumpf *et al.* "Röntgenkymographische Bewegungslehre Inneren Organe," a book opening up an interesting field of work. Of many other investigations note may be made of the rearing of guinea-pigs under bacteria-free conditions; the striking Russian work on the resuscitation of dogs after varying periods after "death"; work on the general lower viability of the male sex throughout the animal kingdom; and work leading to a view of protoplasm not as an emulsion but as containing polar

particles or chains of molecules which, when occasion requires, link themselves into structural features.

Books indicating various lines of progress included parts of Abderhalden, Asher, Butenandt, etc., Heilbrunn's "Outline of General Physiology," Carlson and Johnson's "The Machinery of the Body," Berger's "Experimentelle Physiologie," Frolov's "Pavlov and His School," Dukes' "Physiology of Domestic Animals," Mitchell and McClure's "Mineral Nutrition of Farm Animals," Maynard's "Animal Nutrition," Benedict's "Physiology of the Elephant," Loewy and Wittkower's "Pathology of High Altitudes," Roholm's "Fluorine Intoxication," Birtwistle's "Role of Chemiotaxis in Bone Growth," Wilton's "Tissue Reactions in Bone and Dentine," Kahn's "Tissue Immunity," Butler's "Blood Cultures and Their Significance," McClure's "Functional Activities of the Pancreas and Liver," Lepeschkin's "Zellnekrobiose u. Protoplasmatod," Burn's "Biological Standardization," Burn and Biilbring's "Biologische Auswertungsmethoden," Munch's "Biological Assaying," Holmes' "Metabolism of Living Tissues," Needham and Green's "Perspectives in Biochemistry," Friedmann's "Sterols and Related Compounds," Bull's "Biochemistry of the Lipids," the Faraday Society's "Properties and Functions of Membranes," Dhere's "Fluorescence en Biochemie," and the Jones' "Canning Practice and Control." More general or philosophical books included Bertalanffy's "Das Gefüge des Lebens," Mayer *et al.* "La vie," Bews' "Life as a Whole," Schmalzfuss' "Stoff u. Leben," the Mialls' "Chemistry, Matter and Life," and Schottky *et al.* "Rasse u. Krankheit."

Botany.—There was a tendency to re-examine fundamental ideas in systematics and to correlate morphological taxonomy with other branches of botanical research. Systematic works included parts of the monumental "Flora, U.S.S.R.," Kanjilal *et al.* "Flora of Assam, I," "St. John's "Flora of S.E. Washington," Smith's "Fijian Studies," Niwa's "Chrysanthemums of Japan," Grey's "Iridaceae," Rechinger's "N. American Species of Rumex," and Borg's "Cacti." Morphological books included Schnarf's "Anatomie der Gymnospermen-Samen," and Saunders' "Floral Morphology." Comparatively little was published on the ferns and mosses. Interesting work was done on algae of the Boghead deposits and on fossil algae in Indian Cretaceous deposits, and books included Pascher's "Heterokonten," Kylin's "Anatomie der Rhodophyceen" and volumes of Handel-Mazzetti's "Symboļse Sinicæ." Advance was made in knowledge of fungal genetics, and it was increasingly recognised that genetic complexities underlie most variation phenomena, many further examples of heterothallism were discovered, and uredia and telia of *Puccinia graminis* were recorded on the barberry. Books included Grove's "British Stem and Leaf Fungi, II," Homma's "Erysiphaceae of Japan," Ainsworth's "Bibliography of the Plant Diseases of Great Britain," Heald's "Introduction to Plant Pathology," and Lehmann *et al.* "Der Schwartzrost."

Ecological studies were mostly descriptive, but there was a tendency to correlate the subject with genetics and physiology. Matthews published "The Geographical Relationships of the British Flora," and books included Allee and Schmidt's "Ecological Plant Geography," Drabble's

" Plant Ecology," Wood's " Vegetation of S. Australia," Muir's " The Seed-drift of S. Africa," Moor's " Soziologie der Isoetitalia," and Schmid's " Der Relictfohrenwalder der Alpen." Although much work was done on the classical problems of plant physiology attention was primarily concentrated on plant hormones, photoperiodism, vernalisation, and nutritional deficiencies. The mechanism of hormone effects remained obscure although evidence indicated that respiratory reactions are accelerated ; advance was made in knowledge of the role of hormones in the formation of tumours and legume nodules ; and progress was made in the application to horticultural practice of the rapidly accumulating knowledge of growth substances, many of which have been isolated and are now commercially available. Photoperiod can be altered by temperature and photoperiod after-effect was demonstrated on ornamental flowering plants. The vernalisation process was extended to numerous field and garden crops ; evidence indicated the reversible nature of the process. Widespread boron deficiency was recognised as a noteworthy factor in agricultural practice. Other interesting lines of work were the commercial application of neon lighting in horticulture, researches on the storage of pollen, on the accumulation of gold in plants growing in auriferous soils, and on the extraordinary length of grass root-systems. Plant serology, although a little suspect, continued to yield valuable results in widely different fields of botanical research. Books included Loomis *et al.* " Methods in Plant Physiology," Wright's " General Plant Physiology," Went and Thimann's " Phytohormones," Schlenker's " Die Wuchsstoffe der Pflanzen," Eckstein *et al.* " Kennzeichen des Kalimangels," Kiister's " Pathologie der Pflanzenzelle, III," Colla's " Die Kontraktile Zelle der Pflanzen," Sande-Bakhuyzen's " Wheat Grown Under Constant Conditions," Bruckner's " Die Biochemie des Tabaks," Norman's " Biochemistry of Cellulose, Polyuronides and Lignin," Combe's " La vie de la cellule vegetale," and Nemec's " Duse Eostlin."

Books on the economic aspects of botany included Stanford's " General and Economic Botany," Hill's " Economic Botany," Dalziel's " Useful Plants of W. Tropical Africa," Bois' " Les plantes a boissons," Holland's " Overseas Plant Products," Brodie's " Indian Vegetable Oils," and Robinson's " Leguminous Forage Plants." Forestry books included Harlow and Harrar's " Dendrology," Parde's " Les coniferes," Stebbing's " Forests of W. Africa and the Sahara," Begue's " La vegetation forestiere de la Haute-Cote d'Ivoire," Burt Davy and Hoyle's " Forest Trees and Shrubs of the Nyasaland Protectorate, II," Carter's " British Trees and Shrubs," Brown's " Timber Products and Industries," and the Oxford " Forest Bibliography."

In agricultural botany primary themes were the importance of the regional survey method of grasslands, the outstanding value of pastures in soil erosion control, the need of planning the farming lands, and the desirability of co-operation between forestry and agriculture. Progress was made in the commercial water and sand culture of crop plants. Books included the " Report of the IVth International Grassland Congress," Stapledon's " Hill Lands of Britain," Gustafson's " Conservation of the

Soil," Thompson's "Moisture and Farming in S. Africa," Robinson's "Mother Earth," and the U.S.A. Forest Service "Range Plant Handbook."

Microbiology and Disease.—In microbic disease interesting results were the finding of a complete cycle of development of malaria parasites in *Culex bitaeniorhynchus*, and the discovery of widespread tuberculosis in wild voles. Advance was made in understanding the influence of structure on the action of parasitocidal drugs, and the value of sulphanilamide in streptococcal infections was confirmed. Books included Gottstein's "Epidemiologic," Hackett's "Malaria in Europe," Hauduroy *et al.* "Dictionnaire des Bacteries Pathogenes," Geittler's "Schizophyta," Galloway and Burgess' "Applied Mycology and Bacteriology," and valuable Reports of the Medical Research Council and other bodies.

In virology two theories of the nature of viruses received support: viruses may be minute organised living entities, as seems to be true of many animal diseases, or may be autocatalytic substances, as seems to be true of certain plant diseases. Tobacco mosaic virus is a nucleoprotein of special character, existing as mesomorphic fibres in the cell sap and spontaneously forming liquid crystals of gigantic cell-size when isolated. liquid crystals were prepared from cucumber mosaic, and evidence indicated the protein nature of the infective agent in bacteriophage. Virus protein seems to be a link between living and non-living, and viruses may eventually be classified on the basis of their X-ray patterns. The egg membrane technique was further developed, the chorio-allantoic membrane giving promise of replacing the experimental animal in the study of many viruses; the viruses of typhus and of Rocky Mountain spotted fever were grown on simple tissue serum media, and the free-living saprophytic viruses from sewage on ordinary bacteriological media. More accurate methods were found of determining the size of virus particles, and the technique of ultra-violet microscopy was further developed, opening up a new range of virus problems. Human influenza is transmissible to ferrets and mice, and evidence indicated that trachoma is due to a virus with Rickettsia bodies. The foot and mouth disease virus shows great and apparently increasing variability, with a multiplicity of identifiable strains, and the natural reservoir of the disease seems to be the hedgehog. An air-borne plant virus was recorded, and progress was made in the study of variation of plant viruses and of plant immunisation against viruses. Books included the "Fifth Progress Report on Foot and Mouth Disease," Hyde and Gardner's "Laboratory Outline of Filterable Viruses," and Smith's "Textbook of Plant Virus Diseases."

General.—The statistical method found increasing application in all branches of biology, but it was questioned whether the mathematical restatement of biological problems does not tend to sublimate biological facts into mathematical figments, which may lead to fallacious notions about living things. Books included Kostitzin's "Biologie mathematique," Snedecor's "Statistical Methods," Woodger's "The Axiomatic Method in Biology," and Thompson's "Science and Common Sense."

The social background of ill-health received much attention. Difficulties in the assessment of nutrition were appreciated, but it was generally

agreed that where dietary standards fail the major cause is not ignorance but poverty, and that rising income, associated with increased consumption of protective foods, goes hand in hand with a decreased death-rate, better growth of children, greater adult stature, and much improved general health. Emphasis was also directed to physical training. See Thornton and Knauth's "The Social Component in Medical Care," Rowntree's "The Human Needs of Labour," The League of Nations report on "The Relation of Nutrition to Health, Agriculture, and Economic Policy," and Griffin's "Scientific Basis of Physical Education."

Population problems remained a primary issue. There was general recognition of the inadequacy of demographic records in many countries, including Great Britain, and of the fact that national existence is bound up with the question of the birth-rate, and that neglect of the obvious tendencies in most of the more civilised countries must lead to a new balance of peoples and of social life. See McCleary's "Menace of British Depopulation" and Kuczynski's "Colonial Population."

In certain countries there was increased pressure to force science into a political framework, and this was shown especially in the continued existence of the scientific stupidity termed racialism. Racial doctrine was made the instrument of attack on that freedom of the mind which is the essence of progress in the development of civilisation. See Gtitt *et al.* "Der Amtsarzt." Scientifically, the importance for civilisation is quite clear of a diversity of ethnic and cultural elements in a population.

The social responsibilities of science were generally recognised, and there was increased appreciation of the need for the study of human biology and for a vastly greater amount of social research, since it is obvious that, in any progressive community, the human and social sciences must keep pace with those other sciences which are setting problems to civilisation. A fundamental issue is that of the educational equipment for the New Age. Emphasis was laid on the human problems of progressive industry, and there was increased appreciation of the primary importance of the psychological factors in crime and delinquency, disease, food problems, accident prevention, etc. A tragic retrogression during 1937 was the destruction of the promising biological research carried out in China. Books included Orr *et al.* "What Science Stands For," Cattell *et al.* "Human Affairs," Burrow's "Biology of Human Conflict," Healy and Bronner's "New Light on Delinquency and its Treatment," and Burt's "The Backward Child."

THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES.

The sudden death of Lord Rutherford on October 19 cast a cloud over a year which, as far as could be seen at its conclusion, will not become noteworthy for any discoveries of outstanding importance in the Physical Sciences. Perhaps the most significant event was the controversy which arose from a letter by Dirac printed in *Nature* on February 20. Here it was pointed out that the age of the universe (2×10^9 years) given by "current cosmological theories" when expressed in atomic units (*e.g.*, e^2/mc^3)

gives a number (10^{39}) comparable with the ratio of the electric to the gravitational force between an electron and a proton. It was suggested that this number and the ratio (mass of universe)/(mass of proton) (10^{78}) are "apart from simple numerical constants, just equal to $t, t^2, \dots$ where t is the present epoch expressed in atomic units." Whence it might be concluded that the amount of matter in the universe is continually increasing while the gravitational constant decreases. Milne (*Nature*, March 6) treated this communication seriously but pointed out that while his own kinematic cosmology did not indicate the continual creation of matter it would do so if the constant in the inverse square of electrostatic force (usually taken as unity) was proportional to t . Later Dingle wrote a short article (*Nature*, May 8) entitled "Modern 'Aristotelianism'" roundly condemning the metaphysical trend of cosmological theorists and the "pseudo-science of invertebrate cosmology," and so provoked many prominent workers to an expression of views printed in a special supplement to *Nature* on June 12.

Work on "modern" physics continued to be chiefly concerned with the problems presented by the atomic nucleus and the particles which seemingly compose it. Beta-ray disintegration was discussed at a meeting of the Royal Society on March 4 (*Nature*, March 13) and Bohr described the essential differences between the dynamics of atoms and of atomic nuclei at the Congres du Palais de la Decouverte in Paris in October (*Nature*, Oct. 23). The neutrino was generally accepted as a useful working hypothesis, but at least one attempt was made to show that the beta-ray spectrum could be explained without assuming its existence. Certainly it continued to evade direct experimental observation. The precise relationship of the neutron, proton, electron, and photon remained obscure. Cernuschi (*J. de Physique et le Radium*) used Schrodinger's relativistic equation to show that the union of a proton and an electron could have but one stable state and that with a life of only 10^{-27} sec. It would seem therefore that the electron, positron and neutron should be taken as the fundamental particles, the proton consisting of a neutron and a positron.

Attempts to decide whether the neutron possesses a magnetic moment were only partially successful. Dunning, Powers, and Beyer (*Phys. Rev.*) tried to detect any alignment or polarisation of neutrons when they are passed through strongly magnetised materials, and Hoffman, Livingston, and Bethe (*Phys. Rev.*) observed their selective scattering by magnetised iron. Both sets of observers obtained an effect greater than the experimental error, and it is not improbable that the neutron has a moment of the order given by a theory due to Bloch.

Lewis and Schutz (*Phys. Rev.*) reported preliminary experiments which showed that neutrons can be refracted by a paraffin lens and Scherrer found their mass to be 1.0090 (*Nature*, Oct. 23). Paneth and Glitskauf showed, by microanalytical methods, that when neutrons are produced by bombarding beryllium with gamma-rays the beryllium (^9_4Be) breaks down into helium (^4_2He) and not into ^8_4Be as appeared equally likely on theoretical grounds, although it was still possible that ^8_4Be may be formed as an intermediate product with a half-life not exceeding one month. Curie and Savitch (*J. de Phys. et le Radium*), and Meitner, Hahn, and Strassman

(*Zeit. f. Physik*), investigated the disintegration of uranium under neutron bombardment and obtained three new series of short period radioactive elements ending possibly in eka-gold, eka-iridium, and eka-rhenium. The bombardment seemed to have no effect on the natural disintegration of the uranium (see also *Nature*, March 27, 540).

Takeda (*Proc. Phys. Math. Soc. Japan*) verified results obtained by Kikuchi which can be explained by supposing that electrons may be emitted from atoms under neutron bombardment—an entirely new nuclear process which required further confirmation. Shinohara (*Inst. Phys. Chem. Tokyo*) showed that positrons are emitted from radium C and thorium (B + C) in the ratio of 1 positron to about 2,000 electrons. G. P. Thomson and Saxton (*Phil. Mag.*) bombarded elements of small atomic weight with positrons and found that no effects indicative of induced radioactivity were produced.

Stueckelberg (*Phys. Rev.*) showed mathematically the possibility of the existence of charged particles of mass up to about fifty times that of the electron. Anderson and Neddermeyer (*Phys. Rev.*) considered that particles of this type carrying Unit charge may constitute the highly penetrant component of the cosmic rays, and Street and Stevenson (*Am. Phys. Soc. Abs.*) reported experimental evidence for their existence. Blackett (*Nature*, Oct. 23) expressed the opinion that the penetrating rays have a more complex origin. There was a general consensus of opinion that the less penetrating cosmic rays are a mixture of electrons and positrons [*e.g.*, Clay (*K. Akad. Amsterdam*); Bo wen, Millikan, and Neher (*Phys. Rev.*) and others], and that the penetrating rays may be protons [*e.g.*, Clay (*loc. cit.*)] and are certainly not electrons [*e.g.* Heitler (*Roy. Soc. Proc.*)]. The origin of the rays remained a subject for speculation. Alfven (*Comptes Rendus*), for example, suggested that one of the components of a double star would act as a unipolar inductor emitting positrons in one direction and electrons in the opposite one; while Holmes (*J. Frank. Inst.*) propounded a theory of terrestrial origin based on Debye's theory of the polar water molecule.

Heitler and Bhabha (*Roy. Soc. Proc.*) used relativistic quantum mechanics to determine the number of secondary positrons and electrons produced when a fast primary electron passes through matter and showed that cosmic ray shower phenomena could thus be accounted for. Clay and van Tijn (*Physica*) obtained effects with an iron shielded ionisation chamber which they attributed to artificial radioactivity induced in the iron by cosmic rays. The half-life period of the radioactive product appeared to be 8.6 minutes.

In his last contribution to *Nature* (Aug. 21) Kutherford described the various unsuccessful attempts which had been made to obtain the isotopes of hydrogen and helium of mass 3 in sufficient quantities to enable their properties to be studied. Urey and others (*J. Amer. Chem. Soc.*) described a method for the concentration of heavy nitrogen (^{15}N) on a considerable scale for use in chemical and biochemical experiments. Bleakney (*Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.*) described a new mass-spectrograph with which he had been able to show the existence of a few new isotopes and to determine the relative abundance of the isotopes of palladium, iridium, and platinum,

The atomic weight of iridium deduced from the results (192-2) differed considerably from the accepted value (193-1).

Honigschmid (*Naturwiss.*) re-determined by chemical methods a number of atomic weights whose values as given by the International Committee differ from those deduced by Aston from mass-spectrograph data. Honigschmid found for phosphorus 30.978 in exact agreement with Aston as against 31.02 ($0 = 16$) the International value; but his values for neodymium (144.27) and lutecium (174.98) agreed with the International values and not with Aston. The differences are to be explained by the existence of isotopes unknown to, but suggested by, Aston. For example Dempster (*Phys. Rev.*) found that neodymium has two additional isotopes of mass 148 and 150 for which Aston did not allow in his estimate of the atomic weight of that element, and Gollnow (*Zeit. f. Physik*) detected a hitherto unknown isotope of lutecium.

Hubble and Tolman (*Mount Wilson Annual Report*, 1936) stated that the data relating to the recession of the nebula B is insufficient to determine the cause of the redwards shift of the lines in their spectra. If it is due to expansion the universe must have a relatively small radius, not greater indeed than the range of the 100-inch reflector. Various alternative explanations were considered. Adams and Humason demonstrated the shift with a grating spectrograph instead of the prismatic spectrograph generally used, and it follows that the shift is not due to a variation of frequency at constant wave-length, while Stromberg's measurement of the aberration of light from a distant cluster indicated that the velocity of light does not alter in its passage from the nebulae. Sambursky (*Phys. Rev.*) pointed out that the red shift would be produced in a static universe if the quantum of action diminishes with time and used the same hypothesis to explain gravitation from Dirac's theory. W. Nernst (*Zeit. f. Physik*) considered that all the evidence from other phenomena indicates that the universe is stationary while ten Bruggencate (*Naturwiss.*) and Fricke (*Zeit. f. Astrophysik*) agreed with Hubble that it is not yet possible to reach any conclusion.

Saha (*Nature*) pointed out that recent work by Dunham and by Merrill on inter-stellar spectral lines implies the existence of molecules in inter-stellar space. Evershed (*Observatory*) discussed the red shift of the lines in the solar spectrum, and concluded that the excess of red shift of the iron and calcium lines from the sun's limb has not yet been explained in a satisfactory manner.

Spencer (*Nature*) discussed the origin of the moon's craters. It is generally accepted that these were produced by the impact of meteorites abundant in the earlier days of the solar system. The "maria" are regarded as lava fields from fissure eruptions while the bright streaks may be condensed spherules from metallic meteorites vaporised by the heat of impact [see also Wrigley (*Science Progress*)].

The period of totality in the eclipse of the sun visible in the South Pacific on June 9-8 was the longest over a period of 1,238 years, but this maximum occurred in a locality far from land. It was observed for 7 minutes 6 seconds by Professor Stewart of Princeton University from the S.S. *Steel-*

maker ; by Major Stevens of the U.S. Army from an aeroplane flying at 30,000 feet above Peru (see *Nature*, Aug. 21 and Oct. 2), and by various official parties. One of these observed from Canton Island, an atoll in the Phoenix Group, and was accompanied by an announcer and two engineers from the staff of the National Broadcasting Co. of America. All the parties seem to have had excellent conditions for their observations.

Bullen and Jeffreys (both *Monthly Notices, R.A.S. Geophysical Supplement*) discussed the structure of the earth as revealed by seismic phenomena. The mean specific gravity of the molten core of pure iron appears to be about 10.9 and the maximum, at a depth exceeding 6,000 km., 12.2. The boundary of the core occurs at a depth of 2,900 km.—the Oldham discontinuity—and here the specific gravity changes abruptly from 9.9 to 5.5. There is another discontinuity at a depth of c. 500 km. where the specific gravity changes from 4 to 3.5. It is supposed that the continents are supported by a layer of granite 12 km. deep followed by an intermediate layer of variable composition 24 km. thick resting on a layer of olivine about 480 km. thick. From here to the Oldham discontinuity the material is uncertain. Bernal has suggested that it may be olivine changed to the cubic form by high pressure. (See also J. H. Reynolds, presidential address to the R.A.S., *Nature*, Feb. 20.)

Stoyko (*Comptes Rendus*) showed that the rates of the pendulum clocks at Washington and Paris and the quartz clocks in the Charlottenburg have an annual periodicity which must be due to an irregularity in the rotation of the earth. This irregularity may perhaps be produced by a small periodic change in the earth's radius (4 cm.) due to the freezing and melting of the polar ice caps or to the cycle of vegetation.

The Soviet Government established an observing station on an ice floe near the North Pole. The personnel, scientific equipment, and stores were carried by aeroplanes to the camp. The station kept in touch with the Government by radio and its activities were reported in England from time to time (see e.g., *Nature*, June 12, Aug. 7, Oct. 30, Dec. 18).

W. V. Houston (*Phys. Rev.*) and Kellstrom (*Phil. Mag.*) re-determined the viscosity of air by the rotating cylinder method. The former found its value to be $(1.8243 \pm 0.0045) \times 10^{-6}$ gm./cm./sec. at 22° C. giving, with Millikan's oil drop data, $e = 4.796 \times 10^{-10}$ e.s.u. Kellstrom's value gave $e = 4.818 \times 10^{-10}$ e.s.u., which seemed too high. Ishida and others (*Sci. Papers Inst. Phys. Ghem. Tokyo*) repeated the oil-drop experiment, paying special attention to all possible errors and obtained the value $(4.806 \pm 0.003) \times 10^{-10}$ e.s.u. in agreement with the value generally accepted as correct.

Bradley (*Zeit. f. Krist.*) studied the crystallisation of ammonium iodide on mica covered with films of cellulose acetate. In the absence of a film the salt crystallises on the mica in a regular tetrahedral pattern, but when the film thickness is increased to 10^{-5} cm. this pattern begins to merge into the normal irregular cubic, thus indicating the range of the surface forces.

Kiirti, Laine and Simon (*Comptes Rendus*) showed how the scale of temperature based on the susceptibility of paramagnetic crystals below

1° K. may be correlated with absolute work scale. Allen and Shire. (*Nature*) discussed the use of the phosphor-bronze resistance thermometer between 0-027° K. and 1° K. F. London propounded a new theory of super-conductivity at low temperatures (*Nature*, Nov. 6, 13).

Jordan (*Zeit. f. Physik*) continued the development of his neutrino theory of light and defended it against an attack by Fock (e.g., *Nature*, July 17). Born and Nath (*Proc. Ind. Acad. Science*) revised their treatment of the theory ascribing a spin of $\frac{1}{2}$ to the neutrino to explain the polarisation of light. They succeeded in deducing Planck's radiation formula from the theory. Other papers dealing with the nature of the photon treated it as a combination of a Dirac electron and its "anti-particle" or of a positron and electron.

W. C. Anderson (*Rev. Sci. Instr.*) described a Kerr cell method for measuring the velocity of light and obtained the value (299,764 ± 15) km./sec. in vacuo as a mean of 651 observations. Saha (*Roy. Soc. Proc.*) pointed out that no satisfactory theory of upper air phenomena could be achieved until further information has been obtained regarding the effect of ultra-violet light from the sun on oxygen and nitrogen molecules. He showed that the sun's ultra-violet radiation does not even approximate to black body radiation and that in certain wave-length bands it radiates nearly a million times as many photons as a black body at 6,500° K.

Dieterle and Keister (*Z. f. wiss. Phot.*) described the syntheses of dyes suitable for sensitising plates for infra-red photography, in particular benzthioundekacarbocyanine ethiodide which gives maximum sensitivity at 10,200 Å.

Much work was done on the production of discharge tubes giving white light instead of the greenish light emitted by the mercury vapour lamps which came into considerable use for street lighting during the year. Claude (*Gomptes Rendus*, Dec. 1936) described methods using fluorescent materials painted on the lamp, and Laporte (*Gomptes Rendus*) showed that white light could be obtained from a xenon tube through which brief but very intense currents were passed by means of a condenser and a thyatron. A tube of this type gave 12,000 lumens for 1,500 watts.

Many papers published during the year dealt with supersonic vibrations. In particular Wood, Tomlinson, and Essen (*Phil. Mag.*) used quartz rod oscillators to investigate the Fitzgerald-Lorentz contraction. The frequency of longitudinal vibration of such a rod depends on its length, its elasticity and its density and, if the orientation of the rod with respect to the earth's orbital motion produces any change of length, it will also change the frequency unless there is a compensating change in the elasticity (density is not likely to be affected). It was found that the frequency did not change by as much as 4 parts in 10^{11} when a rod was turned through a right angle so that, if there is any change of length with orientation, more than 99 per cent, of its effect on the frequency is compensated by a corresponding change in the elasticity.

Haalck (*Zeit. f. Physik*) worked out a theory of terrestrial magnetism based on a consideration of the forces between protons and electrons within the sphere of molecular action. It may result that the pressure

gradient in the interior of the earth causes the inner core to become positively and the outer shell negatively charged. The rotation of the earth would then give a magnetic field similar to that which actually exists.

Simpson and Scrase (*Roy. Soc. Proc.*) found that, in general, a thundercloud has a positive charge on its upper layers, a negative charge in the lower part and, often, a region of positive charge in the base. This charge is usually found near the centre of the storm and is associated with heavy rain, a fact held to support the theory that it is generated by the "breaking drop" process. The upper charge probably depends on the presence of ice crystals.

Neugebauer (*Zeit. f. Physik*) showed that quantum mechanical exchange forces would explain the existence of globular lightning if the electron density in the air is of the same order as the molecular density.

Trump and van der Graaf (*J. of Applied Physics*) constructed a moving belt electrostatic generator in which initial charges at 20 kv. are built up to a maximum of 1.2 million volts. The machine supplied 3 ma. to an X-ray tube connected to it. Herb, Parkinson, and Kerst (*Phys. Rev.*) built a smaller belt type generator operating in a steel tank 20 feet long and 5½ feet in diameter under an air pressure of 100 lb. wt./in.² which gave a steady voltage exceeding 2,000,000 volts.

Fisher and Harvey (*M.E.E.*) discussed the effects of electric shock on the human body. For alternating current at 50 cycles per sec. the shock is just perceived when the current is 1 ma., loss of control commences at 15 ma., the threshold of danger is 25 ma. and fibrillation of the heart muscle commences at 100 ma.

Paneth (*Science Progress*) described the use of artificial radio elements as indicators for various purposes, e.g., for the study of exchanges of atoms of identical chemical properties. The method had been used, for example, to show that the brain tissues are being constantly broken down and regenerated and that an atom situated one day in one leaf of a plant will probably be found in another leaf a few days later.

Recent developments in television were discussed at a conference at the Institute of Radio Engineers in May, in particular a tube giving an image of sufficient brightness to be projected by a lens system in an enlarged form on an independent screen. The successful television of the Coronation procession by the B.B.C. was the first example of successful high definition relay of an outdoor event.

The British Association met at Nottingham during the week September 1-8, Sir Edward B. Poulton being President.

Other conferences held during the year included the First International Conference on Acoustics held at Paris in July; the Conference on Short Waves in Physics, Biology, and Medicine held at Vienna in July; the Seventeenth Congress of the French Society of Chemical Industry at Paris in September, and the Seventeenth International Geological Congress in Russia during July. A large and representative delegation from the British Association left England in November to attend the Jubilee Meeting of the Indian Science Congress in January, 1938.

FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN 1937.

IN 1937 progress in the economic sphere of most countries again outstripped that in the political field. Totalitarian states continued their efforts towards self-sufficiency and international trade remained far below its former volume. In some directions the position became worse, especially in the Far East where the outbreak of hostilities between China and Japan threatened on more than one occasion to have serious consequences for some of the Western Powers. Efforts to limit intervention failed to make much impression on the situation in Spain where the prospect of a settlement between the opposing forces seemed as remote as ever, whilst in Palestine and on the North-West Frontier, anti-British propaganda created a situation which called for firm measures to restore order. In France, party differences continued to prevent the adoption of essential reforms, and as capital continued to leave the country the position became steadily worse until the Blum Government was forced to resign. Confidence was partly restored by a new Government under M. Chautemps whose policy was more acceptable to the industrialists and a considerable volume of French funds were repatriated. Some success attended efforts to improve the Budgetary situation by an increase in taxation, but little change was made in the conditions of employment. Consequently, prices in France remained well above world levels, and as manufacturers were unable to compete in overseas markets exports were again far smaller than imports. The Treasury was obliged to obtain further advances from the Bank of France to meet current expenses, and the public debt rose from 355 milliards to 380 milliards of francs. Further efforts at reform led to a crisis, and the franc steadily depreciated until it was nearly 50 per cent, lower than at the close of 1936.

But notwithstanding these circumstances business improved both at home and abroad, more particularly in those countries which had adopted sterling or the dollar as the basis of their currencies. In Great Britain industrial production attained a record which was fully reflected in the progressive increases recorded in sales of electric energy. These rose by 2,684,000,000 units or nearly 13 per cent, more than in 1936. The numbers of insured workers rose from 11,132,000 to a new high record of 11,437,000. Nearly all industries employed more people, especially the metal trades and the building industry, both of which were very active throughout the year. Retail trade continued to expand and the demand for banking accommodation established new high records. Nearly all industrial companies announced larger profits, and higher dividends were the rule rather than the exception. The number of business failures fell from 5,647 to 5,579 which was the lowest for fifteen years. The largest number in any year since the war was 8,654 in 1932. New companies were fewer by 1,020, of which

321 were public compared with 311 in 1936, but the aggregate capital of all companies was 27 per cent, smaller, largely because of the disturbed state of markets in the second half of the year. Official statistics showed that more industries had more than recovered the ground lost since 1929. Several associated with the metal and engineering trades established new high records. The steel industry, largely because of extensive rationalisation in recent years attained an average output of well over a million tons a month, and the year's total was the largest on record for this country. Although prices were advanced 17 to 26 per cent, supplies were not able to keep up with the demand, and consumers were obliged to restrict their operations. Arrangements were made for increasing the output by new works, and the Import Duties Advisory Committee was asked to plan further developments. Foreign supplies were encouraged by a reduction in the import duty, and it was necessary to inaugurate a widespread campaign for the collection of scrap. Although shipbuilding suffered from two handicaps, shortage of steel and high prices which restricted opportunities especially in the later part of the year, the industry was much more active than in 1936. This was because the rise in freights enabled shipowners to place orders with more confidence than they had done for years, whilst the volume of naval work also increased. The recovery in the coal trade was even more marked, for not only was the domestic demand substantially higher on account of the activity in other heavy industries, but the export trade revived and the total output was the highest since 1929. The woollen trade experienced less favourable conditions largely because of a reduced demand from overseas. Although exports, especially to the East, remained disappointing, business in the cotton industry was more profitable than it had been for nearly a decade, owing to spirited buying early in the year at rising prices. The number of idle spindles declined from 10,500,000 to 4,000,000, and 3,000,000 were scrapped by agreement. Similar efforts at co-operation on the weaving side met with considerable opposition. Eventually a Joint Committee of the trade proposed the setting up of a representative board to consider schemes for reorganisation. In order that the decisions of the majority should apply throughout the trade, the Government was asked to provide a Bill. The industry, however, is largely dependent on exports and, as it was maintained that insufficient attention had been given to this question, the scheme failed to receive adequate support.

Commodities suffered a more serious check, for under the influence of expanding trade stimulated by world-wide rearmament, the demand for raw materials increased rapidly as stocks fell. This encouraged speculation on an extensive scale, and what should have been orderly progress developed into a wild gamble. Non-ferrous metals rose day after day until prices approached double those at the end of 1936. Copper eventually touched 78l. per ton, the highest record since 1929, and tin rose to 331Z. per ton, the highest since 1927. Spelter touched the highest price since 1926 of 37l per ton and 36½L was paid for lead which was the highest price for twelve years. Other commodities also advanced strongly and, in order to meet the demand for those subject to schemes of control, this was either

suspended or drastically reduced. The rise in prices, however, was too rapid and severe for many consumers whose contracts were made when costs were lower, and these were obliged to suspend buying until prices returned to a more reasonable level.

Meanwhile, the flow of funds to the United States, both for reasons of safety and a desire to participate in the industrial recovery, was steadily rising and, although the gold reserve requirements of the American banks were again augmented, the possibility of an undue inflation of the currency remained, as gold continued to come into the country in ever-increasing quantities. At the close of the year the total gold holding had risen by approximately 40 per cent. Since much of this additional gold was sterilised under a decision of 1936 and financed by the issue of Treasury Bills, there arose a question as to whether the price of gold should be maintained. Exceptional shipments from Soviet Russia which sold 37,000,000l., strengthened the impression that a reduction was contemplated. It was this that gave markets their first shock of the year. Gold was immediately sold in large quantities. The price fell to a substantial discount and only recovered when the authorities supported their denials of any intention of reducing the price by purchasing liberal amounts on their own account. But confidence in Great Britain was not fully restored and the Government's attempt to impose a tax on rearmament profits merely served to accentuate the feeling of uneasiness. The tax aroused the strongest opposition mainly because of its unfairness and the difficulty of distinguishing profits due to war or civil operations. These finally led to its withdrawal and its replacement by a simple form of corporation tax. Nevertheless, the damage had been done. Commodity prices began to weaken and the fall became more marked when, in early autumn, business in America began to shrink. This brought a complete reversal of the earlier trend. Money which had previously been converted into dollars was now reconverted into gold to such an extent that in November a premium of over 1s. 10d. per ounce was readily paid for the metal. The United States contains one-fifth of the world's population and absorbs some 50 per cent, of the entire production of many raw materials. Any decline in the demand from that country must inevitably react over a very wide field. Another factor which helped to curtail business in the closing months of the year was the rise in costs of production. Increased wages, shorter hours, higher taxes and an advance in transport charges led to caution on the part of buyers especially as so large a part of current business arose directly or indirectly from rearmament plans. Expenditure of this kind cannot be continued indefinitely, and it was repeatedly urged that works of a capital nature should be prepared to make good the inevitable decline in armament work in a year or two's time.

Money Market and Banking.—Banking experience in 1937 was similar to that of the preceding year. Money remained plentiful and the Bank rate continued at 2 per cent. The average rate for Treasury Bills was slightly lower but other rates tended upward. The improvement in trade, together with the rise in prices, led to a marked increase in the demand for loans. These provide one of the more profitable fields for the employment of banking funds, and in this respect the banks enjoyed the best year since

the depression of 1930. In November advances of the eleven London Clearing banks reached 986,000,000l. which was the highest monthly average since July, 1930, and by December the increase on the year amounted to over 94,000,000l. These were provided by a reduction of other assets on which earnings were less. Investments declined by 25,000,000l. whilst bills were reduced by 22,000,000l. In the later part of the year a shrinkage in Stock Exchange business released a large volume of money at call. Thus, although deposits established a new high record of 2,330,000,000?., the increase on the year was only 15,000,000, or less than 1 per cent. The increase in trade was reflected in the turnover of the London Bankers' Clearing House which rose by 2,069,000,000?. to 42,686,000,000l., or 5 per cent, above 1936, whilst the Bank of England's note circulation on December 23 reached a new high record of 509,000,000?. Much of this increase was again due to hoarding on the part of foreigners, chiefly the French, and to avoid the Bank of England's reserve becoming unduly low the fiduciary issue was temporarily raised from 200,000,000l. to 220,000,000l. Owing to large purchases of gold the Exchange Equalisation Account was increased 200,000,000l. to 575,000,000l. The most important Government loan was the first instalment of 100,000,000?. National Defence Bonds at 99½ per cent, bearing interest at 2½ per cent, per annum. The response was disappointing and for the greater part of the year the stock was at a discount. Few banks reported any marked increase in their profits and dividends were mostly unchanged.

MONEY AND DISCOUNT RATES.

1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
BANK RATE AVERAGE.				
£ s. d. 2 0 0	£ a. d. 2 0 0	£ a. d. 2 0 0	£ a. d. 2 0 0	£ s. d. 2 0 0
DISCOUNT RATE (THREE MONTHS BANK BILLS) AVERAGE.				
0 13 8	0 10 4	0 11 7	0 11 10	0 11 0
BANKS' DEPOSIT RATE AVERAGE.				
0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0
SHORT LOAN RATE AVERAGE.				
0 16 9	0 17 1	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0
TREASURY BILL (TENDER) RATE AVERAGE.				
0 11 937	0 14 6-19 I	0 10 6-44	0 11 6-83	0 11 2

BANK OF ENGLAND RETURNS.

	End December, 1937.	End December, 1936.	End December, 1935.
	£	£	£
Coin and bullion	327,233,343	314,212,259	200,609,014
Note circulation	505,317,131	467,406,210	411,750,338
Public deposits	11,384,185	12,134,969	9,966,051
Other deposits :—			
Bankers'	120,640,908	150,580,188	30,542,800
Other accounts	36,566,801	39,191,159	37,289,950
Reserve (notes and coin) .	41,916,212	46,806,049	48,858,676
Ratio	24 ⁷ / ₈ per cent.	23 ⁷ / ₁₆ per cent.	27½ per cent.
Government securities	114,598,165	134,480,883	110,365,001
! Other securities :—			
Discounts and advances	9,205,417	17,467,197	23,655,425
Securities	20,866,663	21,156,924	12,953,346

LONDON BANKERS' CLEARING HOUSE RETURNS.

	1937.	1936.	Increase in 1937.
	£	£	£
Grand total .	42,686,309,000	40,616,574,000	2,069,735,000 (5.0 per cent.)
Town clearing	36,719,471,000	35,039,356,000	1,680,115,000 (4.7 per cent.)
Metropolitan clearing	2,161,700,000	2,039,620,000	122,080,000 (5.9 per cent.)
Country cheque clearing .	3,805,138,000	3,537,598,000	267,540,000 (7.5 per cent.)

LONDON CLEARING BANKS' MONTHLY RETURNS.

	(000's omitted.)			
	Deposits.	Bills Discounted.	Advances.	Investments.
1937	£	£	£	£
January .	2,307,210	345,148	880,021	669,272
February	2,273,765	306,620	903,458	671,274
March	2,244,159	247,760	934,413	667,377
April	2,252,097	240,985	946,996	661,481
May	2,255,115	244,371	952,383	656,779
June	2,293,261	258,990	963,409	653,725
July	2,293,303	282,151	971,097	646,578
August	2,283,323	277,214	968,496	645,286
September	2,286,757	280,640	973,740	640,871
October .	2,312,417	296,111	983,787	639,025
November	2,310,754	297,490	986,210	633,731
December	2,330,436	300,057	979,092	634,733

PROVINCIAL CLEARING FIGURES.

Town.	Amount, 1937.	Increase or Decrease 1936.
	£	£ per cent.
Birmingham	135,270,000	- 4,377,000 or 31
Bradford	51,827,000	+ 397,000 or 0.7
Bristol	66,953,000	+ 347,000 or 0.5
Hull	47,078,000	+ 4,241,000 or 9.9
Leeds	51,523,000	+ 3,202,000 or 6.6
Leicester	38,878,000	+ 865,000 or 2.2
Liverpool	353,895,000	+ 28,128,000 or 8.6
Manchester	565,822,000	+ 32,143,000 or 60
Newcastle-on-Tyne	77,555,000	-f 8,337,000 or 120
Nottingham	26,505,000	+ 168,000 or 0.6
Sheffield	56,683,000	+ 4,457,000 or 8.5

Floating Debt.	Dec 31, 1937.	Dec. 31, 1936.
	£	£
Ways and Means Advances :—		
By Bank of England	55,750,000	57,000,000
By Public Departments	39,435,000	27,790,000
Treasury Bills outstanding	889,710,000	766,195,000
Total	984,895,000	850,985,000

New Capital Issues.—Owing to the unsettling influences which arose from numerous quarters, activity in the new capital market was most irregular and the borrowers met with varying success. Many were complete failures and this induced many would-be borrowers to postpone their appeals to the public until conditions became more favourable. Consequently, the total of new capital raised was the lowest since 1934. One notable event was the raising of the first long-term foreign Government loan in this country for some years. It was for 5,000,000l. in 4 per cent, sterling bonds for the Kingdom of Belgium, but no less than 70 per cent, was left with the underwriters.

	1937.	1936.	1935.
	£	£	£
United Kingdom	138,768,000	190,808,000	161,934,000
India and Ceylon	1,634,000	1,090,000	828,000
Other British Countries	23,304,000	22,264,000	17,210,000
Foreign Countries	7,200,000	3,060,000	2,852,000
Total	170,906,000	217,222,000	182,824,000
Percentage for Overseas Borrowers	18.8	12.2	11.4

The Foreign Exchanges.—The French franc provided the feature of the foreign exchanges in 1937. A succession of crises maintained pressure on

the franc for almost the whole year, and as French politics continued to ignore the elementary principles of sound economics, capital continued to leave the country on a large scale. This finally resulted in a suspension of exchange operations and a temporary moratorium of commercial debts.

Place.	December 31, 1937.	December 31, 1936.	Highest, 1937.	Lowest, 1937.
New York	4.99½	4.91½	5.03 (8/11)	4.87½ (6/3)
Montreal .	5.00½	4.90½	5.02½ (8/11)	4.87½ (6/3)
Paris	147½	105.½	152½ (2/10)	104½ (1/2)
Brussels .	29.46½	29.15	29.65 (9/8)	28.80 (6/3)
Milan	96	93.½	95½ (8/11)	92.½ (8/3)
Switzerland	21.61½	21.37½	21.76 (17/7)	21.35½ (4/1)
Athens	547½	547½	555 (1/1)	540 (1/1)
Helsingfors	220½	220½	227½ (28/4)	225½ (5/6)
Madrid .	80 Nom.	Nom.	105 (3/5)	80 (24/9)
Lisbon	110.½	110.½	110½ (1/1)	110 (1/1)
Amsterdam	8.98½	8.96½	9.05½ (18/8)	8.90½ (5/3)
Berlin	12.41½	12.20	12.42 (19/8)	12.12 (6/3)
Vienna	26½	26½	27½ (1/1)	25½ (1/1)
Budapest	25½	27	28½ (7/1)	24½ (18/3)
Prague	142.½	140½	143½ (18/8)	139½ (6/3)
Danzig	26½	26	26½ (16/11)	25½ (6/3)
Warsaw .	26½	26	26½ (16/11)	25½ (6/3)
Riga	26½	26½	26½ (1/1)	24½ (1/1)
Bucharest	677½	670	690 (30/10)	660 (1/1)
Istanbul .	6.19	6.13	6.21 (18/8)	6.10 (9/3)
Belgrade .	216	213	222 (19/8)	208 (1/1)
Kovno	29½	29	30 (9/8)	28½ (1/1)
Sofia	405	405	420 (1/1)	390 (1/1)
Tallinn .	18½	18½	18½ (1/1)	17½ (1/1)
Oslo	19.90	19.90	19.95 (1/1)	19.85 (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	97½	97½	97½ (1/1)	97½ (1/1)
Bombay .	1/6½	1/6.½	1/6.½ (1/1)	1/6.½ (27/2)
Calcutta .	1/6½	1/6.½	1/6.½ (1/1)	1/6.½ (27/2)
Madras	1/6½	1/6.½	1/6.½ (1/1)	1/6.½ (27/2)
Hong-Kong	1/3	1/2½	1/3½ (30/8)	1/2.½ (30/6)
Kobe	1/2	1/1½	1/2.½ (12/1)	1/1½ (1/1)
Shanghai	1/2.½	1/2½	1/2½ (18/1)	1/1½ (16/8)
Singapore	2/4.½	2/4.½	2/4½ (1/1)	2/4.½ (1/1)
Batavia .	8.96½	8.91½	9.04½ (9/8)	8.84 (5/3)
R. de Janeiro *	2½.½d.	2½.½d.	3.½.½d. (26/7)	2½d. (30/12)
B. Aires	17.03½	16.05	17.13 (23/11)	16.00 (1/1)
Valparaiso	125	131½	131½ (1/1)	124 (21/9)
Montevideo	25½d.	26½d.	26½d. (21/6)	24d. (23/11)
Lima *	20.50	19.50	21.00 (24/11)	18.20 (10/3)
Mexico	18	18	18½ (1/1)	17½ (1/1)
Manila	2/0.½	2/0½	2/0½ (1/1)	1/1½ (8/11)

* The official rate remained at 4½d., sellers, throughout the year.

The official rate remained at \$15 during the year.

The highest official selling rate was 39½d. (1/1) and the lowest 39½d. (12/8).

After a decision to abandon gold, dealings were resumed and the franc drifted down to 152½. Movements in other currencies were small, largely because of closer co-operation under the Tripartite Monetary Agreement of 1936. Suggestions that the United States may reduce the price of gold led to sharp movements in dollars. After appreciating to 4.87 it fell back

to over \$5 to the 2. when the trade outlook became less favourable and money was withdrawn from America on a considerable scale. These funds transferred to Holland and Switzerland raised problems for both countries which were eventually checked by special measures. The fall of the van Zeeland Government in Belgium and the prospect of increasing competition from France disturbed the belga. Owing to the revival in trade Portugal was able to remove restrictions on the escudo and a similar improvement was seen in the Rumanian lei, the Uruguayan peso and in Ecuador. Japan was able to maintain the yen only by the export of gold.

Gold and Silver.—In the United States, which had become the only free market for gold, a suggestion was made that the price should be reduced. This led to extraordinary scenes in the bullion market. Large quantities were received from Russia and enormous quantities were placed on the market by private hoarders and, as there were few willing buyers, the price fell to a discount of 7*d.* on the dollar. But when commodities began to weaken and it became clear that trade, especially in America, was beginning to shrink, the market recovered quickly. Gold, sold earlier at a discount, was then bought back at a much larger premium. The open market handled 123,269,000*l.* as compared with 91,737,000*l.* in 1936, whilst the Bank of England bought 12,745,966*l.* Between March and September the Exchange Equalisation account bought 112,000,000*l.* Exports rose 128·9 millions whilst imports fell by 19·2 millions. The lowest price of 139*s.* 6*d.* 2 per oz. was established in December, and the highest of 142*s.* 7½*d.* in March. On the other hand silver aroused little interest. Apart from rising in April to the highest price of the year of 21 ½*d.* an ounce on speculative buying from India, the market was steady until the end of August when it fell to the lowest of 19¾*d.* This was caused by heavy displacements in China owing to the war with Japan, and the possibility of a change in the policy of America on termination of the London Agreement of 1933. Exports fell from 18,061,388*l.* to 9,797,179*l.*, whilst imports rose from 17,058,400*l.* to 20,275,600*l.* mostly from Hong-Kong.

Stock Exchange.—Events on the Stock Exchange contrasted strongly with the preceding year. Four years of steadily rising prices culminated in the first quarter of 1937 when owing to boom-like conditions which prevailed in the commodity markets, especially for base metals, which derived their stimulus from the Government's rearmament plans, speculative activities reached a position which proved particularly susceptible to the diversity of misfortunes which quickly followed. These led to a marked contraction of business in every direction and prices fell more or less steadily throughout the ensuing nine months. An indication of the losses encountered is revealed in the aggregate value of 365 representative securities compiled by the *Bankers' Magazine*. On December 16, 1936, the market value of these securities stood at 7,394,643,000*l.*, but twelve months later they had fallen to 6,732,395,000*l.*, a decline of nearly 9 per cent., whereas, in the previous year, there was an appreciation of 5·3 per cent. on 1935. The loss in securities with a fixed interest was only a third of that suffered by shares with a variable dividend. Bank and insurance issues fell by the modest percentage of only 3, but home railway stocks fell by nearly 10 per

cent. Rubber shares lost some 32 per cent, and oil shares 16 per cent., whilst copper investments lost roughly 30 per cent, of their former values and South African gold shares 16 per cent. On the whole share values receded to their levels of autumn 1935.

Commodity Prices.—In no other direction was the adjustment to realities more drastic than in the commodity markets. Prices, which in the two preceding years had risen with increasing momentum received an additional fillip from the early announcement of the Government's huge rearmament plans. This led to extensive speculative buying which carried prices to the highest levels for several years. Many non-ferrous metals doubled in price, and as stocks were falling rapidly output was released of all restriction. But following President Roosevelt's suggestion that prices were too high came a report that America was to reduce her price for gold. This led to selling on a large scale and prices fell almost as quickly as they had risen. In the autumn, disappointment with the trend of business in the United States caused a further loss of confidence, with the result that by the close of the year prices were almost back to the levels of December, 1936. Thus *The Times* index number of wholesale prices on December 31 was only 2.5 per cent, higher on the year (1913 = 100), which compares with a rise of 124 per cent, in the previous year and a rise of 6.8 per cent, in 1935.

Tinplates.—Further progress was seen in the tinsplate industry, world output rising to the record level of 4,020,000 tons. Production in Britain was around 968,000 tons, a rise of 18 per cent, on 1936, whilst exports advanced by 25 per cent, to 438,000 tons.

Shipbuilding and Shipping.—Shipowners had an exceptionally favourable experience in 1937. Rising prices and poor crops stimulated the demand for grains, especially maize, and shippers were frequently obliged to pay substantial premiums to secure early loading. There was also exceptional shipments of scrap iron to meet a temporary shortage in the heavy industries and a substantial increase in the export of coal. So great was the demand for accommodation that idle tonnage became a thing of the past. Freight rates fluctuated considerably up to September when peak rates were quoted on some of the leading routes. On several occasions rates were more than double those of 1936 when the average was 90.79 (1929 = 100). Last year the average rose to 140.45. Co-operation amongst owners established a minimum freights scheme, but as all sea-worthy tonnage was well employed the real test of this scheme has yet to come. For shipbuilders the year was not altogether as satisfactory, for although the tonnage launched rose from 855,000 to 917,348, the volume of work commenced declined from 1,081,000 tons to 1,057,000 tons. At the close of the year, however, there was being constructed 1,125,426 tons, or 161,784 tons more, than a year previous, whilst the volume of naval work was also larger. An encouraging feature was that of the total under construction, some 18 per cent, was for foreign owners, equivalent to 204,000 tons, whereas a year ago only 70,220 tons were being built on foreign account. Since 1930 the value of ships built in this country for foreign buyers has fallen from 20,000,000l. to only 2,000,000l.

Commodities.	Dec. 30, 1937.	Dec. 30, 1936.	Average, 1913.
FOOD.			
Wheat, Eng., Gaz. Av.	1121b.	8*. 5d.	7*. 5d.
" No. 2, N. Man.	496 lb.	55*. 9d.	37*. 3d.
Flour, Ldn. Straights	280lb.	36s. 6d.	27d. 6d.
Barley, Eng., Gaz. Av.	112 lb.	13*. 5d.	7s. 8d.
Oats, Eng., Gaz. Av.	1121b.	8a. 2d.	6s. 10d.
Maize, La Plata, ex ship	4 8 0 1 b .	32s. 3d.	24s. 9d.
Rice, No. 2, Burma	cwt.	11s. 3d.	9s. 9d.
Beef, English sides	8 lb.	5*.	4*. 2d.
S.A., chilled hqr.	8 lb.	4s. 2d.	3s. 8d.
Mutton, N.Z., frozen	8 lb.	4s.	3s. 8d.
Bacon, Irish lean	cwt.	101*.	95*.
" Danish	cwt.	100*.	92*.
Fish	stone	4*. 4d.	5*.
Eggs, English	120	20*.	17*.
Sugar, Eng. ref., cubes	cwt.	24*.	23s. 1½d.
" W. Ind., oryst.	cwt.	19s. 6d.	18*.
Tea, N. Ind. Auctn., Avrg. . . .	lb.	1s. 1½d.	1s. 0½d.
Cocoa, f.f., Accra, f.o.b.	cwt.	23*. 9d.	48s. 9d.
Cheese, Eng. Cheddar	cwt.	90*.	80*.
Butter, Danish, fine	cwt.	148*.	108*.
Lard, Amer., ref., boxes	cwt.	52s. 9d.	73*. 3d.
Potatoes, English, good	ton	5l. 10s.	7l. 10s.
MATERIALS LLS.			
Pig iron, Hemt., M'bro	ton	132s. 6d.	98*.
Cleve'd, No. 3	ton	109*.	81*.
Iron, marked bars, Stallf. . . .	ton	15l. 15s.	13l.
" Crown bars	ton	13l. 5s.	10l. 10s.
Steel rails, heavy	ton	10l. 2s 6d.	8l. 10s.
" boiler plates	ton	12l. 0s. 6d.	10/.
" galv. sheets	ton	18l. 10s.	13l. 15*.
" tinplates	box	22s. 6d.	19*. 9d.
Copper, electrolytic	ton	43l.	53l.
" strong sheets	ton	74/.	81l.
Tin, stand., cash	ton	183/ 10*.	233l. 5a.
Lead, English	ton	17/ 10*.	30/.
Spelter, foreign	ton	15/ 1*. 3d.	19l. 17s. 6d.
Coal, Lge. steam, Cardiff	ton	26*.	19s. 4½d.
" best gas, Durham	ton	22*. 6d.	16s. 6d.
" best hse., York	ton	25s. 6d.	23*.
Pet'l'm., Amer., rfd., brl	gall.	10½d.	9½d.
Cotton, Am., mid.	lb.	4-80d.	7.04d.
" Egypt, f g.f., Sak.	lb.	8-194.	10.14d.
" yarn, 32's twist	lb.	10½d.	11½.
" 60's " Egypt	ik	18½d.	17½d.
" shirtmgs, 8½ lb.	piece	9s. 11½d.	9a. 8d.
" print., 17 X 17-32 in. 125	yards	23s. 6d.	25*.
" yards	piece	12½d.	15*.
Wool, gsy., merino, 60's	lb.	11½d.	15½d.
" gsy., crossbd., 46's	lb.	11½d.	12¾d.
" tops, 64'8, warp	lb.	31½d.	37c/.
" tops, 40's, prep'd	lb.	19c/.	20½d.
Flax, Livonian, Z.K.	ton	66/.	71/.
Hemp, Grade K	ton	25/ 5*.	34/ 15*.
Jute, first marks, shipmt. . . .	ton	18/ 5*.	19/ 1*. 3d.
Hides, Eng., Ox, first	lb.	5¼.	6¾d.
" Cape, dry	lb.	8½d.	8½d.
Timber, Swedish, 3 x 8	stand	23/ 10*.	19/ 10*.
" Wcot, oak	c. ft.	17*.	15s.
Cement, best Portland	ton	2l. 2a.	1/ 19*.
Rubber, Plant., sheet	lb.	7½d.	10½/16d.
Linseed oil	ton	30/.	30/ 10*.
Soda crystals, bags	ton	5l. 5s.	5/ 5*.
Index number, Food	128.6	123-5	100
Index number, Materials	121-3	119-3	100
Total index number	123-9	120-8	100

Iron and Steel.—The Spanish conflict curtailing supplies of raw materials and the urgency of the demand on rearmament account stimulated the iron and steel industry to even greater efforts than in 1936. In order to secure adequate supplies of the necessary scrap material from abroad, a comprehensive buying scheme was inaugurated. Owing to the great increase in shipping freights and in coke prices, it became necessary to raise steel prices around mid-summer by 17 to 26 per cent. But the demand remained keen, and although additional plant was brought into use the industry worked to full capacity throughout the year. Consequently, the output established new high records month after month, the year's total being 10 per cent, above 1936 at 12,964,000 tons and a similar increase was made in the output of pig-iron which reached 8,496,600 tons.

Coal.—The improvement in the coal-mining industry was the best seen for many years. Output was estimated to have risen from 228,000,000 tons to 242,000,000 tons, largely because of the substantially increased demand from the heavy industries. Between 1929 and 1933 output had fallen from 257,900,000 tons to 207,100,000 tons. In contrast to a decline of some 5,000,000 tons in 1936 exports rose by roughly 5,800,000 tons, mainly because both France and Italy resumed their purchases on a substantial scale. Prices too were appreciably higher, and although costs also increased, the economies effected under centralised selling schemes eliminated much of the former competition and the margin of profit was the widest for many years.

Insurance.—A notable event amongst insurance affairs was that the Sino-Japanese conflict brought to a head the campaign for a reform of war risk insurance. This is now confined to water-borne risks alone. Motor insurance remained unsatisfactory, but fire, accident, and general experience appeared favourable, whilst life business reflected the increased prosperity of the wage-earning classes.

Textiles.—Apart from wool the textile industries made further headway, for although cotton fell heavily as a result of a bumper crop in America, prices for cloth did not decline to the same extent. The Spindles Board commenced its work of eliminating redundant plant. Over 3,000,000 spindles were shut down, and the number would have been greater but for the improvement in trade. Consequently, earnings were the best for several years and the average of dividends paid was almost double that of 1936. The output of rayon reached a new high record, a rise of 6J per cent, being seen in the first eleven months. The trade in fabrics also widened, and in an effort to meet the demand for cheap but attractive goods both Lancashire and Yorkshire used larger quantities of staple fibre. Wool, however, suffered its first setback since 1934, mainly because of international disturbances, Japan failing to absorb the quantities anticipated. Prices steadily fell and this induced caution on the part of buyers, particularly in the latter part of the year.

Oil and Rubber.—The demand for petroleum was at least 10 per cent, larger than in 1936 and an early rise in prices was fully maintained. For the first time world production exceeded 2,000,000,000 barrels, the total being estimated at 2,030,000,000, which compares with 1,790,000,000 in

the previous year. America again produced more than half the total, but apart from Rumania most other countries increased their outputs. Rubber producers also had a better year. A strong demand lifted the price to 13½d. per lb. in March, and the Control Committee raised the output quota to 90 per cent, of standard for the second half of the year. Later stocks began to rise, and although the price weakened the average for the whole year was 9½d. per lb. against 7½d. in 1936.

Motor, Aircraft, and Films.—A further advance was made by the motor industry, although during the later months of the year the output was a little below the earlier level. Nevertheless, new registrations increased by a little over 3 per cent., and the number of vehicles licensed for use in this country rose from 2,517,719 to over 2,670,000, a feature being the increase in the numbers of smaller motor-cars. Exports continued to expand, the total of cars and parts increasing in value from 13,557,277? to 16,023,115l. whilst the value of motor-cycles exported rose from 799,4322. to 1,026,7762. The aircraft section continued to absorb all the suitable labour available, mainly for work on the home trade, chiefly the air defence forces. But extension of the commercial services also provided more work and exports were rather larger than in 1936.

The British film industry reached a critical stage in 1937. Output rose from 1,641,534 to 1,643,858 feet, but most of the increase was again in short films which are produced mainly to fulfil obligations under the Act of 1927, a circumstance largely responsible for the poor quality of the British product. Feature films, that is films of 3,000 feet or more, showed only a trifling increase, and compared with the foreign output the percentage declined from 29.2 in 1936 to 27.5 per cent. Thus the position of the industry remained far from satisfactory, and the best that could be said of the Government's proposals to assist was that they were promising.

The Balance of Payments.—Largely because of the rise in prices, the disparity between imports and exports was much greater than in 1936. This caused some uneasiness, but receipts on account of overseas investments were estimated to have been 15 millions larger whilst shipping produced an additional 45 millions and commissions another 5 millions, and the Board of Trade calculated that, on balance, there was a debit of 52 millions which compared with only 18 millions in 1936. Imports were only 6 per cent, larger in volume, but in value they were 12.4 per cent, higher and almost reached the high level of 1930. This was because prices for raw materials rose much faster and to a greater extent than those of manufactured goods, which form much the greater proportion of exports. Thus exports which were 12 per cent, larger in volume were only 18.4 per cent, higher in value. Rearmament accounted for much of the rise in imports, but the need for increased exports is rapidly becoming more urgent as the decline in this direction has been largely responsible for the high level of unemployment in recent years. An event of considerable promise in this respect was that negotiations were commenced to secure a trade pact with the United States.

Results for the past three years (1935 and 1936 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 £s.		
	1085.	1036.	1037.
Excess of imports of merchandise and silver bullion	261	345	443
Estimated excess of Government payments made	2	3	4
Total	263	348	447
Estimated net national shipping income	70	85	130
Estimated net income from overseas investments	185	205	220
Estimated net receipts from commissions, etc.	30	30	35
Estimated net receipts from other sources	10	10	10
Total	295	330	395
Estimated total credit or debit balance on items	+ 32	- 18	- 52

Including disbursements by foreign ships in British ports.

LAW.

THE year 1937 was, on the whole, uneventful in the legal world, perhaps its most arresting feature being the considerable number of House of Lords decisions on matters of interest and importance to the citizen at large.

In its course there were numerous changes within the ranks of the Judiciary. Mr. Gavin Simonds was appointed to the Chancery Bench, to succeed Mr. Justice Eve, who retired after very many years' service. Mr. F. J. Wrottesley, K.C., and Mr. F. J. Tucker, K.C., were appointed King's Bench judges, the Division having lost four members through the appointment as a Lord Justice of Sir Frank Mackinnon, the death of Mr. Justice Swift, and the retirement of Mr. Justice Horridge and Mr. Justice Talbot. These changes having been made, it was left at the minimum of seventeen puisne judges provided for by the Judicature Act of 1935. On the return of Lord Wright to the House of Lords on the death of Lord Blanesburgh, Sir Wilfrid Greene, who, two years earlier, had been appointed a Lord Justice direct from the Bar, succeeded him as Master of the Rolls. Finally, as the result of the passing of a new Judicature Act at the close of the year, the Hon. Stephen Henn Collins and Mr. Francis L. C. Hodson were appointed additional judges of the Probate, Admiralty, and Divorce Division, where Divorce arrears had reached very formidable proportions. The new Act made a new minimum of three puisne judges for the Division. In the County Court, too, there were numerous new appointments.

A very important event, from the point of view of legal doctrine, was the publication, in May, of a sixth report by the Law Revision Committee whose duty it is to refashion such doctrine to consort with present-day conditions. This report recommended the repeal of the famous section 4 of the Statute of Frauds of the reign of Charles II and revolutionised the legal doctrine of "consideration." Some of the most important recommendations may be summarised thus : that what remains of section 4 of the Statute of Frauds, with section 3 of the Mercantile Law Amendment Act, 1856, and section 4 of the Sale of Goods Act, 1893, should be repealed and that a promise in writing, though not under seal and not supported by consideration, should be enforceable ; that an agreement to accept a lesser sum in discharge of an enforceable agreement to pay a larger should be enforceable, but if the new agreement is not performed the original obligation should revive ; that a promise should be enforceable by the promisee though the promise is given by or to a third party ; that where a contract expressly purports to benefit directly a third party it should be enforceable by him in his own name subject to any defences that would have been

available between the contracting parties, and that an agreement to keep an offer open should not require consideration to make it enforceable.

In the department of practice important new rules of court were published at the end of the year, which followed closely certain recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Dispatch of Business at Common Law intended to make more certain the date at which a King's Bench action would come on for trial and involved the abolition of the special New Procedure List instituted in 1932. As a result of the passing of the Matrimonial Causes Act, the Divorce rules also were recast. To return to the question of dispatch, official shorthand writers were inaugurated for witness actions in the King's Bench and Chancery Divisions, with the object of relieving judges from the necessity of taking a full note and enabling them to give better attention to the progress of the case and the demeanour of witnesses.

In August a Departmental Committee reported on London Police Courts, including Juvenile Courts, and recommended drastic changes in accommodation and organisation, together with the dropping of the term " Police " from the designation of the courts. Amongst the recommendations were the repeal of the statutory provisions limiting the exercise by lay justices of jurisdiction within the Metropolitan Police Courts district; the co-ordination of the work of the ordinary courts by the Chief Magistrate ; their reduction in number from 14 to 10, lay justices—not more than three at a time—sitting in the same buildings as metropolitan magistrates and sharing in the work; and, as regards Juvenile Courts, an amendment of the law, to permit of lay chairmen, where desired.

Of more general application, if adopted, will be the recommendations of the Rent Restriction Committee, who reported in December. The Committee were in favour of the decontrol in 1938, at the expiration of the Acts, of the upper range of " Class B " houses—with rateable values, in 1931, over 35*l.* in the Metropolis and Scotland, and 20*l.* elsewhere and numbering rather less than half a million—on the same conditions as applied to the decontrol of those in " Class A," and thought that those in the lower range should, with present " Class C " houses, be uncontrollable meantime. As regards the future of this new category in England and Wales, varying degrees of control in different areas is contemplated, gradual decontrol by the lowering of the rateable value, importing control keeping pace over a period of years with the reduction of overcrowding and such a supply of houses as will secure moderate rents.

In the year's legislation, which ran to seventy statutes, chief place should perhaps be given to the Matrimonial Causes Act which effected notable changes in the law of divorce, but did not apply to Scotland or Northern Ireland. By virtue of this Act, which, it is worth noting, was a private member's Bill (Mr. A. P. Herbert's Marriage Bill), divorce within the first three years of marriage becomes impossible, save that discretion is given to the court where unusual hardship to the petitioner or unusual depravity on the part of the respondent exist. Apart from this novelty, which probably owes its origin to the necessity for conciliating certain classes of opinion, the changes were for the most part those long contended for

in many quarters. The principal provisions only may be mentioned shortly. New grounds for a decree of nullity are provided, including wilful refusal to consummate. Incurable insanity of five years' standing and cruelty and desertion for three years become grounds for divorce as well as adultery. The grounds for judicial separation are assimilated to those for divorce, the separation order being sufficient proof of the adultery or other ground on which it was granted on the presentation later of a petition for divorce, when, however, the petitioner must give evidence. It will thus be seen that, to all intents and purposes, divorce will come within the province of the courts of summary jurisdiction. A reform of less extended application is that by which the court is given jurisdiction in the case of an English wife whose husband has deserted her or been deported and has afforded ground for a divorce, notwithstanding that he has changed his previous English domicile for another. Of great social significance also was the Summary Procedure (Domestic Proceedings) Act which provided for the hearing of cases dealing with matrimonial disputes, guardianship of infants, etc., by special benches of three justices only, one, where possible, a woman, the sessions to be separate and the proceedings conducted in semi-privacy and subject to certain Press restrictions. The same Act extended the powers and duties of probation officers in effecting reconciliations and inquiring as to means. A legislative change long pressed for by many was carried into effect, and the black-coated worker, not employed within the meaning of the Insurance Acts, became eligible for a pension on a contributory basis. The Widows', Orphans', and Old Age Contributory Pensions (Voluntary Contributors) Act, which comes into force on January 3, 1938, covers men with incomes up to 400*l.* a year, whether married or single, and women with incomes up to 250*l.*, of which 200*l.* and 125*l.* respectively may be unearned, provided they have lived in Great Britain at least ten years before application, and are not over fifty-five at the date of commencement of the Act, the qualifying age for entry being reduced after the first year of operation to forty. Contributions cease to be payable at sixty-five. Another Act of social importance is a consolidating and amending Factory Act, coming into operation in July, 1938, elaborating in many connexions the existing law and bringing it into greater harmony with modern ideals. The technical distinction between textile and non-textile factories and that between factories and workshops are swept away, penalties are increased, the working hours of the worker between 14 and 16 are reduced and the health and safety of the young worker in particular more adequately safeguarded. The Regency Act provides for the contingency of the succession of a ruler under 18, or the serious illness or absence from the country of the sovereign. The Coal (Registration of Ownership) Act paves the way for the coming nationalisation of coal royalties, while the Special Areas (Amendment) Act extends in useful directions the powers of the Commissioners. By the Ministers of the Crown Act a salary of 10,000*z.* is given to the Prime Minister, and to other Cabinet Ministers a minimum of 5,000*l.*, and a salary of 2,000*l.* is made payable to the Leader of the Opposition from the Consolidated Fund, on which is placed also a pension of 2,000*l.* to ex-Prime Ministers.

By the Statutory Salaries Act the remuneration of county court judges and metropolitan magistrates is raised to 2,000l., the Chief Metropolitan Magistrate receiving 2,300l. The Physical Training and Recreation Act provides administrative machinery for the National Fitness campaign, and the Road Traffic Act, owing its origin to a decision of the courts, permits citizens to agree to share a taxi and yet leave it a taxi.

In spite of the provision of 1934 which requires for an appeal to the House of Lords the leave either of the Court of Appeal or of the Lords themselves, a number of appeals came before them, with the result that numerous problems were finally considered. A feature of the appeals is the strong line taken by the Lords and the reversing in many cases of the decision reached below. In *Fender v. Mildmay* the judgment of the King's Bench judge and of the majority of the Court of Appeal was reversed. As a result a promise of future marriage made by a married man who has obtained a decree nisi is not void in law but may properly be a subject for damages for breach of promise. Another decision reversing the Court of Appeal was *Kirk v. Eustace* where the view was rejected that a promise in a separation deed to pay a wife maintenance for life on condition, *inter alia*, that the parties lived apart, was necessarily unenforceable by her on his death. *Izzard v. General Insurance Company*, again reversing the Court of Appeal, cleared up doubts as to the meaning to be attributed to the phrase "contract of employment" in an important section of the Road Traffic Act of 1930 dealing with third party insurance. An unfortunate conflict of opinion between the Court of Appeal and the Court of Criminal Appeal on the practice of trade associations in offering offending members the payment of a fine as an alternative to entry on the "stop list" was resolved by the decision in *Thorne v. Motor Trade Association*. The House of Lords held that to demand money with a threat would be a criminal offence only if done "without reasonable and probable cause." Where used solely to carry out a trade policy the threat was not an offence. *Strood v. Gregory* interpreted "net rent" of a dwelling house where it occurs in section 12 (1) of the 1920 Rent Restriction Act in connexion with houses where at the time by reference to which the standard rent was calculated the landlord paid the rates, the difficulty being introduced by the compounding allowance by which the landlord may benefit. It was held that what was to be deducted from the standard rent to arrive at the net rent was that which the occupier was or would have been, but for special legislation, liable in law to pay, not what the landlord in fact paid or was liable to pay in place of the occupier.

Most interesting probably of all the House of Lords decisions to the general public, and of deep interest also to the legal profession, was that in *Rose v. Ford*, whose meaning and bearing is best made clear by a brief reference to past case law history. In 1934 the plaintiff in *Flint v. Lovell*, an elderly gentleman whose previous good health had been seriously impaired by an accident, was awarded a sum as a separate item of damage for his shortened expectation of life. The Law Reform Act of 1934 having enacted that, with a very few exceptions, causes of action which had arisen within six months of death should survive against or for the benefit of the

deceased's estate, the principle of the *Flint v. Lovell* decision was promptly sought to be applied to fatal accident cases. There was at first some conflict of opinion as to whether the ground of these damages was the pain and suffering caused by the effect on the mind of shortened life or the objective fact itself, and, several inconsistent decisions having been given in courts of first instance, the case of *Rose v. Ford*, where the victim, a young girl, survived for four days only and was for the greater part of the time unconscious, went, in 1935, to the Court of Appeal. The Court held unanimously that the damages, estimated at 1,000l, were based on the objective fact of loss of years of living. The question whether these damages could be claimed by Miss Rose's administrator under the 1934 Act, however, the majority decided in the negative, holding that, her death having converted an act originally compensable into a felony, namely, her killing, the ground of damage must, according to long-established principles, be held to have disappeared. In 1937 the case arrived at the House of Lords—as a poor persons case, be it noted—and they reversed this part of the judgment of the Court of Appeal, holding that the moment before the girl died there was—apart from her actual death—a cause of action vested in her for deprivation of expectation of life, which cause of action survived under the 1934 Act, in her administrator, who might be said to continue her life. This being so, the 1,000l. assessed was ordered to be paid. The last word having been said, several delayed King's Bench judgments were delivered in the latter half of the year, and they illustrated the difficulties inherent in the principle. In one case it was contended without success that, death being instantaneous, there was no time for a cause of action to vest; another, where the victim was a normal child of eight, illustrated the difficulties confronting judges or juries in assessing the amount of such damages and the manner in which circumstances may affect the size of the penalty attending approximately equal negligence. While up to the present the cases have been those of motor accidents, in which the burden falls on insurance companies, the future opens up a fairly wide field for speculation.

An important reversal by the Court of Appeal of a King's Bench decision took place in *Beresford v. General Assurance Company*. The late Mr. Justice Swift had held that public policy did not now demand the forfeiture of interest in an insurance policy containing no reference to suicide after twelve months from the commencement of the insurance where the assured killed himself after many years of insurance and within a few minutes of its expiry, the retention of the money by the insurers being of no service to society. The Court of Appeal, on the contrary, held that, suicide while sane being a felony akin to murder, the court must apply the general principle of not permitting the criminal or his representatives to reap the fruit of his crime.

Two Court of Appeal cases dealt with the standard of care required of Local Authorities who provide recreational facilities for children, and their liability in case of accident. In *Ellis v. Fulham Corporation* a child received a severe cut on the foot through glass embedded in the sand of a paddling pool in a park, and it was decided that, the danger from glass

being one known to the Corporation which could not be expected to be known to the plaintiff, a licensee, the Local Authority must be held liable in damages. *Coates v. Rawtenstall Corporation* was decided similarly. There mischievous boys were supposed to have put across a chute a chain which, when not in use to close access to the chute on Sundays, was kept padlocked round a pole, with the result that a young child coming down the chute on a weekday was seriously injured.

A Court of Appeal case interesting motorists was *Ashby v. Tolhwt*. There car park owners were held not liable for the negligence of an attendant who let a thief drive off a car on pretended authority from the owner, though he had not the key of the car, which was locked, and opened it through the windscreen. Those parking cars were given a ticket, not produced by the thief, which stated that all cars were left "in all respects entirely at their owners' risk," and this, the Court held, did not constitute a contract. Two other decisions affecting the motoring fraternity which should be just mentioned, were *Bailey v. Geddes* (pedestrian crossings) and *Croston v. Vaughan* (use of the stop light).

Despite the provisions of the 1930 and 1934 Road Traffic Acts, a group of cases including *Jones v. Welsh Insurance Company*, made clear that there were still situations to which third party insurance did not apply, through avoidance of the policy, a state of affairs which more than once provoked adverse comment from the Bench.

Space forbids reference to several Chancery causes of more than usual professional interest. Included amongst them are *Duce v. Boots (Cash Chemists)*, *Contract, Re Keen*; *Ever shed v. Griffiths*, *Ballard's Conveyance* and *Caney v. Leith*.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

I.

THE CONSTITUTION OF IRELAND.¹

THE Draft Constitution, in two texts—English and Irish—was introduced in the Dail on May 13, 1937, by the President of the Executive Council. It was approved by the people on July 1 and came into operation on December 29.

The following is a summary of the Articles according to the English text of the Draft:—

The Preamble is as follows :—

" In the Name of the Most Holy Trinity, from Whom is all authority and to Whom, as our final end, all actions both of men and States must be referred,

" We, the people of fiire,

" Humbly acknowledging all our obligations to our Divine Lord, Jesus Christ, Who sustained our fathers through centuries of trial,

" Gratefully remembering their heroic and unremitting struggle to regain the rightful independence of our Nation,

*" And seeking to promote the common good, with due observance of Prudence, Justice and Charity, so that the dignity and freedom of the individual **may** be assured, true social order attained, the unity of our country restored, and concord established with other nations,*

" D.o hereby adopt, enact, and give to ourselves this Constitution."

THE NATION.

The Irish nation hereby affirms its inalienable, indefeasible and sovereign right to choose its own form of government, to determine its relations with other nations, and to develop its life, political, economic and cultural, in accordance with its own genius and traditions. (*Article 1.*)

The national territory consists of the whole island of Ireland, its islands and the territorial seas. (*Article 2.*)

Pending the re-integration of the national territory, and without prejudice to the right of the Parliament and Government established by this Constitution to exercise jurisdiction over the whole of that territory, the laws enacted by that Parliament shall have the like area and extent of application as the laws of Saorstát Éireann and the like extra-territorial effect. (*Article 3.*)

¹ Reprinted by kind permission of the Controller of the Stationery Office, Dublin.

THE STATE.

The name of the State is *Eire*, or, in the English language, *Ireland*. (Article 4.)

Ireland is a sovereign, independent, democratic state. (Article 5.)

All powers of government, legislative, executive and judicial, derive, under God, from the people, whose right it is to designate the rulers of the State and, in final appeal, to decide all questions of national policy, according to the requirements of the common good. These powers of government are exercisable only by or on the authority of the organs of State established by this Constitution. (Article 6.)

The national flag is the tricolour of green, white and orange. The Irish language as the national language is the first official language. The English language is recognised as a second official language. (Articles 7 and 8.)

Any person who was a citizen of Saorstát Éireann immediately before the coming into operation of this Constitution shall become and be a citizen of Ireland. The future acquisition and loss of Irish nationality and citizenship shall be determined in accordance with law. No person may be excluded from Irish nationality and citizenship by reason of sex. Fidelity to the nation and loyalty to the State are fundamental political duties of all citizens. (Article 9.)

All natural resources, including the air and all forms of potential energy, within the jurisdiction established by this Constitution and all royalties and franchises within that jurisdiction belong to the State subject to all estates and interests therein for the time being lawfully vested in any person or body. (Article 10.)

THE PRESIDENT.

There shall be a President of Ireland (*Uachtarán na hÉireann*), who shall take precedence over all other persons in the State and exercise and perform the powers and functions conferred on him by this Constitution and by law. The President shall be elected by direct vote of the people. Every citizen entitled to vote at an election for Members of Dáil Éireann shall have the right to vote at an election for the President. Voting shall be by secret ballot, by the single transferable vote system of proportional representation.

The President shall hold office for seven years unless he dies, resigns, is removed from office, or becomes permanently incapacitated. A person shall be eligible for re-election as President, but only once. Every citizen who has reached his thirty-fifth year of age is eligible for election as President. Every candidate for election, not a former or retiring President, must be nominated either by (i) not less than twenty Members of one of the Houses of the Oireachtas, or (ii) by the Councils of not less than four administrative Counties or County Boroughs. Where only one candidate is nominated for the Presidency no ballot for his election shall be necessary.

The President shall not be a Member of either House of the Oireachtas. If a Member of either House of the Oireachtas be elected President, he

shall be deemed to have vacated his seat in that Hourfe. The President shall not hold any other office or position of emolument.

The President shall enter upon his office by taking and subscribing publicly in the presence of Members of both Houses of the Oireachtas, of Judges of the Supreme Court and of the High Court, and other public personages, the following declaration :—

" In the presence of Almighty God I do solemnly and sincerely promise and declare that I will maintain the Constitution of Ireland and uphold its laws, that I will fulfil my duties faithfully and conscientiously in accordance with the Constitution and the law, and that I will dedicate my abilities to the service and welfare of the people of Ireland. May God direct and sustain me."

The President shall not leave the State during his term of office save with the consent of the Government. He may be impeached for stated misbehaviour, and the charge shall be preferred by either of the Houses of the Oireachtas. (*Article 12.*)

The President shall, on the nomination of the Dail Eireann, appoint the Taoiseach, or Prime Minister. The President shall, on the nomination of the Taoiseach with the previous approval of Dail Eireann, appoint the other Members of the Government, and on the advice of the Taoiseach, accept the resignation or terminate the appointment of any Member of the Government.

Dail Eireann shall be summoned and dissolved by the President on the advice of the Taoiseach. The President may in his absolute discretion refuse to dissolve Dail Eireann on the advice of a Taoiseach who has ceased to retain the support of a majority in Dail Eireann. He may at any time, after consultation with the Council of State, convene a meeting of either or both of the Houses of the Oireachtas.

Every Bill passed by both Houses shall require the signature of the President for its enactment into law.

The supreme command of the Defence Forces is vested in the President.

The President shall not be answerable to either House of the Oireachtas or to any court for the performance of the powers and functions of his office or for any act done by him in exercising these powers and functions. The powers and functions conferred on him by the Constitution shall be exercisable by him only on the advice of the Government, save where it is provided by the Constitution that he shall act in his absolute discretion or after consultation. (*Article 13.*)

THE NATIONAL PARLIAMENT.

Constitution and powers.—The National Parliament shall be known as the Oireachtas, consisting of the President and two Houses, viz.: a House of Representatives (*Dail Eireann*) and a Senate (*Seanad Eireann*).

The sole and exclusive power of making laws for the State is vested in the Oireachtas : no other legislative authority has power to make laws for the State. Provision may be made by law for subordinate legislatures. The Oireachtas may provide for the establishment or recognition of functional or vocational councils representing branches of the social and

economic life of the people. The Oireachtas shall not enact any law which is in any respect repugnant to the Constitution.

The right to raise and maintain military or armed forces is vested exclusively in the Oireachtas. No military or armed force, other than a military or armed force raised and maintained by the Oireachtas, shall be raised or maintained for any purpose whatsoever.

The Oireachtas shall hold at least one session every year. Sittings of each House shall be public, except in cases of special emergency, with the assent of two-thirds of the Members present. (*Article 15.*)

Dail Eireann.—Every citizen of either sex who has reached the age of 21 shall be eligible for membership of Dail Eireann.

Every citizen who has reached the age of 21 shall have the right to vote at an election for Members of Dail Eireann. No law shall be enacted placing any citizen under disability or incapacity for membership of Dail Eireann on the ground of sex or disqualifying any citizen from voting at an election for members of Dail Eireann on that ground. No voter may exercise more than one vote at an election for Dail Eireann, and the voting shall be by secret ballot.

Dail Eireann shall be composed of members who represent constituencies. The number of Members shall from time to time be fixed by law, but the total number of Members of Dail Eireann shall not be fixed at less than one Member for each 30,000 of the population, or at more than one Member for each 20,000. The Oireachtas shall revise the constituencies at least once in every 12 years, with due regard to changes in distribution of the population. The Members shall be elected on the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote. No law shall be enacted whereby the number of Members to be returned for any constituency shall be less than three.

The same Dail Eireann shall not continue for longer than seven years : a shorter period may be fixed by law. (*Article 16.*)

Seanad Eireann.—Seanad Eireann shall be composed of 11 nominated and 49 elected members. A person eligible for membership of Seanad Eireann must be eligible to become a member of Dail Eireann.

The nominated members of Seanad Eireann shall be nominated by the Taoiseach with their consent.

The elected members of Seanad Eireann shall be 3 elected by the National University of Ireland; 3 by the University of Dublin, and 43 from panels of candidates. The panels of candidates shall contain persons with knowledge and practical experience of: (i) National language and culture, literature, art, education and professional interests; (ii) Agriculture and fisheries; (iii) Labour, whether organised or unorganised; (iv) Industry and Commerce; (v) Public Administration and Social Services.

Not more than 11 and not less than 5 Members of Seanad Eireann shall be elected from any one panel. (*Article 18.*)

Legislation.—Every Bill initiated in and passed by Dail Eireann shall be sent to Seanad Eireann and may, unless it be a Money Bill, be amended in Seanad Eireann. A Bill other than a Money Bill may be initiated

in Seanad Éireann and subsequently be introduced in Dail Éireann. (*Article 20.*)

Money Bills shall be initiated in Dail Éireann only. Every Money Bill passed by Dail Éireann shall be sent to Seanad Éireann for its recommendations. Every Money Bill sent to Seanad Éireann shall, within 21 days, be returned to Dail Éireann, which may accept or reject all or any of the recommendations of Seanad Éireann.

The Chairman of Dail Éireann shall certify any Bill which, in his opinion, is a Money Bill. Seanad Éireann may by resolution request the President to refer the question whether the Bill is a Money Bill to a Committee of Privileges. (*Article 21.*)

As soon as any Bill shall have been passed by both Houses of the Oireachtas, the Taoiseach shall present it to the President for his signature and promulgation.

Every Bill signed by the President under the Constitution shall become law as from the day on which it shall have been so signed. (*Article 25.*)

The President may, after consultation with the Council of State, refer any Bill to the Supreme Court for decision as to whether it is repugnant to this Constitution.

The Supreme Court consisting of not less than five judges shall pronounce its decision on such question in open court not later than 60 days after the date of such reference. The decision of the majority of the judges of the Supreme Court shall be the decision of the Court. (*Article 26.*)

A majority of the Seanad Éireann and not less than one-third of Dail Éireann may by a joint petition request the President to decline to sign any Bill on the ground that it contains a proposal of such national importance that the will of the people ought to be ascertained.

If the President decides that on such a Bill the will of the people ought to be ascertained, he shall inform the Taoiseach—and the Chairman of each House accordingly—and decline to sign such Bill until the proposal shall have been approved either (i) by the people at a Referendum in accordance with the provision of Section 2 of Article 47 of this Constitution within 18 months ; or (ii) by a resolution of Dail Éireann passed within the said period after a dissolution and re-assembly of Dail Éireann. (*Article 27.*)

THE GOVERNMENT.

The Government shall consist of not less than 7 and not more than 15 Members who shall be appointed by the President. The executive power of the State shall, subject to the provisions of this Constitution, be exercised by or on the authority of the Government.

War shall not be declared and the State shall not participate in any war save with the assent of Dail Éireann. In the case of actual invasion, however, the Government may take whatever steps they may consider necessary for the protection of the State.

The Government shall be responsible to Dail Éireann. They shall meet and act as a collective authority, and shall be collectively responsible for the Departments of State administered by the Members of the Government.

The Taoiseach shall nominate a Member of the Government to be the Tanaiste, who shall act for all purposes in the place of the Taoiseach if the Taoiseach should die, or become permanently incapacitated, until a new Taoiseach shall have been appointed.

The Taoiseach, the Tanaiste and the Member of the Government who is in charge of the Department of Finance must be Members of Dail Eireann. The other Members of the Government must be Members of Dail Eireann or Seanad Eireann, but not more than two may be Members of Seanad Eireann.

Every Member of the Government shall have the right to attend and be heard in each House of the Oireachtas. The Taoiseach may at any time request a Member of the Government to resign.

The Taoiseach shall resign from office upon his ceasing to retain the support of a majority in Dail Eireann unless on his advice the President dissolves Dail Eireann and on the reassembly of Dail Eireann after the dissolution the Taoiseach secures the support of a majority in Dail Eireann. {Article 28.)

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

Ireland affirms its devotion to the ideal of peace and friendly co-operation amongst nations founded on international justice and morality.

Ireland affirms its adherence to the principle of the pacific settlement of international disputes by international arbitration or judicial determination.

Ireland accepts the generally recognised principles of international law as its rule of conduct in its relations with other States.

Every international agreement to which the State becomes a party shall be laid before Dail Eireann. No international agreement shall be part of the domestic law of the State save as may be determined by the Oireachtas. (Article 29.)

THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

There shall be a Council of State to aid the President on all matters on which the President may consult the said Council. It shall consist of the following Members :—

(i) As *ex-officio* Members : the Taoiseach, the Tanaiste, the Chief Justice, the President of the High Court, the Chairman of Dail Eireann, the Chairman of Seanad Eireann, and the Attorney-General.

(ii) Every person able and willing to act as a Member of the Council of State who shall have held office as President, or Taoiseach, or Chief Justice, or President of the Executive Council of Saorstad Eireann.

(iii) Other persons appointed by the President under this Article.

The President may appoint such other Councillors of State as, in his absolute discretion, he may think fit, but not more than 7 persons so appointed shall be members of the Council of State at the same time.

Every Councillor of State appointed by the President shall hold office until the successor of the President by whom he was appointed shall have entered upon his office.

Meetings of the Council of State may be convened by the President at such times and places as he shall determine. (*Article 31.*)

THE COURTS.

Justice shall be administered in public courts established by law by judges appointed in the manner provided by this Constitution.

The Courts of First Instance shall include a High Court, the jurisdiction of which shall extend to the question of the validity of any law having regard to the provisions of this Constitution.

The Courts of First Instance shall also include Courts of local and limited jurisdiction with a right of appeal as determined by law.

The Court of Final Appeal shall be called the Supreme Court.

Its President shall be called the Chief Justice. The decision of the Supreme Court shall in all cases be final and conclusive. (*Article 34.*)

The judges of the Supreme Court, the High Court and all other Courts established in pursuance of Article 34 hereof shall be appointed by the President.

All judges shall be independent in the exercise of their judicial functions and subject only to this Constitution and the law.

No judge shall be eligible to be a Member of either House of the Oireachtas or to hold any other office or position of emolument. (*Article 35.*)

TRIAL OF OFFENCES.

No person shall be tried on any criminal charge save in due course of law. Minor offences may be tried by courts of summary jurisdiction. (*Article 38.*)

Treason shall consist only in levying war against the State, or assisting any State or person or inciting or conspiring with any person to levy war against the State, or attempting by force of arms or other violent means to overthrow the organs of government established by this Constitution, or taking part or being concerned in or inciting or conspiring with any person to make or to take part or be concerned in any such attempt. (*Article 39.*)

FUNDAMENTAL EIGHTS.

Personal rights.—All citizens shall, as human persons, be held equal before the law. This shall not be held to mean that the State shall not in its enactments have due regard to differences of capacity, physical and moral, and of social function.

Titles of nobility shall not be conferred by the State. No title of nobility or of honour may be accepted by any citizen except with the prior approval of the Government.

No citizen shall be deprived of his personal liberty save in accordance with law. Nothing in this section, however, shall be invoked to prohibit, control, or interfere with any act of the Defence Forces during the existence of a state of war or armed rebellion.

The dwelling of every citizen is inviolable and shall not be forcibly entered save in accordance with law.

The State guarantees liberty for the exercise of the following rights, subject to public order and morality :—

(i) The right of the citizens to express freely their convictions and opinions. The education of public opinion being, however, a matter of such grave import to the common good, the State shall endeavour to ensure that organs of public opinion, such as the radio, the press, the cinema, while preserving their rightful liberty of expression, including criticism of Government policy, shall not be used to undermine public order or morality or the authority of the State. The publication or utterance of blasphemous, seditious, or indecent matter is an offence which shall be punishable in accordance with law.

(ii) The right of the citizens to assemble peaceably and without arms. Provision may be made by law to prevent or control meetings which are determined in accordance with law to be calculated to cause a breach of the peace or to be a danger or nuisance to the general public and to prevent or control meetings in the vicinity of either House of the Oireachtas.

(iii) The right of the citizens to form associations and unions. Laws, however, may be enacted for the regulation and control in the public interest of the exercise of the foregoing right.

Laws regulating the manner in which the right of forming associations and unions and the right of free assembly may be exercised shall contain no political, religious or class discrimination. (*Article 40.*)

The Family.—The State recognises the Family as the natural primary and fundamental unit group of Society, and as a moral institution possessing inalienable and imprescriptible rights, antecedent and superior to all positive law. The State, therefore, guarantees to protect the Family in its constitution and authority, as the necessary basis of social order and as indispensable to the welfare of the Nation and the State.

In particular, the State recognises that by her life within the home, woman gives to the State a support without which the common good cannot be achieved. The State shall, therefore, endeavour to ensure that mothers shall not be obliged by economic necessity to engage in labour to the neglect of their duties in the home.

The State pledges itself to guard with special care the institution of Marriage, on which the Family is founded, and to protect it against attack. No law shall be enacted providing for the grant of a dissolution of marriage. (*Article 41.*)

Education.—The State acknowledges that the primary and natural educator of the child is the Family and guarantees to respect the inalienable right and duty of parents to provide according to their means for the religious and moral, intellectual, physical and social education of their children.

Parents shall be free to provide this education in their homes or in private schools or in schools recognised or established by the State.

The State shall not oblige parents in violation of their conscience and lawful preference to send their children to schools established by the State,

or to any particular type of school designated by the State. The State shall, however, as guardian of the common good, require in view of actual conditions that the children receive a certain minimum education, moral, intellectual and social.

The State shall provide for free primary education and shall endeavour to supplement and give reasonable aid to private and corporate educational initiative, and, when the public good requires it, provide other educational facilities or institutions with due regard, however, for the rights of parents especially in the matter of religion and moral formation. (*Article 42.*)

Private Property.—The State acknowledges that man, in virtue of his rational being, has the natural right, antecedent to positive law, to the private ownership of external goods.

The State accordingly guarantees to pass no law attempting to abolish the right of private ownership or the general right to transfer, bequeath and inherit property.

The State recognises, however, that the exercise of the rights mentioned in the foregoing provisions of this Article ought, in civil society, to be regulated by the principles of social justice. The State, accordingly, may as occasion requires delimit by law the exercise of the said rights with a view to reconciling their exercise with the exigencies of the common good. (*Article 43.*)

Religion.—The State acknowledges that the homage of public worship is due to Almighty God. It shall hold His Name in reverence, and shall respect and honour religion. The State recognises the special position of the Holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church as the guardian of the Faith professed by the great majority of the citizens. The State also recognises the Church of Ireland, the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, the Methodist Church in Ireland, the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland, as well as the Jewish Congregations and the other religious denominations existing in Ireland at the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution.

Freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion are subject to public order and morality, guaranteed to every citizen. The State guarantees not to endow any religion. The State shall not impose any disabilities or make any discrimination on the ground of religious profession, belief or status. (*Article 44.*)

Directive principles of social policy, for the general guidance of the Oireachtas, are set out. (*Article 45.*)

AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Any provision of this Constitution may be amended whether by way of variation, addition or repeal.

Every proposal for an amendment of this Constitution shall be initiated in Dail Eireann as a Bill, and shall, upon having been passed or deemed to have been passed by both Houses of the Oireachtas, be submitted by Referendum to the decision of the people in accordance with the law for the time being in force relating to the Referendum. (*Article 46.*)

THE REFERENDUM.

Every proposal for an amendment of this Constitution which is submitted by Referendum to the people shall be held to have been approved by the people, if a majority of the votes at such Referendum shall have been cast in its favour.

Every Bill and every proposal, other than a proposal to amend the Constitution, which is submitted by Referendum to the people shall be held to have been vetoed by the people if a majority of the votes at such Referendum shall have been cast against its enactment into law and if the votes so cast against its enactment into law shall have amounted to not less than one-third of the voters on the register. Every Bill and every proposal, other than a proposal to amend the Constitution, which is submitted by Referendum to the decision of the people shall for the purposes of Article 27 hereof be held to have been approved by the people unless vetoed by them in accordance with the provisions of the foregoing subsection of this section.

Every citizen who has the right to vote at an election for Members of Dail Eireann shall have the right to vote at a Referendum. (*Article 47.*)

Articles 48, 49 and 50 provide for repeal of the Constitution of Saorstat Eireann and the continuance of laws.

Articles 51 to 61 provide for transitory arrangements.

Article 62 provides that the Constitution shall come into operation :—

(i) on the expiration of 180 days after its approval by the people signified by a majority of votes cast at a plebiscite ; or

(ii) on such earlier day after such approval as may be fixed by a resolution of Dail Eireann elected on the same day as the plebiscite.

II.

THE U.S. NEUTRALITY ACT.

Adopted by Congress, April 29, 1937.

[PUBLIC RESOLUTION—No. 27—75TH CONGRESS]

[CHAPTER 146—1ST SESSION]

[S. J. Res. 51]

JOINT RESOLUTION

To amend the joint resolution entitled " Joint resolution providing for the prohibition of the export of arms, ammunition, and implements of war to belligerent countries ; the prohibition of the transportation of arms, ammunition, and implements of war by vessels of the United States for the use of belligerent States ; for the registration and licensing of persons engaged in the business of manufacturing, exporting, or importing arms, ammunition, or implements of war; and restricting travel by American citizens on belligerent ships during war," approved August 31, 1935, as amended.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the joint resolution entitled " Joint resolution providing for the prohibition of the export of arms, ammunition, and implements of war to belligerent countries ; the prohibition of the transportation of arms, ammunition, and implements of war by vessels of the United States for the use of belligerent States ; for the registration and licensing of persons engaged in the business of manufacturing, exporting, or importing arms, ammunition, or implements of war; and restricting travel by American citizens on belligerent ships during war," approved August 31, 1935, as amended, is amended to read as follows :

EXPORT OF ARMS, AMMUNITION, AND IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.

SECTION 1. (a) Whenever the President shall find that there exists a state of war between, or among, two or more foreign States, the President shall proclaim such fact, and it shall thereafter be unlawful to export, or attempt to export, or cause to be exported, arms, ammunition, or implements of war from any place in the United States to any belligerent State named in such proclamation, or to any neutral State for transshipment to, or for the use of, any such belligerent State.

(b) The President shall, from time to time, by proclamation extend such embargo upon the export of arms, ammunition, or implements of war to other States as and when they may become involved in such war.

(c) Whenever the President shall find that a state of civil strife exists in a foreign State and that such civil strife is of a magnitude or is being conducted under such conditions that the export of arms, ammunition, or implements of war from the United States to such foreign State would threaten or endanger the peace of the United States, the President shall proclaim such fact, and it shall thereafter be unlawful to export, or attempt to export, or cause to be exported, arms, ammunition, or implements of war from any place in the United States to such foreign State, or to any neutral State for transshipment to, or for the use of, such foreign State.

(d) The President shall, from time to time by proclamation, definitely enumerate the arms, ammunition, and implements of war, the export of which is prohibited by this section. The arms, ammunition, and implements of war so enumerated shall include those enumerated in the President's proclamation numbered 2163, of April 10, 1936, but shall not include raw materials or any other articles or materials not of the same general character as those enumerated in the said proclamation, and in the Convention for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War, signed at Geneva June 17, 1925.

(e) Whoever, in violation of any of the provisions of this Act, shall export, or attempt to export, or cause to be exported, arms, ammunition, or implements of war from the United States shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both, and the property, vessel, or vehicle containing the same shall be subject to the provisions of sections 1 to 8, inclusive, title 6, chapter 30, of the Act approved June 15, 1917 (40 Stat. 223-225 ; U.S.C., 1934 ed., title 22, secs. 238-245).

(f) In the case of the forfeiture of any arms, ammunition, or implements of war by reason of a violation of this Act, no public or private sale shall be required; but such arms, ammunition, or implements of war shall be delivered to the Secretary of War for such use or disposal thereof as shall be approved by the President of the United States.

(g) Whenever, in the judgment of the President, the conditions which have caused him to issue any proclamation under the authority of this section have ceased to exist, he shall revoke the same, and the provisions of this section shall thereupon cease to apply with respect to the State or States named in such proclamation, except with respect to offences committed, or forfeitures incurred, prior to such revocation.

EXPORT OF OTHER ARTICLES AND MATERIALS.

SEO. 2. (a) Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of section 1 of this Act and he shall thereafter find that the placing of restrictions on the shipment of certain articles or materials in addition to arms, ammunition, and implements of war from the United States to belligerent States, or to a State wherein civil strife exists, is necessary to promote the security or preserve the peace of the United States or to protect the lives of citizens of the United States, he shall so proclaim, and it shall thereafter be unlawful, except under such limitations and exceptions as the President may prescribe as to lakes, rivers, and inland waters bordering on the United States, and as to transportation on or over lands bordering on the United States, for any American vessel to carry such articles or materials to any belligerent State, or to any State wherein civil strife exists, named in such proclamation issued under the authority of section 1 of this Act, or to any neutral State for transshipment to, or for the use of, any such belligerent State or any such State wherein civil strife exists. The President shall by proclamation from time to time definitely enumerate the articles and materials which it shall be unlawful for American vessels to so transport.

(b) Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of section 1 of this Act and he shall thereafter find that the placing of restrictions on the export of articles or materials from the United States to belligerent States, or to a State wherein civil strife exists, is necessary to promote the security or preserve the peace of the United States or to protect the lives or commerce of citizens of the United States, he shall so proclaim, and it shall thereafter be unlawful, except under such limitations and exceptions as the President may prescribe as to lakes, rivers, and inland waters bordering on the United States, and as to transportation on or over land bordering on the United States, to export or transport, or attempt to export or transport, or cause to be exported or transported, from the United States to any belligerent State, or to any State wherein civil strife exists, named in such proclamation issued under the authority of section 1 of this Act, or to any neutral State for transshipment to, or for the use of, any such belligerent State or any such State wherein civil strife exists, any articles or materials whatever until all right, title, and interest

therein shall have been transferred to some foreign government, agency, institution, association, partnership, corporation, or national. The shipper of such articles or materials shall be required to file with the collector of the port from which they are to be exported a declaration under oath that there exists in citizens of the United States no right, title, or interest in such articles or materials, and to comply with such rules and regulations as shall be promulgated from time to time by the President. Any such declaration so filed shall be a conclusive estoppel against any claim of any citizen of the United States of right, title, or interest in such articles or materials. Insurance written by underwriters on any articles or materials the export of which is prohibited by this Act, or on articles or materials carried by an American vessel in violation of subsection (a) of this section, shall not be deemed an American interest therein, and no insurance policy issued on such articles or materials and no loss incurred thereunder or by the owner of the vessel carrying the same shall be made a basis of any claim put forward by the Government of the United States.

(c) The President shall from time to time by proclamation extend such restrictions as are imposed under the authority of this section to other States as and when they may be declared to become belligerent States under proclamations issued under the authority of section 1 of this Act.

(d) The President may from time to time change, modify, or revoke in whole or in part any proclamations issued by him under the authority of this section.

(e) Except with respect to offences committed, or forfeitures incurred, prior to May 1, 1939, this section and all proclamations issued thereunder shall not be effective after May 1, 1939.

FINANCIAL TRANS ACTIONS.

SEO. 3. (a) Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of section 1 of this Act, it shall thereafter be unlawful for any person within the United States to purchase, sell, or exchange bonds, securities, or other obligations of the government of any belligerent State or of any State wherein civil strife exists, named in such proclamation, or of any political subdivision of any such State, or of any person acting for or on behalf of the government of any such State, or of any faction or asserted government within any such State wherein civil strife exists, or of any person acting for or on behalf of any faction or asserted government within any such State wherein civil strife exists, issued after the date of such proclamation, or to make any loan or extend any credit to any such government, political subdivision, faction, asserted government, or person, or to solicit or receive any contribution for any such government, political subdivision, faction, asserted government, or person: *Provided*, That if the President shall find that such action will serve to protect the commercial or other interests of the United States or its citizens, he may, in his discretion, and to such extent and under such regulations as he may prescribe, except from the operation of this section ordinary commercial credits and short-time obligations in aid of legal transactions and

of a character customarily used in normal peacetime commercial transactions. Nothing in this subsection shall be construed to prohibit the solicitation or collection of funds to be used for medical aid and assistance, or for food and clothing to relieve human suffering, when such solicitation or collection of funds is made on behalf of and for use by any person or organization which is not acting for or on behalf of any such government, political subdivision, faction, or asserted government, but all such solicitations and collections of funds shall be subject to the approval of the President and shall be made under such rules and regulations as he shall prescribe.

(b) The provisions of this section shall not apply to a renewal or adjustment of such indebtedness as may exist on the date of the President's proclamation.

(c) Whoever shall violate the provisions of this section or of any regulations issued hereunder shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than \$50,000 or imprisoned for not more than five years, or both. Should the violation be by a corporation, organisation, or association, each officer or agent thereof participating in the violation may be liable to the penalty herein prescribed.

(d) Whenever the President shall have revoked any such proclamation issued under the authority of section 1 of this Act, the provisions of this section and of any regulations issued by the President hereunder shall thereupon cease to apply with respect to the State or States named in such proclamation, except with respect to offences committed prior to such revocation.

EXCEPTIONS—AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

SEO. 4. This Act shall not apply to an American republic or republics engaged in war against a non-American State or States, provided the American republic is not co-operating with a non-American State or States in such war.

NATIONAL MUNITIONS CONTROL BOARD.

SEC. 5. (a) There is hereby established a National Munitions Control Board (hereinafter referred to as the " Board ") to carry out the provisions of this Act. The Board shall consist of the Secretary of State, who shall be chairman and executive officer of the Board, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of Commerce. Except as otherwise provided in this Act, or by other law, the administration of this Act is vested in the Department of State. The Secretary of State shall promulgate such rules and regulations with regard to the enforcement of this section as he may deem necessary to carry out its provisions. The Board shall be convened by the chairman and shall hold at least one meeting a year.

(b) Every person who engages in the business of manufacturing, exporting, or importing any of the arms, ammunition, or implements of war referred to in this Act, whether as an exporter, importer, manufacturer, or dealer, shall register with the Secretary of State his name, or business name, principal place of business, and place of business in the United States, and

a list of the arms, ammunition, and implements of war which he manufactures, imports, or exports.

(c) Every person required to register under this section shall notify the Secretary of State of any change in the arms, ammunition, or implements of war which he exports, imports, or manufactures ; and upon such notification the Secretary of State shall issue to such person an amended certificate of registration, free of charge, which shall remain valid until the date of expiration of the original certificate. Every person required to register under the provisions of this section shall pay a registration fee of \$500, unless he manufactured, exported, or imported arms, ammunition, and implements of war to a total sales value of less than \$50,000 during the twelve months immediately preceding his registration, in which case he shall pay a registration fee of \$100. Upon receipt of the required registration fee, the Secretary of State shall issue a registration certificate valid for five years, which shall be renewable for further periods of five years upon the payment for each renewal of a fee of \$500 in the case of persons who manufactured, exported, or imported arms, ammunition, and implements of war to a total sales value of more than \$50,000 during the twelve months immediately preceding the renewal, or a fee of \$100 in the case of persons who manufactured, exported, or imported arms, ammunition, and implements of war to a total sales value of less than \$50,000 during the twelve months immediately preceding the renewal. The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to refund, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$400 to every person who shall have paid a registration fee of \$500 pursuant to this Act, who manufactured, exported, or imported arms, ammunition, and implements of war to a total sales value of less than \$50,000 during the twelve months immediately preceding his registration.

(d) It shall be unlawful for any person to export, or attempt to export, from the United States to any other State, any of the arms, ammunition, or implements of war referred to in this Act, or to import, or attempt to import, to the United States from any other State, any of the arms, ammunition, or implements of war referred to in this Act, without first having obtained a licence therefor.

(e) All persons required to register under this section shall maintain, subject to the inspection of the Secretary of State, or any person or persons designated by him, such permanent records of manufacture for export, importation, and exportation of arms, ammunition, and implements of war as the Secretary of State shall prescribe.

(f) Licences shall be issued to persons who have registered as herein provided for, except in cases of export or import licences where the export of arms, ammunition, or implements of war would be in violation of this Act or any other law of the United States, or of a treaty to which the United States is a party, in which cases such licences shall not be issued.

(g) Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of section 1 of this Act, all licences theretofore issued under this Act shall *ipso facto* and immediately upon the issuance of such proclamation, cease to grant authority to export arms, ammunition, or implements of

war from any place in the United States to any belligerent State, or to any State wherein civil strife exists, named in such proclamation, or to any neutral State for transshipment to, or for the use of, any such belligerent State or any such State wherein civil strife exists; and said licences, in so far as the grant of authority to export to the State or States named in such proclamation is concerned, shall be null and void.

(h) No purchase of arms, ammunition, or implements of war shall be made on behalf of the United States by any officer, executive department, or independent establishment of the Government from any person who shall have failed to register under the provisions of this Act.

(i) The provisions of the Act of August 29, 1916, relating to the sale of ordnance and stores to the Government of Cuba (39 Stat. 619, 643; U.S.C., 1934 ed., title 50, sec. 72), are hereby repealed as of December 31, 1937.

(j) The Board shall make an annual report to Congress, copies of which shall be distributed as are other reports transmitted to Congress. Such reports shall contain such information and data collected by the Board as may be considered of value in the determination of questions connected with the control of trade in arms, ammunition, and implements of war. The Board shall include in such reports a list of all persons required to register under the provisions of this Act, and full information concerning the licences issued hereunder.

(k) The President is hereby authorised to proclaim upon recommendation of the Board from time to time a list of articles which shall be considered arms, ammunition, and implements of war for the purposes of this section.

AMERICAN VESSELS PROHIBITED FROM CARRYING ARMS TO BELLIGERENT STATES.

SEO. 6. (a) Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of section 1 of this Act, it shall thereafter be unlawful, until such proclamation is revoked, for any American vessel to carry any arms, ammunition, or implements of war to any belligerent State, or to any State wherein civil strife exists, named in such proclamation, or to any neutral State for transshipment to, or for the use of, any such belligerent State or any such State wherein civil strife exists.

(b) Whoever, in violation of the provisions of this section, shall take, or attempt to take, or shall authorise, hire, or solicit another to take, any American vessel carrying such cargo out of port or from the jurisdiction of the United States shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both; and, in addition, such vessel, and her tackle, apparel, furniture, and equipment, and the arms, ammunition, and implements of war on board, shall be forfeited to the United States.

USE OF AMERICAN PORTS AS BASE OF SUPPLY.

SEC. 7. (a) Whenever, during any war in which the United States is neutral, the President, or any person thereunto authorised by him, shall have cause to believe that any vessel, domestic or foreign, whether requiring

clearance or not, is about to carry out of a port of the United States, fuel, men, arms, ammunition, implements of war, or other supplies to any warship, tender, or supply ship of a belligerent State, but the evidence is not deemed sufficient to justify forbidding the departure of the vessel as provided for by section 1, title V, chapter 30, of the Act approved June 15, 1917 (40 Stat. 217, 221 ; U.S.C., 1934 ed., title 18, sec. 31), and if, in the President's judgment, such action will serve to maintain peace between the United States and foreign States, or to protect the commercial interests of the United States and its citizens, or to promote the security or neutrality of the United States, he shall have the power and it shall be his duty to require the owner, master, or person in command thereof, before departing from a port of the United States, to give a bond to the United States, with sufficient sureties, in such amount as he shall deem proper, conditioned that the vessel will not deliver the men, or any part of the cargo, to any warship, tender, or supply ship of a belligerent State.

(b) If the President, or any person thereunto authorised by him, shall find that a vessel, domestic or foreign, in a port of the United States, has previously cleared from a port of the United States during such war and delivered its cargo or any part thereof to a warship, tender, or supply ship of a belligerent State, he may prohibit the departure of such vessel during the duration of the war.

SUBMARINES AND ARMED MERCHANT VESSELS.

SEO. 8. Whenever, during any war in which the United States is neutral, the President shall find that special restrictions placed on the use of the ports and territorial waters of the United States by the submarines or armed merchant vessels of a foreign State, will serve to maintain peace between the United States and foreign States, or to protect the commercial interests of the United States and its citizens, or to promote the security of the United States, and shall make proclamation thereof, it shall thereafter be unlawful for any such submarine or armed merchant vessel to enter a port or the territorial waters of the United States or to depart therefrom, except under such conditions and subject to such limitations as the President may prescribe. Whenever, in his judgment, the conditions which have caused him to issue his proclamation have ceased to exist, he shall revoke his proclamation and the provisions of this section shall thereupon cease to apply.

TRAVEL ON VESSELS OF BELLIGERENT STATES.

SEC. 9. Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of section 1 of this Act it shall thereafter be unlawful for any citizen of the United States to travel on any vessel of the State or States named in such proclamation, except in accordance with such rules and regulations as the President shall prescribe : *Provided, however.* That the provisions of this section shall not apply to a citizen of the United States travelling on a vessel whose voyage was begun in advance of the date of the President's proclamation, and who had no opportunity to discontinue

his voyage after that date : *And provided further*, That they shall not apply under ninety days after the date of the President's proclamation to a citizen of the United States returning from a foreign State to the United States. Whenever, in the President's judgment, the conditions which have caused him to issue his proclamation have ceased to exist, he shall revoke his proclamation and the provisions of this section shall thereupon cease to apply with respect to the State or States named in such proclamation, except with respect to offences committed prior to such revocation.

ARMING OF AMERICAN MERCHANT VESSELS PROHIBITED.

SEC. 10. Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of section 1, it shall thereafter be unlawful, until such proclamation is revoked, for any American vessel engaged in commerce with any belligerent State, or any State wherein civil strife exists, named in such proclamation, to be armed or to carry any armament, arms, ammunition, or implements of war, except small arms and ammunition therefor which the President may deem necessary and shall publicly designate for the preservation of discipline aboard such vessels.

REGULATIONS.

SEC. 11. The President may, from time to time, promulgate such rules and regulations, not inconsistent with law, as may be necessary and proper to carry out any of the provisions of this Act; and he may exercise any power or authority conferred on him by this Act through such officer or officers, or agency or agencies, as he shall direct.

GENERAL PENALTY PROVISION.

SEC. 12. In every case of the violation of any of the provisions of this Act or of any rule or regulation issued pursuant thereto where a specific penalty is not herein provided, such violator or violators, upon conviction, shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

DEFINITIONS.

SEC. 13. For the purposes of this Act—

(a) The term " United States," when used in a geographical sense, includes the several States and Territories, the insular possessions of the United States (including the Philippine Islands), the Canal Zone, and the District of Columbia.

(b) The term " person " includes a partnership, company, association, or corporation, as well as a natural person.

(c) The term " vessel " means every description of watercraft (including aircraft) or other contrivance used, or capable of being used, as a means of transportation on, under, or over water.

(d) The term " American vessel " means any vessel (including aircraft) documented under the laws of the United States.

(e) The term " vehicle " means every description of carriage (including aircraft) or other contrivance used, or capable of being used, as a means of transportation on or over land.

(f) The term " State " shall include nation, government, and country.

SEPARABILITY OF PROVISIONS.

SEC. 14. If any of the provisions of this Act, or the application thereof to any person or circumstance, is held invalid, the remainder of the Act, and the application of such provision to other persons or circumstances, shall not be affected thereby.

APPROPRIATIONS.

SEC. 15. There is hereby authorised to be appropriated from time to time, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such amounts as may be necessary to carry out the provisions and accomplish the purposes of this Act.

Approved, May 1, 1937, 6.30 p.m. Central Standard Time.

III.

NON-AGGRESSION TREATY BETWEEN U.S.S.R. AND CHINA.

SIGNED AT NANKING ON AUGUST 21, 1937.

THE Government of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and the National Government of the Chinese Republic,

inspired by the desire to co-operate in the maintenance of universal peace, to strengthen the friendly relations existing between them upon a firm and permanent basis and to confirm in more precise manner the obligations mutually assumed by them in accordance with the treaty for renouncing war that was signed in Paris on August 27, 1928,

have resolved to conclude the present treaty, and to this end they have appointed their plenipotentiaries, to wit:

the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics :

Dmitri Bogomolov, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Chinese Republic;

His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Chinese Republic :

Dr. Wang Chung-Hui, Minister of Foreign Affairs,

who, after exchanging their credentials which were found to be in proper form, have agreed on the following articles :

ARTICLE I.—The two high contracting parties solemnly declare that they denounce resorting to war for the settlement of international conflicts and that they renounce such as an instrument of national policy in their

relations with each other, and as a consequence of this obligation, they undertake to refrain from any attack upon each other whether singly or in conjunction with one or several other powers.

ARTICLE II.—Should one of the high contracting parties be attacked by one or several third powers, the other high contracting party undertakes to offer no aid either directly or indirectly to such third power or powers during the entire conflict, as well as to refrain from any actions or pacts which might be utilised by the attacking power or powers to the disadvantage of the party attacked.

ARTICLE III.—The obligations under the present treaty are not to be interpreted in such a manner as to infringe or modify the rights and obligations accruing to the high contracting parties from bilateral or multilateral treaties or pacts signed by the two high contracting parties and concluded before the present treaty has entered into force.

ARTICLE IV.—The present treaty is drawn up in duplicate in the English language. It enters into force on the day of its being signed by the afore-said plenipotentiaries and shall remain in force during five years.

Each of the high contracting parties may notify the other of its desire to terminate the action of the treaty six months before the expiration of this term. In the event that neither of the parties should do this within that time, the treaty shall be deemed automatically prolonged for a term of two years after the expiring of the first term. Should neither of the high contracting parties notify the other, six months before the expiration of the term of two years, of its desire to terminate the treaty, it shall remain in force for a new term of two years, and so on.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty and appended thereunto their seals.

Done at Nanking, August 21, 1937.

D. BOGOMOLOV.
WANG CHUNG-HUI.

IV.

CONVENTION REGARDING THE ABOLITION OF THE CAPITULATIONS IN EGYPT.¹

Signed at Montreux on May 8, 1937.

His Majesty the King of Egypt, of the one part, and the President of the United States of America; His Majesty the King of the Belgians; His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India; His Majesty the King of Denmark; the President of the Spanish Republic; the President of the French Republic; His Majesty the King of the Hellenes; His Majesty the King of Italy, Emperor of Ethiopia; His Majesty the King of Norway; Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands; the President of the Portuguese Republic; His Majesty the King of Sweden, of the other part;

¹ Reprinted from Cmd. 6491 by kind permission of The Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

Whereas the regime of Capitulations hitherto in force in Egypt is no longer in harmony with the new situation to which that country has attained through the progress of its institutions and whereas it should in consequence be brought to an end ;

Considering that, following upon the abolition by common agreement of the said regime, there should be established between them relations based on respect for the independence and sovereignty of States and on ordinary international law ;

Prompted by the sincere desire to facilitate the most extensive and friendly co-operation between them ;

Have decided to conclude a Convention for that purpose.

Article 1.—The High Contracting Parties declare that they agree, each in so far as he is concerned, to the complete abolition in all respects of Capitulations in Egypt.

Article 2.—Subject to the application of the principles of international law, foreigners shall be subject to Egyptian legislation in criminal, civil, commercial, administrative, fiscal and other matters.

It is understood that the legislation to which foreigners will be subject will not be inconsistent with the principles generally adopted in modern legislation, and will not, with particular relation to legislation of a fiscal nature, entail any discrimination against foreigners or against companies incorporated in accordance with Egyptian law wherein foreigners are substantially interested.

The immediately preceding paragraph, in so far as it does not constitute a recognised rule of international law, shall apply only during the transition period.

Article 3.—The Mixed Court of Appeal and the Mixed Tribunals now existing shall be maintained until the 14th October, 1949.

As from the 15th October, 1937, they shall be governed by an Egyptian law establishing the *Reglement a" organisation judiciaire*.¹

On the date mentioned in paragraph 1 above, all cases pending before the Mixed Tribunals shall be remitted, at the stage which they have then reached and without involving the parties in the payment of any fees, to the National Tribunals to be continued therein until they are finally disposed of.

The period from the 15th October, 1937, to the 14th October, 1949, shall be known as "the transition period."

Article 4.—The judges, officials and stafi of the Mixed Tribunals and of the Mixed Parquet, who are employed there on the 14th October, 1937, shall be retained in office.

Article 5.—The rules to be applied by the Egyptian National Courts in regard to third party actions shall be the same as those prescribed for the Mixed Tribunals in Article 37 of the *Reglement a" organisation judiciaire mixte*.

Article 6.—The National Courts shall also have jurisdiction in respect of the prosecution of persons of any nationality, accused as principals or accomplices of any of the crimes and misdemeanours referred to in Article 45

¹The text of this was annexed to the Convention.

of the *Reglement d'organisation judiciaire mixte*, involving judges and judicial officials of those courts or their judgments or orders or of bankruptcy offences where the bankruptcy proceedings have taken place before the said courts.

Article 7.—A change in the nationality of one of the parties in the course of proceedings before the National Courts shall not affect the competence of the Court before which the proceedings have been brought.

Article 8.—Subject to the provisions of Article 9, no civil or commercial action, no action in matters of personal status, and no criminal cause shall be instituted before any Consular Court in Egypt after the 15th October, 1937.

Proceedings already brought prior to the above date in any such courts shall be continued before them until finally disposed of, unless they are remitted to the Mixed Tribunals under the conditions specified in Article 53 of the *Reglement d'organisation judiciaire*.

Article 9.—Any of the High Contracting Parties who possess at present Consular Courts in Egypt, may retain such courts for the purposes of jurisdiction in matters of personal status in all cases in which the law applicable is the national law of the High Contracting Party concerned.

Any such High Contracting Party who desires to exercise the above right shall notify the Royal Egyptian Government to this effect at the time of the deposit of his instrument of ratification of the present Convention.

At any time during the transition period any High Contracting Party may make a declaration renouncing his consular jurisdiction. Such declaration shall take effect as from the 15th October following the date on which it is made. No new proceeding shall be entertained after the date on which a renunciation of jurisdiction takes effect, but any proceeding already instituted may be continued until finally disposed of.

No Consular Court shall be maintained after the 14th October, 1949. On that date all proceedings pending before the said Consular Courts shall be remitted to the National Tribunals at the stage they have then reached.

Article 10.—In matters of personal status, the jurisdiction which is competent shall be determined by the law to be applied.

The expression "personal status" refers to the matters specified in Article 28 of the *Reglement d'organisation judiciaire mixte*.

The law to be applied shall be ascertained in conformity with the rules set out in Articles 29 and 30 of the said *Reglement*.

Article 11.—Without prejudice to the exceptions recognised by international law, foreign consuls shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the Mixed Tribunals. In particular, they may not be prosecuted in respect of acts performed by them in the performance of their official duties.

Subject to reciprocity, they shall exercise the powers customarily granted to consuls as regards registration in matters of personal status, as regards contracts of marriage and other notarial acts, inheritance, the representation before the Courts of the interests of their absent nationals and maritime navigation, and shall enjoy personal immunity.

Until Consular Conventions are concluded, and in any case during a period of three years as from the date of the signature of the present

Convention, consuls shall continue to enjoy the immunities which they possess at present in respect of consular premises and in the matter of taxes, customs duties and other public dues.

Article 12.—The High Contracting Parties undertake to maintain in Egypt, during the transition period, all the judicial records of their Consular Courts.

These records shall be open for inspection by the Courts in Egypt whenever such inspection is required in connexion with a case coming within their jurisdiction ; certified copies of such records shall be furnished upon the request of any such court.

Article 13.—Any dispute between the High Contracting Parties relating to the interpretation or application of the provisions of the present Convention, which they are unable to settle by diplomatic means, shall, on the application of one of the Parties to the dispute, be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

If, however, there is at present in force between any of the High Contracting Parties and His Majesty the King of Egypt a treaty of arbitration providing for another tribunal, this tribunal shall, for the duration of this Convention, be substituted for the Permanent Court of International Justice for the purposes of this Article, even though such treaty of arbitration may have ceased to exist for other purposes.

Article 14.—The present Convention has been drawn up in a single copy in the English and French languages. Both texts shall be equally authentic for the purposes of its interpretation.

In the case of the annex aforesaid the French text alone shall be authentic.

Article 15.—The present Convention shall be ratified and, the instruments of ratification shall be deposited as soon as possible at Cairo. The Royal Egyptian Government shall undertake the registration of the Convention with the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

The Royal Egyptian Government shall inform the Governments of the High Contracting Parties and the Secretary-General of the League of Nations of the deposit of each ratification.

The present Convention shall come into force on the 15th October, 1937, if three instruments of ratification have been deposited. It shall not, however, come into force in respect of the other signatories before the date of the deposit of their respective instruments of ratification.

OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1937.

JANUARY.

1. Sir Grafton Elliot Smith, F.R.S., famous as an anthropologist, Professor of Anatomy in the University of London, 1919-36, was born at Grafton, New South Wales (hence his first name), on August 15, 1871. After graduating M.D. at Sydney University in 1895 he went to Cambridge as University Demonstrator of Anatomy, was admitted M.A., and was elected a Fellow of St. John's College in recognition of his researches on the anatomy of the mammalian brain. From Cambridge he went to Cairo as Professor of Anatomy in the Government School of Medicine, returning to England in 1909 to take a similar post in the University of Manchester, where, in addition to his scientific work and teaching, he did much to relieve soldiers suffering from shell-shock and other disorders of the nervous system. In 1919 he succeeded to the Chair of Anatomy in the University of London (at University College), which he occupied until 1936. While in Egypt, where he was said to have examined nearly 20,000 bodies, he made the first X-ray examination of a mummy. His chief publications were "The Ancient Egyptians" (1911); "The Royal Mummies" (1912); "Migrations of Early Culture" (1915); "Evolution of Dragon" (1919); "Tutankhamen" (1923); "Elephants and Anthropologists" (1924); "Human History" (1930); "The Search for Man's Ancestors" (1931); and "The Diffusion of Culture" (1933). He was knighted in 1934, and had been since 1907 a Fellow of the Royal Society, of which he was a Vice-President, and was awarded a Royal medal. He gained the Prix Fauvelle of the French Society of Anthropology in 1911, and the honorary gold medal of the Royal College of Surgeons of England. He was an honorary member of the chief anthropological societies and scientific academies in Europe and America, a member of the General Medical Council, Fullerian Professor of Physiology at the Royal Institution, and President of the Anatomical Society of Great Britain and Ireland. He married, in 1900, Kathleen, daughter of William Latimer Macredie, of Sydney, and had three sons.

2. Sir Frederic Arthur Hlirtzel, who served for thirty-six years in the India Office and was Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India from 1924 to 1930, was born at Minehead on May 14, 1870, and educated at Dulwich College (of which he was appointed a Governor in 1914, deputy Chairman in 1924, and Chairman a year later), and at Trinity College, Oxford, where he gained the Craven Scholarship, and a first class in Classical Moderations in 1891. In 1898, four years after he had entered the India Office, he was appointed private secretary to the Parliamentary Under-Secretary (Lord Onslow), and for fifteen months, from 1901, he served the permanent head of the office, Sir Arthur Godley (Lord Kilbracken) in the same capacity. After a period as senior clerk of the Military Department, he became, in 1903, private secretary to Mr. Brodrick (Lord Middleton), and served the Secretary of State for six years, the

greater part of the time with John Morley, who, in October, 1909, put him in charge of the Political and Secret Department where he remained for eight years. In 1917 he became Assistant Under-Secretary of State, and when in 1921 Mr. Montagu created the post of Deputy Under-Secretary, Hirtzel was appointed the first occupant. Three years later, on the death of Sir William Duke, he was promoted to the permanent headship of the office (the eighth Under-Secretary since the appointment was created in 1858), and held the post until his retirement in 1930. A keen churchman and author of "The Church, the Empire and the World" (1919), he was for many years Treasurer of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta. He was made a C.B. in 1907, and K.C.B. in 1911, and a Fellow of Brasenose in 1895. In 1899 he married Olive, daughter of R. C. Ransome, of Ipswich, and had one son and three daughters.

7. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir David Sempie, eminent as a bacteriologist and founder and first director of the Pasteur Institute in India, was born on April 6, 1856, and educated at Foyle College, Londonderry, Queen's College, Belfast (from which he received the honorary degree of B.Sc. in 1919), and at the Royal University of Ireland, where he took the degree of M.D. in 1881. After being associated with Sir Almroth Wright in bacteriological inquiry, he went to India in 1899 and turned his attention to the treatment of rabies, having studied the subject under Pasteur himself in Paris. Within a dozen years he had established an institution giving relief to 3,500 patients annually. In 1905 he retired from the Royal Army Medical Corps, which he had entered in 1883, to serve under the Government of India as the first Director of the Central Research Institute at Kasauli. There he developed the production of protective and curative processes against tetanus and diphtheria, prepared vaccines against enteric fever, and discovered the efficiency of a dead carbolised vaccine in anti-rabies treatment. This enormously simplified the method of preparation of the vaccine and enabled Pasteur institutes to be placed in the vicinity of hospitals. He also discovered the hypodermic injection of quinine, the result of which was to show that this method of treatment could be freed from danger by the simultaneous injection of anti-tetanic serum. Sempie took an active part in the work of the Central Committee for the Study of Malaria (1909-12), and the Scientific Advisory Committee on Medical Research (1911-13). On leaving India in 1913 he went to Egypt as Director-General of the Public Health Department. From 1915 to the end of the war he served in Egypt as Colonel A.M.S., receiving the Order of the Nile. In 1903 he was awarded the Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal, and in 1911 he was knighted. He married, in 1894, Ethel May, daughter of Dr. Edward Watson, of Isleham, Cambridge, and had three daughters.

8. Harold Hodge, educationist and editor of the *Saturday Review*, 1898 to 1913, was born in 1863, a son of the head of Sotheby's, and was educated at St. Paul's School and Pembroke College, Oxford. For a few years he practised at the Bar and did social work in East London. Keenly interested in education, he was a member of various committees and was Chairman of the Executive Committee of Princess Helena College. In 1898 he became editor of the *Saturday Review*, holding the post until 1913. Under his guidance the paper became one of the most influential of the London political weeklies. In 1917 Hodge published "In the Wake of War: Parliament or Imperial Government," reasoned views on the political system, which displayed his enlightened Toryism.

— Professor Henry Tonks, F.R.C.S., Slade Professor of Fine Art in the University of London, 1918 to 1930, was born at Solihull, Warwickshire, in 1862, and after being educated at Clifton College entered the Sussex County Hospital, Brighton, as a pupil in 1862. Later he went to the London Hospital, where he developed his talent as a draughtsman, and became in turn house physician and house surgeon. On June 14, 1888, he was admitted a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, and a little later was appointed senior resident medical

officer at the Royal Free Hospital. Having determined to become an artist during a visit to the Dresden Gallery, he communicated with Fred Brown, head of the Westminster School of Art, in order to enter the school as a student; and when Brown became Slade Professor of Fine Art at University College, Tonks was offered the post of assistant at the Slade School. He succeeded Brown in the professorship in 1918, occupying the Chair until he retired with the title of Emeritus Professor in 1930. Among his pupils were John, Orpen, McEvoy, and G. K. Chesterton. His most characteristic works were "The Chestnut Roasters," "The Bird Cage," "The Crystal Gazer," "The Strolling Players," "The Fortune Teller," "The Baby," "The Knitting Party," "An Underground Clearing Station, Arras," "Sodales," and "Saturday Night in the Vale." In October, 1936, he had the honour of a special exhibition of his work at the Tate Gallery. He was closely associated with the New English Art Club from 1891 and was a regular contributor to its exhibitions. Tonks was unmarried.

16. The Right Rev. Edmund Arbuthnott Knox, D.D., Bishop of Manchester from 1903 to 1920, was born at Bangalore on December 6, 1847, the son of a clergyman, and educated at St. Paul's School, of which forty years later he became a governor, and at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. In 1867 he gained the Boden Sanscrit Scholarship and a first class in Moderations and a year later a first in Greats and was immediately elected a Fellow of Merton College. In 1869 he gained a first in the School of Law and Modern History. He was ordained in 1870 and after some parochial experience in Oxford, was appointed tutor and later chaplain and Dean of Merton. In 1884 he accepted the college living of Kibworth Beauchamp, near Leicester, and quickly made his mark as one of the most vigorous of the younger Evangelical clergy. He was appointed vicar of Aston, Birmingham, in 1891, and in the following year he became chaplain to the Bishop of Worcester, Dr. J. J. S. Perowne, being given, two years later, an honorary canonry in Worcester Cathedral. This was followed almost immediately by promotion to be Bishop Suffragan of Coventry and Archdeacon of Birmingham, to which posts was added in 1895 the rectory of St. Philip's, Birmingham, afterwards the cathedral of the diocese. In 1903 he succeeded Dr. Moorhouse as Bishop of Manchester, holding the post until 1920, when he retired and went to live at Shortlands, Kent, in a house bought by his diocese. In 1933 he published "The Tractarian Movement, 1833-1846," and in 1935 "Reminiscences of an Octogenarian." He was twice married, his first wife, a daughter of Dr. Valpy French, Bishop of Lahore, dying in 1892. In 1895 he married Ethel, daughter of Canon Newton. Of his four sons and two daughters—Father Ronald Knox was Roman Catholic chaplain at Oxford; Wilfred, the Anglo-Catholic Warden of the Oratory House, Cambridge; Edmund ("Evoe"), editor of *Punch*; and Winifred, a novelist.

18. The Right Hon. Sir Frederick Pollock, Bt., K.C., the famous jurist, was born on December 10, 1845, eldest son of Sir W. F. Pollock, whom he succeeded in 1888, and grandson of Lord Chief Baron Pollock, first Baronet, and educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was Pitt scholar in 1865 and second classio and first Chancellor's medalist in 1867. He was elected a Fellow of Trinity in 1868 and was called to the Bar in 1871 by Lincoln's Inn, which elected him a Bencher in 1906. He was Professor of Jurisprudence at University College, London, 1882-83; Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence at Oxford, 1883-1903; and Professor of Common Law at the Inns of Court, 1884-89. He delivered lectures at the Royal Institution in 1884; the Tagore lectures in India in 1894; at Harvard University in 1903; and at Columbia University in 1912. He was a member of the Royal Commission on Labour in 1891 and Chairman of the Royal Commission on Public Records in 1910. In 1911 he was sworn of the Privy Council; in 1914 was made a Judge of the Admiralty Court of the Cinque Ports; and in 1920 a K.C. He drafted the Partnership Act, 1890,

and several Bills for the Government of India. Among his numerous publications, several of which became standard works, were books on the common law of England, on partnership, torts, the land laws, fisheries, and, with Sir R. Wright, "Possession in the Common Law." With Professor Maitland he prepared a history of English Law before the reign of Edward I, which gained the Swiney prize. Pollock's "Principles of Contract," which went into its tenth edition in 1936, was first published when he was 31. He also wrote "The Life and Philosophy of Spinoza," "Leading Cases Done into English," "Etchingham Letters" (to Mrs. Fuller Maitland), "Outside the Law," and "For My Grandson." In 1885 he became editor of the *Law Quarterly Review*, holding the post until 1919. In 1891, assisted by R. Campbell and O. M. Saunders, he began the publication of "The Revised Reports," which comprised more than 100 volumes, containing all cases worthy of preservation since 1785. From 1895 to 1936 he was editor-in-chief of the "Law Reports" and he also edited the Lincoln's Inn manuscript of Selden's "Table Talk," 1927. Greatly interested in mountaineering, he had been honorary librarian of the Alpine Club and, with Leslie Stephen, founded the Sunday Tramps. He was an honorary Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Trinity College, Cambridge, a Fellow of the British Academy, correspondent of the Institute of France, associate member of the Royal Academy of Belgium, and he received honorary degrees from several Universities. He married, in 1873, Georgina Harriet, daughter of John Deffel, of Calcutta, and had one son and one daughter.

26. Sir Halley Stewart, philanthropist, was born on January 18, 1838, the tenth of the fourteen children of the Rev. Alexander Stewart, Congregational minister, and educated at his father's school at Barnet. He began his career as a bank clerk, but later became a Congregational minister at Hastings, where he founded and was first editor of the *Hastings and St. Leonards Times*. Eventually he went into business again, and for thirty years he was a partner in Stewart Brothers & Spencer, seed-crushers, of Rochester, and became Vice-Chairman of the London Brick Company and Forders, Ltd., brickmakers. An advanced Radical, he was President of the Liberation Society and advocated adult suffrage for both sexes, the land for the people, religious equality, the abolition of State aid for religious teaching, and the abolition of hereditary legislators. He contested the Spalding Division of Lincoln in 1886 and 1887, in which year he won the seat at a by-election. Retaining it in 1892, he lost it in 1895. After trying again at Peterborough in 1900 he was returned for Greenock in 1906 and sat until January, 1910. In 1925 it was announced that he had created—with 200,000l., later increased to 350,000l.—the Halley Stewart Trust, with no theological or denominational limitations, "for research towards the Christian ideal in all social life." In 1933 the Trust gave to King's College, London, the Halley Stewart Laboratory at Hampstead, for research in physical sciences, particularly for Professor Appleton's researches on the electrical properties of the upper atmosphere. The Trust also gave 3,500l. for tuberculosis research, 2,500l. for work on a cure for asthma, and 1,000l. for cancer research. To Harpenden District Council Sir Halley (knighted in 1932) gave 2,500l. towards the cost of acquiring the manorial rights of the common, and his residence, The Red House, with land and cottages to the town for use as a hospital after his death. He also gave to King's College, of which he was elected a Fellow in 1936, a house in Chesterfield Gardens for research in physics. In 1865 he married Jane Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph Atkinson, of Upper Norwood, and had two sons and one daughter.

29. Sir Percival Phillips, famous as a war correspondent, was born at Brownsville, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., on July 2, 1877, the eldest son of Dr. Hibbard S. Phillips, M.D. Becoming a journalist, from 1895 to 1901 he was associated with American daily newspapers. In 1897 he was attached to the Greek Army during the Graeco-Turkish War and a year later he was assigned to the Spanish-American War. In 1901 he came to England and joined the staff of the *Daily*

Express, with which he remained until 1922, covering in the meantime wars, revolutions, the Jamaica earthquake, the Coronation Durbar at Delhi and the Imperial tour through India in 1911 and 1912. From 1915 to 1918, with the exception of a period in Dublin during the rebellion of 1916, he served as war correspondent; with the British forces on the Western Front. Afterwards he went with the British troops to the Rhine and remained in Germany until he left to accompany the tour of the Prince of Wales (King Edward VIII) to Canada in 1919. As a delegate of the 1925 Imperial Press Conference he visited Australia and in 1926 went to the U.S.A. with the Trade Union Mission of the *Daily Mail*, whose staff he had joined in 1922. Since 1934 he had been a special correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, first in Abyssinia and latterly in Spain, where he was taken ill. In addition to short stories and magazine articles, he published, in 1933, "Far Vistas," a volume of reminiscences. He was created a K.B.E. in 1920 and was a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour and a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society.

31. Henry Spenser Wilkinson, expert on the history and policy of war, was born in Manchester on May 1, 1853, and educated at Owens College and at Merton College, Oxford. In 1874, while on holiday in Germany, he picked up an Austrian pamphlet on the armies of Europe which awakened his lifelong interest in the study of warfare. Called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1880, he started practice in Manchester, but, having been engaged by the *Manchester Guardian* in 1882 to write on the Egyptian campaign, he gave up his legal work and later joined the staff as leader writer, remaining there until 1892. He then went to London and had a struggle to find his niche until, with the support of Lord Roberts, he was appointed dramatic critic of the *Morning Post*, in which capacity he continued for sixteen years. He also wrote on military topics and foreign politics and for a time served as editor. His numerous publications, beginning in 1884 with articles collected from the *Manchester Guardian* under the title of "Citizen Soldiers," included "Essays on the War Game" (1887), "The Brain of the Army" (1890), which brought him decisively before the public, "The Brain of the Navy" (1895), "The Great Alternative" (1894), "The Nation's Awakening" (1896), "British Policy in South Africa" (1899), "War and Policy" (1900), "Britain at Bay" (1909), "The French Army before Napoleon" (1915), "Government and the War" (1918), and a volume of reminiscences, "Thirty-five Years" (1933). From 1909 to 1923 he was Professor of Military History at Oxford. He was a Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, and Litt.D. of Manchester. He married, in 1888, Victoria, daughter of Sir Joseph Crowe, and had two sons and two daughters.

FEBRUARY.

5. Dr. Albert Curtis Clark, Corpus Professor of Latin at Oxford, 1913 to 1934, was born at Salisbury on February 21, 1859, and educated at Haileybury College and Balliol College, Oxford. After winning the Ireland scholarship in 1879 and the Craven in 1881, and gaining first classes in Classical Moderations and *LU, Hum.*, he was elected a Fellow of Queen's College in 1882; was lecturer in classics, 1882-87, and tutor from 1887 until his appointment as Corpus Professor of Latin. Devoting himself to the study of Cicero he produced "Collations from the Harleian MS. of Cicero" (1891) and four volumes of Cicero's speeches, edited for the Oxford Classical Texts, 1900-11. In 1915, in a long article in the *Classical Review*, he introduced to England Zielinski's work on the Ciceronian *clausula*, in which he undertook to demonstrate the rhythm and the scansion of the termination of Cicero's sentences. In 1909 he was appointed Reader in Latin, and in 1913 Corpus Professor, holding the post for twenty-one years. Outside the University he was best known for his lectures on Theocritus. His publications included "Fontes Prosæ Numerosæ" (1909), "The Cursus in Mediaeval and

Vulgar Latin," "Prose Rhythm in English" (1913) (started, he said, by the search for forms of the *Cursus* in the speeches of Mr. Lloyd George), "Recent Developments in Textual Criticism" (1914), "The Descent of Manuscripts" (1918), "The Primitive Text of the Gospels and the Acts" (1914), and finally, his great critical edition of "Acts" (1933). He was President of the Classical Association, 1930-31, and a Fellow of the British Academy, as well as honorary Fellow of Queen's, Balliol, and Corpus. He was unmarried.

6. Elihu Root, a distinguished international jurist, Secretary of State for the United States of America, 1905-9, was born in New York on February 15, 1845, son of Oren Root, Professor of Mathematics at Hamilton College, where Elihu took his degree of B.A. in 1864 and M.A. in 1867. After spending a year teaching in the Academy at Rome, New York, he went to New York City to study law, taking the degree of LL.B. in 1867, in which year he was called to the Bar. For thirty-four years he practised in the City, with the exception of a break from 1883 to 1885, when he was District Attorney for the Southern District of New York. In 1899 there was some surprise when President McKinley appointed him Secretary of War, but, like that of Lord Haldane in England, the appointment proved a great success. He established a General Staff, restored order in Cuba, set up a Civil Service, and organised the Government of the Philippine Islands on the lines which it followed for over thirty years. In 1905 he became Secretary of State in the Theodore Roosevelt Cabinet, and after serving for four years was made a senator. Believing that all international difficulties should be solved by arbitration he successfully applied this method to the Alaskan Boundary and the North Atlantic Fisheries problems. From 1910 to 1925 he was President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In 1912 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, and in 1926 the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Prize for his work in helping to found the World Court at The Hague. With the money received he founded the magazine *Foreign Affairs*. During the war he went to Russia in 1917 at the head of a commission of investigation, leaving the country just before the Revolution. He took a keen interest in the League of Nations, and in 1921 was a delegate at the Disarmament Conference in Washington. In 1929 he was a member of an International Committee at Geneva which undertook the revision of the statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice. In addition to writing many articles on legal questions he published "The Citizen's Part in Government" (1907), "Experiments in Government and Essentials of the Constitution" (1913), "The Military and Colonial Policy of the United States" (1916), "Latin America and the United States," and "Russia and the United States" (1917). He was a corresponding Fellow of the British Academy and of the Institut du Droit International. In 1878 he married Clara Wales, and had two sons and one daughter.

10. Sir Reginald Henry Craddock, distinguished Indian Civil servant, was born on March 11, 1864, son of Surgeon-Major William Craddock, of the 1st Gurkhas, and educated at Wellington and Keble College, Oxford. Passing the Indian Civil Service examination in 1882 he went out to the Central Provinces, where he became in turn Commissioner of Exise, head of Nagpur district, Chief Secretary to the head of the Province, Commissioner of the Nagpur Division, and from 1907, Chief Commissioner. In March, 1912, he took his seat as Home Member in the Executive Council of Lord Hardinge of Penshurst. In February, 1918, he became Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, holding the office until December, 1922, during which time he brought to fruition the Rangoon University scheme, initiated by Sir Harcourt Butler, and was the first Chancellor. He was a member of the Royal Commission under Lord Lee of Fareham which examined the position of the Superior Civil Services. Soon after his retirement he became Chairman of the Indian Civil Service (Retired) Association. In 1931 he entered Parliament as member, with Miss Rathbone, for the Combined English Universities, and in 1935 was returned unopposed. He was a strong opponent of the

India Bill. In 1929 he published "The Dilemma in India," reflections on the appointment of the Simon Commission. He was made K.C.S.I. in 1911 and G.C.I.E. in 1923. In 1888 he married Frances Henrietta, younger daughter of General Henry Ralph Browne, C.B., and had one son and two daughters. Sir Reginald died in a nursing home after an operation following an accident while on a visit to America.

13. Sir William Jameson Soulsby, Secretary to the Lord Mayors of London for fifty-five years, was born on April 4, 1851, and educated at the City of London School, after which he attended evening classes at King's College and graduated in honours at London University. In 1874 he was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple and was appointed a law reporter on the staff of *The Times*. A year later, against the advice of parents and friends, he accepted the post of private secretary to the Lord Mayor of London (Alderman Cotton), and although at the time he did not regard it as a permanency he remained at the Mansion House until 1931. To mark his jubilee as private secretary to successive Lord Mayors the merchants and bankers of the City presented him with over £10,000, and on his retirement honours were showered upon him from all quarters. He was made a C.B. in 1896, a C.L.E. in 1901, knighted in 1902, became a Knight of St. John soon afterwards, and was made a C.V.O. in 1920 and K.C.V.O. in 1923. It was understood that he had declined the offer of a baronetcy. He was a Liveryman of the Grocers' and of the Loriners' Companies, one of H.M. Lieutenants for the City, and a governor of the London and Middlesex Hospitals. In 1877 he married Clara, daughter of G. A. Hildyard, and had one daughter.

19. Edward Garnett, literary critic, was born in 1868, second son of Dr. Richard Garnett, of the British Museum. He was best known for his translations (with his wife, Constance Garnett) of the chief Russian novelists, which caused, in the words of John Galsworthy, "a quiet little revolution in English fiction." He was also a playwright, and in 1931 published a volume of four plays, with criticism of them by D. H. Lawrence and others. "Friday Nights" (1922), two volumes of criticism and appreciations, showed him at his most typical, as a commentator on the modern world who could be both impassioned and ironic.

20. Major-General Sir Percy Zachariah Cox, British administrator in the Persian Gulf, who was also a skilled ornithologist, was born on November 20, 1864, and educated at Harrow and Sandhurst, from which he joined the Cameronians in 1884, entering the Indian Staff Corps five years later. In 1893 he was appointed Vice-Consul at Zeila, Somaliland, being transferred to Berbera in 1895. In 1899 his long connexion with the Persian Gulf began with his appointment as Consul at Maskat, where he remained for five years, until promoted to Consul-General at Bushire. After Lord Curzon's tour in the Persian Gulf, Cox was gazetted its Resident in 1909. In 1914 he was made Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, but returned to the Gulf after the outbreak of the Great War, during which he was Chief Political Officer to the Indian Expeditionary Force "D." Shortly before the Armistice he acted, temporarily, as Minister in Teheran, where the position was extremely difficult, owing to Persia being a Neutral Power on whose territory military operations were taking place. Later he became the first High Commissioner for Iraq, and in August, 1921, he enthroned King Feisal in Baghdad. He was made a K.C.I.E. in 1911, K.C.S.I. in 1915, G.C.I.E. in 1917, and G.C.M.G. in 1922. He was Chairman of the Mount Everest Committee, and was President of the Royal Geographical Society from 1933 to 1936. He married, in 1889, Louisa Belle, daughter of Surgeon-General Sir J. Butler Hamilton, R.A.M.C., and had one son, who was killed in action in 1917.

21. Professor Dr. Wallace Martin Lindsay, Professor of Humanity (Latin) at St. Andrews University since 1899, was born in 1858 at Pittenweem, Fifeshire,

where his father, the Rev. Alexander Lindsay, was Free Church minister, and was educated at Edinburgh Academy, Glasgow University, and Balliol College, Oxford. Before becoming a Fellow of Jesus College he had also studied at Leipzig. A few years after going to Oxford, where he remained from 1880 to 1899, he produced the first of the numerous learned studies in Latin—classical, textual, etymological, and linguistic—which he continued to put forth with unceasing regularity up to the close of his life. His work on the Latin language (1894) was paid the unusual compliment of being translated into German in the following year, and several of his books were also translated into French. He was corresponding member of many foreign learned societies, and had been honoured by many Universities. He died at St. Andrews of the effects of a motor-car accident.

25. Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra, High Commissioner for India, 1931-36, was born in October, 1875, and educated in Calcutta at the Metropolitan Institute, the Hare School, and the Presidency College, graduating M.A. in 1895. Entering the Finance Department of the Government of India as a clerk in 1896, he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Department in September, 1910. In 1913 he was placed on special duty in connexion with the Royal Commission on Indian Finance and Currency, of which Sir Austin Chamberlain was chairman. Mitra was made Controller of War Accounts in May, 1915, and came to London to assist Whitehall on financial matters in respect of the Indian forces in Europe. Two years later he was investigating the financial side of the administration which had been set up in Mesopotamia. After the war he was made Military Accountant-General, and in 1922 was appointed Financial Adviser of the Military Finance Branch. Temporary membership of the Governor-General's Executive Council in 1924 was followed by a short term as acting High Commissioner for India. He was a member of the Governor-General's Council from the end of 1924 to 1930, in charge of the portfolios of Labour and Industries. In 1929 he presided over the Indian Central Banking Inquiry Committee, whose majority and minority reports, presented in 1931, covered nearly 1,500 pages. He was a member of the first session of the Round-Table Conference in London, and in July, 1931, became High Commissioner for India in the United Kingdom, retiring in 1936. In 1932 he led the Indian delegation at the International Labour Conference at Geneva, and in 1935 he was appointed Vice-Chairman of the Imperial Economic Committee. Made C.B.E. and C.B.E. during the war, he was appointed K.C.I.E. in 1924 and K.C.S.I. in 1928. In 1930 his wife died, leaving two sons and one daughter.

26. Sir James Haldane Stewart Lockhart, a Colonial official in the Far East for over forty years, was born at Ardsheal, Argyllshire, on May 26, 1858, and educated at King William's College, Isle of Man; Watson's College, Edinburgh; and Edinburgh University, where he was Greek medallist. Having been appointed a Hong-Kong Cadet in 1878, he was attached to the Colonial Office for one year. At the beginning of 1883 he was appointed Superintendent of the Opium Revenue in Hong-Kong, and later in the year was promoted to be Assistant Colonial Secretary and Assistant Auditor-General. He became Registrar-General in 1887, a member of the Legislative Council in 1888, and a member of the Executive Council in 1891, in which year he was appointed Chairman of the Board of Examiners in Chinese and Chairman of the Governing Body of Queen's College. In 1895 he was promoted Colonial Secretary. In 1898 he was appointed a special commissioner to report on the extension of the Hong-Kong territory under an agreement between the British and Chinese Governments, and in the following year he was selected to represent Great Britain in the delimitation of the boundary of the area, for which services he received the thanks of the Secretary of State. From 1895 to 1902 he was Rector of the College of Medicine for Chinese. In 1902 he was promoted to be Commissioner of the territory of Wei-hai-wei, which had been leased to Great Britain by China

by a Convention signed in Peking in 1898. He was the author of many publications relating to the Far East, and during his forty years' residence in China made a valuable collection of Chinese paintings. Created C.M.G. in 1898, he was promoted to K.C.M.G. in 1908, and was an honorary L.L.D. of the University of Hong-Kong. He married, in 1889, Edith, second daughter of Alfred Hancock of Hong-Kong, and had one son and one daughter.

28. Harrington Mann, portrait painter, was born in Glasgow in 1864, and educated at Park School, after which he studied Art at the Slade School under Legros, winning a travelling scholarship which enabled him to study in Paris under Boulanger and Lefebvre. He first attracted attention with paintings of Yorkshire fishing villages and subjects from the novels of Sir Walter Scott, but before he was 30 he had settled down to portraiture, particularly of children. Among his most successful were "Ian" (1897), "Little Barefeet" (1900), and the groups "A Fairy Tale" (1904) and "Good Morning" (1905). Besides being represented in the Luxembourg and the municipal galleries of Ghent, Belfast, Sydney, and Melbourne, his "Earl of Birkenhead" was hung at Wadham College, "Captain R. Scott" at the Royal Geographical Society, and "Princess Mary" at the Hospital for Sick Children, Great Ormond Street. He was a frequent exhibitor at the Royal Academy; was a member of the Royal Society of Portrait Painters (since 1900), of the National Society of Portrait Painters, and of the International Society of Sculptors, Painters, and Gravers. He was twice married, first to Florence Sabine Pasley, whose portrait he painted in 1891; and, secondly, to Yvette Adele Pfeil. By his first wife he had three daughters, one of whom was the portrait painter Cathleen Mann (the Marchioness of Queensbury).

MARCH.

6. The Right Rev. George Horsfall Frodsham, D.D., vicar of Halifax, formerly Bishop of North Queensland, was born on September 14, 1863, at Sale Moor, Cheshire, and was educated at University College, Durham, and at St. Aidan's Theological College. Before being ordained he spent two years with a firm of shipbrokers and underwriters. After being curate at St. Thomas's, Leeds, and St. Margaret's, Ilkley, he went to Australia, and from 1896 to 1902 was rector of St. Thomas's, Brisbane, as well as being chaplain to the Australian Forces in the South African War. While on a tour of Japan, China, and Korea, he accepted the Bishopric of North Queensland, in spite of a warning about the climate, which he was soon able to confirm. During his episcopate the Province of Queensland was formed and he had a small share in framing its Constitution. The "Bible in State Schools League" secured religious teaching for the children, and from 1907 to 1913 he worked for the foundation of the Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine. At the end of 1913 he resigned owing to ill-health and returned to England, where he took temporary charge of the diocese of Rochester during the illness of the Bishop. In 1914 Lord Haldane appointed him to a residentiary stall in Gloucester Cathedral, of which he became treasurer in 1917. In 1920 he was appointed vicar of Halifax. When the Church Assembly, in 1925, sought to take away from the living the patronage of twenty-three other livings he successfully resisted the proposals. In his appointments he invariably consulted the wardens and others in the parishes affected, and he sought in every appointment he made to secure a minimum stipend of £400 a year. Several times he was Mayor's chaplain, and he was in great request for sermons on special occasions. In 1906 he published "Honest Faith: Christian Evidences from an Australian Standpoint," and in 1915 "A Bishop's Pleasaunce," describing his experiences in Australia. He married Fannie, daughter of John Fawcett Swinburne, of Workington, and had one son and four daughters.

— Dr. Rudolf Otto, Professor of Theology and the History of Religion at Marburg University, one of the most distinguished German theologians of the

day, and an authority on Indian philosophy and mysticism, was born on September 25, 1869, at Peine, near Hanover. After studying at Göttingen and Erlangen he became Professor of Religious History and Philosophy at the University of Göttingen. In 1914 he was appointed Professor of Systematic Theology at Breslau, and in 1917 he succeeded Wilhelm Herrmann in the Chair at Marburg. His first publication, a work on Luther, was followed, in 1904, by his "Life and Works of Jesus," which attracted world-wide attention. He travelled in Russia, India, Africa and the Far East, studying the literature of Indian mysticism and translating into German some of the most important texts. His best-known book, "Das Heilige," first published in 1917, went into ten editions before being published in English as "The Idea of the Holy" (1924), and made him famous all over the world. "India's Religion of Grace and Christianity" appeared in English in 1931, and "Mysticism, East and West" in 1932, first published in 1926 as "West-östliche Mystik." Other works of his included "Gott und Gottheiten der Arier" (1932), and "Reich Gottes und Menschensohn" (1934). From 1913 until the end of the war he was a member of the National Liberal Party in the Prussian Diet, and from 1919 to 1921 represented the Democratic Party in the Prussian Assembly. Otto was unmarried.

8. **Dion Clayton Calthrop**, author and playwright, was born on May 2, 1878, son of an actor, John Clayton (Calthrop), and educated at St. Paul's School. After studying Art at St. John's Wood, he went to Paris to Julian's and Carlorossi's schools, later exhibiting at the Royal Academy and the Royal Institute. His books include "Bread and Butterflies," which best displays his whimsical and fantastic imagination, "Guide to Fairyland," "The Dance of Love," "The Charm of Gardens," "A Trap to Catch a Dream," "All for the Love of a Lady," "Tremendous Adventures," a novel, and "The Gentle Art," an anthology of fishing. In "Et cetera," a collection of essays, he pleaded for homeliness and denounced the strenuous life. For the theatre he wrote *A la Carte* (Palace) and, with Granville-Barker, *The Harlequinade* (St. James's), both produced on the same night in 1913, *The Old Country* (Wyndham's), *Out to Win*, with Roland Pertwee (Shaftesbury), and *A Southern Maid* with Harry Graham. An authority on the subject, he published several volumes on the history of costume, and designed the dresses for a number of plays. His reminiscences "My Own Trumpet," appeared in 1935. He married Mary Violet Marsden.

— **Sir Albert Ernest Kitson**, a distinguished geologist, was born in 1868 at Manchester, and educated in Central India and Victoria, Australia, entering the Civil Service there in 1886. Having completed courses in geology at the University and School of Mines in Melbourne, and in mining and surveying at the School of Mines, he was transferred in 1899 to the Geological Survey of Victoria, in charge of detailed topographical and geological surveys of coal-fields. He was appointed Senior Geologist in 1903 and acted frequently as Director, until in 1906 he became Principal of the Mineral Survey of Southern Nigeria, resigning in 1911. From 1913 to 1930, when he retired, he was Director of the Geological Survey of the Gold Coast. He discovered black and brown coal-fields and oil-shale deposits in Nigeria, manganese, diamond, and bauxite fields in the Gold Coast, and glacial and fossil beds in Victoria, Tasmania, and the Gold Coast. He was made a C.B.E. in 1918, a C.M.G. in 1922, and was knighted in 1927, in which year he received the Lyell medal of the Geological Society of London. In 1918 he had been awarded the Society's Wollaston Fund. He was President of Section C (Geology) at the Johannesburg meeting of the British Association in 1929; a Fellow of the Geological, Royal Geographical, and Royal Empire Societies, President of the Geological Association, a member of the Council of the Institution of Mining and Metallurgy, a member of several Australian scientific societies, of the Advisory Council of the Imperial Institute, and of the Society of Economic Geologists, U.S. A. He was a Government delegate

to the International Geological Congresses at Toronto, 1913, Brussels, 1922, Madrid, 1926, South Africa, 1929; to the World Power Conferences in London, 1924, Basle, 1926, London, 1928, and Berlin, 1930; and to the Empire Mining and Metallurgical Congress in Canada, 1927. He was twice married, and had two sons.

8. **Hugh Lewis**, an expert on insurance, was born in Birmingham on December 26, 1866, and educated at King Edward's High School. In 1883 he began his career as a junior clerk with the Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company, becoming Birmingham manager of the Northern Assurance Company in 1889. While still a young man he was appointed general manager of the Birmingham Mutual Fire and later was mainly responsible for incorporating this office with the Central Insurance Company, which he had created, and for its fusion with the Liverpool and London and Globe. In 1907 he was appointed London manager of the Liverpool and London and Globe, holding the post until 1920. From 1921 to 1929 he was general manager of the company in Liverpool. On his retirement he was elected to a seat on the boards of the Liverpool and London and Globe and of the Royal Insurance, and continued to be a director of the Central. For many years he was a member of the Council of the London School of Economics, and latterly was on the Council of the University of Liverpool. In 1934 he was appointed High Sheriff of Anglesey. He was also a Vice-President of the Insurance Institute of London. Keenly interested in aviation, he took his pilot's certificate in 1916, and in 1920 published, with his son, Capt. G. H. Lewis, D.F.C., "Aviation and Insurance," one of the earliest handbooks on the subject. His portrait in oils was painted by George Harcourt, R.A. In 1891 he married Grace Mary Edmonds, of Caernarvon, and had three sons and three daughters.

13. Dr. Elihu Thomson, electrical engineer and inventor, was born in Manchester on March 29, 1853. Five years later he and his parents settled in Philadelphia, where he attended the Central High School, at which, from 1870 to 1880 he was a teacher of chemistry. There he met Houston, a teacher of physics, with whom in 1880 he formed a company to exploit their system of arc lighting. Two years later their inventions had become so numerous that they formed a larger company which prospered from its very start. In 1892 it was merged with the Edison General Electric Company to form the General Electric Company. Thomson was also a founder of the British Thomson-Houston Company. More than 700 electrical inventions were credited to him, and in his 76th year he undertook the construction of a 200-inch periscope, the largest of its kind in the world. In 1881 he patented a machine capable of separating substances of different densities which was soon turned to practical use in the separation of cream from milk. But perhaps the most important of his inventions was the welding of metals by electricity by the resistance method, for which he took out his first patent in 1886. In the 1870's he was experimenting with the transmission of wireless waves through brick walls and solid floors, but pressure of other work prevented him from pursuing his studies in that direction. In 1924 he received the Kelvin medal (its second award) on the occasion of the Kelvin centenary. He also received the Hughes medal of the Royal Society, the Faraday medal of the Institute of Electrical Engineers, and the John Fritz medal, the highest American distinction for the advancement of applied science. In 1935 he was awarded the Grashof medal of the Society of German Engineers. He had been President of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, of the International Electrical Congress at St. Louis in 1904, and of the International Electro-technical Commission at Turin (1911). He was an honorary member of the Institute of Electrical Engineers, of the Institute of Civil Engineers and of the Royal Institution. In 1924 he received the degree of doctor of science from the University of Manchester. He was also an officer of the Legion of Honour. In 1884 he married Mary Peck, of New Britain, Connecticut, who died in 1916, leaving four sons. Seven years later he married Clarissa Hovey, of Boston.

16. **Sir Austen Chamberlain**, statesman, was born on October 16, 1863, eldest son of the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain and his wife, Harriet Kenrick, who died a few days later, and after being educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he read history under J. R. Seeley, studied in Berlin and at the Ecole des Sciences Politiques in Paris. Beginning his political career as private secretary to his father, he entered the House of Commons on March 30, 1892, as Liberal member for East Worcestershire, holding the seat until 1914, when, on the death of his father, he succeeded to West Birmingham, which he continued to represent for the rest of his life. His maiden speech on the Home Rule Bill won praise from Mr. Gladstone. Promotion came rapidly, and before he was 42 he had filled the offices of Civil Lord of the Admiralty, 1895-1900; Financial Secretary to the Treasury, 1900-2; Postmaster-General, 1902-3; and Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1903-5. By this time he, like his father, had ceased to be a Free Trader, and when Mr. Balfour gave up the leadership of the Conservative Party it was thought that either Chamberlain or Long would take his place, but both withdrew and Bonar Law was chosen. In 1913 Chamberlain was appointed Chairman of the Royal Commission on Indian Finance and Currency. Two years later he became Secretary of State for India, but resigned in 1917 on the publication of the Mesopotamia Commission's Report. Nine months afterwards he took office again in the War Cabinet, becoming Chancellor of the Exchequer for the second time in 1919. Having succeeded Bonar Law in March, 1921, as Leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons, it fell to his lot to play a distinguished part in the making of the Irish Treaty. When Mr. Lloyd George's Government was overthrown in 1922, Chamberlain went into retirement rather than join a purely Conservative Government, and remained out of office until November, 1924, when he became Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the second Baldwin Administration. For his outstanding diplomacy in connexion with the Treaty of Locarno, on which his fame chiefly rests, he was made a Knight of the Garter, an honour previously given to only two commoners, Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Balfour, since the award to Sir Robert Walpole two centuries before. This was the crowning achievement of his career, and after being First Lord of the Admiralty in the National Government for a few months he retired from office, though not from the House of Commons, from which he was seldom absent during important debates on foreign affairs. He was the author of "Peace in Our Time" (1928), "Down the Years" (1935), and "Politics from the Inside" (1936). He was elected Rector of Glasgow University in 1935, and was Chancellor of Reading University and Chairman of the governing body of Rugby School, as well as Chairman of the London School of Tropical Medicine and of the governing body of the British Postgraduate Medical School. Oxford, Cambridge, London, Birmingham, Sheffield, Glasgow, Toronto, and Lyons Universities awarded him honorary degrees. In 1906 he married Ivy Muriel, G.B.E., daughter of Colonel H. L. Dundas, and had two sons and one daughter.

18. Charles Haslewood Shannon, R.A., lithographer and painter, was born on April 26, 1863, at Sleaford, Lincolnshire, son of the rector of the parish, and educated at St. John's School, Leatherhead. Quickly showing the desire to become an artist, he studied at the Lambeth School of Art, where he met his lifelong friend, Charles Ricketts. Between 1885 and 1899 Shannon exhibited boyish efforts in oil and pastel at the old Grosvenor Gallery. During the next seven years he took up lithography and wood engraving, producing a number of lithographs, mostly bathing nymphs and children, which were greatly appreciated by collectors, and by which he will be best remembered. Complete sets were acquired for the British Museum and the Berlin and Dresden print rooms. Most of his wood engravings were done for the *Dial*, which, with Ricketts, he helped to edit; for "Daphnis and Chloe" and "Hero and Leander," the earliest productions of the Vale Press. He also illustrated Oscar Wilde's "House of Pomegranates." Coming under the influence of Rubens and Van Dyck, as well

as the Venetians, he had his first great success in 1897 when his portrait of Miss Hargood, described as a "Souvenir of Van Dyck" (afterwards acquired by the National Gallery, Melbourne) was exhibited at the New English Art Club, and a self-portrait, "The Man in a Black Shirt" at the Royal Society of Portrait Painters. "The Wounded Amazon" and a "Portrait of Sturge Moore" were awarded a gold medal at Munich. His first picture to be purchased for the public was "The Sculptress" (Lady Kennet) for the Luxembourg Museum, Paris. Other successful works were "The Man in the Inverness Coat" (Charles Ricketts), "Tibullus in the House of Delia," "The Wood Nymph," "The Morning Toilet," "Sleeping Nymph," "The Lady with the Amethyst," "The Toilet," and "The Captive." In 1911 he was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy, though he had not previously exhibited there, and became R.A. in 1920, his diploma work being **Vanity and Sanity." He was Vice-President of the International Society of Sculptors, Painters, and Gravers, a member of the National Society of Portrait Painters, and an associate of the Societe Nationale des Beaux Arts. He was a regular exhibitor at the Royal Academy until a fall from a ladder while handling pictures incapacitated him from work.

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25. John Drink water, dramatist and poet, was born at Leytonstone, Essex, on June 1, 1882, son of a theatrical manager and actor, A. E. Drinkwater, then a schoolmaster, and was educated at the High School, Oxford, where he was living with his maternal grandfather. At the age of 25 he became a clerk in an insurance office at Nottingham, remaining there about twelve years. Meanwhile he helped his friend (now Sir) Barry Jackson to found The Pilgrim Players, forerunners of the Birmingham Repertory Theatre, at which his earlier plays in verse, *Cophetua* and *Rebellion*, were produced before the war. His first big success came in 1918 with *Abraham Lincoln*, a biographical drama, produced at the Birmingham Repertory Theatre and transferred to the Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith, where it had a long run. Later in the same cinematographic vein he wrote *Mary Stuart* (1922), *Oliver Cromwell* (1923), and *Robert E. Lee* (1923). More highly esteemed by critics was the short play on the futility of war, *X = 0*; or *A Night of the Trojan War*, while a rustic comedy, *Bird-in-Hand*, came as a surprise to those who thought him too solemn. He adapted for the English stage Mussolini's *The Hundred Days*, wrote a masque for Marie Tempest's jubilee matinee, and occasionally acted small parts. Although essentially a man of the theatre, he wrote many lyric poems as well as volumes of criticism and an English anthology. Biography also attracted him, and he wrote lives of Byron (going to Greece with the centenary deputation from England), Charles I I, Charles James Fox, Pepys, and Carl Laemmle, the film magnate. "Inheritance," the first volume of his autobiography, appeared in 1931. He was a Fellow and member of the Academic Committee of the Royal Society of Literature, editing, in 1925, the society's annual volume, and was Professor of Poetry for about six years. In 1924 he married Daisy Kennedy, violinist, and had one daughter.

31. Sir Philip Stott, Bt., architect, engineer, and surveyor, and founder of the Philip Stott College, was born at Oldham on February 20, 1858, and educated at the High School there. In 1883, after some years with his father's firm, he began practice on his own account, specialising in the design of cotton mills, which were erected in Lancashire and abroad. He was also interested in the cotton industry itself, becoming a director of numerous spinning companies. Shortly before the war he retired from business to devote his time to furthering the interests of the Conservative Party, and in 1923 presented Overstone Park, Northamptonshire, as a training college for Conservative speakers and election agents. Six years later the work of the college, declared by the founder to have been a complete failure, was transferred to the Bonar Law College. Actually at that time a dozen ex-students had become members of Parliament, and 4,000 were working in different parts of the country. In 1935 Sir Philip, who had been created a baronet in 1920, resigned from all the offices he held under the

Cirencester-Tewkesbury Conservative and Unionist Association, of which he was President, his reason being that he was out of sympathy with the party leaders on the question of India and the Second Chamber. He was F.S.A. and honorary A.R.I.B.A. He married first, in 1884, Hannah (daughter of James Nicholson, of Oldham), who died in 1935; and, secondly, May B. Lee, portrait and miniature painter (daughter of John Bridges Lee, barrister-at-law). By his first wife he had two sons and two daughters.

APRIL.

1. Major William Arthur Wills, a pioneer of the Johannesburg goldfields, was born at Liverpool on November 12, 1863, and educated at Dulwich College. After being for a time editor of the *Wine Trade Record* he went to South Africa a year after the Rand goldfield had been discovered in 1886. There his geological training gave him a professional footing and in 1890 he established the *South African Mining Journal* which became the chief technical organ of the Rand. Returning to London in 1892 he founded, with L. T. Collingridge and W. H. Wills (his brother), the *African Review*, later incorporated in the *African World*. In 1896, back in Cape Town, he obtained from Rhodes, who admired his "damned cheek" as a concession-hunter, the Victoria Falls Concession. Later, with H. Wilson Fox, then general manager of the Chartered Company, he formed the Victoria Falls Power Company, remaining on the board until his death. During the Great War he raised (with Colonel G. A. H. Dickson), at his own expense, the British African Horse and the 3rd Regiment of Essex Yeomanry. His book "The Downfall of Lobengula" was regarded as the "official" history of the conquest of Matabeleland. He married, in 1915, Adela Marie Wimolmina, daughter of H. J. Telfer, of St. Albans.

4. Professor Adolf Deissmann, eminent German theologian, was born in 1866 at Langenscheid, Nassau, the son of a Protestant clergyman, and was educated at the Universities of Tübingen and Berlin, and at the theological seminary at Herborn. He was ordained and in 1890 became a curate at Dausenau, but in 1897, at the age of 30, he was appointed Professor of Theology at Heidelberg University. In 1908 he succeeded Weiss in the Chair of New Testament Exegesis and Greek Bible Philology at the University of Berlin. In 1930-31 he was Rector of the University. His numerous books, many of which were known in Great Britain, included works on primitive Christianity, the Old Testament, and Semitic monotheism. Chief among these may be mentioned "In Christo" (1892), "Light from the Ancient East" (1908), "Paulus" (1911), "The New Testament in the Light of Modern Research" (1929). In the historical field he was most famous for his work on the personality of St. Paul. His English lectures were published under the title "The Religion of Jesus and the Faith of Paul" (1923). He represented Germany at the Stockholm World Conference and the World Conference for Faith and Church Constitution at Lausanne in 1927. He received the honorary degree of D.D. from the Universities of Oxford, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, and Manchester. On his seventieth birthday, in 1936, tributes were paid to him by the Archbishop of York and other distinguished representatives of the Protestant Churches in Great Britain. He was among the 120 theologians who, in 1934, headed by Professor Karl Barth, signed a manifesto urging the resignation of Reich Bishop Müller.

— Sir John Henry Luscombe, five times Chairman of Lloyd's, was born in 1848, and educated privately at Blackheath. For several years he served in the *Norwood*, one of a number of sailing ships owned by his father, and then became a marine underwriter. In June, 1870, when little more than 21, he was elected a member of Lloyd's, of which he was chairman in 1902, 1908, 1909,

1912, and 1914. On July 16, 1920, to commemorate the 60th anniversary of his election, and his distinguished services as chairman, the Corporation of Lloyd's presented him with a gold medal. Apart from his chairmanship he was associated at Lloyd's with the institution of the annual audit as from January 1, 1909. For many years he was a member of the Committee of Lloyd's Register of Shipping, and he filled the offices of deputy-chairman and treasurer. In 1921, shortly before his retirement, he was unanimously elected chairman. He was President of Lloyd's Health Insurance Society since its inception in 1911. He was knighted in 1902, was a Justice of the Peace for Sussex, one of H.M. lieutenants for the City of London, and a county councillor for East Sussex. In 1876 he married Fanny, daughter of John Wilcocks, of Sydenham Hill, Kent, and had three sons.

9. Sir William Henry Hadow, scholar, musician, and university administrator, was born at Ebrington, Gloucestershire, on December 27, 1859, and educated at Malvern College and Worcester College, Oxford, where he took a first class in both Moderations and *Lit. Hum.*, and where he was successively exhibitioner, lecturer, tutor, Fellow, and Dean; and Honorary Fellow in 1909. To the surprise of many who knew him as a champion of a classical Oxford, and an opponent of the modern scientific school, he became in 1909 head of the Newcastle College of Science which had just received powers to establish a literary side. There he introduced a pension scheme, built a women's hostel, a new art school, and a school of agriculture. From 1916 to 1918 he was Vice-Chancellor of the University of Durham, and he served on the Advisory Council of the Board of Education, was a member of the sub-Committee which produced the interim report on scholarships for higher education in 1916; of the Royal Commission on University Colleges in Wales, 1916-17, and of the Committee on the Civil Service Examination for Class I, 1917. Although a strenuous opponent of degrees for women he served on the Council of Somerville College, and was a member of the Association for the Education of Women. On the invitation of the Young Men's Christian Association he went to France in 1918 as their first Director of Education for the Lines of Communication, but, dissatisfied with the scope of the Association's activities in that direction, he accepted Lord Gorell's offer to become Assistant Director of Staff Duties (Education) at the War Office. In April, 1919, he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sheffield, where he remained until he reached the retiring age in 1930. During his regime new impetus was given to the school of pharmacology, a Secondary Schools Council was created, and a Chair of Music was founded. He was chairman of the Classical Studies Committee, the Archbishops' Committee on Religious Education, the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, and the Committee on Broadcasting for Adult Education. For some years he was a member of the Sheffield Education Committee and chairman of the Hospitals Board. To the general public he was best known as the author of the Hadow Report on the education of children over 11, which was issued by the Board of Education in 1926. On music, which he had studied under C. H. Lloyd and which he refused to regard as a province reserved for specially qualified individuals, he produced a number of important books beginning in 1892 with "Studies in Modern Music". He was general editor of the "Oxford History of Music" in 7 volumes, he himself contributing the fifth volume, "The Viennese Period" (1904). His Sidgwick lecture at Cambridge in 1925 was on a comparison between music and poetry, and his Romanes lecture at Oxford in 1933 was on "The Place of Music Among the Arts." To *The Times* in March, 1932, he contributed an article on "Fifty Years of Music." He was chairman of the People's Concert Society, and of the British Federation of Musical Competition Festivals, as well as a member of the Council of the Royal College of Music. He received many honorary degrees, was knighted in 1918 and made a C.B.E. in 1920. He married, in 1930, Edith, daughter of Rev. Dr. John Troutbeck, Precentor of Westminster Abbey,

18. Francis Vane Phipson Rutter (Frank Butter), art critic and author, was born on February 17, 1876, son of John Buskin's solicitor, and educated at Merchant Taylors' School and at Queens' College, Cambridge, taking a degree in Oriental languages in 1899. He achieved some local success as a banjo player, dabbled in dramatic criticism, and formed an extensive acquaintance in the Quartier Latin in Paris. In due course he became assistant editor of the *Sunday Special* and of *To-day*, to which he returned in 1902 after a year as a sub-editor of the *Daily Mail*. When *To-day* merged with *London Opinion* he became art critic of the *Sunday Special* and of the *Sunday Times*. An enthusiastic Impressionist he opened in the *Sunday Times* the "French Impressionist Fund" to secure pictures for the National Gallery. In February, 1908, he started the ambitious but only moderately successful Allied Artists' Association, Limited, on the lines of the Societe des Artistes Independents, to enable subscribers to exhibit works without submitting them to a jury. From 1912 to 1917 he was Curator of the Leeds City Art Gallery. Among his books were "Varsity Types," "The Path to Paris," "Bossetti," "Whistler," "Evolution in Modern Art," "The Poetry of Architecture," "The Wallace Collection," and "Art in My Time" (1933). He was twice married, but had no children.

19. Lord Conway of Allington (William Martin Conway), explorer, art critic, and collector, was born at Bochester on April 12, 1856, son of the Bev. W. Conway, afterwards a canon of Westminster and rector of St. Margaret's, and educated at Repton and Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1880 he made a tour of the chief libraries of Europe, studying early printing and engraving, which resulted, in part, in his first published work, "History of the Woodcutters of the Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century" (1884). A year later, after being a University Extension lecturer, he became Professor of Art at University College, Liverpool, where he remained until 1889. In 1892 he made the first of his great mountaineering expeditions, surveying under the auspices of the Royal Society, the Royal Geographical Society, and the British Association 2,000 miles of the Karakoram Himalayas and climbing to the then record height of 23,000 ft. In 1894 he traversed the Alps from end to end and wrote a book about them which was frequently republished. In 1896-97 he explored the interior of Spitsbergen, climbing the first Arctic peaks to be ascended, and in 1898 he made the pioneer survey of the Bolivian Andes. The value of his work was widely recognised and at the Paris Exhibition of 1900 he received the gold medal for mountain survey. In 1905 he was awarded the Founder's medal of the Royal Geographical Society, which he had joined in 1893 and of which he was sometime member of the Council and Vice-President. His mountaineering days over, from 1901 to 1905 he was Slade Professor of Fine Art at Cambridge. He was also interested in politics, unsuccessfully contesting Bath in the Liberal interest in 1895. Later his views changed and in 1918 he was returned as a Unionist by the Combined English Universities, holding the seat until 1931, when, a knight since 1895, he was created Lord Conway of Allington—after the castle near Maidstone, an archaeological treasure which he had made his home and on the restoration of which he had spent much time. He was a member of the Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries and joined whole-heartedly in Sir Joseph Duveen's scheme for British artists. From 1916 to 1924 he was a trustee of the Wallace Collection, and in 1922 became a trustee of the National Portrait Gallery. In 1917 he was Director-General of the Imperial War Museum. He was a fellow and, in 1918, a Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries, and he served as chairman of the managing Committee of the Society of Authors. He had also been President of the Alpine Club. The Universities of Durham and Manchester conferred on him the honorary degree of Litt.D. His numerous and varied publications included "The Crowd in Peace and War" (1916), "Mountain Memories" (1920), "The Van Eycks and their Followers" (1921), "Art Treasures in Soviet Russia" (1925), "Giorgione as a Landscape Painter" (1929), "Episodes in a Varied Life" (1932), and "A Pilgrim's Quest for the Divine" (1936). He married, first, in 1884, the

daughter of C. Lambard, of Maine, U.S. A. She died, in 1933, leaving one daughter. Secondly, he married Iva, widow of Reginald Lawson, of SaHwood Castle, Kent.

28. Captain the Right Hon. Frederick Edward Quest, M.P., soldier, sportsman, and politician, was born on June 14, 1875, third son of the first Baron Wimborne and Lady Cornelia Churchill, and was educated at Winchester. Obtaining a commission in the Militia Battalion of the East Surrey Regiment in 1894, he joined the 1st Life Guards in 1897 and served on the White Nile, 1899-1900, being mentioned in dispatches, and in the South African War, 1901-2, receiving the Queen's medal with five clasps. During the Great War he was an extra aide-de-camp to Sir John French in France and served for a year in German East Africa, being awarded the D.S.O. and the Legion of Honour. His first political speech was made in 1905 when he supported his cousin, Mr. Winston Churchill, to whom he subsequently acted as assistant private secretary. After three unsuccessful attempts in various constituencies he was elected Liberal member of Parliament for East Dorset at the first General Election of 1910 but was unseated on petition. At the second election in that year he was again returned, after travelling 6,000 miles in ten days from the Rocky Mountains, and held the seat until November, 1922, when he was defeated. In 1923 he was elected for the Stroud Division of Gloucestershire. As a protest against the Liberal attitude to the Labour Party he often voted with the Conservatives and in the election of 1924 he was returned for North Bristol with the help of Conservative voters. In 1929, with Conservative support but with a Lloyd George Liberal against him, he lost his seat to Labour. A year later he joined the Conservative Party and in the General Election of 1931 was returned for the Drake Division of Plymouth, retaining the seat in 1935. He was a Junior Lord of the Treasury in 1911, Treasurer of the Household in 1912, and Joint Patronage Secretary to the Treasury, 1917-21, when he was appointed Secretary of State for Air. A qualified pilot, he succeeded Sir Sefton Brancker (killed in the R 101) as Deputy Master of the Guild of Air Pilots and Air Navigators, becoming Master in 1932. For a time he was chairman of the Air League of the British Empire and he served as Hon. Air Commodore of No. 600 (City of London) Auxiliary Air Force Squadron. He was made a C.B.E. in 1919. He married, in 1905, Amy, daughter of Henry Phipps, an American ironmaster.

MAT.

2. Sir Arthur Somervell, composer and music educator, was born on June 6, 1863, and educated at Uppingham and King's College, Cambridge, where he studied music under Stanford. After a period in Berlin with Kiel and Bargiel he entered the Royal College of Music in 1885, and two years later became a private pupil of Parry. In 1894 he joined the teaching staff of the R.C.M., and in 1901 was appointed to an inspectorship of music to the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department, ultimately becoming Chief Inspector. His compositions included a Mass in C minor, "Helen of Kirkconnel," an orchestral ballad, "The Forsaken Merman," a cantata, and "Thalaasa," a symphony in D minor. He also set to music many lyrics from the English poets such as "Maud" and "The Shropshire Lad." His church cantata, "A Christmas Mystery," was translated into French and given a performance with stage tableaux at Flers de l'Orne in Normandy. He was made a Doctor of Music by Cambridge University in 1904, and was knighted in 1929. In 1890 he married Edith, daughter of James Collet, P.W.D., India, and had twin sons and two daughters.

5. Miss Charlotte Anns Elizabeth Moberfy, first Principal of St. Hugh's Hall (afterwards College), Oxford, was born in 1846, tenth of the fifteen children of Dr. George Moberly, then Headmaster of Winchester College. She was educated

at home and for a time acted as private secretary to her father when he became Bishop of Salisbury. In 1886, at the invitation of Dame Elizabeth Wordsworth, the founder, she became Principal of St. Hugh's Hall, retaining the post until she retired in 1915. When Oxford extended full membership to women she was made an honorary M.A. In 1911, with another lady, she published anonymously "An Adventure," dealing with her psychic experiences at the Trianon of Marie Antoinette. She also issued "Five Visions of the Revelation," a privately printed book based on a course of lectures at St. Hugh's, and "Dulce Domum," an account of the lives of her parents.

6. Sir Henry Francis (Harry) Wilson, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., Colonial Secretary, Orange River Colony, 1901-7, was born on August 8, 1859, son of the rector of Fornsett St. Peter, Norfolk, and educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took a first class in the Classical Tripos in 1882. He was also Bell's University Scholar and Chancellor's medallist for English verse. In 1884 he was elected a Fellow of Trinity, and in 1888 was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn. In 1892 he was appointed Secretary to the Trinidad Judicial Enquiry Commission, and in the following year went to Malta on behalf of the Protestant communities in connexion with the mixed marriages case, which subsequently came before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. From 1895 to 1897 he was Private Secretary of Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies. He was then appointed to the permanent staff of the Colonial Office as Legal Assistant, holding the post until 1899, after which he was transferred to the office of Legal Adviser to the High Commissioner of South Africa. In 1901 he was promoted Colonial Secretary to the Orange River Colony, and served until 1907, when the office was abolished. In later years, in association with Sir Charles Lucas, he took up the work of popularising the Royal Colonial Institute (afterwards the Royal Empire Society), being secretary from 1915 to 1921; joint editor of its *Journal*; a member of the Council, 1921-24, and vice-president, 1922. For his services he was created a K.B.E. From 1923 to 1927 he was a member of the Cambridge University Statutory Commission. He was chairman of the Finance Committee of the Unionist Association of the Hereford Division, 1924 to 1929, and chairman of the Hereford Museum and Art Gallery Committee, 1925 to 1929. In 1908 he was created a K.C.M.G., and he was a Commander of the Belgian Order of Leopold II. He married, in 1908, Isabella Dora, daughter of Admiral Sir Robert Smart, and widow of J. H. Anderson.

12. Sir Henry Birch enough, President of the British South African Company since 1925, and a member of the Advisory Committee of the Board of Trade, was born at Macclesfield on March 7, 1853, and educated at University College, London, Oxford University, and in Paris. In his early years he was engaged in the family silk business in Macclesfield where he was President of the Chamber of Commerce. He first came into prominence after the South African war, when, at Lord Milner's suggestion, he visited that country as Special Trade Commissioner on behalf of the Home Government. For this service he was made a C.M.G. A consistent advocate of preferential tariffs, he was a member of Joseph Chamberlain's Tariff Commission. In 1905 he became a director of the British South Africa Company and took a leading part in the negotiations which resulted in Rhodesia becoming a self-governing colony. A year later he was appointed a member of the Advisory Committee of the Board of Trade and of the Royal Commission on Shipping Rings. He was chairman of the Continental Gas Association and of the Boards of the Rhodesia Railways and the Victoria Falls Power Company; of the Board of Trade Textiles Committee; of the Paper Commission, and was Government Director of the British Dyestuffs Corporation. He was also chairman of the Advisory Council on anti-dumping legislation, his final report paving the way for the Safeguarding of Industries policy. In 1924 he was a member of the Southborough Committee to inquire

into measures for accelerating the development of British East Africa. He was made a K.C.M.G. in 1916, a baronet in 1920, and a G.C.M.G. in 1935. He married Mabel, daughter of Bean Bradley, and had two daughters but no heir. Lady Birohenough, novelist and literary critic, died in 1936.

14. Dr. Charles Homer Haskins, Professor-Emeritus at Harvard, an authority on the Middle Ages, and historian of the Peace Conference, was born at Meadville, Pennsylvania, on December 21, 1870, and educated at Johns Hopkins, where in 1890 he took his doctorate. He was Instructor in History there from 1889 and Assistant Professor in 1891-92. After having held the Chair of European History in the University of Wisconsin, Haskins, in 1908, went to Harvard as Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, holding the post until 1924. From 1912 to 1928 he was Gurney Professor of History and Political Science, and was then appointed Henry Charles Lea Professor of Mediaeval History. In 1931 he retired with the title of Professor-Emeritus. At the Peace Conference he was assigned the division of Western Europe and with Dr. R. H. Lord published "Some Problems of the Peace Conference" (1920). He was a member of the Commission on Belgian and Danish affairs and the special Committee on Alsace-Lorraine and the Saar Valley. His first important work, "The Normans in European History," appeared in 1916 and was followed by a volume of studies in Norman institutions in 1918. After the war he returned to his special subject and published "The Rise of Universities*" (1923), "Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science" (1924), and "Studies in Medieval Culture" (1929). He received honorary degrees from the Universities of Manchester, Padua, Strasburg, Paris, Louvain, Caen, Harvard, and Wisconsin. He was a corresponding Fellow of the British Academy and corresponding member of the Royal Historical Society, a foreign associate of the Institut de France and of the Royal Academy of Belgium, and a member of other Continental academies. In America he had been President of the Historical Association and of the Mediaeval Academy, and for six years was chairman of the Council of Learned Societies. He was an officer of the Legion of Honour and a Commander of the Belgian Order of the Crown. In 1912 he married Clare Allen, of St. Louis, and had two sons and one daughter.

15. Bolton King, pioneer of university settlements and historical writer, was born at Chadshunt, Warwickshire, on May 8, 1860, and educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford, taking a first class in Classical Moderations in 1880 and a first in Modern History in 1883. Interested in adult education, he became secretary of the group which founded Toynbee Hall, taking up residence there on Christmas Eve, 1884, and remaining until 1892. He established the Toynbee Travellers' Club, prototype of mass tours abroad, and started the Students' Library. In his home county, Warwickshire, he established, without much success, co-operative farms at Radbourne and Uffculme, and later turned to the housing problem, building model cottages at Gaydon, where he settled after his marriage in 1896. He was an alderman of the Warwickshire County Council and as chairman of the Technical Education Sub-Committee was closely concerned with preparations for the Act of 1902. In 1904 he was appointed Director of Education for Warwickshire. As a "Pro-Boer" he unsuccessfully contested Stratford in the Liberal interest in 1900. His publications included "A History of Italian Unity," which became a standard work and was translated into French, Italian, and Russian; "Italy of To-day" (with Professor Okey), a biography of Mayzini, the most successful of all his works; "Schools of To-day," a summary of his educational experience, and "Fascism in Italy," which, after being banned in that country, was scattered from aeroplanes. At an early age he published "Poems of Yesterday and To-day" under the name of "Walter Ray." He married Lydia, daughter of George Arnold, and had three sons and one daughter.

— **Philip, Viscount Saowden**, twice Chancellor of the Exchequer and for nearly thirty years an outstanding figure in the Labour movement, was born at

Cowling in the West Riding of Yorkshire on July 18, 1864, of a Methodist and Radical family of weavers. He was educated at the local board school, remaining there as a pupil teacher (and so escaping the weaving mill) until the age of 15, when he got a post as clerk in an insurance office at Burnley. Entering the Civil Service in 1886 he was appointed a junior Exciseman at Liverpool, afterwards going to various parts of Scotland and to Devonshire. There, at the age of 27, he injured his back while cycling and was left a cripple for the rest of his life. During his convalescence he studied Socialism with the object of reading a paper on it at the local Liberal Club, and presently he became actively associated with the Keighley branch of the newly formed Independent Labour Party, which, in 1895, invited him to oppose the sitting member of Parliament, but the expense proving too great he withdrew on nomination day. He then turned to journalism and Socialist propaganda, becoming a member of the National Administrative Council of the I.L.P. and editor of the *Keighley Labour Journal*, besides taking a prominent part in local affairs. In 1900 he was one of the seven I.L.P. delegates who attended a conference on Labour Representation at the Memorial Hall, London, when it was decided to organise the Labour Representation Committee, which six years later became the Labour Party. At the General Election in that year he stood as a candidate for Blackburn and polled over 7,000 votes. Two years later he fought Wakefield at a by-election, again unsuccessfully, but in 1906 he won the seat at Blackburn and held it until 1918. During the war, which he strongly opposed, he worked for the defence of personal liberty and the interests of conscientious objectors to military service, and was a member of the Liquor Control Board. His unpopular opinions cost him his seat at the General Election in 1918, but he declined to apologise for his war record, telling his constituents with characteristic candour that they had conferred no favour upon him by voting for him in previous elections. They, he said, had only marked a ballot paper, while he had worked night and day for thirteen years trying to promote their interests. In 1922 he was returned to Parliament by Colne Valley. Although by temperament not quite suited for Committee work, he was for many years a member of the National Administrative Council of the I.L.P., being chairman from 1903 to 1906 and 1917 to 1920, as well as a member of the National Executive of the Labour Party. In 1927 he resigned from the I.L.P., stating that he considered its continuance as a separate body inside the Labour movement "neither necessary nor useful." When the first Labour Government was formed in 1924 his unchallenged position as an expert on national finance marked him out as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and although his advocacy of the Capital Levy caused some anxiety, he proved himself a wise and vigorous administrator at the Treasury. He abolished the McKenna duties, reduced the tax on various commodities and repealed the Corporation Profits Tax and the Inhabited House Duty. Becoming Chancellor again when the Labour Party resumed office in 1929 his first task was to oppose the Young Plan which appeared unduly to favour Britain's Continental Allies. Every effort of diplomacy was made at The Hague Conference to induce him to change his attitude, but he remained firm and the Plan was substantially revised. On his return he was acclaimed as a national hero, and among other expressions of public gratitude he was given the Freedom of the City of London. At home his position soon became less happy. The finances of the country were seriously embarrassed by the commitments of the preceding Government; economic conditions rapidly deteriorated; and unemployment increased enormously. In February, 1931, he warned the House of Commons of the necessity for "drastic and disagreeable measures," but much of the value of his remarks was lost on his political associates by Mr. Lloyd George's intervention, and Snowden was unable to carry the Labour Party with him in preparing his Budget. In July a financial crisis developed, requiring the raising of large foreign credits. A month later the Labour Government fell, and Snowden joined the first National Government, introducing a memorable Budget on September 10. This was the last service of his really active political career, for on account of continued ill-health he did not seek re-election when Parliament

dissolved in October. He was raised to the peerage as Viscount Snowden of Lokornshaw (after the Yorkshire mill in which his family had worked) and took the unexacting office of Lord Privy Seal. In August, 1932, he withdrew from the Government in consequence of the Ottawa Agreement, formally resigning in September. In May, 1933, he astonished the House of Lords by his bitter criticism of the Prime Minister (Mr. MacDonald) over the Government's policy at the World Economic Conference. Further attacks followed, and when in July, 1934, he accused Mr. MacDonald of being the instrument of a Tory Cabinet, Lord Sankey intervened with a personal appeal that the differences between the two old Socialist friends should be made up in their declining years. In October, 1935, he criticised the Government over its attitude on the Italo-Abyssinian dispute and followed it with a radio attack on the rearmament programme. Besides writing many books on political subjects he published his autobiography in two volumes (1934), the second volume telling the story of Labour's two periods in office in very unflattering terms. He was a Freeman of the Borough of Keighley and of the Worshipful Company of Bakers. In 1924 the whole population of his native village turned out to welcome him and presented him with gifts subscribed for by past and present residents. His mother, who lived to her 90th year, was of pure Yorkshire descent and her speech retained so much of the pure West Riding dialect that before her death records were taken of it to preserve idioms and words which were becoming obsolete among Yorkshire people. He married, in 1905, Ethel, daughter of Alderman Richard Annakin, but there were no children and the title became extinct.

19. Dr. Stephen Herbert Langdon, Professor of Assyriology in the University of Oxford since 1919, was born at Monroe, Michigan, U.S.A., on May 8, 1876, and educated at the University of Michigan, the Union Theological Seminary, New York City, and Columbia University (Ph.D. 1904). In 1903 he was elected to a Fellowship of Columbia University in Semitics, which he held until 1904, when he became International Fellow of Columbia University to France until 1906, attending the Sorbonne and the College de France. In 1905 he was ordained deacon in the American-Anglican Church, Paris. After studying at Leipzig from 1901 to 1907, he became Shillito Reader in Assyriology at Oxford in 1908. In 1919 he was constituted Professor. He was naturalised in 1913, and elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1931. He became an Associate Fellow of the Society of Oriental Research, Chicago, 1916, and an honorary member of the council of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1920. From 1906 to 1914 he was associate editor of *Babyniaca*, Paris ; and since 1922 had been director of the Weld-Blundell and Field Museum Expedition to Mesopotamia. Many of his books on Assyriology became standard works. In 1925 he married May, daughter of Thomas Gregory of Cardiff.

21. Sir Alexander Grant, Bt., Scottish philanthropist, was born at Forres on October 1, 1864. After being apprenticed to a baker he obtained employment with Robert McVitie in Edinburgh, and by the age of 30 was foreman of the cake department in the factory of McVitie & Price. Later he became manager, and when C. E. Price retired, general manager, acquiring a controlling interest in the concern on the death of McVitie. In 1923 he gave 100,000/. towards the reconstitution of the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh as the national library for Scotland, adding a similar amount in 1928. Other gifts included 50,000/. towards the building debt on Edinburgh University, and 50,000/. for a new geology department. He also subscribed generously towards the Scottish National War Memorial at Edinburgh Castle and gave large sums to the burghs of Forres and Lossiemouth. As a memorial of the Silver Jubilee he gave a silver banqueting service of 4,000 pieces, weighing 18,000 ounces, together with household linen, for the Palace of Holyroodhouse, to obviate the necessity of bringing plate and linen from London on the occasion of Royal visits. His total benefactions were estimated at 750,000l. In March, 1924,

he gave to his lifelong friend, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, then Prime Minister, a motor-car and an endowment of 30,000 shares in McVitie & Price for expenses. The gift, which Mr. MacDonald at first declined, was the subject of a question in the House of Commons when Grant was made a baronet a few months later. He was a freeman of Edinburgh, Forbes, and Nairn, and received the honorary degree of LL.D. from Edinburgh University. He married, in 1887, Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Norris, and had two daughters.

23. **John Davison Rockefeller**, senior, oil magnate and public benefactor, said to have been the richest man in the world, was born at Richford, New York State, on July 8, 1839, of German descent, and began his career at the age of 16 in a Cleveland commission merchant's office. In 1863 he became interested in the oil industry, investing the equivalent of 800/. in a refinery, and in 1870, first with his brother William, and later with H. M. Flagler and Stephen V. Harkness, he formed the Standard Oil Company with a capital of 200,000/. Securing preferential rates from competing railway companies for the transport of oil he extended the practice to cover a group of companies, resulting in the South Improvement Company, the first industrial combination on a grand scale. This concern, dissolved in 1872, was followed by the Central Association, virtually the Standard Oil Company, which, by 1877, enjoyed such preferential treatment that the directors were indicted, unsuccessfully, for conspiracy to establish a monopoly. Further investigation followed on the discovery of the famous Standard Oil Trust, which had been operating for more than five years, and in 1892 the Trust, which had kept no books, signed no contracts, and had no legal existence, was ordered to dissolve. Complete dissolution was never effected, but the Standard Oil Company, of New Jersey, with a capital of 22,000,000/., took the place of the old Trust and became a "holding" company in control of the subsidiary concerns. Rockefeller retired from active direction of the affairs of the corporation in 1895. His enormous benefactions, on characteristically businesslike lines, began in 1901 with the founding of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, to which the discovery of the anti-serum for cerebrospinal meningitis was due. Next, in 1907, came the General Education Board, to assist universities and colleges of every denomination out of a fund of over 10,000,000/. In 1909 a Bill was introduced in the Senate for the incorporation of the Rockefeller Foundation, a general organisation intended to conduct philanthropic work along many lines. A gift of 20,000,000/., to which he added year by year, was placed in the hands of a perpetual body of 25 men, ready, after due inquiry, to give whenever and wherever required. The fund was to be a great clearing-house for humanitarian effort all over the world, receiving contributions not only from Rockefeller but from any other philanthropist. In 1913 the Foundation was inaugurated, with John D. Rockefeller, junior, as president. A few years before Rockefeller's death, the total amount of his benefactions was calculated at 150,000,000/. Reputed to have a very poor digestion, he lived all his life in the utmost simplicity. For a long period he was in danger of his life because of the hostility aroused by the relentless business methods associated with him. In 1864 he married Laura C. Spelman, in whose memory he founded the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, and had one son and three daughters.

28. **Professor Alfred Adler**, distinguished Viennese psychologist, originator of the theory of inferiority complex, was born on February 7, 1870, and studied medicine at Vienna University, graduating M.D. in 1885. He was a general practitioner in Vienna from 1897 to 1927, when he went to Columbia University, New York, as Lecturer in Psychology. In 1932 he was appointed **Professor of Medical Psychology** at Long Island College of Medicine. He helped to found the Psycho-analytical Association and started its *Journal* with **Professor Freud**, under whom he had studied, as co-editor. In 1911, however, after delivering four lectures entitled "A Criticism of Freud's Sexual Theory of Psycho Life,"

he and twelve others broke away and formed the Free Psycho-analytical Society (afterwards the Society for Individual Psychology). The essential difference between Freud and Adler was that while the former regarded sex repressions as the all-pervading cause of psychological disorders, the latter placed emphasis on the failure of the individual to adjust his inner life to the outer world. Adler claimed that sexual maladjustment was but one of many maladjustments and explained mental troubles of various kinds as the effect of over-compensation for the feeling of inadequacy resulting from the "inferiority complex.*" His chief publications were "Understanding Human Nature" (English edition, 1928), "Problems of Neurosis: A Book of Case Histories," "The Case of Miss R.," and "The Education of Children." In 1930 he was made an honorary citizen of Vienna. He lectured widely in America and Great Britain, and died suddenly in Union Street, Aberdeen, where he was giving a course on psycho-pathology at the University. In 1898 he married Raissa Eppstein, and had three sons and one daughter.

JUNE.

10. Sir Robert Laird Borden, an "Elder Statesman" of the British Empire, Prime Minister of Canada, 1910-21, was born on a farm near Grand Pr6, Nova Scotia, on June 26, 1854, of Kentish-Scottish descent. After a good education at Acacia Villa Academy, he became a teacher on the staff of the Glenwood Institute, New Jersey, but in 1873 he returned to his native land and was admitted to the Bar of Nova Scotia in 1878, taking silk in 1891. Within a few years he became a partner in Graham, Tupper & Company, the leading legal firm in Halifax. His early political affiliations were with the Liberal Party, but disapproval of their "unrestricted reciprocity" programme induced him to change, and with great reluctance he eventually became Conservative candidate for Halifax, being returned at the General Election of 1896 when the Conservative Party was defeated. In 1904 he was defeated at Halifax, but found a seat in Ontario. On February 6, 1901, he was chosen Leader of the Conservative Party in succession to Sir Charles Tupper, and for the next nine years his path was beset by many difficulties. Early in 1910, discouraged by the quarrels and intrigues among his followers, he threatened to resign, but later in the year when the Laurier Government fell, he became Prime Minister, remaining in office for eleven years, until he retired on the ground of ill-health. On July 14, 1915, he made history by being the first oversea Minister to attend a meeting of the British Cabinet. Later he attended the Imperial Conference of 1917, and was induced to remain in London as a member of the Imperial War Cabinet, and he was one of the chief framers of the memorandum of 1918 which resulted in the Dominions being accorded representation at the Peace Conference. He was delegate for Canada at the Washington Conference in 1921-22, British arbitrator in the arbitration between Britain and Peru in Paris, April, 1922, and chairman of the Sixth Committee of Assembly of the League of Nations, September, 1930. In 1927 he delivered for the Rhodes Trust a series of lectures at Oxford on Imperial Relations. A number of his addresses under the auspices of the Marfleet Foundation at Toronto University were published under the title of "Canadian Constitutional Studies." He was sworn of the Privy Council in 1912, created a G.C.M.G. in 1914, and received the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour in 1915. He also received many honorary degrees, and was a freeman of London, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Manchester, Bristol, and Cardiff. He was the first President of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, President of the Canadian Historical Society, President of the Dominion Drama Festival in 1933, and a Vice-President of the National Civil Service Reform League of the United States. He was also President of Barclay's Bank (Canada) and of the Crown Life Insurance Company, Toronto, and chairman of the Canadian Investment Fund. He married, in 1889, Laura, daughter of T. H. Bond, of Halifax; they had no children.

13. **Lord Glen ravel** (Sir Arthur Shirley Benn), a leader in commerce and politics, was born on December 20, 1858, son of the Rev. J. W. Benn, rector of Carrigaline and Douglas, Co. Cork, and his wife, Maria Louisa Hamilton, granddaughter of the second Lord Castlemaine. After being educated at Clifton College and abroad he became a student of the Inner Temple. For a time he lived in Canada, holding a commission in the Canadian Garrison Artillery. He was also for a while British Vice-Consul at Mobile, Alabama, U.S.A. Much of his business experience was gained as managing director of Messrs. Hunter, Benn & Company. Returning to England in 1902 he studied politics with a view to becoming a member of Parliament. He was defeated at Battersea in 1905, and at the first General Election of 1910, but later in that year he was elected Unionist member for Plymouth, holding the seat until 1918 when he was returned for the Drake Division of Plymouth. Defeated in 1929, he was successful in the Park Division of Sheffield in 1931, but lost the seat in November, 1935. Before entering Parliament he had considerable experience of local politics, being a member of the Battersea Borough Council, and from 1907 to 1911 a member of the London County Council, of which body he was chairman of the Highways Committee, 1909-10. He was treasurer of the Imperial Council of Commerce in 1923 and honorary treasurer of the National Committee for Relief in Belgium. In 1927 he was a delegate to the meeting of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce of the British Empire held in South Africa. From its inception in 1927 he was a director of the International Chamber of Commerce, and from 1921 to 1923 was President of the Association of British Chambers of Commerce. He was also chairman of the Council of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce of the British Empire in 1928 and President from 1931 to 1934. He was created K.B.E. in 1918, made a baronet in 1926, and raised to the peerage in 1936. He also had the Order of the Crown of Belgium, and was Knight-President of the Knights of the Round Table. In 1888 he married Alys Marie, daughter of F. A. Luling, of Springhill, Alabama, but there were no children and the barony became extinct.

— **John** Leofrlc Stocks, Vice-Chancellor of Liverpool University since January 1, 1937, was born at Market Harborough on October 26, 1882, sixth son of Archdeacon Stocks, and was educated at Rugby and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, of which he was classical scholar. In 1906 he was elected to a Fellowship at St. John's College where he made his mark as lecturer on Greek philosophy. He was editor of the *Oxford Magazine*, a member of the Hebdomadal Council, and a junior Proctor (1913). During the war he served in France, winning the D.S.O. § In 1924 he was appointed to the Chair of Philosophy in the University of Manchester, where his personality made him a great force; he was specially interested in the University Settlement and the Workers' Education Association. At the General Election in 1935 he stood as Labour candidate for Oxford University but was defeated. During his period as an Oxford don he wrote a good deal on Greek philosophy, one of his works being "Aristotelianism," and another, a translation of "De Caelo." He married Mary Danvers, daughter of Dr. R. D. Brinton, and had one son and two daughters. He died suddenly at the home of Dr. C. A. Edwards, F.R.S., Principal of Swansea University College, whose students he had addressed the previous day.

17. **Bishop James** Edward Cowell **Wel Id** on, successively headmaster of Harrow, Bishop of Calcutta, Dean of Manchester, and Dean of Durham, was born on April 25, 1854, at Tonbridge School, of which his father was second master and his uncle, Dr. James Welldon, headmaster. As a Colleger at Eton he won the Newcastle scholarship and was Captain of the School. At King's College, Cambridge, he won the Carus prize and the Bell and Craven scholarships, was twice Browne's medallist for a Greek ode, Senior Classic, and Senior Chancellor's medallist in 1877. He was elected to a Fellowship at King's in 1878 where he worked, after a period of travel and study abroad, until 1883, in which year he was ordained deacon and appointed headmaster of Dulwich College. In 1885 he was

ordained priest and, without standing as candidate, was appointed headmaster of Harrow, where he remained until 1898 when he became Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India (1898-1902). For the next four years he was a canon at Westminster until, in 1906, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman recommended him for the Deanery of Manchester, where he spent thirteen happy and fruitful years. In 1918, with his characteristic fear of holding any position too long, he accepted the Deanery of Durham which he held until a fall in the Cathedral hastened his retirement in 1933. A year later he suffered acutely the death of Edward Perkins who had been his devoted "Sam Weller" for nearly half a century. Welldon had been Chaplain-in-Ordinary to Queen Victoria; Hulsean Lecturer in 1897; and several times Select Preacher at Oxford and Cambridge. His publications, beginning with translations of the "Politics," "Rhetoric," and "Ethics" of Aristotle, included a translation of St. Augustine's "De Civitate Dei," several volumes of sermons, some popular theological books, and two human and naive volumes of reminiscences, "Recollections and Reflections" (1915) and "Forty Years On" (1935). He was unmarried.

17. **Sir Samuel Squire Sprigge**, editor of the *Lancet* since 1908, was born on June 22, 1860, at Watton, Norfolk, where his father was a doctor and small landowner, and was educated at Uppingham and Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Having graduated in arts he went to St. George's Hospital and graduated in medicine in 1887, after which he held various appointments, besides doing some medical reviewing and writing short stories for popular magazines. He then became secretary to Sir Russell Reynolds, afterwards President of the Royal College of Physicians of London, and on the introduction of Sir Walter Besant, secretary of the newly formed Society of Authors (of which he was President in 1910), holding the two appointments, morning and afternoon, for five years. In 1893 he went with Besant to a literary congress at Chicago, and from America wrote many articles for lay papers and some for the *Lancet*. On returning to England he was appointed assistant editor of the *Lancet*, under Dr. Thomas Wakley, grandson of the founder, of whose life Sprigge published an account in 1896. In 1908, on the death of Dr. T. E. Wakley, he became editor of the *Lancet*. His only signed contribution, save the Hunterian lecture to the American College of Surgeons (1928), was a report on the medical curricula of a group of American and Canadian Universities which he visited on behalf of the proprietors. His other publications included "Odd Issues," a collection of stories (1898), "An Industrious Chevalier," a novel (1902), "Physic and Fiction," a volume of essays (1921). He was knighted in 1921 and elected F.R.C.S. Eng. In 1927 he was made F.R.C.P. Lond., and he was also a Fellow of the American College of Surgeons. He was twice married: first, in 1895, to Beatrice (daughter of Sir Charles Moss, Chief Justice of Ontario), who died in 1903, leaving one son and one daughter; and secondly, in 1905, to Ethel Coursolles (daughter of Major Charles Jones), by whom he had one daughter.

18. **Gaston Doumergue**, twelfth President of the French Republic, was born at Aigues-Vives, near Nîmes, on August 1, 1863, the only child of a small farmer, and after being educated at the lycée of Nîmes entered the legal profession, practising for some five years at the local Bar. In 1890 he went to Indo-China as a magistrate, travelling extensively in the new possessions of the Republic, which gave him valuable insight into colonial problems. Returning in 1893 he was appointed *juge de paix* in Algeria, expecting to remain there many years, but a visit home led to his being invited to stand for Parliament and to his election shortly afterwards as Radical-Socialist Deputy for Nîmes. Though not a brilliant man or a great orator, he soon made his mark on colonial questions, and in 1902 became Minister of the Colonies in the Cabinet of M. Combes, and for the next eight years held various offices under many Prime Ministers. In 1910 he entered the Senate as representative of the Department of the Gard, and in 1912 and 1913 came forward as an advocate of the Three Years' Military Service Bill, which was

passed by the Barthou Government. The measure, however, proved unpopular and the Government fell at the end of 1913. Called upon by Poincaré to form a Ministry with special reference to the Three Years' Law, Doumergue took the portfolio of Minister for Foreign Affairs. His period of office, which ended in May, 1914, was made memorable by the visit to Paris of King George V; by the murder of the editor of a Paris newspaper by Mme. Caillaux, wife of Doumergue's Minister of Finance; and by repeated attacks on the Government's military commitments. Soon after the war broke out Doumergue returned to the Department of the Colonies in the Viviani Ministry, remaining there until the end of 1916 when he went on a mission to Russia with Lord Milner. In 1924, after fifteen months as President of the Senate, he was invited to stand as Presidential candidate in opposition to the Cartel des Gauches's nominee, M. Painlevé, and on June 13 he was elected President of the Republic (the first Protestant to hold that office) by 515 votes to 309. As his election was a rebuff to the Cartel, he asked its leader, M. Herriot, to form a Government and thus restored the constitutional equilibrium. After his term of office he retired into private life from which he was recalled on February 7, 1934, when after twenty-four hours of bloodshed in Paris, the new President, M. Lebrun, begged Doumergue to form a Government which, after at first declining, he consented to do on condition that all the former Prime Ministers still living should enter his Cabinet and promise him their support. The new Government secured a majority of 227 at its first appearance in the Chamber, the Budget was passed with a deficit of 2,000,000,000 francs, commissions of inquiry into the Stavisky scandal and the Paris riots were set up, and a threat of resistance by the Civil servants to the cutting of their salaries was overcome. On April 17 the Doumergue Government gave a shock to France and Europe by a Note on the limitation of armaments, signed by M. Barthou, the new Foreign Minister, which amounted to the breaking off of negotiations with Germany. On October 9 Barthou was assassinated with King Alexander at Marseilles, and at the beginning of November a new crisis was provoked by Doumergue insisting on a scheme of parliamentary reform which he had elaborated almost without consulting his colleagues. After some days of vain discussion he finally resigned. He married Mme. Jeanne Josephine Graves.

19. Sir James Matthew Barrie, Bt., playwright and novelist, was born at Kirriemuir, Forfarshire, on May 9, 1860, the son of a handloom weaver, and was educated at the Academy, Dumfries, and at Edinburgh University, where he graduated M.A. He began writing at an early age; his first appointment was on the staff of the *Nottingham Daily Journal*. But he could not long control his wish to come to London, and though he was advised not to do so by Frederick Greenwood, editor of the *St. James's Gazette*, he came to the capital, staying at Old Furnivars Inn in Holborn and earning his living by journalism. But literature was his ambition, and he soon discovered that literature could be made out of his own people, the people of Kirriemuir ("Thrums"). In 1888 he published a book of these sketches called "Auld Licht Idylls," following it a year later with "A Window in Thrums." His first novel, "When a Man's Single," dealing with his journalistic life, appeared in 1888. In 1890 came a book of humorous and sentimental sketches, "My Lady Nicotine," which was admired by others besides pipe-smokers, and then "The Little Minister" (1891) which brought him into the front rank as a writer. Turning to the stage he wrote (with H. B. Marriott Watson) a play about Richard Savage, then one about Becky Sharp, and one called *Ibsen's Ghost*, produced by Toole. All were failures. Next he wrote a farce, *Walker, London* (1892), which, with Toole heading the cast, proved successful, and in 1895 *The Professor's Love Story*. This made his reputation as a playwright. Two years later *The Little Minister*, a dramatic version of the novel, was produced in New York, had a long and prosperous run, and established him as a wealthy man. Meanwhile he had written "Margaret Ogilvy," a remarkably intimate and charming picture of his mother, and with these and "The Little White Bird" (1902), "Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens" (1906),

and " Peter and Wendy " (1911), his career as a writer of books closed. Henceforth he devoted all his energies to the theatre, and in the years before the war produced *Quality Street*, *The Admirable Crichton*, revived years later with a new ending, and *Little Mary* (1903); *Peter Pan* (1904), with Nina Boucioault as the first Peter, *Alice Sit-by-the-Fire* (1906), written for Ellen Terry, *What Every Woman Knows* (1908), and a number of shorter plays such as *The Twelve Pound Look*, *The Will*, and *Pantaloon*. *Josephine*, in which he introduced well-known personalities and the politics of the day, skilfully disguised in satire, and *The Adored One*, even with Hare and Mrs. Patrick Campbell, were both failures. *The Wedding Guest* remained unproduced for several years; Frohman urged him not to insist on *What Every Woman Knows* being acted and *Peter Pan* itself was refused at least once by Tree and was a failure for the first few days. During the war he wrote a revue, *Rosy Rapture*, for Gaby Deslys, *The New Word*, *The Old Lady Shows Her Medals*, *The Well-Remembered Voice*, *A Kiss for Cinderella* (1916), and *Dear Brutus* (1917) regarded by many as his greatest achievement. After the war came *The Truth About the Russian Dancers*, *Mary Rose* (1920), a play which was almost equally liked and detested, and the first act of a murder mystery *Shall We Join the Ladies?* His last play, *The Boy David* (1936), written for the Viennese actress Elisabeth Bergner, ran for only seven weeks. Barrie was created a baronet in 1913 and given the Order of Merit in 1922, in which year he was elected Rector of St. Andrews University. He was a freeman of Dumfries, Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Jedburgh, and Kirriemuir, and received honorary degrees from several universities. Since 1928 he had been President of the Society of Authors. To Kensington Gardens, of which he had a private key given to him by the Park-Ranger, the Duke of Cambridge, he presented Sir George Frampton's famous statue of Peter Pan; and to the Hospital for Sick Children in Great Ormond Street he gave, as from 1929, all rights—stage and film—in *Peter Pan*, a benefaction which it was estimated would bring in more than 2,000l. a year. He married, in 1894, Mary Ansell, an actress who had played in *Walker, London*, and who had nursed him through a severe illness, but in 1909 the marriage was dissolved.

22. The Right Hon. Sir Eric Campbell Geddes, G.C.B., G.B.E., K.C.B., chairman of Imperial Airways, Limited, and of the Dunlop Rubber Company, and holder of many important offices of State during the war, was born in India on September 26, 1875, and educated at Merchiston Castle School, Edinburgh, the Edinburgh Academy, and the Oxford Military School. After passing the preliminary examination for Woolwich he found the prospect of a career as a Royal Engineer irksome, and, following a dispute with his father, he was given a first-class passage to America where he worked on freight trains, in steel factories, in lumber yards and in sawmills. Brought home at his father's expense, he was given a post on a forest estate in India where he worked 50 miles of a public light railway, which led to his transference to a main line of which he became traffic superintendent. After eleven years in India he accepted, while on leave, a minor post on the North-Eastern Railway, of which ten years later he was deputy manager, nominated as future general manager. When the war broke out he assisted in bringing the railways under Government control, and then became Director-General of Munitions Supply, 1915-16, after which he was Director-General of Transportation on the Staff of the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army in France. He was also Director-General of Military Railways and Inspector-General of Transportation in all the theatres of war, with the honorary rank of Major-General, 1917, in which year he was appointed Controller of the Navy, a temporary Vice-Admiral, and First Lord of the Admiralty. In the same year he went into Parliament as Unionist member for Cambridge. In 1918 he entered the War Cabinet, and in 1919 was first a Minister without portfolio and then Minister of Transport until 1921, when, as chairman of the Economy Committee to advise on questions of public expenditure, he wielded the famous " Geddes Economy Axe." In 1923 he was President of the Federation of British Industries. Later he became chairman of the Dunlop Rubber Company, and of Imperial Airways,

for which, between December, 1932, and February, 1933, he made a journey by air along the Empire air route from Europe to South Africa. He was knighted in 1916, made a P.C., G.B.E., and K.C.B. in 1917, and a G.C.B. in 1919. In 1920 he received from the University of Sheffield the honorary degree of LL.D. He married, in 1900, Gwendolen, daughter of Rev. A. Stokes, and had three sons. After cremation his ashes were scattered from the Empire flying-boat "Caledonia" over the sea on the track of the Imperial Air Mail Route.

24. Admiral Sir William Wordsworth Fisher, Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth, was born on March 26, 1875, son of Herbert William Fisher, vice-warden of the Stanneries of Cornwall and Devon, and brother of the Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, and entered the *Britannia* as a cadet in 1888. In November, 1894, he became a sub-lieutenant, being promoted to lieutenant two years later. Qualifying in gunnery, he remained on the junior staff of the school until November, 1901, when he was appointed gunnery officer of the battleship *Canopus*. In 1905 he was gunnery officer of the *King Edward VII*, flagship of Admiral Sir William May, and eighteen months later, at the age of 31, was promoted to commander. From 1909 to 1912 he served as Flag Commander in the Home Fleet and in the Devonport Command. On July 1, 1912, he was promoted captain with command of the battleship *St. Vincent*. In 1917, as Director of the Anti-Submarine Division he rendered invaluable service during the "U" -boat menace. Sir Henry Newbolt dedicated to him his short "Naval History of the War" (1920) and Lord Jelliooe made a special mention of his work in "The Crisis of the Naval War." From 1919 to 1924 he was Commodore and Chief of Staff to Admiral de Robeck, after which he was promoted to rear-admiral in the First Battle Squadron in the Mediterranean. In August, 1926, he returned to the Admiralty as temporary Director of Naval Intelligence, and early in the following year became Fourth Sea Lord. Promoted to vice-admiral on January 15, 1928, he was made Deputy Chief of the Naval Staff in May. In October, 1930, he resumed sea service as Vice-Admiral Commanding the First Battle Squadron and second-in-command in the Mediterranean to Admiral Sir Ernie Chatfield. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean as from October 31, 1932. After the Silver Jubilee Naval Review, when he was senior flag officer afloat at Spithead, he returned to the Mediterranean, remaining there during the period of tension caused by the Italo-Ethiopian War until March, 1936, when he was appointed Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth. He was awarded the C.B. in 1918, C.V.O. in 1924, K.C.B. in 1929, G.C.B. and G.C.V.O. in 1935. He married, in 1907, Cecilia, daughter of Francis Warre-Cornish, Vice-Provost of Eton, and had two sons and two daughters.

26. Lord Cralgmyle, formerly Lord (Thomas) Shaw of Dunfermline, a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, was born on May 23, 1850 (son of a baker who died five years later), and was educated at the Dunfermline High School and Edinburgh University, where he won the Lord Rector's Historical Prize and was elected Hamilton Fellow in Mental Philosophy. Later he was appointed assistant to Calderwood, Professor of Ethics. He was admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates in 1875, became an Advocate-Depute in 1886 and Q.C. in 1894, in which year he was appointed Solicitor-General for Scotland. An advanced Liberal, of great independence of thought, he was elected in 1892 as member for Hawick Burghs which he represented until his appointment as a Lord of Appeal. In December, 1905, he joined Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Government as Lord Advocate and soon afterwards was sworn a member of the Privy Council. In February, 1909, the sudden death of Lord Robertson, Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, created a delicate situation. Lord Dunedin was his most likely successor, but Shaw had to be considered in view of his services to the party, and there was the further difficulty that if Dunedin was appointed Shaw would inevitably succeed him as Lord Justice-General, which would not have given entire satisfaction in Edinburgh. Eventually Shaw was appointed and given a life peerage (February 22, 1909). In April, 1929, he resigned his office of Lord of Appeal

and received a peerage in the United Kingdom, taking the title of Lord Craigmyle, of Craigmyle in the county of Aberdeen. Apart from his judicial work he was engaged in many public inquiries, including the Committee on the operation of the IYuck Acts (Chairman); the Royal Commission on the importation of arms into the Dublin district (President, 1914); the Scottish Committee on the State Purchase of the Liquor Trade (Chairman, 1917); the Court of Inquiry concerning Transport Workers' Wages and Conditions of Employment (President, 1920); and the Irish Compensation Commission (President, 1922). He was one of the founders of the League of Nations Society and was joint President with Leon Bourgeois of two conferences of League societies held in Paris and London. He was one of Carnegie's ablest advisers and remained throughout his life a member of the Trust for the Universities of Scotland. He was also a trustee of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust. He was one of the Lords of the Committee of Council on Scottish Education and a member of the Scottish Universities Committee. In 1922 he addressed the American Bar Association at San Francisco and the Canadian Bar Association at Vancouver. His publications included a volume of reminiscences in the form of letters to one of his daughters (1921) and its sequel "The Other Bundle"; *Darnley, A Historie*, a play in verse (1925), "The Trial of Jesus Christ," an interesting legal study (1929), a study of John Marshall (1933), and *The Blood of the McGowans*, which was performed during his golden wedding festivities in 1929. In his younger days he wrote many articles on various subjects for the ninth edition of the "Encyclopaedia Britannica." Among other distinctions he was an Honorary Bencher of the Middle Temple, and an Honorary LL.D. of St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Pennsylvania. He married, in 1879, Elsie, daughter of George Forrest, of Ludquham, Aberdeenshire, and had one son and three daughters.

26. Professor Adlof Erman, a distinguished Egyptologist, was born in Berlin in 1854 of Swiss Protestant descent, the son of Georg Adolf Erman, the physicist and author of "Reise um die Erde durch Nordasien und die beiden Ozeane," on which C. F. Fauss based his theory of terrestrial magnetism. He was educated at the French Gymnasium in Berlin, where he acquired his taste for Egyptian studies, and at Leipzig University. After some years as assistant in the coin department of the Berlin Museum he became director of its Egyptian section and university professor in 1884. Since 1933 he had been an Honorary Fellow of the British Academy. Among his publications were "Neuagyptische Grammatik" (1880, completely revised, 1933), "Aegyptische Religion" (English translation by A. S. Griffith, 1907, third edition 1934), "Literature of the Ancient Egyptians" (translated by Professor A. M. Blackman, 1927); an entertaining account of his career and recollections; and a grammar of the classical phase of the Egyptian language which passed through four editions. The most ambitious philological undertaking of Erman and his colleagues was the great dictionary of hieroglyphics, of which five volumes appeared between 1926 and 1931. Erman's learned description of Pharaonic civilisation, translated by Lady Tirard under the title of "Life in Ancient Egypt" (1895), remained the best introduction to the subject in English. Although he occupied a pre-eminent position in his subject he only twice visited Egypt itself and then only for a few months.

JULY.

1. Lord Ernie (Rowland Edmund Prothero), Minister of Agriculture, 1916-19, and a distinguished man of letters, was born on September 6, 1851, third son of the Rev. George Prothero, and was educated at Marlborough and Balliol College, Oxford, eventually becoming a Fellow of All Souls College. In 1878 he was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple and joined the Oxford Circuit, but his legal career was cut short by threatened blindness. After acquiring an intimate knowledge of rural France by wandering on foot into its most remote

corners, he turned to literature, contributing anonymous articles to the *Quarterly* and the *Edinburgh Reviews*. In 1887 he published his first book, "The Pioneers and Progress of English Farming" which showed remarkable knowledge of rural life and conditions, but it was in 1893 that he established his literary reputation as the author of "The Life and Correspondence of Dean Stanley," supplemented two years later by "Letters and Verses of Dean Stanley." From 1889 onwards he assisted Sir James Knowles in editing the *Nineteenth Century* and he was offered the reversion of the editorship of the *Edinburgh*, but in 1894 he became editor of the *Quarterly*, retaining the post until succeeded by his elder brother in 1899. He also edited the "Letters of Edward Gibbon" (2 volumes, 1896), and the "Letters and Journals of Lord Byron" (6 volumes, 1898-1901). In 1899 he was appointed agent-in-chief to the Duke of Bedford and settled at Oakley in Bedfordshire, where he became an alderman and an active member of the County Council, being chairman of the Secondary Education Committee. In 1910 he was defeated as Conservative candidate for Biggleswade, but in 1914 was returned unopposed for the University of Oxford. In 1916 he became President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries and introduced an agricultural policy which proved immediately successful in enormously increasing the provision of food at home. Throughout his life he occupied his leisure with literary work, publishing "The Psalms in Human Life" (1903), which had a continuous sale, "Letters of Richard Ford" (1905), "The Pleasant Land of France" (1908), "English Farming, Past and Present" (1912), a standard history of the subject, "The Light Reading of our Ancestors: Chapters in the Growth of the English Novel," and "The Land and its People" (1925). He was a member of the Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge, 1920-22; President of the English Association, 1921-22 and of the M.C.C., 1924-25; Vice-President of the Royal Literary Fund and of the Land Agents' Society, and an honorary member of the Surveyors' Institution. In 1935 he was awarded the Royal Agricultural Society's gold medal "for distinguished service to the farming industry," which included his part in the work of the Home Sugar Beet Defence Committee. He was made a M.V.O. in 1901, was raised to the peerage as Lord Ernie (after the name of a Wiltshire family from which he was descended through his mother) in 1919, and had the Grand Cross of the Greek Order of the Redeemer. He was an honorary Fellow of Balliol and had received honorary degrees from the Universities of Wales and Athens. He was twice married; first, in 1891, to Mary Beatrice Bailward, who died in 1899 leaving one son (killed in action during the war) and one daughter; secondly, to Barbara, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Hamley. The peerage became extinct.

13. Professor Henry Edward Armstrong, F.R.S., for sixty years an outstanding figure in British chemistry, was born on May 6, 1848, and entered the Royal College of Chemistry in 1865, where he assisted Sir Edward Frankland in the development of the vacuum combustion method of analysing water. Later he went to Leipzig to study under Kolbe. Returning to London he worked under Matthiesen at the medical school of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and for ten years was in charge of the special classes in chemistry for students taking the London degree. In 1871 he was appointed Professor of Chemistry at the London Institution in Finsbury Circus. When the City and Guilds of London Institute for the Advancement of Technical Education was formed in 1879 Armstrong and Professor Ayrton were placed in charge of the teaching of chemistry and physics respectively, starting with evening classes in the Cowper Street School, Finsbury. Subsequently they went to the City and Guilds Central Technical College at South Kensington where Armstrong remained for nearly thirty years, retiring with the title of Emeritus-Professor. A special object of his scheme of instruction was the training of students in the methods of experimental inquiry and he was a champion of the heuristic method of teaching, or the "art of making children think for themselves." He also introduced in 1886 the study of crystallography as a regular subject for chemical students, Sir Henry Miers being the first instructor. In 1885

he was President of the Chemistry Section of the British Association, and in 1902 served as first President of the "Educational Science" section which he had persuaded the Association to establish. A keen biologist, he delivered lectures on the subject in America under the auspices of the Lawes Agricultural Trust, and as representative of the Chemical Society on the controlling board of the Trust he took an active interest in the work of the Rothamsted experimental station. He wrote an "Introduction to Organic Chemistry" (1874) and the inorganic section of the article on Chemistry in the ninth edition of the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" (1876). In 1875 he became one of the secretaries of the Chemical Society, of which he served as President in 1893-95, and in 1876 he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society, whose Davy medal he was awarded in 1911. He also received the Messel medal of the Society of Chemical Industry in 1922 and the Albert medal of the Royal Society of Arts in 1930. He was Ph.D. of Leipzig, LL.D. of St. Andrews, and D.Sc. of Melbourne and Madrid, and was elected to the Athenaeum under Rule II. He married, in 1877, Frances L. La vers, and had seven children.

17. Dr. Percy Gardner, archaeologist and numismatist, was born on November 24, 1846, and was educated at the City of London School and Christ's College, Cambridge, where he obtained first classes in both the Classical and the Moral Sciences Tripos, and of which he was elected a Fellow in 1872. In 1871 he joined the staff of the British Museum and devoted himself to the study of numismatics, taking a prominent part during the next fifteen years in the publication of British Museum coin catalogues and being responsible for those of the coins of Thrace (1877), of the Seleucids (1879), of Thessaly and Aetolia (1883), and of the Peloponnesus (1887). On this subject he also published "The Parthian Coinage" (1877), "Samos and Samian Coins" (1882), "The Types of Greek Coins" (1883), "Early Oriental Coins" (1885), and "The Coins of India," with S. L. Poole (1885), "New Coins of Bactria and India" (1877), and "History of Ancient Coinage" (1918). Turning his attention to archaeology in 1880 he was elected Disney Professor of Archaeology at Cambridge, and in the same year was made editor of the newly founded *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, holding the post until 1896. In 1887 he transferred his allegiance to Oxford where, as Lincoln and Merton Professor of Classical Archaeology, he remained until 1925, retiring with the title of Professor-Emeritus. His publications during the next twenty years included "New Chapters in Greek History" (1892), "Manual of Greek Antiquities," with Dr. Jevons (1895), "A Catalogue of the Ashmolean Vases" (1893), "The Sculptured Tombs of Hellas" (1896), "The Grammar of Greek Art" (1905), rewritten under the title "The Principles of Greek Art" (1915). After his retirement he wrote "New Chapters in Greek Art" (1926), "The Principles of Christian Art" (1928), and "The Interpretation of Religious Experience" (1931). In 1934 he published "Autobiographica." Besides his work as numismatist and archaeologist he was well known as a lay theologian, his works in this field being "Exploratio Evangelica" (1890), "A Historic View of the New Testament" (1901), and "The Growth of Christianity" (1907). From 1915 to 1923 he was President of the Modern Churchman's Union. He was an Honorary Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge; President and afterwards a Vice-President of the Hellenic Society, a Fellow of the British Academy, and a Corresponding Member of the Göttingen Academy of Sciences, of the Prussian Academy, and of the French Institute, as well as a member of the Archaeological Institutes of Germany, Austria, the United States, and Greece. He married, in 1874, Agnes Reid, sister of Professor J. S. Reid, of Cambridge.

19. **Sir Arthur Worley, Bt.**, an outstanding figure in British insurance, was born in Manchester on May 10, 1871, and at the age of 17 began his career with the General Fire and Life Insurance Company. In 1892 he joined the London and Lancashire Insurance Company, remaining there for twenty years. He became assistant local manager at Birmingham in 1902, local manager at

Edinburgh in 1905, and accident secretary at the head office in 1907. In 1911 he entered the North British and Mercantile Insurance Company, in which year he was appointed secretary of the Railway Passengers' Assurance Company which had been acquired by the North British in 1910. In less than twelve months he was manager of the Railway Passengers, and in 1914 was given the additional appointment of joint foreign fire manager of the North British. Two years later he was appointed fire manager and in 1918 general manager in London. When in 1926 the Company was reorganised, Worley became general manager of the whole enterprise. In 1928 he was elected a director and appointed managing director. In June, 1935, he was elected Deputy-Chairman of the general court. He resigned his position as managing director on account of ill-health in 1937 but retained his position on the board. He was President of the Insurance Institute of London, 1921-23, President of the Chartered Insurance Institute, 1923-24, and Chairman of the British Insurance Association, 1931-32. During the war he was appointed a member of the Advisory Committee to the Ministry of Munitions under the Explosives Liability Act. He was a member of the Royal Commission on National Health Insurance in 1924, and in 1925 was elected an Extraordinary Director of the Royal Bank of Scotland. He was also a member of the Special Court of the Council of Foreign Bondholders and of the General Purposes Committee, chairman of the British Long Term and Medium Term Creditors of Germany Committee, and Chairman of the Swedish Match and Kreuger Companies⁹ British Protective Committee. He was created a C.B.E. during the war, knighted in 1921 and made a baronet in 1928. In 1899 he married Edith, daughter of Thomas Kay, of Pendleton, Manchester, and had two daughters.

20. Miss Amelia Earhart, famous as an air pilot, was born at Atchison, Kansas, on July 24, 1898. After serving during the war in the Canadian Red Cross she entered Columbia University and later took up social work among children in Boston. Becoming interested in aviation, she crossed the Atlantic as a passenger in a machine piloted by Commander Wilmer Stultz. On April 8, 1931, now a pilot herself, she set up an auto-giro altitude record by reaching a height of 19,000 feet. In the following year, on May 20, she again crossed the Atlantic, this time alone, in a Lockheed Vega with Pratt and Whitney 420 h.p. wasp engine, and after considerable trouble with instruments and accessories she landed near Londonderry, having made the journey in the fastest time of 13¼ hours. In September, 1932, she set up another record for women by flying non-stop and solo from Los Angeles to Newark, New Jersey, in 19 hours 4 minutes. In January, 1935, she flew alone in a Lockheed Vega monoplane from Honolulu to Oakland, California, 2,408 miles, in 18 hours 15 minutes, and in May she made a non-stop flight from Mexico City to New York, 2,100 miles, in 14 hours 18 minutes. On March 17, 1937, with two companions, she left Oakland, California, on a round-the-world flight, but crashed at Honolulu four days later. Trying again, she left Miami, Florida, on June 1 with Captain Fred Noonan as navigator, in a Lockheed Electra machine called the "Flying Laboratory" from its equipment of instruments and experimental apparatus. She reached Calcutta on June 17 and Port Darwin on June 28. At 10 a.m. on July 2 she took off from Lae, New Guinea, for Howland Island, but, although signals for help were reported to have been received from her, she was never seen again. In 1931 she married G. P. Putnam, the American publisher.

— **Marchese Guglielmo Marconi**, the master of wireless development, was born at Bologna on April 25, 1874, his father being an Italian country gentleman and his mother a daughter of Andrew Jameson, of Daphne Castle, Co. Wexford. He was educated at Leghorn and the University of Bologna, where he studied under Adolfo Righi, author of investigations on electric waves. Marconi's first attempts to turn Hertz's laboratory work to practical use were made at his father's villa, and at an early stage he obtained good results by employing with both his transmitter and his receiver elevated conductors or aerials combined with metallic

connexions to earth. For the detection of electric waves at the receiving end he used the "coherer" of Branly and Lodge, on the improvement of which he worked between 1894 and 1896. In the latter year, which was the date of his first patent, he came to England and enlisted the assistance of Sir William Preece, Engineer-in-Chief of the Post Office. Successful tests between St. Martin's-le-Grand and the Thames Embankment were followed by transmission for a distance of four miles across Salisbury Plain, and in 1897 he effected communication across the Bristol Channel, nearly nine miles. In demonstrations carried out for the Italian Government in the same year, at Spezi, signals were sent for a distance of twelve miles. In 1898 he erected permanent stations in the Isle of Wight and at Bournemouth; at the instance of Lloyd's his apparatus was installed at Ballycastle and Rathlin Island; in July it was employed to transmit reports of Kingston Regatta to a Dublin newspaper from a steamer in Dublin Bay; and in December it was used for sending messages between the South Foreland Lighthouse and the East Goodwin Lightship. In 1899 Marconi sent wireless signals across the English Channel from South Foreland to Wimereux, 32 miles, and the Admiralty fitted wireless in three ships taking part in naval manoeuvres; by introducing "coupling" between the aerial and detector circuits the range was increased to over 60 miles. Later in the year wireless found its first military application in South Africa where messages were sent 70 miles. By 1900, when he took out his famous patent, No. 7,777 for "tuned or syntonistic telegraphy," he had transmitted signals over 200 miles. Determined to span the Atlantic, he erected powerful stations at Poldhu in Cornwall and St. John's, Newfoundland, and on December 12, 1901, he picked up, at fixed times, the letter "S" on the Morse code, which showed that the electric waves had traversed 1,800 miles. Two months later when on a voyage from Southampton to New York he received readable messages up to a distance of 1,551 miles and test letters up to over 2,000 miles. Preparations were then made for the establishment of wireless telegraphy on a commercial basis. The station at Poldhu was improved; a high-power station was started at Glace Bay, Nova Scotia, with financial assistance from the Canadian Government, and messages were exchanged, by night, for the first time in December, 1902. In the spring of 1903 reports sent by wireless from Canada were published in *The Times*, which during the Russo-Japanese War incorporated a regular wireless news service. Defects, however, caused the Canadian service to be discontinued, and it was not until October, 1907, that a limited service of Press messages was put into operation between Glace Bay and a new long-distance station at Clifden, Ireland, ordinary traffic being accepted a little later. Although it had come to be accepted that for long-distance transmission long waves, measured in thousands of metres, were essential, Marconi, about 1916, turned his attention in the opposite direction, to wave-lengths measured in tens of metres, realising that if practicable they would enable the radiation to be reflected and projected as a narrow beam in any desired direction, and that they would be economical of energy while permitting stations to work without mutual interference even on very small differences of wave-length. Using the thermionic valve invented by his former assistant, Professor J. A. Fleming, he showed that such short waves were capable of providing an efficient commercial service operated cheaply and at high speed over great distances. With a small beam transmitting station at Poldhu and a receiver in his yacht *Elettra*, he found in 1923 that on a wave-length of 92 metres signals could clearly be received up to 1,250 nautical miles from Poldhu by day and up to 2,320 miles by night. Continuing his experiments in 1924 with the object of determining the maximum practical range of these waves (apart from the aid of reflectors or directional methods) he found that while the day range of a 92-metre wave was about 1,200 miles in the North Atlantic good communication could be effected with Argentina and Australia during the dark or semi-dark hours. In the same year he tried shorter waves and confirmed his anticipation that they would be still less affected by daylight. The practical outcome of this work was that the British Government accepted his company's proposals to employ the short-wave beam system for imperial

communications and to build stations capable of working with Canada, South Africa, India, and Australia. The first of these stations was taken over and opened for public service in October, 1926. In 1931 Marconi experimented with waves of less than one metre in length and established communications over a distance of 168 statute miles between his yacht and a station near Rome on a wave-length of 57 cm. The new system was put into operation between the Vatican City and the Papal Palace at Castel Gandolfo, and in 1934 he gave at Sestri Levante, near Genoa, a demonstration of a device in which 60 cm. waves were applied to enable ships safely to enter a narrow harbour during dense fog. During the war Marconi served in the Italian Army and in the Navy. In 1917 he went to America as a member of an official mission, and in 1919 the King of Italy appointed him Plenipotentiary Delegate to the Peace Conference at Paris, in which capacity he signed the peace treaties with Austria and Bulgaria. Although previously he had not taken an active part in politics, in 1923 he joined the Fascist Party and was subsequently made a member of the Fascist Grand Council. In 1930 Signor Mussolini nominated him a member of the Italian Royal Academy, although as a Senator (since 1914) he was not eligible to belong to that body, and appointed him President of the Institution. In 1929 he received the hereditary title of Marchese. Numerous honours and academic distinctions were bestowed upon him. He was twice married; first, in 1905, to the Hon. Beatrice O'Brien, daughter of Lord Inchiquin, the marriage being dissolved in 1924; secondly, in 1927, to the Countess Bezzi-Scali of Rome. By his first wife he had one son and two daughters, and by his second, one daughter.

22. **Archbishop Edwards** (Alfred George Edwards), the first Welsh Primate, was born on November 2, 1848, and educated at Jesus College, Oxford, where his scholastic career was hindered by ill-health. In 1874 he was ordained curate of Llandinat and was appointed second master of Llandovery College, succeeding to the headmastership a year later. In 1885 he accepted one of the two vicarages of Carmarthen, and in March, 1889, was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph. At a time when the Anti-Tithe League was in full operation he became one of the Church's staunchest defenders, and supported by John Owen (afterwards Bishop of St. David's) he induced Lord Salisbury's Government to pass an Act making the tithe payable by the landlord instead of the tenant. He was also keenly concerned with the educational endowments of the Welsh Church, and during the long and bitter controversy over Disestablishment he was always in the thick of the conflict. When in 1920 the disestablishment of the Welsh Church was accomplished, Edwards was unanimously chosen to be Archbishop of the new province and came to be known as Archbishop of Wales, signing himself "A.G. Cambr." He resigned in 1934, having been a diocesan bishop for forty-five years. In 1912 he published "Landmarks in the History of the Welsh Church" and in 1927, "Memories." He was an honorary Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, and received the honorary degree of D.C.L. from Oxford and L.L.D. from Cambridge and the University of Wales. He was three times married, and had four sons and three daughters.

27. **Admiral of the Fleet the Hon. Sir Somerset Gough Calthorpe**, younger son of Lieutenant-General Lord Calthorpe, seventh baron, and maternal grandson of Captain Frederick Chamier, R.N., writer on naval subjects, was born on December 23, 1864, and entered the Royal Navy in 1876. He was promoted lieutenant in 1886 and torpedo lieutenant in 1890. He served with the Naval Brigades in the Brass River expedition and that against the Arab chief, Mburuk, being specially promoted to commander on January 1, 1896. Six years later, after having been promoted to captain, he was appointed (March 1, 1902) Naval Attache in St. Petersburg and Rome. When a separate Attache was appointed for Rome in 1903 he devoted his whole time to Russia and served throughout the Russo-Japanese War. Returning to England he took command of the cruiser *Roxburgh* in the Channel Fleet. During 1909-10 he was Commodore, 1st Class,

and Captain of the Fleet on the staff of Admiral Sir William May, Commander-in-Chief of the Home Fleet. In August, 1911, he was promoted to rear-admiral, and one of his first duties as flag officer was to act as an assessor on the Wreck Commission which inquired into the loss of the *Titanic*. He was also a member of the Board of Trade Committee which inquired into the methods of stowing, launching, and propelling ships' boats. In December, 1912, he joined the *St. Vincent* as Rear-Admiral of the First Battle Squadron. A few days before the war was declared he joined the *Shannon* to command the Second Cruiser Squadron in the Grand Fleet under Sir John Jellicoe, but he missed the Battle of Jutland through being made Second Sea Lord of the Admiralty. In December, 1916, he became Admiral Commanding the Coastguard and Reserves, and eight months later (having been promoted to vice-admiral) he was appointed Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean. Early in 1918 the Allied Naval Council accepted his anti-submarine proposals and placed him in charge of their execution. On October 30 of that year he signed on behalf of the Allies the armistice with Turkey, after which he was appointed High Commissioner at Constantinople, where he remained until July, 1919. In April, 1920, he became Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth. When the League of Nations was founded he was appointed the first British naval representative on the Permanent Armaments Commission. From July, 1924, to May, 1925, he was First and Principal Naval A.D.C. to the King. He was then promoted to Admiral of the Fleet. On May 8, 1930, he was placed on the retired list. He was made M.V.O. by King Edward VII; C.V.O. in 1910; C.B. (Civil), 1912; K.C.B., 1916; G.C.M.G., 1919; and G.C.B., 1922. He also received many foreign decorations, including the American Distinguished Service Medal. In 1900 he married Effie, daughter of the Hon. Robert Dunsmuir, of Craigdarroch, Victoria, British Columbia.

AUGUST.

6. Annie Elizabeth Frederlcka Horn!man, pioneer of the repertory theatre movement, was born on October 3, 1860, and after being educated privately, studied Art at the Slade School. For some years she was private secretary to Mr. W. B. Yeats. Her first venture in the theatre was in 1894 when, at the Avenue (later the Playhouse) Theatre, London, she presented *The Comedy of Sighs* (Todhunter), *Arms and the Man* (Shaw), and *The Land of Heart's Desire* (Yeats). Although the season was a financial failure, her enthusiasm did not lessen, and in 1904 she took the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, and gave her support to the Irish National Theatre Society. Later in that year she decided to return to England, and opened at the Midland Theatre, Manchester, with *David Ballard*. Her work there proving successful, she purchased, in 1908, the Gaiety Theatre, Manchester, where, for the next thirteen years, she presented a large number of plays, of which over 100 were original. Among the best-known were *Hindle Wakes*, *The Mob*, *The New Shylock*, *The Younger Generation*, *Chains*, and *Jane Clegg*. In 1921, to the regret of all supporters of the repertory movement, she sold the Gaiety for 52,000/., out of which sum a large Bank overdraft had to be met. She presented her library of plays to the Drama League. The University of Manchester conferred on her the honorary degree of M.A., and in 1933 she was made a Companion of Honour.

7. Dr. Ferdinand Canning Scott Schiller, F.B.A., a distinguished Oxford philosopher, was born in 1864, and educated at Rugby and Balliol College, Oxford, where he took firsts in Classical Moderations and *Lit. Hum.*, and won the Taylorian Scholarship for German in 1887. From 1893 to 1897 he was Instructor in Philosophy at Cornell University. He then returned to Oxford to be a Fellow and Tutor at Corpus, remaining there until 1926. From 1929 to 1936 he was Professor of Philosophy in the University of Southern California. His numerous publications, ranging over all branches of philosophy—metaphysical, logical, and

ethical, included " Riddles of the Sphinx," " Personal Idealism," " Humanism," " Studies in Humanism," " Plato or Pythagoras," " Formal Logic," and " Logic for Use." He also did much to popularise the study of eugenics. He was one of the chief exponents in this country of pragmatism, claiming to be among the first to acclimatise in England both the word and the theory. In 1935 he married Louise Luqeer, daughter of S. Barlow Strang, of Denver, U.S.A.

7. Lady Tree, O.B.E. (*nie* Helen Maud Holt), an actress of distinction, was born on October 5, 1863, and educated at Queen's College, where she took high honours in Classics. She made her debut on the professional stage at the Gaiety Theatre in 1883—in which year she married the actor (Sir) Herbert Beerbohm Tree—as Jenny Northcott in *Sweethearts*, and in the following year played her first Shakespearean role, Olivia in *Twelfth Night*, and made her first big hit at the Court Theatre as Hester Gould in *The Millionaire*. A great variety of parts followed until, in 1895, she went with her husband to America, opening at Abbey's Theatre, New York, in *The Red Lamp*. Back in England, she appeared at the opening of His Majesty's Theatre (1897) as Madame de Cournal in *The Seats of the Mighty*, and in the following year she played in *Julius Ccesar*, the first of the Shakespearean productions which made the name of Tree famous throughout the theatrical world. When the South African War broke out, Lady Tree was instrumental in handing over to the War Fund 1,700/. in three weeks, earned by her as salary for reciting Kipling's " Absent Minded Beggar." At the age of 70 she played Mistress Quickly in *Henry the Fourth*, and Mrs. Malaprop in *The Rivals*. These and Lady Teazle in *The School for Scandal* were generally considered to be her greatest achievements. Her last part on the stage was that of the Duchess of Stroud in *Our Own Lives* (1935). A film actress of considerable repute, her last appearance on the screen was in *The Private Life of Henry VIII*. Sir Herbert and Lady Tree had three daughters.

10. The Right Hon. John Hodge, the first Minister of Labour and afterwards Minister of Pensions, was born at Muirkirk, Ayrshire, on October 29, 1855, and was educated at the Motherwell Iron Works School and at a grammar school in Glasgow. Employed at the Motherwell blast furnaces, he formed a small union of steel smelters which within two years multiplied its original membership by 12, and established a score of branches in Scotland, England, and Wales under the title of the British Steel Smelters' Association. As its secretary he took a prominent part in the development of the local Labour movement, becoming President of the Glasgow Trades Council in 1902, in which year he was elected a member of the Parliamentary Committee, and was also President of the Trade Union Congress. A scheme framed in 1915 for the amalgamation of the half-dozen important unions in the industry resulted in 1917 in the creation of the British Iron, Steel, and Kindred Trades Association, which, in turn, formed the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation. Mr. Hodge became President of both the Association and the Confederation, maintaining an active interest in their affairs until his retirement in 1931. He served on the Manchester City Council for three years before turning to national politics on the formation of the Labour Party. When the Labour Representation Committee was established in 1899 he was elected a member of its Executive Council, and was continuously re-elected until 1916. In 1901 and 1904 he presided at the party's annual conference. After being unsuccessful in Parliamentary contests at Gower in 1900 and at a Preston by-election in 1903, he was elected for Gorton (Manchester) in 1906, and held the seat for seventeen years. In 1915 he was elected Vice-Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party. In the first Coalition Government he was acting Chairman of the Labour Party; in the second, he was placed in charge of the newly created Ministry of Labour, holding the post for a year when he became Minister of Pensions. He did not take office in the Labour Government, having resigned his seat in 1923. In addition to serving on many departmental committees, he was a member of the Mesopotamia Commission, 1916-17. In 1931 he published

"Workman's Cottage to Windsor Castle." He married, in 1885, Mary L. Forsyth, and had four daughters.

11. Edith Wharton, distinguished American novelist, was born in New York in 1862, daughter of G. F. Jones. Her first book of note, "The Greater Inclination," a collection of short stories, was published in 1899. Of her numerous works, all written in a lucid and classical style, and consistently excellent, "Ethan Frome" (1911), although much criticised at first, was afterwards considered by many to be her outstanding contribution to literature. Other books of special merit were "Italian Backgrounds," "The Spirit of France," "The Book of the Homeless," "The Age of Innocence," "A Son at the Front," "The Writing of Fiction," "Twelve Poems," and "The Children," the last dealing lightly with the offspring of divorced American multi-millionaires. Her autobiography appeared under the title of "A Backward Glance." For her work on behalf of French and Belgian refugees during the war the French Government made her an officer of the Legion of Honour. She was also the first woman to have conferred upon her the honorary degree of Litt.D. of Yale University. In 1885 she married Edward Wharton, of Boston.

13. Lord Runciman (Walter Runciman), shipowner, was born on July 6, 1847, at Cresswell, Northumberland, and by the age of 12 had twice run away to sea. The second time he was allowed to bind himself as an apprentice for six years. At 22 he was master, and by doing a little trading on his own account, in time became part proprietor of his vessel. Soon he had a fleet of his own, and at an early stage recognised the advantage of steam. He became senior partner in the firm of Walter Runciman & Co., Ltd., which he founded at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and subsequently he was a director of numerous shipping companies and "combines." He was a member of the Advisory Committee of the Board of Trade for many years, and in 1910 was elected President of the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom. He was closely associated since its foundation with the Shipping Federation, of which he was President from 1932 to the time of his death. From 1914 to 1918 he was Liberal member of Parliament for Hartlepool, and for twenty-two years was Chairman of the Northern Liberal Federation. In February, 1937, he was appointed honorary Commodore, Royal Naval Volunteer Supplementary Reserve. When applying he said, characteristically, "I am in my ninetieth year, but can still handle a big or small sailing vessel, mend or fake a sail, and handle a marlinspike, but have no testimonials, so would have to be taken on trust." His publications included "Windjammers and Sea Tramps" (1903), "The Shellback's Progress in the 19th Century" (1905), "Looking Seaward Again" (1907), "The Tragedy of St. Helena" (1911), and "Drake, Nelson, and Napoleon" (1919). His autobiography, "Before the Mast—and After," appeared in 1924. He was created a baronet in 1906 and a baron in 1933, taking the title of Lord Runciman of Shoreston. He married, in 1869, Ann Margaret, daughter of John Lawson, of Blakemoor, Northumberland, and had one son.

21. Professor Elle Halevy, distinguished French historian, was born on September 6, 1870, son of the novelist Ludovic Halevy, Offenbach's librettist, and educated at the Lycee Condorcet and the *École Normale Supérieure*, taking his degree as a Doctor of Philosophy in 1900. Soon afterwards he became a professor at the *École Libre des Sciences Politiques*, and held the post until his death. He was also editor of the *Revue de la Métaphysique et de Morale*. Between 1901 and 1904 he published three volumes on "La Formation du Radicalisme Philosophique" which were instrumental in reviving interest in Bentham. In 1912 appeared the first volume of his great study of modern English history—"Histoire du Peuple Anglais au XIX^e Siècle," followed, in 1923, by two volumes carrying the story from 1815 to 1841. Meanwhile, he turned his attention to the Great War, publishing two volumes covering the period, 1895-1914. It was

believed that he was working on the period 1841-95 at the time of his death. A keen student of Nonconformity, he advanced the theory that one of the main reasons for the absence of serious revolt during the revolutionary and Napoleonic times in England, in spite of the intolerable conditions in which so many of the working classes lived, was probably the influence of Wesleyanism in turning their minds from mundane miseries to the hope of eventual salvation and blessedness. Professor Halevy received an honorary degree from Oxford University, and was elected a member of the Athenæum under Rule II, an exceptional tribute to a foreigner.

26. Andrew William Mellon, American financier and benefactor, formerly United States Ambassador in London, was born at Pittsburg on March 24, 1855, and was educated at the Western University of Pennsylvania, graduating in 1873. He then entered the family banking business, and for nearly fifty years continued to work in Pittsburg, taking a certain interest in politics, but preferring to work behind the scenes, chiefly in the financing of Republican campaigns. So little was known of him publicly that there was much surprise when President Harding, in 1921, made him Secretary of the Treasury, in which office he remained until 1932. In February of that year he was appointed Ambassador in London, but was replaced when Roosevelt became President a year later. A patron of the Arts, he did much to encourage music of the highest class, but he will best be remembered as the donor to the American nation of a collection of old masters and works of sculpture estimated to be worth 10,000,000/. He also gave a further 2,000,000l. towards a gallery to house the collection in Washington. In 1911 he founded the Mellon Institute at Pittsburg, the world's largest institute for scientific research. The building, which had 322 laboratories, was dedicated in May, 1937. After the payment of bequests, totalling 36,000/., to his personal employees, he left his estate, believed to be in excess of 40,000,000/., to the Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, founded in 1930.

31. Brigadier-General Frank Percy Crozier, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., was born in Bermuda on January 9, 1879, and educated at Wellington. Lacking the physique necessary for the Regular Army, he went, in 1898, to Ceylon to learn tea planting, but when the South African War began he embarked for the Cape and enlisted in Thorneycroft's Mounted Infantry. (His commander later became his step-father.) With a commission in the Manchester Regiment, 2nd Battalion, he served during 1900 in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. At the beginning of 1901 he joined the West African Frontier Force, and stayed in Northern Nigeria until 1905, when he returned for service at home, going on half-pay in 1907 owing to ill-health. Passed for the Reserve of Officers in 1908, he resigned in the following year and went to Canada to farm. In 1912 he came back to command a contingent of the Ulster Volunteer Force. When the Great War broke out he was gazetted Captain in the 5th Battalion, The Royal Irish Fusiliers, but never joined his battalion, remaining with his Ulstermen and going to France as Major and second-in-command of the 9th Royal Irish Rifles, 36th (Ulster) Division. On July 1, 1916, he commanded the battalion in the first battle of the Somme. In November he was appointed Brigadier in the 119th Brigade of the 40th Division—the "Bantams"—and remained with them, taking part in the capture of Bourlon Wood, until the end of the war. In the autumn of 1919 he became Inspector-General and Military Adviser to the Lithuanian Army, with the rank of Major-General, but he resigned in March, 1919, and returned to Ireland a few months later as commandant of the Auxiliary Division of the Royal Irish Constabulary. He resigned in 1921, forfeiting his pension, over a question of discipline—he had insisted on punishing British soldiers found guilty of looting. In later years he became a voluntary worker on behalf of the Peace Pledge Union. His publications included a sensational war book, "A Brass Hat in No Man's Land" (1930), a sketch of his life, "Impressions and Recollections" (1930), a frank and lively description of his Nigerian service,

" Five Years' Hard " (1932), and, a month before his death, another sensational war book, " The Men I Killed." He was awarded the D.S.O. in 1917, created C.M.G. in 1918, and made C.B. in 1919. He was twice married ; first in 1904 to Edith, only child of Colonel R. Cobb, I.M.S. She died in 1921. In the same year he married, secondly, Grace Catherine, third daughter of Dr. Croker Roberts, of Lough Rynn, Co. Leitrim.

SEPTEMBER.

2. **Baron Pierre de Coubertin**, founder of the modern Olympic Games and Honorary President of the Olympic Games Committee, was born in 1862, and studied in French, English, and American Universities, specialising in methods of education. Having made a name for himself by his prolific writings on politics, he turned his attention to athletics, became editor of *Revue Athletique*, and spent much time and energy in promoting in French schools English methods of physical education. To this end he introduced the game of Rugby football, and created the Union des Sports Athletiques, which soon had thousands of members. Later he widened the scope of his activities to include international sport, and after a visit to Greece, made plans for reviving the Olympic Games. With the help of the Greek Crown Prince Constantino and of the novelist, Demetrius Bikelas, the first modern Olympic Games were held in Athens in 1896. This first revival was followed by meetings in Paris (1900), St. Louis (1904), London (1908), and Stockholm (1912). After the war the Games were resumed at Antwerp (1920), and henceforward were held every four years. Coubertin's success in international sport induced him to try to do the same with politics, and he wrote of France in foreign papers, and of foreign countries in French papers. At five American Universities he established prizes for winners in debates on subjects suggested by contemporary French policy. Chief among his works were " L'Evolution Francaise sous la Hie Republique," " La Chronique de France," " Ou va l'Europe ? " and " Histoire Universelle." In 1928 he received the Nobel Peace Prize, and in the same year founded at Lausanne, where he lived, the International Bureau for Education by Sport. His fifty years of service as scholar, educationist, and athlete, were celebrated at Lausanne in January, 1937. A descendant of Rubens and Cyrano de Bergerac, he died suddenly of apoplexy while walking in Geneva.

10. **Dr. Burnett Hillman Streeter**, a great Biblical critic, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, from 1933 to 1937, was born at Croydon on November 17, 1874, and was educated at King's College School, London, and Queen's College, Oxford, where he obtained first classes in Classical Moderations, in *Lit. Hum.* and in Theology. Taking holy orders in 1899, he was appointed Fellow and Dean of Pembroke College, Oxford, remaining there for six years until he returned to Queen's College in 1905 as Fellow, Dean, and Lecturer in Theology. He was Canon of Hereford, 1915-33, Ireland Professor of Exegesis at Oxford, 1932-33, Warburton Lecturer at Lincoln's Inn, 1933, and, since 1915, Prebendary of Moreton Parva. In 1933 he was elected Provost of Queen's College, Oxford. His interest in New Testament criticism bore fruit in some notable contributions to " Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem " (1911), but it was not until 1924 that he published his greatest work, " The Four Gospels : a Study of Origins," the most important contribution to the study of the Gospels for fifty years. Other publications included " Concerning Prayer," " Immortality," " The Spirit," " Adventure," " Reality, a new Correlation of Science and Religion," " The Sadhu: a Study in Mysticism and Practical Religion " (jointly with Dr. A. Appasamy), " The Chained Library " (Hereford Cathedral), " The Buddha and the Christ " (Bampton Lecture, 1932), and " The God Who Speaks " (Warburton Lectures, 1936). For many years he was closely associated with the Student Christian Movement, and latterly with the Oxford Group Movement.

He was a Fellow of the British Academy and honorary Doctor of Divinity in three Universities. In 1910 he married Irene Louisa, daughter of Captain H. Rawlinson, of Slough. Dr. Streeter and his wife were killed in a Swiss aeroplane accident.

11. The Right Hon. Sir Dunbar Plunket Barton, Bt., distinguished as a lawyer and a politician, was born in Dublin on October 29, 1853, and was educated at Harrow and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he was President of the Union. In 1880 he was appointed private secretary to the 7th Duke of Marlborough, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and in the same year was called to the Irish Bar. (Thirteen years later he was called to the English Bar by Gray's Inn.) For six years he was Professor of Law at the King's Inns, Dublin, and was also, for a time, private secretary to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the 1st Lord Ashbourne. At the age of 36 he took silk, and in 1893 was elected Unionist member of Parliament for Mid Armagh, which he represented until 1900. In 1898 he succeeded William Kenny, Q.C., as Solicitor-General for Ireland, and in 1900 was raised to the Bench, the last appointment to the "Queen's" Bench Division. Four years later he moved to the Chancery Division, where he continued to sit until his retirement in 1918, when he was created a baronet and sworn a member of the Privy Council in Ireland. Keenly interested in literature and history, he published, in 1914, "The First Phase," the first volume of his life of Bernadotte, which was followed, in 1920, by "Benadotte and Napoleon," and in 1925 by "Bernadotte, Prince and King." He also published two sections of Halsbury's "Laws of England"—Partnership and Perpetuities—as well as "Links Between Ireland and Shakespear" and "Links Between Shakespear and the Law." He was made a Bencher of the King's Inns in 1891 and of Gray's Inn in 1899. Of the latter he was elected Treasurer in 1922. He was a Senator of the National University of Ireland, a Commissioner of Irish Lights, a member of the Irish War Aims Committee, Chairman of the executive of the Irish National War Memorial, a trustee of the National Library of Ireland, a Chairman of the Industrial Court, a member of the Royal Commission on the Defence of the Realm Losses, a member of the Royal Irish Academy, and President or Governor of Irish hospitals. He married, in 1900, Mary Tottenham, daughter of Joseph Manley, of Dublin, and had one son, who died unmarried in 1929. The baronetcy, therefore, became extinct.

14. Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, founder and first President of the Republic of Czechoslovakia, was born in Hodonin, Moravia, on March 7, 1850, the son of an Imperial coachman. At the age of 14 he was apprenticed to a locksmith in Vienna, but later returned to his home town as assistant to the blacksmith. In 1865 he went to the Brno (Brunn) Gymnasium, where, supporting himself by giving lessons, he passed his examinations with distinction. Disputes with the authorities, especially on religious subjects, drove him to Vienna, where he obtained his doctor's degree, after which he took a post-graduate course in philosophy and sociology at Leipzig. In 1879 he became a lecturer on philosophy at Vienna University. When the University of Prague was divided into a Czech and a German University, Masaryk was appointed, in 1882, to a professorship in the Czech portion, and quickly became the interpreter of modern political and social tendencies. In 1891 he entered the Austrian Parliament as a Young Czech (Liberal) Deputy but resigned two years later as a protest against the unfruitfulness of Czech national policy and did not enter Parliament again until 1907. In 1900 he formed the Progressive Party (later known as the Realist Party) and at great personal risk he exposed the iniquities of Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia-Herzegovina. When the Great War broke out he saw that the time had come for his country to win the independence which he had striven to obtain peaceably, and to this end, at the age of 64, he visited Holland, Italy, France, England, Russia, and the United States, arousing sympathy for his country's cause. In Paris he founded, with Dr. Benesh and General Stefanik,

the Czechoslovak National Council, which in the last year of the war was recognised officially as the Provisional Government of the Czechoslovak nation. Coming to London in 1915 he was appointed lecturer in Slavonic History and Sociology at King's College, and by his lectures, contributions to the Press and social activities he proved so dangerous that the Austrian Government sentenced him to death, seized all his property, and imprisoned for a year his daughter, Alice. When the Russian Revolution began he went to that country and, peace-loving philosopher though he was, he assumed command of the Czech forces and carried out a dramatic feat of arms. Eventually he reached Vladivostock, crossing from there to Tokio and the United States, where he was successful in influencing American public opinion in favour of his country. With such a record of self-sacrifice and devotion to his country, it was not surprising that he was elected to the Presidency of the Czechoslovak Republic (November 14, 1918), and when he entered Prague on December 2, he was greeted with a frenzy of joy. Re-elected in 1920, 1927, and 1934, Masaryk, who became known as the Liberator-President, resigned owing to ill-health at the age of 85 in 1935. Besides his great work on Russia, between 1882 and 1900 he published many books and treatises, including "The Czech Question," "John Huss," "Karl Havlicek," and "The Social Question." His war memories appeared in 1925. In 1878 he married Charlotte Garrigue, an American lady of Huguenot descent, whom he had met when she was studying music at Leipzig, and had two sons and two daughters.

19. Percy Alport Molteno, supporter of the Liberal policy in South Africa, was born in Edinburgh in 1861, second son of Sir J. C. Molteno, the first Premier of Cape Colony, and was educated at the University of the Cape and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated with honours in the Mathematical Tripos, 1884, and the Law Tripos, 1885, and was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in the following year. After being associated with his father-in-law in the management of the Currie Line of steamers, he was elected Liberal member of Parliament for Dumfriesshire, and became a close friend of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman who, before, during, and after the Boer War sought his advice on South African matters. In "The Life and Times of Sir J. C. Molteno" he left an exact account of the Cape colonists' struggle to obtain a liberal and workable constitution. Molteno was largely instrumental in establishing the Emergency Relief Fund which raised 510,000l. (including a Government grant of 240,000l.) for relieving war distress in Vienna, and in 1919, he and his wife made a gift of 36,000l. for the building and endowment of the Molteno Institute for research in parasitology and biology at Cambridge. He was also one of the founders of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and was Chairman of the Real Estate Corporation of South Africa, as well as a director of the Alporteno Investment Trust Company and of the Fendoch Investment Trust. Molteno, whose name came from the small town in the Brianza, and whose family was prominent in Italy as early as the twelfth century, married Elizabeth Martin, second daughter of Sir Donald Currie, shipowner.

28. Lord (William Robert Wellesley) Peel, twice Secretary of State for India and Chairman of the Royal Commission on Palestine, was born on January 7, 1867, eldest son of the first Viscount Peel and grandson of Sir Robert Peel, and was educated at Harrow and Balliol College, Oxford. In 1893 he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple, and in 1897 he served as a special correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* in the Graeco-Turkish War. He was a member of the Royal Commission on the Port of London, and in 1900 was elected to the London County Council, where he led the Municipal Reform Party, 1908-10, and served as Chairman of the Council in 1914. He was Unionist member of Parliament for South Manchester, 1900-6, and for Taunton, 1909-12, when he succeeded to his father's viscounty. During the Great War he served as lieutenant-colonel of the Bedfordshire Yeomanry, was mentioned in despatches, and

received the American Distinguished Service Medal. He was Chairman of the Committee on the Detention of Neutral Vessels in 1916, and joint Parliamentary Secretary to the National Service Department in 1917. In 1918 he was Chairman of Committees on Workmen's Compensation and the Civil Service, and in 1919 became Under-Secretary of State for War, being sworn of the Privy Council. From April, 1921, to March, 1922, he was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and was also appointed Minister of Transport (unpaid). He had the rare distinction of twice being Secretary of State for India, 1922-24 and 1928-29. He also took an active part in the Indian Round-Table Conference, was a member of the Joint Select Committee on Indian Reforms, and presided over the Burma Round-Table Conference. In May, 1932, he was appointed Chairman of the Wheat Commission, and in 1934 he was nominated by the Labour Government to be Chairman of the Royal Commission on the state of business in the King's Bench Division. His last great public service was as Chairman of the Royal Commission on Palestine, whose report, published on July 7, 1937, was immediately recognised as one of the outstanding State papers of the century. Lord Peel, who was made a G.B.E. in 1918, was advanced to an earldom in 1929. He married, in 1899, the Hon. Ella Williamson, daughter of Lord Williamson, and had one son and one daughter.

28. The Very Rev. William Foxley Norris, D.D., Dean of Westminster since 1925, son of Canon Foxley Norris, was born on February 4, 1859, and after being educated at Charterhouse and Trinity College, Oxford, went to the Leeds Clergy School. When the diocese of Wakefield was formed he became vicar of Almondbury, where he built large schools. In 1901 he was appointed rector of Barnsley, and in 1906 Archdeacon of Halifax, after which he succeeded Dr. Purey-Cust as Dean of York. In 1919 he became Prolocutor of the Lower House of York Convocation and Vice-Chairman of the House of Clergy at Westminster, being elected Chairman in 1924, and holding the office until 1929. As Chairman he presided over the clerical debates on Prayer-book revision. On the death of Bishop Ryle in 1925 he became Dean of Westminster. He did much to restore the original brilliance of the Abbey's mediaeval painting, and took a leading part in the restoration of Henry VII's Chapel, as well as completing the re-building of the organ. It was on his initiative, too, that the Pilgrim Trust made a generous grant for improving the Library and re-organising the Muniment Room. A skilful water-colourist he was founder and Chairman of the Society of Parson Painters, honorary chaplain to the Royal Academy (at whose exhibitions he was frequently represented), an honorary associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects, a member of the Advisory Council of the Victoria and Albert Museum, and Chairman of the Central Council for the Care of Churches. In recognition of his work in connexion with the wedding of the Duke and Duchess of Kent he was appointed a K.C.V.O. He married, in 1884, Mary Blanche, daughter of Archdeacon Pott, and had one son and two daughters.

OCTOBER.

3. Professor Edward James Rapson, F.B.A., Professor of Sanskrit at Cambridge, 1906-36, editor of the "Cambridge History of India," was born on May 12, 1861, and educated at Hereford Cathedral School and St. John's College, Cambridge, where he took a first-class in the Classical Tripos in 1883 and in the Indian Languages Tripos (Sanskrit and Comparative Philology) two years later. In 1884 Jie was awarded the Brotherton Sanskrit Prize, and in 1886 gained the La Bas Prize for a monograph on "The Struggle between England and France for Supremacy in India." He was elected a Fellow of St. John's College in 1887, and in the same year was placed in charge of the library of the Indian Institute, Oxford, as assistant to the Boden Professor, Sir Monier Monier-Williams. A few months later he became curator of the collection of Oriental coins in the British

Museum. In 1903 he was appointed to the Chair of Sanskrit in University College, London, remaining there until 1906 when he accepted the Sanskrit professorship at Cambridge, from which he retired in 1936. Besides undertaking to edit the "Cambridge History of India," which he left unfinished although the first volume appeared in 1922, he published "Indian Coins" (1897) and "Ancient India" (1914). To the British Museum Catalogue of Indian Coins he contributed various sections, including those on the coins of the Andhra Dynasty and of the Western Kshatrapas. For some years he was honorary secretary of the Royal Numismatic Society, as well as editor of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. He was a Fellow of the British Academy and had received honours from many learned societies. In 1902 he married Ellen Daisy, daughter of W. B. Allen, of West Bradley.

4. Major-General the Hon. Sir Granville de Laune Ryrle, High Commissioner of the Commonwealth of Australia in London, 1927-29, was born on July 1, 1865, son of the Hon. Alexander Ryrle, a member of the N.S.W. Legislative Council, and was educated at the King's School, Paramatta. In the South African War he fought with the 6th Imperial Bushmen, was severely wounded, and received the Queen's medal and four clasps. When the Great War broke out he had had seven years' experience as lieutenant-colonel commanding the 3rd Light Horse Regiment, New South Wales. He served in Gallipoli and Egypt in command of the 2nd Light Horse Brigade of the Australian Imperial Forces, and later in command of an Australian Mounted Division in Syria and as G.O.C. Australian Forces in Egypt. He was twice wounded, was mentioned in despatches five times, and was made a K.C.M.G. and a C.B., receiving also the 1914 Star and the Order of the Nile. After returning to Australia he commanded for four years, as major-general, the 1st Cavalry Division in New South Wales. His political career began in New South Wales, where he was for three years a member of the Legislative Assembly. He entered the Commonwealth House of Representatives in 1911 and held the seat until 1927 when he was appointed High Commissioner in London, the first Australian-born, and the first soldier to hold that office. From 1920 to 1923 he was Assistant Minister of Defence in Mr. Hughes's National Government. Among the qualities which commended him to Australians and gave him a distinctive position in London were his attachment to the land and his capabilities as a "bushman." He had been a "jackaroo"—one who worked on a station under a manager to gain experience. He married, in 1896, Mary, daughter of Judge McFarland, of New South Wales, and had one son and two daughters.

5. James Alexander Stevenson, sculptor, was born at Chester on October 18, 1881, and studied art under Professor Lanteri at the Royal College of Art, 1900-5, winning a travelling scholarship in sculpture. He was also Landseer Scholar in sculpture at the Royal Academy Schools. From 1911 to 1914 he was modelling master at the Regent Street Polytechnic. Since 1906 he had exhibited at the Royal Academy, at the Paris Salon, and at the International Society exhibitions. Among his most successful portrait busts were those of Sir Frederic Kenyon, for the Board Room of the British Museum; of King George V, for the Shanghai Club; and of Sir E. Ray Lankester, Sir Ernest Shackleton, Sir Horatio Lloyd, Sir James Goodhart, and the Rev. R. J. Campbell. His statue of Sir John Millais was placed in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and that of Justice in the Law Courts. Among his memorials was an eagle at Norman Cross, Peterborough, to the French prisoners taken during the Napoleonic wars. His bust of a Roman Emperor entitled "Imperator" in the Tate Gallery gave a good idea of his general powers. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society of British Sculptors and a member of the Royal Institute of Painters in Water-Colours. To distinguish himself from another sculptor of the same name, but differently spelt, Mr. Stevenson signed his work "Myrander." He married, in 1913, Ethel Myra, daughter of Walter Scott, of Worthing, and had one son.

7. William Bates Ferguson, K.O., distinguished both in science and the law, who was born in 1852, son of P. B. Ferguson, J.P., was educated at the Manohester Grammar School and Christ Church, Oxford. After taking his degree in 1874 with first-class honours in Natural Science he was engaged at Oxford in research work and lecturing. About 1877, with Professor Odling, Vernon Harcourt and others, he took part in the movement for the foundation of the Institute of Chemistry, and was himself one of the original Fellows. At first intending to take up medicine, he eventually decided for the law, and, called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1882, he joined the Northern Circuit, and took silk in 1900. Shortly afterwards, however, owing to the illness of his wife, he went abroad for some years. Falling out of practice, he devoted his time to scientific research in photography. In 1900 he was elected to a Fellowship of the Royal Photographic Society, bringing out in the same year his paper on copper toning. In 1905 his paper (with B. E. Howard, F.R.P.S.) on "Control of the Development Factor at Various Temperatures" was read before the Royal Photographic Society. In the following year he was responsible for a paper on "A New Method of Calculating the Times of Development at Various Temperatures" which was the foundation of the system of time and temperature development afterwards taken up by the manufacturers of photographic apparatus. Among his many inventions for the measurement of photographic densities was the F.R.B. photometer. When, in 1915, V. C. Driffield died and left the Hurter and Driffield manuscripts and apparatus to the Royal Photographic Society, Ferguson was requested to take charge of the bequest and to arrange for their subsequent publication in the special Hurter and Driffield memorial volume of the society's journal. After devoting two years to the work he raised funds for the Hurter and Driffield Memorial Lectures, the first of which he himself gave in 1918. In recognition of his work the Royal Photographic Society, although he held an ordinary Fellowship, conferred upon him the great honour of the Honorary Fellowship in 1914 and the Progress medal in the same year. In 1918 he received the coveted Hurter and Driffield medal and in 1925 he was awarded the Davanne Medal of the Societe Francaise de Photographie, the first occasion on which it was given to anyone not of French nationality. He was also a member of the Council and a Vice-President of the Royal Photographic Society. From its formation he was a Vice-President of the British Photographic Research Association. While practising at the Bar he was author (with William Ambrose, K.C.) of Ambrose and Ferguson's Land Transfer Acts. He married, in 1893, Eveline, only daughter of R. Peyton, and had two daughters.

15. Miss Margaret Ashton, notable as a social worker, a supporter of woman suffrage, and a devotee of international peace, was born in 1856, daughter of Thomas Ashton, of Hyde, and sister of the first Lord Ashton, of Hyde, and was brought up in a vigorous Liberal and Nonconformist tradition. She began her public work in 1875 as a school manager and served on the Education Committees of the Withington Urban District Council (the first woman to be elected Chairman of such a body), of the Manchester City Council (of which she was a member from 1908 to 1921), and of the Lancashire County Council. Interested in industrial questions, she initiated in Manchester trade schools for girls which later developed into the College of Domestic Science. She was the first woman to arbitrate in a wage dispute—that of women in co-operative laundries—and she served from 1895 on the Women's Trades and Labour Council for Lancashire. For many years besides being the leader of the suffrage movement in Manchester, she was one of the most influential members of the Committee of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and as a speaker was in great demand. When the war broke out she formed the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and for the rest of her life her main work was devoted to that organisation. Gradually she felt herself out of sympathy with the Liberal Party during the suffrage struggle, and she moved towards the Left, ultimately joining the Labour Party. The Margaret Ashton Common Lodging House for Women in

Manohester, a standing testimony to her work, was one of the first of its kind in any city.

19. Lord **Rutherford** (Ernest Rutherford), O.M., F.R.S., world renowned as an experimental physicist and investigator of the atom, one of the really great names in the history of Science, was born into a family of New Zealand farmers on August 30, 1871. He was educated at Canterbury College, Christchurch, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he worked under (Sir) J. J. Thomson. At Cambridge he continued the development of his detector of electric waves, based on the effect of oscillating currents upon a highly magnetised needle, and received signals over a greater distance than had hitherto been obtained. An account of these experiments was published in the Transactions of the Royal Society in 1897. A year later he was appointed to the Macdonald Chair of Physics in the McGill University, Montreal. Returning to England in 1907 he became Professor of Physics in the University of Manchester and remained there until he went to Cambridge in 1919 as Cavendish Professor of Experimental Physics and Director of the Cavendish Laboratory. His three fundamental discoveries—the nature of radio-activity, the nuclear structure of the atom, and the artificial transmutation of matter—stand high among the great researches of the world, not only on their own merits but also for their revolutionary effect on scientific thought. He was President of the British Association (Liverpool, 1923) and of the Royal Society from 1925-30, and in 1927 he succeeded Sir J. J. Thomson as Professor of Natural Philosophy at the Royal Institution. Taking a full share in public work he served on many Government Committees; from 1930 to his death he was Chairman of the Advisory Council of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. Besides many papers in the Transactions of the Royal Society, the *Philosophical Magazine*, and other scientific journals, he published books on "Radio-Activity" (1904), "Radio-Active Transformations" (1906), and (with James Chadwick and C. D. Ellis) "Radio-Active Substances and their Radiations" (1930). "Newer Alchemy" (1937) was an expanded version of his Henry Sidgwick memorial lecture, 1936. He was knighted in 1914, awarded the Order of Merit in 1925 and created Baron Rutherford of Nelson, of Cambridge, in 1931. Among the large number of honours which he received from scientific societies all over the world were the Royal Society's Rumford medal 1905, and the Copley medal 1922, the Franklin Institute medal 1924, and the Faraday medal of the Institution of Electrical Engineers, 1930. In 1908 he received the Nobel Prize for Chemistry. He married, in 1900, Mary Georgina, only daughter of Arthur Charles Newton, of Christchurch, New Zealand, and had one daughter. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.

— Sir Rigby Philip Watson Swift, Judge of the King's Bench Division, 1920-37, was born, the son of a barrister, at St. Helens, Lancashire, in 1874, and was educated at Parkfield School, Liverpool, and at London University, where he graduated LL.B. Called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1895 he joined the Northern Circuit and acquired a practice both in civil and criminal work which soon increased so much that he moved to chambers in London. In 1912 he took silk and in 1915 he was appointed Recorder of Wigan, holding that office until **he was raised to the Bench in June, 1920. From 1910 to 1918 he was Conservative** member of Parliament for St. Helens. During the cotton trade dispute in 1929 he was appointed independent Chairman of the Court of Arbitration to decide the merits of the Lancashire employers' application for a reduction of wages. As a judge he was characterised by ability and efficiency; his judgments were always sound, and he was outspoken in his criticism of what he regarded as the evils or weaknesses of our social life or of the law. He was made a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn in 1916, and an honorary LL.D. by the University of Liverpool in 1935. He married, in 1902, Beatrice, daughter of John Banks Waimsley, of Allerton, Liverpool.

26. Lord **Warrington of Clyffe** (Thomas Rolls Warrington), a Lord Justice of Appeal, 1915-26, was born on May 29, 1851, son of Thomas Warrington, partner in the firm of Garrard & Company, silversmiths, and was educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1875 he was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn and became a pupil of F. C. J. Millar, Q.C. When he was called within the Bar in 1895 he became a leader in the Court of Mr. Justice Kekewich, to whose court he attached himself. Raised to the Bench in 1904, he sat until 1926 when he retired and was created Baron Warrington of Clyffe, of Market Lavington, in the County of Wilts. In 1915 he was made a Lord Justice of Appeal and sworn of the Privy Council. He married, in 1883, Maud, eldest daughter of Decimus Sturges, barrister, but left no issue and the peerage became extinct.

30. **The Right Hon. Herbert Eustace Maxwell, Bt., K.T., F.R.S.**, writer, sportsman, and naturalist, was born on January 8, 1845, the fourth son of the sixth baronet of Monreith, and educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, after which he joined the Militia Battalion of the Royal Scots Fusiliers, retiring as major and honorary lieutenant-colonel. In 1877 he succeeded to the baronetcy, and in 1880 was returned as Conservative member of Parliament for Wigtownshire, holding the seat until 1900. Taking a special interest in social legislation, he was Chairman of the Select Committees on Provident Insurance, 1885-87, and on Friendly Societies, 1888-89. In 1893 he was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor, and in 1896-97 he was Chairman of the Royal Commission on Tuberculosis. He was a Lord of the Treasury (Junior Whip) from 1886 to 1892 and was sworn of the Privy Council in 1897. In 1903 he was made Lord-Lieutenant of Wigtownshire. Although he will be best remembered as a writer he was over 40 when he published his first book, "Stidies in the Topography of Galway," dealing with the district in which his ancestors had been established for centuries. Turning to fiction he produced in rapid succession a number of historical novels, and then wrote some purely historical works, his "Life of Robert Bruce" being the most valuable in a group which included "A Century of Empire" (1909-11) and "The Early Chronicles of Scotland" (1912). Besides "Sixty Years a Queen" he wrote biographies of the Duke of Wellington, W. H. Smith, the Hon. Sir Charles Murray, and the fourth Earl of Clarendon. He also wrote many essays, and his "Scottish Land-Names, their Origin and Meaning," incorporated the substance of his Rhind Lectures in Archaeology. As editor he produced the remarkable book "The Creevy Papers" (1903), a selection from the correspondence of Thomas Creevy, M.P. (1768-1838), and "The Lowland Scots Regiments, their Origin, Character and Services" (1918). In addition he wrote a short history of the Scottish Widows' Fund, of which he was a director. Although distinguished in so many fields of literature, he was at his best as a writer on sport, his most important works being "The Tweed from Source to Sea," "Salmon and Sea Trout," and "Memories of the Months, being Pages from the Notebooks of a Field Naturalist and Antiquary" (seven series, 1897-1922). His last book, "Evening Memories" was published when he was 87. In October, 1925, he was appointed as first President of the Governing Board of the Scottish National Library. He was Chairman of the Royal Commission on Scottish Historical Monuments, 1908-25, and President of the Society of Antiquaries, 1900-13. He was elected F.R.S. in 1898 and was honorary LL.D. of Glasgow and hon. D.C.L. of Durham. In 1933 he was created Knight of the Thistle, a rare distinction for a commoner. He married, in 1869, Mary, daughter of Henry Fletcher Campbell, of Boquhan, Stirling, and had two sons, both of whom predeceased him, and three daughters. He was succeeded by his grandson, Aymer Maxwell, born in 1911.

31. **Canon Hugh Richard ("Dick") Lawrie Sheppard, D.D.**, successively Vicar of St. Maxtin-in-the-Fields, Dean of Canterbury, and Canon and Precentor of St. Paul's, was born in 1880, younger son of Canon Edgar Sheppard, and was educated at Marlborough and Trinity Hall, Cambridge. After a year as secretary

to Dr. Lang, Bishop of Stepney (later the Archbishop of Canterbury), he prepared for ordination at Cuddesdon, and in 1907 was appointed chaplain of Oxford House, Bethnal Green, becoming head two years later. In 1910 he rejoined Dr. Lang, then Archbishop of York, as extra diocesan chaplain, after which he returned to London as curate at St. George's, Hanover Square. He was also deputy-priest-in-ordinary to King Edward VII and later to King George V, becoming priest-in-ordinary in 1915 and honorary chaplain a year later. In 1914 he was appointed to the living with which his name will always be connected—St. Martin-in-the-Fields. There his powers as preacher, organiser, and social reformer found full scope. He made it a centre for all sorts and conditions of people, kept open the doors for prayer and shelter all night as well as all day, founded the Guild of Fellowship, with over one thousand members pledged to some form of social work, and conducted the first religious service to be broadcast in England. As a result of his tireless activity he suffered more than one breakdown in health, culminating in repeated attacks of asthma which necessitated his living for a time in retirement. In 1929 he was appointed Dean of Canterbury, but the return of asthma obliged him to resign in 1931. When his health was somewhat restored he resumed his connexion with St. Martin's, assisting from time to time his successor, the Rev. W. P. G. McCormick. In 1934 Sheppard was appointed Canon and Precentor of St. Paul's, and in the same year, as a result of his appeal for the signatures of persons who would make a declaration to renounce war, he founded the Peace Pledge Union. Representing this movement he was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University on October 23—eight days before his death. Devotion to peace became a passion with him, and his remarkable sincerity carried away all those with whom he came into contact. Sheppard was a Companion of Honour, and an honorary D.D. of Glasgow University. Of his publications the best known was "The Impatience of a Parson" (1927). He married, in 1915, Alison Lennox, daughter of William Oswald Carver, J.P., of Cranage Hall, Cheshire, and had two daughters.

NOVEMBER.

6. Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson, distinguished actor, was born in London on January 16, 1853, the eldest son of John Forbes-Robertson, art critic and journalist, of Aberdeen. After being educated at Charterhouse and Rouen he entered the Royal Academy Schools, intending to become a painter, but three years later he accepted W. G. Wills's offer of a part (at 4/. a week) in *Mary Queen of Scots* at the Princess's Theatre, and thenceforth acting became his life's work. During the next twenty-four years he played many parts under famous managers, including Phelps, whom he acknowledged as his master, the Bancrofts, Hare, and Irving. His best roles during this period were Geoffrey Wynyard in Gilbert's *Dan'l Brace*, Blacksmith, Claudio in *Much Ado About Nothing* (Irving's company, Lyceum), Leontes in *The Winter's Tale*, for which he designed the dresses (Mary Anderson's company, Lyceum), Dunstan Renshaw in Pinero's *The Profligate*, Buckingham in *King Henry VIII*, Lancelot in *King Arthur*. He also created the parts of Lucas Cleeve in Pinero's *The Notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith*, and of Count Orloff in *Diplomacy*. Going into management, he opened at the Lyceum on September 21, 1895, as Romeo to the Juliet of Mrs. Patrick Campbell. Other notable productions were Henry Arthur Jones's *Michael and His Lost Angel*, *Pelleas and Melisande*, *Magda*, *Macbeth*, *Othello*, and *Hamlet*, in which last he achieved the finest performance of his career. He also produced the *Devi's Disciple* and *Cæsar and Cleopatra* at a time when Shaw was comparatively unknown. Subsequently he turned to easier matter, like *Mice and Men*, *The Light that Failed*, and *The Passing of the Third Floor Back*, which proved to be enormously successful. On March 22, 1913, he began at Drury Lane farewell tours which occupied him for about a year, but in 1917 he emerged from retirement to play again in *The Passing of the Third Floor Back* in aid of war charities. His

last appearance was in May, 1927, when he performed with a cast which included fifteen members of the Forbes-Robertson family in *Twelfth Night* in aid of the Sadlers Wells Theatre Fund. Between 1912 and 1917 he acted in films of *Hamlet*, *Masks and Faces*, and *The Passing of the Third Floor Bach*. On one of his many visits to America he performed at Harvard University in an "Elizabethan" theatre specially built for the occasion, and on another he received from Columbia University the degree of M.A., being the first actor of any nationality to be honoured with an American University degree. Later he was made an honorary LL.D. of Aberdeen. He was knighted in 1913. Besides a handsome presence (he was the model for Dante in Rossetti's "Love Kissing Beatrice"; Liverpool Art Gallery), his greatest asset as an actor was a voice of particular beauty, a quality which was outstanding in all his productions. In 1925 he published a book of reminiscences, "A Player Under Three Reigns." His portrait of Samuel Phelps as Cardinal Wolsey was placed in the collection of the Garrick Club. In 1900 he married the actress, Gertrude Elliott, daughter of Thomas Dermot, of Oakland, California, and had four daughters.

9. The Right Hon. James Ramsay MacDonald, four times Prime Minister, was born in humble circumstances at Lossiemouth, Morayshire, on October 12, 1866, and was educated at the village school, of which he became a pupil teacher. At the age of 18 he accepted an appointment in a young men's guild at Bristol, and there formed his lifelong association with the Labour movement. Intending to become a teacher of science he moved to London, and supported himself first by addressing envelopes for the Cyclists' Touring Club, and then by a clerkship in a City warehouse, attending classes at Birkbeck College in the evening. A breakdown in health, however, caused him to abandon the idea of a scholarship at South Kensington, and he obtained the position of private secretary to Thomas Lough, the Irish Radical, then starting his political career. Four years later MacDonald began to make his way as a journalist and, turning his attention to sociology, he helped to form the Socialist Union and to run its organ, the *Socialist*. In 1893 he joined the newly established Independent Labour Party, and stood, unsuccessfully, as its Parliamentary candidate for Leicester in 1895. Defeated again in 1900 he was elected in 1906, one of the twenty-nine out of fifty Labour candidates to obtain seats. Meanwhile, as secretary of the Labour Representation Committee, he had drafted its Constitution, and so, more than any single man, was the founder of the Labour Party. From 1907 to 1910 he was Chairman of the Independent Labour Party, and from 1911 to 1914 was leader of the Labour Party in the House of Commons. When the Great War broke out, he published in the *Labour Leader* (August 13, 1914), under the heading "Why we are at War: The Responsibility of Sir Edward Grey," a severe commentary on the White Paper, giving the history of events leading up to the conflict. This and other pronouncements aroused such deep resentment that when he tried to join Dr. Munro's Ambulance Unit in Belgium he was arrested. In June, 1917, he was one of the signatories to the Labour-Socialist and Democratic Convention at Leeds which was "to begin to do for this country what the Russian Revolution has accomplished in Russia." Later in the year, when he wished to visit Russia, the National Seamen's and Firemen's Union would not allow him to sail, and a passport was refused him when he sought to attend a Peace Conference at Stockholm. This unpopularity found further expression at the General Election of 1918, when he was beaten in his old constituency by 14,000 votes, and again at a by-election at Woolwich in 1921. Endeavouring to prevent the permeation of the Labour movement by Communists, he succeeded in inducing the I.L.P. Conference to reject Communism, an example which was followed by the Labour Party. This resulted in the secession of the extremists, who concentrated their attacks on him, thereby materially helping him to regain popularity. So much so, that in 1922 he was elected for Aberavon, and chosen as the Chairman of the Labour Party, and, as Labour was now the second strongest party in the House, he became also leader of the official Opposition. In 1923 Labour was again the

second strongest party, with 191 members, and in 1924, when Mr. Baldwin (Earl Baldwin) was defeated on a vote of no confidence, MacDonald did not hesitate to accept office, and in addition to becoming Prime Minister, he took the portfolio of Foreign Secretary. With several successes to his credit abroad, he was, however, less happy in his own party, and the first definite signs of trouble arose over negotiations with a Soviet delegation which had been proceeding since April. In June the Prime Minister had definitely stated that the British Government would not guarantee a loan to Soviet Russia. On August 4 the House of Commons was told that the negotiations had broken down, but on the following day it was announced that a series of treaties with Russia, including the guarantee of a loan, would be signed immediately. This was followed by the dropping of a charge of sedition against a Communist writer named Campbell, and on October 8 the Government was defeated on a motion calling for an enquiry into the case. With popular feeling strong against the Government's Russian policy, the final blow came during the last days of the election campaign with the publication of the "Zinoviev Letter," an intercepted document in which Zinoviev gave instructions to the British Communists for the furtherance of revolution. MacDonald was returned for Aberavon but, although the Labour vote was increased by nearly 1,000,000, the party lost some forty seats and Mr. Baldwin came back with a big majority. At the end of 1927, after a visit to the United States, during which he contracted a severe illness, MacDonald published "Labour and the Nation," a 20,000-word pamphlet setting out the Labour policy, which included a heavy programme of social reform and national development, while accepting the principle of maintenance where work could not be provided. In the General Election of May, 1929, when he transferred his candidature to Seaham Harbour, Labour polled nearly 8,500,000 votes, and returned to Parliament with 290 seats, being for the first time the largest single party, although the Liberals, as before, held the balance of power. Again he made progress abroad, and again was less fortunate at home. Unemployment arose as trade declined, and the Report of the May Committee which had been appointed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, suggested drastic national economies. These proposals proving unacceptable to many of the Prime Minister's colleagues, the Government resigned on August 24, 1931, and was replaced by a National Government, with MacDonald as Prime Minister, an arrangement overwhelmingly endorsed in the election which followed. Visits to Washington, during which he arranged for the substitution of a token payment for the regular instalment of the British debt; preparations for a World Economic Conference; and trouble with his eyes, kept Mr. MacDonald out of the House of Commons for a long period, and in June, 1935, he resigned in favour of Mr. Baldwin, accepting the sinecure of Lord President of the Council. At the General Election in November he was defeated at Seaham by a majority of 20,000, but at a by-election in the following February he obtained a seat for the Scottish Universities. Always keenly interested in the political development of India, he presided at the opening of the Indian Round Table Conference in 1930. He married, in 1896, Margaret Ethel, daughter of the scientist, Dr. J. H. Gladstone, and great-niece of Lord Kelvin, and had two sons and three daughters. Mr. MacDonald died of heart failure on board the liner *Beina del Pacifico* while travelling to South America.

12. **Henry Franklin-Bouillon**, French statesman, was born on the island of Jersey in 1870, and started his career as a journalist in Paris. With a perfect knowledge of English, he represented his newspaper during the war in the Sudan, after which he returned to Paris to be editor successively of *La Volonté* and *Le Radical*. A supporter of the Radical Socialist Party, he entered Parliament in 1910 as Deputy of the Seine et Oise Department, and, quickly making his mark, was appointed a member of the Commissions of Foreign Affairs and of Finance. In 1919 he was foremost among the Deputies who denounced the Treaty of Versailles as a betrayal of French interests, but at the election in November of that year, when the parties of the Left lost ground, he was defeated.

Little known outside France until after the Great War, he came into international prominence when, in May, 1921, he went to Angora and negotiated a far-reaching agreement with the Turks, by which the French Government recognised the Angora Government and tacitly abandoned its sphere of influence in Cilicia, while the northern frontier of mandatory Syria was rectified in favour of the Turks. On October 20, 1921, he signed the Treaty of Angora as French Plenipotentiary. A year later he was appointed French representative at the Conference of Lausanne, but resigned on account of attacks made on him in the English Press. Although a Radical Socialist, he had independent views, tending, with increasing years, towards the Right, and he finally left the party in November, 1927. He then founded the Unionist Party (a name borrowed from Great Britain) to promote national unity for four years to allow Poincaré to complete stabilisation. After the election of 1928 he became leader in the Chamber of the sixteen members of the *Gauche Sociale et Radicale*, which stood between the *Marin Group* to the Right and the *Socialist Radicals* to the Left. He led every attack against M.M. Poincaré, Tardieu, and Laval on the question of giving way to Germany, and opposed any evacuation of the Rhine. In the election of May, 1936, he was defeated, but he continued to defend with energy the idea of a union between all the groups of the Right.

22. Philip Alexius La'szltf de Lombos (Philip de Laszlo), portrait painter, was born at Budapest, the son of a tailor, in 1869, and received his early training at the Industrial Art School and National Drawing School, Budapest, afterwards studying under A. Liezenmayer at Munich and at Julian's in Paris under I'efebre and Benjamin Constant. His first success was in 1894, with a portrait of the Archimandrite, for which he received a prize in Bulgaria. He also received gold medals at the Paris Salon in 1899 for his portrait of Prince Hohenlohe, and in 1900 for that of Pope Leo XIII. Among his earlier subjects were King Edward VII, Queen Alexandra, the German Emperor, President Theodore Roosevelt, President Harding, and Lord Roberts. In later years he painted Signor Mussolini, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duchess of Kent, Princess Elizabeth, Lord Haldane, Lady Wantage, and a great number of other members of the British peerage. In 1910 he was made a M.V.O., and two years later was ennobled by the Emperor of Austria. Since then honours had been showered upon him by all the Governments of Europe. The Order of Matthias Corvinus, the highest Hungarian honour for the recognition of artistic or literary merit, was awarded to him a week before his death, when he was too ill to be informed. Although naturalised in 1914, he was interned during the war. He was an honorary member and, for a time, President of the Royal Society of British Artists, and a member of the Royal Society of Portrait Painters. He explained his methods in "Painting a Portrait" ("How to Do It" series, *Studio*, 1934); Miss Gwen Ff rangcon Davies posed while Mr. Laszlo painted her, Mr. Lys Baldry provoked him with leading questions, and Mr. C. G. Holme took photographs of the proceedings. Laszlo married, in 1900, Lucy Madeleine, daughter of H. Guinness, of Burton Hall, Stillorgan, Co. Dublin, and had five sons.

23. Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose, F.R.S., the foremost Indian scientist of his day, was born at Vikrampur, near Daoca, on November 30, 1858, the son of a deputy magistrate, and received his early education in the industrial and technical schools established by his father. After graduating at St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, he came to England and entered University College, London, intending to study medicine, but later went to Christ's College, Cambridge, where he studied physics, taking a second class in the Natural Sciences Tripos of 1883. Subsequently he received the D.Sc. degree of London. Returning to Calcutta, he was appointed by Lord Ripon's Government, in the face of much opposition, to the Chair of Physical Science at the Presidency College, and held the post until 1915, when, beyond the age limit, he retired on full pay instead of pension, and was made Professor Emeritus. Although the Presidency College was ill-equipped

with laboratory apparatus, he designed several instruments, including one identical in principle with the "coherer" used in all systems of wireless communication, and another for verifying the laws of refraction, reflection, and polarisation of electric waves, both of which were demonstrated before the British Association at Liverpool in 1896. From these physical inquiries he went on to the more difficult problems presented by the response of living organisms to various stimuli, more particularly the electrical reactions of plants, and after patient research with the crescograph, which was capable of magnifying small movements as much as 10,000,000 times, he adumbrated the theory that the life mechanism of the plant is identical with that of the animal. He aimed at nothing less than a synthesis of science, and his achievements provided a unique example of the virtual union between the mysticism of Indian philosophy and the experimental methods of Western science. With private means and substantial grants from the Government, he established in Calcutta the Bose Research Institute, which he dedicated to the nation in 1917. He was Indian Government delegate to the International Scientific Congress at Paris in 1900, and his two volumes on "Life Movement in Plants" were translated for incorporation in the *Transactions*. "Nervous Mechanism of Plants," a complete account of his researches, appeared in 1926. In 1920 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, the first Indian to receive that honour for scientific as distinct from mathematical achievement. He was made a C.L.E. in 1903, a C.S.I. in 1911, and was knighted in 1917. His academic honours included degrees from Aberdeen, Calcutta, Lahore, Allahabad and Benares. He married a Bengali lady who had qualified in medicine.

25. Miss Lilian Baylis, theatrical manageress, was born on May 9, 1874, daughter of Newton Baylis, a baritone, and Liebe Konss, contralto and pianist, and was educated as a musician. At the age of 17 she went to South Africa, and during the next five years taught the violin, banjo, mandolin, and guitar. After returning to England, following a breakdown in health, she assisted her aunt, Emma Cons, in the management of a "coffee-music hall" in the Waterloo Road, formally called the Royal Victoria Hall, but popularly known as the Old Vic. She succeeded to management on the death of her aunt in 1912, and after a struggle to make the place pay, first as a music hall and then by showing "animated pictures," she gradually built up a tradition of Shakespeare, opera, and ballet at very low prices. Besides producing all the works in the First Folio, she presented a wide range of non-Shakespearean classics, from Ibsen's *Peer Gynt* to Tchekhov's *The Cherry Orchard*. In 1931 she extended her activities by reopening Sadlers Wells Theatre, intending to exchange companies with the Old Vic, but this proved impracticable, and Sadlers Wells was devoted to opera and the establishment of a permanent ballet company. Miss Baylis was a Companion of Honour as well as an honorary M.A. of Oxford and honorary LL.D. of Birmingham.

DECEMBER.

12. Professor Arthur Hutchinson, O.B.E., F.R.S., Professor of Mineralogy at Cambridge, 1926-31, and Master of Pembroke College, 1928-37, was born on July 6, 1866, and educated at Clifton College, Christ's College, Cambridge (first classes, Natural Sciences Tripos, parts I and II, 1886 and 1888), and at Wurzburg (Ph.D.). Elected to a Fellowship at Pembroke College, he was for many years in charge of the science students. He was appointed demonstrator in mineralogy in 1886, Lecturer on Crystallography in 1923 and Professor of Mineralogy in 1926. Meanwhile, on the sudden death of W. S. Hadley in 1928, he had been elected Master of Pembroke College, retiring in September, 1937. He had also been secretary of the General Board of Studies and a member of the Press Syndicate. In later years he was Chairman of the University Library Syndicate and President of the Cambridge Philosophical Society. In addition to exceptional powers of

lucid exposition, he displayed great ingenuity in the design and construction of apparatus for both teaching and research. The Hutchinson goniometer was widely used, and his remarkable stereographic protractor, a graduated wooden scale about a foot long, enabled problems of crystallography to be solved graphically with great rapidity. An accomplished analyst, he carried out important researches on the refractive indices of chalybite and the thermal properties of antimonite. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, President of the Mineralogical Society, 1921-24, and was elected a Fellow of Christ's College in 1931. He married, in 1901, Evaline Demezy, daughter of Alexander Shipley, of Datchet, and had two sons and one daughter.

14. Major-General Lord (formerly Count) Albert Edward Wilfred Gleichen, soldier, traveller, and writer, was born on January 15, 1863, only son of Admiral Prince Victor of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, and Laura, daughter of Admiral of the Fleet Sir George Seymour, his paternal grandmother being a half-sister of Queen Victoria. Educated at Charterhouse and Sandhurst, in 1881 he received a commission in the Grenadier Guards, seeing active service with the Camel Regiment in Wolseley's Nile Expedition. A visit to Russia and Persia was followed in 1886 by his appointment—on account of his proficiency in languages—to the Intelligence Department, where he spent two years. Promoted captain in 1892, he was made an Equerry to his godfather, the Prince of Wales (Edward VII), and an Extra Equerry to Queen Victoria, in which post he continued under King Edward VII and King George V. In 1893 he went out as intelligence officer with Sir West Ridgeway's mission to Morocco, and a year later returned to North Africa on his own initiative to study the French coast defences. He was appointed staff captain in the Intelligence Section at the War Office in May, 1895, went to Egypt with Kitchener in 1896, and in 1897 accompanied Rennell Rodd (Lord Rennell) on a mission to Abyssinia. In October, 1898, he was promoted to major, and in the following year went to South Africa with the 3rd Battalion Grenadier Guards, and was severely wounded at the Modder River fight, which brought his regimental service to an end. He was twice mentioned in despatches and awarded the D.S.O. After the funeral of Queen Victoria he returned to Egypt as Director of Intelligence in Cairo and Agent of the Sudan until, in October, 1903, King Edward selected him to be Military Attaché in Berlin, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Finding the antiquated etiquette of the German Court distasteful, he welcomed a transfer to Washington in January, 1906. In February, 1907, he came home to be Assistant Director of Military Operations at the War Office, being promoted to colonel. On leaving the War Office in July, 1911, he received the command of the 15th Brigade of the 5th Division in Belfast. When the Great War began he spent a winter in the trenches, and was then appointed G.O.C. 37th Division of the New Armies (April, 1915), but in October he came home to organise and direct the Intelligence Bureau of the Department of Information. He retired from the Army in October, 1919, having been twice mentioned in despatches and promoted major-general. A prolific writer of magazine articles and reviews, he also published "With the Camel Corps up the Nile" (1888); "With the Mission to Menelik" (1897), "The Doings of the 15th Infantry Brigade" (1917), "London's Open-Air Statuary" (1928), "A Guardsman's Memories" (1932); and, with John Buchan (Lord Tweedsmuir), he prepared the volume on Italy in "The Nations of To-day" series. He was on the Council of the Royal Geographical Society and of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chairman of the Permanent (Official) Committee on Geographical Names, President of the British Merchants' Morocco Association, Vice-Chairman of the African Society, and Chairman of the Bach Choir. He was made a C.M.G. in 1898, C.B. in 1906, and K.C.V.O. in 1909. In July, 1910, he married the Hon. Sylvia Gay Edwardes, Maid of Honour to Queen Alexandra. By Royal Warrant dated June 11, 1913 (gazetted January, 1914), Count and Countess Gleichen were given precedence immediately before Marquesses and Marchionesses of England respectively.

16. Dr. George Henry Falkiner Nuttall, F.R.S., an international authority on bacteriology, parasitology, hygiene, and physiology, Emeritus Professor of Biology at Cambridge, was born at San Francisco on July 5, 1862, son of a doctor, and was educated in Europe until he was 16, when he entered the University of California, graduating M.D. in 1884. After travelling for a year in Mexico, he went to Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, where, under H. Newell Martin (a pupil of Huxley), he engaged in biological research. From 1886 to 1890, except for a few months at Breslau, he worked at Gottingen University, graduating Ph.D., and on returning to Baltimore became assistant to Professor Welch and later Associate in Hygiene. In 1893 he went again to Germany to prepare himself for the Chair of Hygiene at Baltimore, but having, in 1895, married a German lady, he resigned his prospects in America and joined the Hygienic Institute of Berlin, spending four years as voluntary assistant. In 1899 he went to Cambridge to teach bacteriology and preventive medicine, was made an honorary M.A., elected a Fellow of Christ's College (honorary Fellow, 1935) and in 1906, Reader in Hygiene. In the same year he was appointed to the newly founded Quirk Professorship of Biology and became a Professorial Fellow of Magdalene College. Subsequently he became the first director of the Molteno Institute for Research in Parasitology, to the development of which he devoted the rest of his career. One of his most important discoveries—the basis of all work on anti-toxic sera—showed that blood and other body fluids possessed the power of killing bacteria. Another was the precipitin test which provided medico-legal experts and criminologists with a sure method of identifying the nature of minute traces of blood, whether human or animal. His book, "Blood Immunity and Blood Relationship," recorded the result of 19,000 tests carried out on some 600 species of animals' blood. Of his many publications, perhaps the greatest were the long series of studies in parasitology which began to appear in 1897, and included essays on insects as carriers of bacterial and parasitic diseases in man and animals; on the mosquito (with Sir Arthur Shipley); and on "red water" in dogs, cattle, and horses. During the war he discovered methods of combating the effects of lice among the troops and, with Professor Welch, the bacillus which caused "gas gangrene." He was the founder and chief editor of the *Journal of Hygiene*, 1901-37, and of *Parasitology*, 1908-33. He served on many Advisory Committees for the Government, and conducted investigations on behalf of the Ministry of Health, the Royal Army Medical Corps, and the Government of South Africa. He was elected F.R.S. in 1904, was Sc.D. of Cambridge, an honorary doctor of five other Universities, and was honorary or corresponding member of numerous foreign scientific societies. He also received the Legion of Honour and the Belgian Order of Leopold II. He married, in 1895, Paula, daughter of Kammerherr von Oertzen-Kittendorf; they had two sons and one daughter.

18. Robert Worth Bingham, United States Ambassador in London, 1933-37, was born in North Carolina on November 8, 1871, of English ancestry, being descended from a Dorset family of Melcombe Bingham, who had given a bishop to Salisbury in the thirteenth century. After attending his father's school, famous throughout the South, he studied law at the Universities of North Carolina, Virginia, Louisville, and Michigan, finally settling at Louisville. He was mayor in 1907, and afterwards was made Chancellor of the Circuit Court of Jefferson County, being known as Judge Bingham. In 1918 he became proprietor of the Louisville *Courier-Journal* and the *Louisville Times*, two of the most influential newspapers in the South, and gave up the Bar, thus following in the line of distinguished literary and journalistic men who represented America in London—J. L. Motley, Whitelaw Reid, Colonel John Hay, J. Russell Lowell, Walter Hines Page, and George Harvey. He was also a director of the North American Newspaper Alliance and besides doing much for the city of his adoption and for the State of Kentucky, he greatly assisted in developing the tobacco industry there. In 1933 President Roosevelt appointed him to succeed Andrew Mellon

as Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, a post which he continued to fill with the charm and distinction usually associated with a Southern gentleman of the old school, until he was granted sick leave on November 19, 1937. Among many honorary degrees conferred upon him were those of D.C.L. of Oxford and L.L.D. of the Universities of Kentucky, Virginia, Cambridge, London, and St. Andrews. A connoisseur in art and books, he was particularly interested in Joan of Arc, of whom he had many books and manuscripts and over 600 prints. He was married three times; first, in 1896, to Eleanor Miller, who died leaving three children; secondly, in 1916, to Mrs. Flagler (widow of the multi-millionaire); and thirdly, after her death in 1924, to Mrs. J. B. Hilliard, who survived him.

19. Dr. Q. Visserling, Dutch authority on finance, was born at Leyden in 1865, son of a Professor of Political Economy, afterwards Minister of Finance, and was educated at the University of Leyden, becoming, in 1891, a lawyer at Amsterdam, where he remained until 1906. Meanwhile he was appointed, first, secretary of the Stock Exchange Committee; then co-manager of the Kasvereeniging; and in 1900, co-manager of the Amsterdamsche Bank. In 1906 he was invited by the Government to become President of the Java-Bank of Batavia, with instructions to investigate the banking and monetary situation in the colonies, more particularly with regard to the desirability of substituting a gold for a silver basis in certain parts of the colonies. Later his proposals were put into practice. In 1911 he was requested by the "Four-Power Syndicate" (Great Britain, France, the United States of America, and Germany) to act as a monetary adviser in China, and in that capacity he issued two proposals to the Chinese Government, contained in the volumes "On Chinese Currency, the Monetary Problem," and "The Banking Problem." He also* made a special study of the Asiatic money and banking problems. After the war he held at his private house confidential conferences with foreign bankers and economists with the object of restoring trade in Europe. These conferences, which were recorded in a memorandum dated January 15, 1920, led to others—in Brussels, Geneva, and Paris—and in 1922 he became a member of the International Conference of Experts in Berlin. In 1924 he went to South Africa at the request of the Union Government to give advice in connexion with the restoration of the gold standard. From 1912 to 1931, when he resigned on account of failing health, he was President of the Netherlands Bank. Since 1894 he had been concerned with the projects for the damming up and the draining of the Zuider Zee.

20. General Erich Fredrich Wilhelm Ludendorff, German Chief Staff Officer during the Great War, was born at Kruszevnia, in Posen, on April, 9, 1865, the son of a minor official in the Prussian railway administration, and entered the Prussian Army in 1883. From 1904 to 1913, with a short interval, he was in the Operations Section of the General Staff, and, as the head of it, was responsible for the changes made in the Graf von Schlieffen plan, 1908-9. On mobilisation in 1914 he was appointed Deputy-Chief of the General Staff of the Second Army, in which capacity he was actually in command of troops for the first and only time in the war. Sent forward on the night of August 5-6 to report on the attack on Liege, he found that the troops had been brought to a standstill. Although technically only a spectator, he promptly took command of the centre column, and on the following day, unsupported by the other attacking columns, made a dash for the citadel, which he found undefended. That feat of arms was, according to his "War Memories," the favourite recollection of his life as a soldier. On August 22 he was appointed Chief of Staff of the Eighth Army in East Prussia under Hindenburg, and thus began an association rare in military history, each man being the needful complement of the other. Together they were responsible—though perhaps more through popular legend than in actuality—for the victories at Tannenberg, the Masurian Lakes, and Lodz. On August 29, 1916, two days after Rumania declared war on Austria-Hungary, Hindenburg was appointed Chief of the General Staff in succession to

von Falkenhayn, and Ludendorff became second chief, with the title of First Quarter-master-General, in which capacity he served until pressure of political events in Germany, including differences of opinion with Prince Max of Baden on the Armistice question led to his resignation on October 28. After the war he became involved in several Nationalist risings, and on November 11, 1923, marched with Herr Hitler in the Munich "putsch," but since 1929 he had ceased to take any important part in public life. His retirement, however, was far from peaceful, and to the end he remained a Prussian soldier of the old school. From time to time he issued savage attacks on his old chief, Hindenburg, whom he never forgave for signing the Young plan; on Hitler, although a partial reconciliation was afterwards effected; and especially on Christianity, proudly proclaiming himself a pagan. He was twice married, the first marriage being dissolved, after twenty-five years, in 1926. He then married Mathilde von Kemnitz, a nerve specialist and author.

21. Frank Billings Kellogg, American Ambassador in London, 1923-25, U.S. Secretary of State, 1925-29, was born on December 22, 1856, at Potsdam, New York State, but at the age of 9 went with his parents to south-eastern Minnesota, where he was brought up on a farm. Determining to become a lawyer, he saved enough out of his wages from working in the fields to take him through college, and in 1877 he was called to the State Bar. Beginning practice at Rochester, near his home, he soon became one of the leading lawyers, and held the offices of city attorney and county attorney. In 1888 he moved to the capital of the State, St. Paul, and entered into partnership with Senator Cushman K. Davis, but he did not become a national figure until, after acting as counsel for the U.S. Steel Corporation, he was placed in charge of all its legal affairs. He was also one of the chief legal aides of President Theodore Roosevelt in his campaign against "big business." He was elected to the Senate at Washington in 1916, but failed to secure nomination in 1922. A year later he was appointed Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, where he remained until 1925, when he succeeded Chief Justice Hughes as Secretary of State, resigning in 1929. From 1930 to 1935 he was a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice. He will be remembered in association with the international agreement known as "The Kellogg Pact" (or "The Pact of Paris," as he preferred to call it) which representatives of fifty-six nations signed renouncing war as an instrument of international policy. He was given the Nobel Peace Prize in 1930 and, besides receiving honorary degrees from many American and Canadian Universities, was made a D.C.L. of Oxford in 1929, in which year he was awarded the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour. In 1896 he married Clara M. Cook, of Rochester, Minnesota.

28. Maurice Joseph Ravel, French composer, was born at Ciboure on March 7, 1875, son of a Basque mother and a Franco-Swiss father, who soon after his birth settled in Paris. At the age of 12 his ability was noticed by his harmony teacher, and two years later he entered the Conservatoire, studying under Beriot and Gabriel Faure. The first public performances of "Sites auriculaires" for piano duet in 1898 and the overture "Scheherazade" for orchestra, 1899, brought him the reputation of being a revolutionary, which was the cause of his being refused the Prix de Rome in 1905, a judgment which created a scandal in official musical circles. From this time on he began to write in many forms, setting to music the farcical comedy *L'Heure Espagnole* (1907), and composing the music for Diaghileff's ballet *Daphnis et Chloe* (1909). These two works, which were first performed in 1911 and 1912 respectively, put him definitely in the front rank of French composers, of whom, since the death of Debussy in 1918, he was regarded not only as the most eminent but also as the most representative. Except for the ballet opera *L'Enfant et les Sortilèges* (1924-25), and a piano concerto (1931), he never launched out again into the larger forms of music, preferring to work on a small scale, where economy of means and finish of detail were of more

importance than profound emotion and **large design**. Besides the works mentioned, his outstanding compositions were some piano pieces, notably "Gaspard de la Nuit," "Jeux d'Eau," and "Pavane pour une Infante defunte," "Valse Nobles et Sentimentales" (1911) and "Le Tombeau de Couperin" (1917), both originally conceived for the piano, were afterwards scored for orchestra, a task in which he took special delight. Of his songs, the best were "Histoires Naturelles" (1906) and "Chansons Madecasses," written twenty years later. *Daphnis et Chloé*, in its arrangement for the concert platform (1928), was praised by many as his best work, while *Bolero* (1929), by which he was known to the general public, was regarded by critics as the best sustained joke in the literature of music. In June, 1934, he became Director of the Conservatoire Americain at Fontainebleau. He was a member of the Legion of Honour, and received the degree of honorary D.Mus. from Oxford in 1928. In October, 1932, he was severely injured in a motor-car accident in Paris, and never fully recovered. He was unmarried.

INDEX.

- ABBOTT, C. C., "Further Letters of Gerard Manly Hopkins," 309
 ABBOTT, Prof. Wilbur C., *ed.*, "Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell," 311
 ABERCORN, Duchess of, 108
 ABERCORN, Duke of, 108
 ABKRDARE, Lord, 10
 ABERHART, Mr. W. (Canada), 124, 125
 ABUNA Cyril (Abyssinia), 176
 ABYSSINIA, 28-29
 ACCIDENT, fatal, cases (Law), 376-377
 AOKLAND, Rodney (Drama), 336
 ACOUSTICS, International Conference, 359
 ACTON, H., * Famous Chinese Plays," 304
 ADAM, Colonel (Austria), 186
 ADAM, Flight-Lt. M. J. (Av.), 296
 ADDISON, Dr. Christopher, 40; barony, 295
 ADEN : Crown colony, 150
 ADLER, Prof. Alfred, *Obit.*, 423
 AEOLIAN Hall (Music), 341
 AFGHANISTAN, 254
 Great Britain, relations with, 254
 Prime Minister's foreign visit, 254
 Treaties and agreements, 215, 255
 AFRICA, SOUTH-WEST PROTECTORATE, 130
 Deutsche Bund dissolved, 131
 Deutsche Sudwestbund, 131
 Germans petition to Mandates Commission, 132
 Germany, resentment of Government attitude, 131
 Government policy, 131
 Nazism in, 130-131
 Union, relation to the, 131
 AFRICA, UNION OF SOUTH, 127
 Abdication Bill, 127-128
 Aliens Bill, 128
 Asiatics Bill, 128-129
 Cabinet, 128
 Coronation delegates, 129
 Coronation Oath Bill, 127-128
 Farms, Un beneficial Occupation Bill, 128
 Govern or-Generalship, 129
 Imperial Conference delegates, 129
 Legislation, 127-128
 Marketing Bill, 128
 Native protectorates question, 129-130
 Native Representative Council, 130
 AGA KHAN, H.H., The, 160
 AGHNIDES, M., 153
 AGNEW'S Gallery (Art), 331
 AGRICULTURAL policy, 48
 AGRICULTURE Act, 68
 AHEARNE, Brian (Cinema), 339
 AINSWORTH, E. G., "Poor Collins," 308
 AIRCRAFT industry, 371
 AIR defence debate, 7
 AIR estimates, 25, 26
 AIR Mail: Trans-Tasman service, 145
 AIR menace : meaning of, 90
 AIR Ministry : criticism of, 92-93
 AIR Raid Precautions Bill, 25, 84, 89-92
 AIR Raid Precautions Department, 89
 AKULOV, Ivan (Russia), 191
 ALBA, Duke of (Sp.), 243
 ALBANIA, 221
 Italy, relations with, 174, 221
 Orthodox Church, 221
 Revolt suppressed, 221
 ALBERT Hall protest meeting against Japanese action in China, 73
 ALDINGTON, Richard, "The Crystal World," 303 ; "Very Heaven," 315
 ALDWYCH Theatre, 334
 ALESSANDRI, President (Chile), 289
 ALEXANDER, Rt. Hon. A. V., 13
 ALEXANDRETTA dispute, 16, 152, 155-156, 169, 214, 215, 261
 ALGERIA, 272
 ALKSNIS-ASTROV, General (Russia), 189, 193
 ALLEN, B. S., "Tides in English Taste," 306, 321
 ALLEN, Sir Hugh (Music), 341
 ALLEN of Hurtwood, Lord, 94
 ALLINSON, Francesca, "A Childhood," 313
 ALMERIA, bombardment, 56, 183, 241
 ALTOUNYAN, G. H. R., "Ornament of Honour," 303
 ALTRINCHAM, borough charter, 297
 AMBASSADORS Theatre, 335
 AMENITIES preservation, 10-11
 AMERICA. *See under* United States
 AMERICAN Bar Association, 279
 AMERICAN Plays (Drama), 336-337
 AMERIGO, Senhor Jose (Brazil), 288
 AMERY, Rt. Hon. L. C., 66, 67
 AMMON, Mr. C. G., 105
 ANDERSON, Emily, "Letters of Mozart," 304
 ANDERSON, Sir John (Bengal), 148-149
 ANDERSON, Manan (Music), 342
 ANDREVA, Stella (Music), 343

- ANDREWS, C. M., " Settlements," 311
 ANDREWS, Mr. G. M., gift, 293
 ANDREWS, Mr. H. C., gift, 293
 ANDREWS, Mr. J. M. (N. Ireland), 108, 110
 ANDREWS, Mr. Lewis (Palestine), 259
 ANGLO-American trade *rapprochement*, 4, 41, 44, 86, 96, 124, 138
 ANGLO-French relations, 95-96
 ANGLO-German relations, 56, 93-96, 171
 Naval agreement, 26, 66
 ANGLO-Italian relations, 1, 39, 69, 70, 104, 171, 173, 218
 ANGLO-Soviet Naval Agreement, 66, 195
 ANGLO-Turkish relations, 214-215
 ANIDO, General Martinez (Sp.), 243
 ANIMAL diseases, eradication, 48
 ANIMALS and the Cinema, 68
 ANTHONY, Gordon, " Studies," 304
 ANTONESCU, M. (Rum.), 211
 ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO, M. (Russia), 193
 AOSTA, Duke of (It.), 177
 APOLLO Theatre, 333
 APPEAL cases (Law), 373, 376-378
 ARABIA, 262
 Egypt, relations with, 262
 Iraq, relations with, 262
 Italy and the Yemen, 173, 262
 Mahmal, the, 262
 Saudi-Arabia, 262
 Treaty of amity and alliance, 262
 Yemen, the, 262
 ARAGON, Louis, " The Bells of Basel," 316
 ARAKI, General (Japan), 270
 ARCHITECTURAL exhibition (Art), 330
 ARGENTINA, 285
 Aeroplane contracts, 286
 Beef subsidy, 286
 Brazil, relations with, 284, 286
 Bread prices, 286
 Bricklayers' strike, 286
 Buenos Aires Province, violence in, 285
 Canning, George, monument to, 287
 Census, 287
 Central Railway, Cordoba, 285, 286
 Great Britain, relations with, 287
 Meteorite discovery, 286-287
 Oil-fields policy, 285
 Presidential election, 285
 Press Club, 286
 Railway workers' unrest, 286
 Railways, foreign-owned, 285
 ARLINGTON, L. C., " Famous Chinese Plays," 304
 ARMAMENTS Commission, report, 47
 ARMAMENTS, profiteering in, 28, 47, 49
 ARMAMENTS programme and the Special Areas, 98-99
 ARMAMENTS Year Book, 156-157
 ARMISTICE Day ceremony, 100; disturbance at Cenotaph, 100
 ARMSTRONG, Prof. H. E., F.R.S., Obit., 431
 ARMY changes, 93
 ARMY Estimates, 25, 26
 ARNOLD, Lord, 16, 52
 ART Exhibitions and Sales : retrospect, 330-332
 ASHFIELD, Lord, 45
 ASHTON, Frederick (Musio), 343
 ASHTON, Miss Margaret, Obit., 445
 ASQUITH, Herbert, " Moments of Memory," 313
 ASSMUSS, M. (Russia), 193
 ASSOCIATION of British Chambers of Commerce, 96
 ASSYRIAN refugees question, 255
 ASTRONOMY, Science retrospect, 356
 ASTROPHYSICS, Science retrospect, 356
 ATATURK, President (Turkey), 214, 215, 218
 ATHOLL, Duchess of, D.B.E., 29
 ATOMIC Weights Committee, 350
 ATTLEE, RT. HON. C. R.:
 Civil List debate, 43
 Defence expenditure, 11 ; estimates, 67
 Foreign affairs, 68, 86 ; debate, 103
 Harworth Colliery dispute, 46-47
 Italian anti-British propaganda, 104
 Japan and China, 73
 Mentioned, 74
 Non-intervention, 3, 58, 61, 68, 83
 Spam, 3, 58, 61, 68, 83 ; Navy protection at Bilbao, 33, 34 ; belligerent rights question, 61 ; British Agents with Franco, 87
 Spanish visit, 101
 Standing Orders amendment, 21
 Tribute to Sir Austen Chamberlain, 28
 AUDEN, W. H., " Letters from Iceland," 303 ; " Spain," 303 ; (Drama), 334
 AURIOL, M. Vincent (Fr.), 162
 AUSTIN, Frederick (Music), 341
 AUSTRAL (music), 342
 AUSTRALIA, 133
 Air Navigation referendum, 134
 Anglo-Australian trade agreement, 138
 Banking Royal Commission report, 135
 Birth-rate problem, 136
 Budget, 137
 Canadian trade treaty dispute, 133
 Coalition Cabinet, 133-134
 Constitution Amendments referendum, 134
 Debts position, 137
 Defence question, 135-136
 estimates, 136-137
 Economic, 137-138
 Elections, 133, 134-136
 Federal Election, 133, 134-136; result, 136
 Financial, 139
 Government policy : defence, 135-136 ; trade, 136
 Gullett, Sir Henry, resigns, 133-134
 Immigration problem, 6, 136, 138
 Imperial Conference, 133, 138
 Imperial preference, 136, 138
 Inter-state trade referendum, 134
 Labour Party policy, 135
 Loan proposals, 137
 Lyons, Mr., leadership of, 133
 policy speech, 136-136
 Marketing referendum, 134

- AUSTRALIA, *cont.*
 Monetary Royal Commission report, 135
 Pensions increase, 137
 Political parties, 134, 136
 Referendum, 133, 134
 Senatorial Election, 136
 Statute of Westminster Bill, 138
 Trade policy, 136
 Trade position, 137, 138
 Wages increase, 137
 Wool income, 137
 NEW SOUTH WALES
 Budget surplus, 139
 Finance, 139
 NORTHERN TERRITORY development, 140
 QUEENSLAND
 Budget, 139
 Finance, 139
 Governorship, 139
 SOUTH AUSTRALIA
 Budget surplus, 139
 Finance, 139
 TASMANIA
 Constitution amendment, 139-140
 Finance, 139
 General Election, 139
 VICTORIA
 Budget surplus, 139
 Finance, 139
 General Election, 139
 Legislative Council Reform, 139
 Railway surplus, 139
 WESTERN AUSTRALIA
 Finance, 139
 AUSTRIA, 185
 Anschluss, the, 185, 186
 Danubian *rapprochement*, 186
 Fatherland Front, the, 185, 187
 Football match abandoned, 185
 German pressure on, 185
 Germany, relations with, 185, 186, 187
 Press truce, 186
 Italy, relations with, 171, 185, 186
 Monarchist restoration question, 185, 186
 "Storm Corps" formed, 186
 AVIATION :
 Aeroplane height record, 296
 Australia-England, 295, 299
 Cape Town-Croydon, 295
 Flying boats, experimental nights, 296, 297
 France-Buenos Aires, 300
 London-Cape Town, 300
 New York-Croydon, 295
 Paris-Indo-China, 301
 Russia-America, 198
 Russian polar flight, 296
 Tokio-Croydon flight, 294
 AZANA, President (Sp.), 241
 BAEZ, Dr. (Paraguay), 291
 BAKER, Dr. E. A., "History of the English Novel," 309
 BAKER, Mr. Noel, 78, 85
 BAKULIN, M. A. V. (Russia), 188
 BALANCE of Payments, 371
 BALDWIN, RT. HON. STANLEY :
 British Commonwealth, the, 42
 Collective bargaining, 46-47
 Collective security, 14
 Defence finance debate, 13-14
 Deputations to, 17
 Dockyard dismissals, on, 5
 Earldom conferred on, 295-296
 Economic co-operation, 17
 Empire Societies banquet speech, 42
 Foreign policy speech, 13-14
 Imperial Conference, 40
 Mentioned, 296
 Ministers of the Crown Bill, 31
 Retirement, 31, 48
 Spain, 32
 Standing Orders amendment, 21
 Tribute to Sir Austen Chamberlain, 28
 White Waltham site, 7
 BALEARIC Islands, 2, 83
 BALKAN Entente, the, 211, 214, 218
 BALLET performances, 342, 343
 BALLETS de Monte Carlo, 344
 BALTIC Entente, 199
 BALTIC States : Baltic clause, 199
 BANK OF ENGLAND :
 Bank rate, 362, 363
 Gold purchases, 363, 367
 Note circulation, 106, 363
 Returns, 364
 BANKERS' CLEARING HOUSE :
 Turnover, 363
 Returns, 364-365
 BANKING retrospect, 362
 BAQIR Sidqi, General (Iraq), 254, 255
 BARBIROLLI, John (Music), 343
 BARBOUR, Mrs. Harold : gift, 301
 BARKER, George, "Calamiterror," 303
 BARLOW/ Sir M., 99
 BARMIN, M. A. (Russia), 193
 BARNARD, E., "Shelley's Religion," 308
 BARR, A. H., "Fantastic Art," 310
 BARRIE, Sir James M., "The Greenwood Hat," 312; death, 337; Obit., 427
 BARTON, Margaret, "Tunbridge Wells," 305
 BARTON, Rt. Hon. Sir D. P., Obit., 441
 BASKERVILLE, Miss B., "What Next, O Duce?" 306, 320
 BASKERVILLE, G., "English Monks," 311
 BASQUE children evacuated, 55
 BASUTOLAND, 129
 BATEMAN, H. M., "By Himself," 313
 BATES, E. S., "Inside Out," 306; "The Bible Designed to be Read as Literature," 307
 BATES, H. E., "Something Short and Sweet," 314
 BATH : gift to, 293
 BATTEN, Miss Jean (Av.), 299

BABA, Mr. (Japan), 266

BABINGTON, Sir Anthony, K.C., 110

- BAUDOUIN, M. (Fr.), 163, 164
 BAUMANN, Herr (Switz.), 230
 BAX, Arnold (Music), 341
 BAYAR, Jela Bey (Turkey), 215
 BAYLIS, MISS Lilian, 337, 343; Obit., 452
 BEACHCROFT, T. O., "The Man who Started Clean," 315
 BEALES, H. L., "Chartism," 312
 BEAUMONT, Cyril, "Complete Book of Ballets," 304
 BEBINGTON: borough charter, 298
 BECHUANALAND, 129
 BECK, Col. (Poland), 156, 158, 169, 200, 202, 210
 BECK, Mr. (Luxemburg), 225
 BEDDINGTON: borough charter, 298
 BEECHAM, Sir Thomas (Music), 343
 BEECHAM Sunday Concerts, 341
 BEEF duty, 6, 35
 BELFAST, gifts to, 294, 301
Belfast News-Letter, celebration, 297
 BELGIUM, 222
 Amnesty Bill, 223; agitation against, 223
 By-election in Brussels, 224-225
 Chamber, the, 224
 Currency, 367
 Economic co-operation: M. van Zeeland's inquiry, 225
 ex-Servicemen protest, 223
 Far Eastern Conference, 74, 102, 172, 265, 268
 Forced elections, 224
 Foreign policy, 29, 222
 Franco-British joint Declaration to, 222
 German Declaration to, 222-223
 Gold reserve, 224
 Government programme, 224
 Janson Ministry, 224
 League of Nations and, 159, 222
 Loan, 224, 365
 Locarno obligations, 29
 King Leopold and foreign policy, 222; visit to England, 29, 103, 222
 National Bank and the Premier, 223-224
 Rexist set-back, 224-225
 Treaties, release from, 222
 van Zeeland Coalition Government, 223
 van Zeeland, M., resigns, 223, 224, 367
 Western Pact, attitude to, 222
 BELLOC, Hilaire, "The Crusade," 311
 BELMONTE, Juan, "Killer of Bulls," 312
 BENESH, President Edward (Czech.), 203, 205, 212
 BENN, Sir Arthur S. See Glenravel, Lord
 BENNETT, H. S., "Life in the English Manor," 311
 BENNETT, Rt. Hon. R. B. (Canada), 115, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122
 BENNETT, R. F., "Early Dominicans," 311
 BERGERY, M. (Fr.), 164
 BERGMAN, H., "Thy Rod and Thy Staff," 316
 BERGNER, Elisabeth (Drama), 334
 BERLIN Philharmonic Orchestra, 340
 BERMAN, M. M. (Russia), 188
 BERNADOTTE, M. (Sweden), 248
 BERNANOS, G., "Diary of a Country Priest," 316
 BERNERS, Lord (Music), 343
 BERNHARD of Lippe-Detmold, Prince (Holland), 225
 BERNSTEIN, Herr (Ger.), 182
 BERRY, Rev. Sidney, 73
 BEVERIDGE, Sir William, 294, 295
 BEVIN, Mr. Ernest, 45, 75-76
 BEXLEY: borough charter, 298
 BIKANIR, Maharaja of, 149
 BILBAO, 32-34, 55
 BINGHAM, Robert W., Obit., 454
 BIOLOGICAL Sciences, retrospect, 345
 BIOLOGY (Science retrospect), 352, 353
 BIOLOGY, General: Association for Study, of, 346
 BIRCHENOUGH, Sir Henry, Obit., 419
 BIRD study (Science), 347
 BIRMINGHAM: gift to, 296
 BIRMINGHAM University, 300
 BIRRELL, Augustine, "Things Past Redress," 312
 BIRTH-RATE, 99-100
 BISHOP, M., "Pascal," 309
 BISHOP, R., "Painters of the Royal Collection," 311
 BJÖRLING, Jussi (Music), 342
 BLACK, Senator Hugh (U.S.), 280
 BLACK-coated workers, pensions scheme, 30, 375
 BLACKER, Richard, "David of Judah," 315
 BLANCHE, Jacques-Emile, "Portraits of a Lifetime," 313
 BLANESBURGH, Lord (Law), 373
 BLISS, Arthur (Music), 343
 BLOCH, Ernest (Music), 341
 BLOMBURG, Marshal von (Ger.), 170, 208
 BLUCHER, Marshal (Russia), 189
 BLUM, M. Leon (France), 162, 163, 164, 165
 BLUM, M. Rene (Music), 344
 BLUNDEN, Edmund, "Undertones of War," 302; "Elegy and Other Poems," 303
 BOARD of Trade vote, 43
 BODKIN, Sir A., 74
 BODKIN Committee report, 74, 104
 BOGOMOLOV, Mr. D. V. (Russia), 193
 BOJER, John, "By Day, By Night," 316
 BOKIS, General G. (Russia), 193
 BOLDYREV, Mr. M. F. (Russia), 188
 BOLIVIA, 287
 Government, 287
 Paraguay, diplomatic relations resumed with, 287
 Presidency, 287
 BONDARENKO, M. (Russia), 191
 BONHAM CARTER, Lady, 73
 BONNET, M. Georges (Fr.), 166, 167
 BOOT & Son, Henry, Messrs., 219
 BORCHGRAVE case, 159
 BORDEN, Sir Robert L., Obit., 424
 BORETZ, Allen (Drama), 336
 BORIS, King of Bulgaria, 219, 221

- BORN, Lester K., "Education of a Christian Prince," 311
- BOSE, Sir Jagadis ft, F.R.S., *Obit.*, 451
- BOSSERT, H. M., "Art of Ancient Crete," 310
- BOTANY, Science retrospect, 350-352
- BOTTOMLEY, Gordon, *ed.* "Works of Isaac Rosenberg," 303, 316
- BOUCHARD, M. Paul (Canada), 124
- BOUCHER, Francois (Art), 332
- BOUGHTON, Rutland (Music), 344
- BOULANGER, Nadia (Music), 340
- BOUBMAN, A., "The Tragedy of Nijinsky," 304
- BOWYER, Sir G., *Bt.*, *Barony*, 295
- BOYER, Charles (Cinema), 339
- BOYLE, Mary, "The White Horses of Vienna," 315; "First Lover," 315
- BRABOURNE, Lord, 149
- BRATIANU, M. George (Rum.), 209
- BRAWNE, Fanny, "Letters to Fanny Keats," 308
- BRAZIL, 287
 Argentina, relations with, 284, 286, 288
 Budget, 288
 Constitution, new, 288
 Economics and Finance, Council, 288
 Foreign debt, 288
 Government programme, 287
 Martial law, 288
 Navy question, 284, 286, 288
 Pan-Americanism, and, 288
 Political disturbances, 288
 Political parties suppressed, 288
 Presidential election campaign, 288
 President's *coup d'etat*, 288
 Revenue position, 287
 United States, relations with, 284
- BREACH of promise (Law), 376
- BRECHT, Bert, "A Penny for the Poor," 316
- BRENNAN, Senator (Aust.), 134
- BRIDGE, longest in Europe (Storstrom Bridge), 298
- BRIDIE, James (Drama), 334
- BRIERLEY, Walter, "Sandwichmen," 314
- BRINTON, ft, "The Lives of Talleyrand," 312
- BRITISH Association, 359
- BRITISH Broadcasting Corporation, 120;
 Concerts, contemporary music, 341,
 Orchestra, 340, 341; the Coronation
 televised by, 359; Foreign language
 broadcasts, 86
- BRITISH Film Institute, 338
- BRITISH Somaliland, 177
- BROADBENT, Mr. H. F. (Av.), 295, 299
- BROCKHURST, Mr. G. L., *R.A.*, 300
- BRODOVSKY, M. (Russia), 193
- BROOK, Mr. H. L. (Av.), 295
- BROOKE, Prof. Tucker, "Shakespeare's Sonnets," 307
- BROPHY, John, "Felicity Greene," 315
- BROWN, Alec, "Breakfast in Bed," 316
- BROWN, C. A., "Life of John Keats," 308
- BROWN, Rt. Hon. Ernest, 21-22, 45, 99
- BROWN, G. B., "Art in Early England," 310
- BRUCE, Dr. H. A. (Canada), 126
- BRUSSELS: Far Eastern Conference, 74,
 102, 172, 265, 268
- BRUSSKIN, A. D. (Russia), 188
- BUBNOV, Mr. A. S. (Russia), 188
- BUCHAN, John, "Augustus," 311
- BUCHANAN, George, "Rose Forbes," 314
- BUCHANAN, Jack (Cinema), 338
- BUDENNY, Marshal (Russia), 189
- BUDGET, 34-38
- BUKHARIN, M. (Russia), 191, 192
- BULGARIA, 219
 Archbishop Simeon, *obit.*, 221
 Cabinet changes, 220
 Constitutional problem, 219-220
 Electoral law, new, 220
 Foreign relations, 221
 King Boris, 219, 221
 Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation, 221
 Political arrests, 220-221
 Port, new, at Tzarevo, 221
 Royal family: birth of a prince, 221
 Yugoslavia, relations with, 213, 218, 221
- BUNYAN, J., "Intervention," 312.
- BURCKHARDT, Professor, 156
- BURCKHARDT, J., "Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," 311
- BURDINO, Andre (Music), 342
- BURGIN, Dr., 8, 44, 48
- BURLINGTON Fine Arts Club, 331
- BURLINGTON House Exhibitions (Art), 330
- BURMA: separation from India, 145,
 149-150, 151
 Agency functions, 150
 Governorship, 150
 Secretary of State for, 149
 Trade Agreement negotiations, 151
- BURNETT, Miss I. Compton, "Daughters and Sons," 314, 324
- BUSCH, Colonel (Bolivia), 287
- BUSOH, Fritz (Music), 344
- BUSH, Prof. D., "Mythology and the Romantic Tradition," 309
- BUSINESS failures, 360
- BUSMEN'S strike, 44-46
- BUTLER, Mr. Harold, 161
- BUTLER, Mr. (S. Aust.), 139
- BUTLER, Sir Montagu, Master of Pembroke College, 294
- BUTLER, Mr. R. A., 146
- BY-ELECTIONS, 24, 68, 79
- CABALLERO, Snr. Largo (Sp.), 238, 241, 243
- CABINET, Cabinet Minister, 31
- CABINET changes, 48
- CABINET Ministers' Salaries, 29-30, 31, 375
- CAOHIN, M. (FT.), 163
- CADMAN, Sir J., *Barony*, 295
- CAGOUARDS, the (Fr.), 167
- CAHAN, Mr. (Canada), 119, 123
- CAILLAUX, M. (FT.), 162
- CAJANDER, Prof. A. K. (Finland), 253

- CALDER-MARSHALL, A., "A Date with a Duchess," 315 ; "Pie in the Sky," 314, 327 ; "The Changing Scene," 312
- CALDWELL, C., "Illusion and Reality," 306, 321
- CALLES, Ex-President (Mex.), 290
- CALTHORPE, Admiral Hon. Sir S. G., Obit., 435
- CALTHROP, Dion Clayton, Obit., 411
- CAMBRIDGE Theatre, 341
- "CAMBRIDGE History of India: The Moghul Period," 311
- CAMBRIDGE University :
Pembroke College, 294
St. John's College, 299
- CAMERON, Mr. A. G. (Aust.), 133
- CAMPBELL, G. A., "The Templars," 311
- CAMPBELL, Dr. P. (Canada), 125
- CANADA, 114
Accession of King George VI, 115
Air Service, development, 118, 120-121
Alaska, highway project, 122
Anglo-Canadian Trade Agreement, 116-117
Arctic Islands Sovereignty, 121
Armaments, production control, 119
Budget, 117
Cabinet, 120
China-Japan conflict, 123
Conservative Party leadership, 122
Constitution Amendment question, 124
Coronation celebrations, 115, 119-120
Criminal Code Amendment, 116
Defence policy, 115, 116, 118, 124
Delegation to London, 119-120, 121
Drought relief, 117, 121
Economic, 114, 117
Estimates, 115
Farmers' Creditors Arrangement Act, 116
Federal administration, attack on, 121
Foreign Enlistments Act Repeal Bill, 116
Foreign policy, 116
Governor-General's tour, 122
Hydro-electric power question, 126, 127
Imperial Conference delegates, 119-120
Industrial Undertakings Act, 116
King, H. M., and the Dominions, 123
Legislation, 119
Migration schemes, attitude to, 120
Natural Products Marketing Act, 116
Naval policy, 118
"New Deal" legislation . Privy Council decisions, 116, 119, 123
Northern Canada development, 122
Parliament, 114-115, 118, 119
Population question, 117
Prime Minister's broadcast address, 121
Privy Council appeals, 119
Provincial rights problem, 114, 121, 124
Railways capital structure, 116
deficit, 117
Sales Tax, 117
Spanish conflict, and, 116
Transport Bill, 118
- CANADA, *cont.*
Treaties and Agreements, 119, 122, 124, 145
Unemployment insurance question, 122-123
United States, relations with, 117, 119, 122, 123, 124
War and neutrality question, 115, 116
Wheat marketing problems, 120
Yukon Territory, 125
- ALBERTA, 121, 124-125
Banks control scheme, 125
Budget, 125
By-election, 125
Financial, 125
Libel case, 125
Press Control Bill, 125
Social Credit, 124-125
Stamped script scheme, 125
- BRITISH COLUMBIA, 125
By-election, 125
Conservative Party, 125
General Election, 125
Pattullo Government, 125
Political parties, 125
Yukon Territory, 125
- MANITOBA, 126
Financial, 126
- NOVA SCOTIA, 125-123
General Election, 125
- ONTARIO, 126
Hydro power question, 126, 127
Liberals election success, 126
Lieut.-Governorship, 126
Oshawa motor strike, 126
- QUEBEC, 126-127
Budget, 126
By-election, 124
Government, 126
"National Party," 127
- SASKATCHEWAN, 121, 126
Financial, 126
Relief expenditure, 126
- CANADIAN Broadcasting Corporation, 120
- CANADIAN Institute of National Affairs, 122
- CANCER research (Science), 349 ; gift, 296
- CANNING, George : Argentine monument to, 287
- CANTERBURY, Archbishop of, 28-29, 40, 62-53, 73
- I CANTERBURY Cathedral Festival, 334
- CANTON, 73
- CAPEK, Karel, "War with the Newts," 316
- CAPITAL issues, new, 365
- CAPITAL punishment by poison gas, 200
- CAR parking, 22; (Law), 378
- CARDENAS, President (Mex.), 289, 290, 291
- CARMONA, President (Port.), 245
- CAROL, King (Rum.), 201, 202, 208-211
- CARR, E. H., "Michael Bakunin," 313
- CARR-SAUNDERS, Prof. A. M., appointment, 295
- CARSWELL, Catherine, "The Tranquil Heart," 309
- CASALS (Music), 341

- CASEY, Mr. R. G. (Aust.), 133, 137
 CASTINO, Dr. (Arg.), 285
 CATTLE Fund, 6
 CECIL, Algernon, "A Portrait of Thomas More," 313
 CECIL of Chelwood, Lord, Nobel Prize, 300
 CELINE, M. L. F., "Death on the Installation Plan," 316
 CEREALS, price stabilisation, 48
 CEUTA fortification, 64, 238
 CHALEPSKY, General I. A. (Russia), 188
 CHALIAPIN (Music), 342
 CHALMAS, M. I. (Russia), 191
 CHAMBERLAIN, Rt. Hon. Sir Austen, death 28; Obit., 413
 CHAMBERLAIN, RT. HON. NEVILLE:
 Air Ministry: defence of, 93
 Anglo-American trade pact, 96
 Anglo-German relations, 94-95
 Attlee's, Mr., Spanish visit, 101
 Budget, 34-38
 Civil List Bill, 43
 Conservative Party Conference Address, 79
 Defence expenditure, 11, 35-36; Loan proposals, 12-15
 Deputations to, as Prime Minister, 96
 Electors and Government policy, 68
 Empire migration, 97
 Far Eastern situation, 73, 103
 Fleet Air Arm control, 67
 Foreign affairs debate, 103
 General settlement question, 103
 Imperial Conference speech, 41-42
 India, 53
 League of Nations, 103
 Mentioned, 50, 95, 109
 Mussolini, Signor, and, 69, 104, 173
 National Defence Contribution, 36, 37-38, 49-52
 National Health Services, 84
 New Year Message, 106
 Non-intervention, 57, 58, 83; Labour and, 62
 Premiership, 31, 48
 "Slump Talk," on, 106
 Spain: 57, 62, 68, 83, 87; British policy and, 103; on exchange of Agents with General Franco, 87
 Special Areas, 22
 Standing Order, No. 69, 88
 Working class prosperity, 106
 CHAMBERS, Prof., "The Place of St. Thomas More," 307
 CHANCERY causes (Law), 378
 CHANG FA-KUEI, General (China), 265
 CHANG HSUEH-LIANG, Marshal (China), 262
 CHANG PENG-CHUN, Prof., 73
 CHANNEL swim, 297
 CHANTREY Bequest, 330; Art purchases, 330-331
 CHAPMAN, Guy, "Vain Glory," 312
 CHARLEMONT, Viscount, 110
 CHABLESWORTH, Mr. M. P., 299
 CHATFIELD, Adm. of Fleet, Sir E.: Barony, 295
 CHAUTEMPS, M. Camille (Fr.), 165, 360; London visit, 95
 CHERNOV, M. M. A. (Russia), 188
 CHERVIAKOV, A. G. (Russia), 191
 CHIANG KAI-SHEK, General (China), 262, 263, 265
 CHICHIBABIN, Prof. (Russia), 198
 CHILDREN, physical welfare, 9
 CHILDS, Mr. Starling W., gift, 296
 CHILE, 289
 Economic, 289
 Parliamentary elections, 289
 Political parties, 289
 Russia, relations with, 194
 CHINA, 262
 Anti-Japanese attitude, 263, 269
 Chang Hsueh-liang, Government attitude to, 262
 Communists: Government attitude, 262-263; United Front repudiated, 263
 Government, 262, 263
 Japan, relations with, 263-265, 267; hostilities commence, 264, 267-268; the campaign, 264-265, 268-269; aerial and naval bombardments, 264-265; peace offers, 265, 268
 Kuomintang, the, 263
 League of Nations, and, 265
 Lukouchiao incident, 263-264, 267
 Maritime Customs revenue, 265
 North China, 263-264, 267
 Revenue, 265
 Shanghai, 264, 268
 Shensi Provincial Government, 262
 Soviet Russia: Non-Aggression Treaty with, 195; Text, 397-398
 Territorial sovereignty, attitude to, 263, 265
 CHINA suffering, distress fund, 73
 CHINCHUK, Mr. M. (Russia), 189
 CHRISTMAS trade, 106
 CHROMOSOMES (Science), 346
 CHURCH, Richard, "The Porch," 315
 CHURCHILL, RT. HON. WINSTON S.:
 Air defence debate, 7
 Air-raid precautions, 91
 Ceuta, 64
 Civil List, 43
 Conservative Annual Conference, 79
 Foreign affairs debate, 103-104
 General settlement criticism, 103-104
 India, 53
 League of Nations, 104
 National defence, 67
 National Defence Contribution, 49
 Nyon Conference, 104
 Palestine Royal Commission report, 66
 Spain: Labour censure motion, 62
 CIANO, Count (It.), 171, 172, 173, 174, 186, 212, 214, 221
 CINEMA, retrospect, 337-339
 " H " Classification, 339; (Lit.), 304
 CINEMATOGRAPH Films (Bill) Act, 68, 88-89, 338
 CITRINE, Sir Walter, 76, 77

- CITY of London School, centenary, 294
 CIVIL Estimates, 25
 CIVIL List, 43
 CLARENDON, Bt. Hon. Earl of, 129
 CLARK, Dr. Albert Curtis, Obit., 406
 CLARK, Sir Cl. E. and Capt. H. D., gifts, 294
 CLARK, W. S., "The Works of R. Boyle," 307
 CLARKSON, Mr. C. F. (S. Africa), 129
 CLOUSTON, Flying Officer A. E. (Av.), 300
 CLYNES, Rt. Hon. J. R., 78
 COAL (Registration of Ownership) Bill (Act), 68, 97-98, 375
 COAL-FIELDS dispute, 46
 COAL-CATTLE Pact, 113
 COAL trade, 361, 370
 COCHRANE, Sir Archibald, 150
 COCKS, Mr. Seymour, 62
 COCTEAU, Jean, "The Infernal Machine," 304 ; "Round the World Again in 80 Days," 316
 CODOS, M. (Av.), 300
 COFFIN, C M , "John Donne," 307
 COOHILL, N , "New Oxford Poetry," 303
 COHEN, H E., "Recent Theories of Sovereignty," 305
 COLE, G. D. H., "Letters of William Cobbett," 308-309
 COLERIDGE, General Sir John, 150
 COLISEUM (MUSIC), 344
 COLLECTIVE agreement, distributive trades, 105-106
 COLLECTIVE Security, 16
 COLLINWOOD, R. G., "Roman Britain," 311
 COLLINS, Hon. Stephen Henn (Law), 373
 COLMAN, Ronald (Cinema), 339
 COLNAGHI'S exhibitions (Art), 331
 COLONIES question : Germany and, 16, 93-96, 131, 171, 184
 COLYN, Dr. (Holland), 226, 227
 COMEDY Theatre, 334
 COMMODITY prices, 361, 368, 369
 COMPANIES Acts, 104
 COMPANYYS, Don Luis (Sp.), 243
 CONCERTS Colonne (Music), 340
 CONN ELL, Neville, "Anne, the Last Stuart Monarch," 311
 CONRADIE, Dr. (S.W. Africa), 132
 CONSERVATIVE Party Annual Conference, 79, 81
 "CONSIDERATION," doctrine of (Law), 373
 CONSTABLE centenary (Art), 330, 331
 CONTRACTS (Law), 373-374
 CONWAY of Allington, Lord, Obit., 417
 COOKE, Alastair, "Garbo and the Night Watchman," 304
 COOLICAN, Mr. P. T. (Canada), 120
 COOPER, Rt. Hon. A. Duff, 48
 COOPER, Sir Edwin, R.A., 295
 COOPER, Gladys (Drama), 336
 COPPARD, A. E., "Ninepenny Flute," 315
 CORBIN, M. (Fr.), 169
 CORONATION arrangements, 27 ; ceremony, 39-40; (Cinema), 338
 CORONATION honours list, 40, 295
 CORONATION Oath, 27
 COSGRAVE, Mr. Joseph (Eire), 111, 113
 COSMIC rays investigation, 353-355
 COST of living, 85, 106
 COTTON industry, 106, 361
 COTTON trade reorganisation, 105
 COUBERTIN, Baron Pierre de, Obit., 440
 COURTAULD-Sargent Concerts, 341
 COVENT Garden (Music), 341, 344 ; opera and ballet, 340, 342, 343, 344
 COVENTRY, gift to, 293
 COWARD, Noel, "The Present Indicative," 313 ; "To-night at 8.30," 303
 COWIE, Laura (Drama), 337
 Cox, Maj.-Gen. Sir Percy Z., Obit., 408
 CRABITES, Pierre, "Victoria's Guardian Angel," 312
 CRADDOCK, Sir Reginald H., Obit., 407
 CRAIG, Alec, "The Banned Books of England," 307
 CRAIGAVON, Lady, 108
 CRAIGAVON, Lord, 108, 110
 CRAIGMYLE, Lord, Obit., 429
 CRANBORNE, Lord, 3-4, 29, 64, 104
 CRANE, W. G., "Wit and Rhetoric," 307
 CRERAR, Mr. (Canada), 119, 120
 CREWE, Lord, 83
 CRIEFF, Morrison's Academy : gift to, 293
 CRIPPS, Sir Stafford, 19/23, 24, 77, 78
 CRITERION Theatre, 335
 CRONIN, A. J., "Citadel," 315
 CROOKSHANK, Capt. H. F. C., 19, 46, 47
 CROW, Carl, "Master Kung," 313
 CROYDON Philharmonic Society, 341
 CROZIER, Brig.-Gen. F. P., Obit., 439
 CUMMING, E. E., "1-20 Poems," 303
 CUNNINGTON, C. W., "English Women's Clothing," 310
 CURRENCY : Tripartite Declaration, 50, 162-163, 167, 366
 CURTIN, Mr. (Aust.), 135
 CURTIS, J., "You're in the Racket Too," 314
 CURTIS, L. P., "Civitas Dei," 305, 318
 CUSTOMS and Excise, 35
 CYTOGENETICS, Science retrospect, 346
 CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 203
 Budget, 204, 205
 Cabinet changes, 204
 Defence policy, 205 ; expenditure, 205
 Economic, 204
 Elections postponed, 204
 German Press hostility to, 203, 204
 Germany, relations with, 184, 194, 203
 Gram monopoly subsidy, 204
 Henlein Party clamour, 184, 204
 Little Entente and, 205
 Masaryk, ex-President, death, 205-206
 tributes, 206; Obit., 441
 Military Training Bill, 205
 Minorities populations, concessions to, 204
 Neuer Vorwärts stopped, 204
 Poland, relations with, 205
 Portugal, relations with, 205, 246

CZECHOSLOVAKIA, *cont.*

- Public meetings prohibited, 204
- Soviet Russia and, 205
- Spanish conflict, attitude to, 205
- Sudetic Germans, concessions to, 204
- Treaties and Agreements, 205
- Unemployment, 204, 205
- Weigel case, 183, 203

DALADIER, M. (Fr.), 164

DALMATIA : Italian claims, 172, 212

DALTON, Mr. Hugh, 49, 64, 67, 77, 78

DALY'S Theatre, 335

DANDURAND, Senator (Canada), 120

DANTCHENKO, V. N., "My Life in the Russian Theatre," 304

DANZIG, FREE CITY OF, 156, 202

Amnesty Bill, 203

Anti-Semitism in, 203

Catholic Party : Zentrum dissolved, 203

League High-Commissionership, 156

Nazi domination, 202-203

Poland's responsibility, 202-203

Treasury deficits, 203

DARANYI, M. (Hung.), 206, 208

DARRB, Herr (Ger.), 170

DAUDET, M. (Fr.), 166

DAVIDSON, Sir John : Viscounty, 296

DAVIES, G., "The Early Stuarts," 311

DAVIES, M. R., Victorian water-colours, 311

DAVIES, Rhys, "A Time to Laugh," 315

DAVIES, R. Trevor, "The Golden Century of Spain," 311

DAVISSON, Dr. C. J., Nobel Prize, 300

DAVTYAN, Y. H. (Russ.), 193

DAVY, C., "Footnotes for the Films, 304

DAWSON of Penn, Lord, 53

DE ALVEAR, Dr. Marcelo (Arg.), 285

DEATH duties, 35

DE BASIL Company: Russian dancers, 343

DEBUSSY (Music), 340, 342

DECKERS, Mr. (Holland), 229

DEFENCE Co-ordination:

Minister's Salary debate, 66-67

DEFENCE Estimates, 25, 67

DEFENCE expenditure, 11-15, 25-26; Loan, 12-15, 35, 36, 38, 363

DEGRELLE, M. Leon (Belg.), 224, 225

DEISSMANN, Prof. Adolf, Obitt., 415

DE LA BERE, R., "John Heywood, Entertainer," 307

DELAFIELD, E. M., "Ladies and Gentlemen in Victorian Fiction," 309 ; "Nothing is Safe," 315

DE LA MARE, Walter, "This Year: Next Year," 303 ; "Poetry in Prose," 306

DE LA ROCHE, Mazo (Drama), 335

DE LA ROCQUE, Colonel (Fr.), 163, 166, 167

DE LAVELEYE, M. (Belg.), 223

DE LA WARE, Earl, 48

DELBOS, M. Yvon (Fr.), 156, 158, 164, 169, 170, 202, 211, 212, 238; London visit, 95

DELONOLE, M. (Fr.), 167

I DEL VAYO, Snr., 153, 241

DE MAN, M. (Belg.), 224

DEMCHENKO, Mr. N. (Russia), 188

DE MONTHERLANT, Henri, "Pity for Women," 316

DENHAM, Baron, 295

DENIS, General (Belg.), 224

DENISON-PENDER, Col. J. C, Barony, 295

DENMARK, 246

Budget, 246-247

Currency restrictions, 246

Defence Bill, 247

Economic, 247

Germany, relations with, 246, 247

Government, 246

Great Britain : trade relations, 246

King's Silver Jubilee, 247

Landsting abolition question, 246

Oslo Convention States Conference, 246

Scandinavian co-operation, 247

South Jutland elections, 247

Storstrom Bridge opened, 247, 298

Sweden, relations with, 247

Trade agreements, 246

DENNIS, Geoffrey, "Coronation Commentary," 306

DERBY result, 296

DE SAINT-ATLAIRE, Comte, "Talleyrand," 312

DE SELINCOURT, Prof. E., "Wordsworth's Letters," 308

DESMOND, Astra (Music), 342

DE SOMMI, Leone, "Dialogues," 304

DESTA, Ras (Abyssinia), 177

Deutschland incident, 56, 174, 183, 241

DE VALERA, President Eainon (Eire), 4, 110-114

DE VALOIS, Ninette (Music), 343

DE VANE, W. C., "Browning Handbook," 309

DEVERELL, Fd.-Marshal Sir Cyril, 93

DE VISSCHER, M. Charles (Belg.), 159

DEVONPORT shipyards dismissals, 4-5

DE WILDE, Mr. (Holland), 227

DIOKENS, Mr. F. J., gift, 294

"DICTIONARY of National Biography : Supplement 1922-1930," 313

DIMITRIEV, M. (Russia), 188

DISHER, Willson, "Greatest Show on Earth," 304

DIVORCE (Law), 374-375; see Matrimonial Causes (Bill) Act

DOBBIE, E. K. (Lit.), 307

DODD, Prof. W. E. (U.S.), 284

DOMESTIC Proceedings Act, 10, 68, 375

DOPSCH, Alfons, "European Civilization," 305

DORMAN Long & Co., 247

DOUMERGUE, Gaston, Obitt., 426

DRAMA, retrospect, 332

DREYFUS, Pierre, "Dreyfus : His Life and Letters," 312

"DRINKWATER, John, Collected Poems," 303; Obitt., 414

DRUMMOND, Sir Eric, 1, 69, 174

DUCHESS Theatre, 333, 344

- DUDLEY, D. R., "History of Cynicism," 305
- DUFF, J. W., "Roman Satire," 309
- DUFFERIN, Lord, 65
- DU GARD, M. Roger M. (Nobel Prize), 300
- DUGGAN, J. C., "The Stage Irishman," 304
- DUHAMEL, Georges, "The Pasquier Chronicles," 316, 328; "Salavin," 316
- DUKAS, Paul (Music), 342
- DUKE of York's Theatre, 334, 336
- DUKES, Ashley (Drama), 334
- DU MAURIER, Daphne, "The Du Mauriers," 313
- DUNCAN, Hon. Sir Patrick, K.C.G., C.M.G. (S. Africa), 129
- DUNOAN, Lady, 129
- DUNLAP, Orrin E., "Marconi: The Man and his Wireless," 313
- DUNNING, Mr. C. (Canada), 117, 119
- DUNSTAN, Mr. (Vict. Aust.), 139
- DUPLESSIS, M. (Canada), 126, 127
- DURBIN, Deanna (Cinema), 339
- DURHAM University: centenary, 296
- DUSEIGNEUR, General (Fr.), 167
- DYMENT, Clifford, "Straight or Curly," 303
- DYSON, Dr. George (Music), 298, 341
- EARHART, Miss Amelia, Obit., 433
- EASON, Mr. H. L.: appointment, 294
- EASTON, Robert (Music), 343
- EBBUTT, Mr., *Times* correspondent, 93
- EBERT, Carl (Music), 344
- EBISCH and SOHUCKING, "Shakespeare Bibliography Supplement," 307
- EOKHARDT, M. (Hung.), 206
- ECOLOGY (Science), 350
- ECONOMIC co-operation, 17-18
- M. Van Zeeland's inquiry, 225
- ECONOMIC knowledge, endowment, 301
- ECUADOR : Finance, 367
- EDEN, RT. HON. ANTHONY :
Belgium and neutrality, 29
Brussels visit, 29, 222
Far Eastern dispute, 104
Foreign affairs debate, 104
Foreign policy and defence, 15, 41, 85
Halifax, Lord, Berlin visit of, 94, 95
Imperial Conference, 41
International situation, 3, 64, 102
Italian anti-British propaganda, 104
League of Nations, 15-16, 85, 104; Raw materials problem, 160
Llandudno speech, 82
Mediterranean policy, 59
Mentioned, 17, 79, 95
Nyon Conference, 70
Palestine : Geneva speech, 158
Rearmament, 15-16
Roosevelt, President: speech of, 73
Sanctions, 104
Security : Brussels discussion, 29
- GG 2
- EDEN, RT. HON. ANTHONY, *cont.*
Spain, 3, 56, 59, 68; Non-intervention policy, 3, 15, 33, 55, 58-59, 60, 62, 82, 83, 85-86, 87; reply to critics, 58, 61; Naval protection at Bilbao, 33, 34; *Leipzig* incident, 56; belligerent rights, 61
Warwickshire address, 59
World situation survey, 64
- EDMONTON : borough charter, 299
- EDWARDS, Archbishop, Obit., 435
- EGLINTON, John, "Memoirs of A. E.," 309
- EGYPT, 273
Blueshirts, the, 274
Cabinet reorganisation, 273, 274
Capitulations, the, 273; Text of Convention, 398-401
Constitutional crisis, 274
Financial, 273
King, the, and the Regency, 273
League of Nations and, 273
Mixed Courts, the, 273, 399
Montreux Convention, 216, 273; Text, 398
Nahas Pasha dismissed, 274
Nokrashi Pasha retires, 273
Parliament, 274
Political disturbances, 273-274
Riots, 274
Student disturbances, 274
Youth Organisation, 274
Wafd, the, 273; the Blueshirts, 274
- EIDEMAN, Robert P. (Russia), 190
- EIRE (IRISH FREE STATE), 110
Anglo-Irish differences, conferences, 4, 113
Budget, 114
Coal-Cattle Pact, 113
Constitution, New, 110, 112-113; results of voting on, 111; criticism in the *Dail*, 113-114; designation, 112; Text, 110, 379-388; British Government and, 106
Coronation, and, 39, 114
Fianna Fail, 111
General Election, 111
Imperial Conference, and, 114
King, the, and the New Constitution, 112, 113
Political parties position, 111
Revenue returns, 114
Spanish conflict, attitude to, 114
General O'Duffy's Irish Brigade, 114
Treaty of 1921, 112
United Kingdom, relations with, 113
- EJCHE, M. P. I. (Russia), 188
- ELECTRIC energy sales, 360
- ELECTRICITY Supply Report, 27
- ELIAS, Mr. J. S., Barony, 295
- ELIZABETH, H.M. Queen, 39-40, 43, 108, 114, 300
- ELIZABETH, Princess, 43
- ELLIS, W. D., *ed.*, "Source Book of Gestalt Psychology," 305
- ELTISLEY, Lord, 52
- EMBASSY Theatre, 336
- EMPIRE development, 96-97

- EMPIRE Emigration and Development Conference, 120
 EMPIRE migration, 5-G, 07
 EMPIRE Ministers, reception of, 39
 EMPIRE Settlement Act, 5-6
 EMPIRE Societies' banquet, 42
 ENTOMOLOGY (Science), 347
 EPSOM and EWELL: borough charter, 298
 ERMAN, Prof. Adolf, Obit., 430
 ERNLE, Lord, Obit., 430
 ERNST, Mgr. (Hung.), 207
 ERVINE, St. John (Drama), 333
 ESTIMATES, the, 25-27
 ESTONIA, 198
 Amnesty, 199
 Constitution, 198-199
 Finland, relations with, 253; trade agreement with, 199
 Latvia, relations with, 199
 Lithuania, relations with, 159
 Parliament assemblies, 198
 Presidency, 198-199
 Sterilisation law, 199
 Trade improvement, 199
 ETEM TOTO (Albania), 221
 ETHIOPIA, 172, 176-177, 212
 EULER, Mr. W. D. (Canada), 122, 133
 EURIPIDES (Lit.), 309
 EVANS, G. N., "Social Life in Anglesey," 312
 EVE, Mr. Justice (Law), 373
 EVOLUTION, Science retrospect, 345
 EXCESS Profits tax, 51-52
 EXCHANGE Equalisation Account, 50, 51, 367; Fund increased, 50-51
 EXCHANGE restrictions, 18
 EXPORT Credits Guarantee Department, 215
 EYSTON, Capt. G. E. T., land speed record 300

 FACTORIES (Bill) Act, 8-9, 54, 68, 375
 FAHY, Mr. Frank (Eire), 111
 FALK, H., *trans.*, "Scandinavian Archaeology," 311
 FALLAUA, Hans, "Sparrow Farm," 316
 Far eastern situation, 71 *et seq.*, 84, 102
 FASCISTS, British Union of, 68
 FAULKNER, William, "Absalom, Absalom!" 314
 FEDERATION of British Industries, 96
 FELDMAN, Dr. (Switz.), 234
 FELDMAN, Q.M.-G., B. M. (Russia), 190
 FEN country floods, 27-28
 FERGUSON, W. Bates, K.C., Obit., 445
 FEUCHTWANGER, L., "The False Nero," 316
Field newspaper, 94
 FIELDS, Gracie (Cinema), 338
 FILATOV, Nikolas (Russia), 191
 FILM industry, 337-338, 371; Cinematograph Films Bill, 66, 84, 88-89, 338
 FINANCE and Commerce, retrospect, 360
 FINANCE (Bill) Act, 44, 49-50, 51-52, 68
 FINANCIAL Accounts, 30
 FINANCIAL disturbances, 60
 FINANCIAL resolution protest, 20-22, 88
 FINE Art Society's Gallery, 331-332
 FINLAND, 253
 Elections, 253
 Estonia, relations with, 253; trade agreement, 199
 Foreign Minister's visits, 253
 Germany, relations with, 253
 Government, 253
 League of Nations, and, 253
 Mannerheim national festival, 253
 Patriotic Popular Movement, 253
 Presidential election, 253
 Scandinavian Ministers' Conferences, and, 253
 Soviet Russia, relations with, 253
 FIRTH, Sir Charles, "Commentary on Macaulay's History of England," 311
 FISHER, Admiral Sir W. W., Obit., 429
 FISHERIES investigations (Science), 347
 FITTS, Dudley (Lit.), 309
 FITZALAN, Lord, 52
 FITZGERALD, Robert (Lit.), 309
 FLAGSTAD, Kirsten (Music), 342
 FLANDIN, M. Pierre E. (Fr.), 102
 FLEET Air Arm control, 67
 FLEISCHHAUER, Lt.-Col., 232
 FLETCHER, Lt.-Cmdr., 99, 104
 FLETCHER, Major Benton: gift, 300
 FLOODS, 27-28
 FOKINE, Michel (Music), 343
 FOKKER, T. H., "Roman Baroque Art," 310
 FOLL, Senator H. S. (Aust.), 133
 FONJALLEZ, ex-Colonel (Switz.), 231
 FONTAINE, Mr. Paul (Canada), 120
 FOOD supply in war, 47-48
 FOOT-and-Mouth disease (Science), 352
 FORBES-ROBERTSON, Jean (Drama), 333
 FORBES-ROBERTSON, Sir Johnston, Obit., 448
 FOREIGN affairs debate, 94, 103
 FOREIGN Enlistment Act, 3; Repeal Bill (Canada), 116
 FOREIGN Exchanges, 365-366
 FOREIGN Office Vote, 59, 64
 FORMIOHI (Music), 342
 FORSTER, E. M., "Passage to India," 302
 FOURIE, Mr. A. (S. Africa), 129
 Fox, Ralph, "The Novel and the People," 309; "This was Their Youth," 314
 FRANCE, 162
 Alexandretta dispute, 169, 214, 215, 260, 261
 Arbitration law, 167
 Budget, 167
 "Cagoulards," the, 167
 Cantonal elections, 166
 Chautemps Cabinet, 165, 360
 China-Japan conflict, and, 169
 Chchy, affair of, 163
 de la Rocque action, 166-167
 Financial, 167, 360, 365, 366
 Fiscal measures, 165
 Foreign Minister's tours, 95, 169-170
 Foreign policy, 95, 170

FRANCE, *cont.*

- Forty-hour week law, 164
 Franc, the, detached from gold, 165, 366;
 exchange value, 167, 360
 Germany, relations with, 169
 International Exhibition, 164, 167
 Italy, relations with, 169
 Monetary agreement, tripartite, the, 50,
 162, 167, 366
 National Railway Company, 165
 North Africa administration, 165-166
 Political parties, 166
 Prices, rise in, 166, 360
 Production, Commission of Inquiry, 166
 problem, 166, 167
 Radical-Socialist Congress, 166
 Spanish Civil War, and, 95, 168-169
 State control, increase in, 165
 Strikes, 164, 167-168
 Treaties and agreements, 199, 246
 FRANCO, General (Sp.), 55, 60, 102, 153,
 183, 237-245, 271 *et passim*
 FRANCO, Col. Rafael (Paraguay), 291
 FRANCO-SOVIET PACT:
 Great Britain and, 17
 FRANCOEUR, Mr. J. N. (Canada), 124
 FRANK, Bruno, "Closed Frontiers," 315
 FRANKE, Dr. (Czech.), 204
 FRANKLIN-BOUILLON, Henry, *Obit.*, 450
 FRAUDS, Statute of (Law), 373
 FRAZER, Sir James, "Totemica," 305
 FRENCH financial crisis, 50
 FRENCH opera, 342
 FRERE, M. Maurice (Beig.), 225
 FREUD, Sigmund, "Psychopathology,"
 etc., 302; "Writings of: General
 Selection," 305
 FROBENIUS, Prof. L., "Prehistoric Rock
 Pictures," 310
 FRODSHAM, Rt. Rev. G. H., *Obit.*, 410
 FROLOV, Prof. Y. P., "Pavlov and his
 School," 305; "Fish who Answer the
 Telephone," 305
 FROST, Robert, "A Further Range, Bk.
 IV," 303
 FRY, Roger, "Vision and Design," 302
 FUNGI (Science), 350
 FUNK, Herr (Ger.), 180
 FURTWANGLER (MUSIC), 340, 342

 GABLE, Clark (Cinema), 339
 GALANTIERE, Lewis, "The Goncourt
 Journals," 309
 GALLAGHER, Mr., 23
 GALWAY, Lord (N.Z.), 140
 GAMARNIK, Marshal (Russia), 189, 190
 GAMELIN, General (Fr.), 210
 GANDHI, Mr. (India), 147, 148, 149
 GARBO, Greta (Cinema), 339
 GABDEY, M. Abel (Fr.), 162
 GARDINER, Mr. J. G. (Canada), 121
 GARDNER, Helen, "Art Through the
 Ages," 310
 GARDNER, Dr. Percy, *Obit.*, 432
 GARLAND, H. R., "Leasing," 309
 GARNETT, David, "Castle Bigod," 315 |

- GARNETT, Edward, *Obit.*, 408
 GARRICK Theatre, 334
 GAS. *See* Air-Raid Precautions
 GATE Theatre, 332, 333
 GAUBERT, Philippe (Music), 342
 GAUMONT-BRITISH (Cinema), 337
 GAUNT, W., "Bandits in a Landscape,"
 310 322
 GAYDA, Signor (It.), 186
 GAYNOR, Janet (Cinema), 339
 GEDDES, Rt. Hon. Sir Eric C., *Obit.*,
 428
 GELISSEN, Mr. (Holland), 229
 GEOLOGICAL Congress, 359
 GEORGE VI., H.M. KING, 95, 300;
 Coronation, 27, 39-40, 114, 286;
 Empire Ministers and delegates wel-
 comed by, 39; N. Ireland visit, 108
 GEORGE, MAJOR LLOYD, 86
 GEORGE RT. HON. D. LLOYD :
 Ceuta, 64
 Dictators, the : British policy and, 58
 Location of industry, 22
 Non-intervention, 58, 85
 Palestine Royal Commission, 256
 Standing Orders protest, 21
 Tribute to Sir Austen Chamberlain,
 28
 GERMANY, 179
 Administrative changes, 182-183
 Anti-Hitlensm, 183
 Austria, relations with, 184
 Belgium, attitude to, 184, 222-223
 Bread supply, 180
 Catholic Church position, 181-182
 Colonies question, 16, 93-96, 131, 171,
 184
 Currency position, 179-180
 Czechoslovakia, relations with, 183-184
 Economic Affairs, Ministry, 179, 180
 Economic autarchy, 184
 Enabling Law, the, 182
 Evangelical Church and the Govern-
 ment, 179, 181, 182
 Far Eastern conflict, and, 183
 Foreign policy, 183-184; uncompro-
 mising attitude, 184-185
 Four-Year Plan, 180
 Great Britain, relations with, 56, 93-
 96, 171; Naval Agreement, 66
 Italy, relations with, 183
 Japan, relations with, 183
 Jews, position of, 182
 Lithuania, relations with, 184
 Ludendorff, General, *obit.*, 182, 455
 National School, 181-182
 Niemoeller, Pastor, 181, 182
 Nuremberg Rally, 182, 194
 Poland, relations with, 184
 Price control m, 180
 Protestant Church and the Government,
 181, 182
 Raw materials shortage, 180
 Reichsbank and the gold standard, 179
 Schacht, Dr., resigns, 179, 180
 Self-sufficiency policy, 180

GERMANY, *cont.*

Spain: German participation, 183, 184; *Deutschland* incident, 56, 183; Non-intervention policy, 56 *et seq. passim*, 87; *Leipzig* incident, 56-57, 174

Treaties and agreements, 119, 199, 246
GEYL, Prof. P., "The Netherlands Divided (1609-1648)," 311

GIBB, Sir Alexander, 215

GIBBS, Armstrong (Music), 341

GIBRALTAR Fortifications, 64

GIELGUD, John (Drama), 334, 337

GIGLI (Music), 342

GILDER, Rosamond, "John Gielgud's Hamlet," 304

GILLET, Sir George, 98

GIRAL, Sfir. (Sp.), 241

GLAZOUNOV (Music), 340, 341

GLEIJOHEN, Maj.-Gen. Lord A. E. W., Obit., 453

GLENRAVEL, Lord, Obit., 425

GLOBE Theatre, 333, 336

GLOUCESTER, Duke of, 43

GLOUCESTER: Three Choirs Festival, 344

GLUCK (Music), 342

GLYNDEBOURNE (Music), 339, 343

GOERINO, General (Ger.), 94, 170, 179, 180

GOGA, M. Octavian (Rum.), 171, 172, 209, 210, 211

Goo ARTY, Oliver, "As I was Going Down Sackville Street," 312

GOLD and Silver, 197, 367

GOLD price, 50, 362

GOLD scare, 50

GOLD, M. B., "Swift's Marriage to Stella," 308

GOLDENWIESER, Prof. A., "Anthropology," 305

GOLDING, Louis, "In the Steps of Moses," 306

GOLDSCHNEIDER, L., "Five Hundred Self Portraits," 310

GOODMAN, Jules E. (Drama), 337

GOODRICH strike, 167

GOOSSENS, Eugene (Music), 342

GORE-BROWN, Robert, "Lord Both well," 313

GORKI, Maxim, "Last Plays," 304; "The History of the Civil War in the U.S.S.R.," 312

GORT, General Viscount, 93

GOSELING, Dr. (Holland), 227

GOVERNMENT: ministerial changes, 48

GRABO, C., "The Magic Plant: The Growth of Shelley's Thought," 308

GRAD, A. S. (Russia), 191

GRAHAM, H. G., "Social Life of Scotland," 312

GRANDI, Count (It.), 39, 60, 63, 82, 83, 87, 174, 175

GRANT, Sir Alexander, Bt., Obit., 422

GRAVES Charitable Trust: gift, 295

GBAZIANI, Marshal (It.), 28, 176, 177

GREAT Ormond St. Hospital: gift to, 298

GREECE, 217

Balkan Entente, the, 218

British Legation site, 219

Defence programme, 218

Drainage and irrigation, 219

Excavations discoveries, 219

Foreign relations, 217-218

Germany, relations with, 218-219

Italy, relations with, 218

King George, 217, 218

Land works contract, 219

Loans payments, 219

Metaxas regime, 217, 218

Political situation, 217

Press censorship, 217

Social legislation, 217

Turkey, relations with, 218

GREEK Scholarship Fund: the Ella Stephens, 298

GREENE, Sir Wilfrid (Law), 373

GREENWOOD, Rt. Hon. Arthur, 5, 31, 43, 67

GREENWOOD, Baron: Viscounty, 293

GREGOR, Dr. Joseph, "Masks of the World," 304

GRENELL, Mr., 15, 19

GRESFORD colliery explosion, report, 18-19

GRIERSON, H. J. C., "Milton and Wordsworth," 307

GRIFFIN, Frank, "I Joined the Army," 313

GRIGG, Sir E., 42

GRIGG, Sir James (India), 150

GRIGGS, G. E. and E. L., "Letters of Hartley Coleridge," 308

GRIGSON, G., *ed.*, "The Year's Poetry," 303

GRINKO, M. Grig (Russia), 188

GRISWOLD, Dr. A. Whitney (U.S.), 282

GROCERY trade wage agreement, 106

GUERNICA, destruction of, 55, 183, 240

GUEST, Captain The Rt. Hon. F. E., Obit., 418

GUFFEY Coal Act, 280

GUILLAUME, M. Bailly (Fr.), 106

GUISTOHEFF, M. (Bulg.), 220

GULBRANNSSEN, T., "The Wind from the Mountains," 316

GULLETT, Sir Henry (Aust.), 133-134

GUTHRIE, Tyrone (Drama), 337

GUY'S Hospital: gift to, 299

GWYER, Sir Maurice (India), 149

HAALKE, Magnhild, "Alle's Son," 316

HACKER, J., "Soren Kierkegaard," 309

HADOW, Sir W. H., Obit., 416

HAG EN, Julius (Cinema), 337

HAGUE Permanent Court, 159

HAILSHAM, Lord, 39

HALEVY, Prof. Ede, "History of the English People," 302; Obit., 438

HALIFAX, LORD:

Berlin visit, 94-95, 96, 102, 103, 104, 169, 171, 184, 187

Collective Security, 16-17

Far Eastern situation, 83

Foreign Policy, 16-17

- HALL, Mr. J. H. (Palestine), 157-158
 HAMBER, Mr. Eric (British Columbia), 122
 HAMBRO, Mr. C. J. (Norway), 249
 HAMBURG administrative changes, 182
 HAMEL, M. Philippe (Canada), 126
 HAMILTON, Mr. A. (N.Z.), 144
 HAMMARSKJÖLD, M. (Sweden), 160
 HANLEY, James, "Broken Waters," 313 ;
 "Half an Eye," 314
 HANNEVIG, Mr. (Norway), 252
 "HANSEATIC Scholarships," 299
 HARBAQE, A., "Cavalier Drama," 307
 HARDING, D. W., *ed.*, "The Complete
 Works of Isaac Rosenberg," 303, 316
 HARRINGTON, Col. G. S. (Nova Scotia),
 125
 HARRIS, Robert (Drama), 337
 HARRISON, G. B., "Robert Devereux,
 Earl of Essex," 311
 HARRISON, T., "Savage Civilisation," 305
 HART, Moss (Drama), 336
 HARTINGTON, Marquess of, 132
 HARVEY, Sir Paul, "Oxford Companion I
 to Classical Literature," 309
 HARWORTH Colliery dispute, 46-47
 HASKELL, Arnold, "Dancing Round the
 World," 304
 HASKINS, Dr. Charles Homer, *Obit.*, 420
 HAVENGA, Mr. N. C. (S. Africa), 129
Havock, British destroyer, 70
 HA WORTH, Prof. W. N., Nobel Prize, 300
 HAY, Ian (Drama), 334
 HAYASHI, General (Japan), 266, 267
 HAYDEN, M. Charles, bequest, 293
 HAZEN, Allen J., "Samuel Johnson's
 Prefaces and Dedications," 308
 HEALTH services, National, 84
 HEARD, Gerald, "Science Front, 1936,"
 305
 HEDILLA Snr. (Sp.), 240, 242
 HEFFNER, Ray, *ed.*, "5th Book of the
 Faerie Queen," 307
 HEMINGWAY, Ernest, "To Have and Have
 Not," 314, 326
 HENDERSON, W., "Victorian Street Bal-
 lads," 309
 HENDRIK Steffens prize, 299
 HENIE, Sonja (Cinema), 339
 HENLEIN, Herr (Czech.), 204
 HENNESEY, J. Pope, "Giovanni di Paolo,"
 310
 HENNESSY, Sir George : Baronv, 293
 HENRY, Leigh, "Dr. John Bull, 1562-
 1628," 304
 HEPBURN, Mr. (Canada), 121, 126
 HEPPENSTALL, Rayner, "Sebastian," 303
 HERBERT, Mr. A. P., Marriage Bill, 53,
 374-375
 HERMAN, Yuri, "Antonina," 316
 HERTZOG, General Hon. J. M. B. (S.
 Africa), 127-131 *passim*
 HESS, Herr Rudolf (Ger.), 170, 179
 HEWLETT, Dorothy, "Adonais : A Life
 of John Keats," 308
 HICKS, Granville, "John Reed," 312
 HILSZ, Mile. Margse (Av.), 301
 | HIMALAYAN exploration : German ex-
 pedition, 151
 HIMMLER, Herr (Ger.), 179
 HINDEMITH, Paul (Music), 341
 HINDLE, W. H., "Morning Post," 312
 HIPPODROME (Music), 344
 HIROSHIMA, S. (Japan), 196
 HIROTA, Mr. (Japan), 266, 267
 HIRTZEL, Sir F. A., *Obit.*, 402
 HITLER, Herr (Ger.), 58, 94, 95, 121, 170,
 171, 179-183, 212, 271
 HOARE, Rt. Hon. Sir Samuel, 4, 5, 26,
 48, 85, 90, 91, 92
 HODGE, Harold, *Obit.*, 403
 HODGE, Rt. Hon. John, *Obit.*, 437
 HODGKIN, Mr. R. H., 298
 HODGSON, Sir Robert, 243
 HODSON, Mr. Francis L. C. (Law), 373
 HODZA, Dr. (Czech.), 204, 210
 HOFMEYER, Mr. J. H. (S. Africa), 128-129
 HOLSTI, Dr. (Finland), 194, 253
 HOOKER, G. N., "The Complete Works of
 John Dennis," 308
 HOPKINS, Gerard Manly, "Notebooks and
 Papers," 309
 HORE-BELISHA, Rt. Hon. L., 22, 27, 93
 HORMONES (Science), 348, 351
 HORNE, Kenneth (Drama), 335
 HORNE, Sir Robert (Lord), 37, 40, 52,
 96-97 ; Viscount, 295
 HORNIMAN, Annie E. F., *Obit.*, 436
 HORRIDGE, Mr. Justice (Law), 373
 HORTHY, Admiral (Hung.), 207
 HOTSON, Prof. L., "I, William Shake-
 speare," 307
 HOULT, Norah, "Coming from the Fair,"
 315
 HOUSE of Lords appeals (Law), 373, 376-
 377
 HOUSING decontrol, 374
 HOUSMAN, Laurence (Lit.), 303, 312 ;
 (Drama), 332-333
 HOWE, Lord, 66
 HOWE, Mr. C. D. (Canada), 116, 118, 120
 HOWE, Mr. Earl (Canada), 126
 HUDDERFIELD Choral Society, 340
 HUDSON, S., "The Other Side," 314
 HUDSON, Mr. R. S., 11
 HUGGINS, Mr. (S. Rhodesia), 132
 HUGHES, Mr. Chief Justice (U.S.A.), 279
 HUGHES, Mr. William M. (Aust.), 133, 134
 HuGHES-Stanton, Sir Herbert (Art), 331
 HULL, Mr. Cordell (U.S.A.), 4, 123, 124,
 252, 284
 HULL, Mrs. Cordell, 123
 HUNGARY, 206
 Anti-Semitism, 206
 Budget, 208
 Constitution question, 207
 Daranyi Government, 206, 207
 Election, 206
 Electoral Reform Bill, 207
 Extremist agitation, measures against,
 207
 Foreign policy, 207
 Germany, relations with, 207, 208

HUNGARY, *cont.*

- Italy, relations with, 207
- Little Entente, and, 207-208
- Minorities question, 208
- Nazi agitation, 206; attitude to, 206-207
- Political " Putsch " rumours, 206
- Racialism, 206-207
- Regent's attitude, 207; question of powers, 207; and style, 207; succession question, 207
- Revisionist claims, 207, 212
- Rome Protocols, and, 207

HUTCHINSON, Prof. Arthur, *Obit.*, 452

HUXLEY, Aldous, " Ends and Means," 305, 319

HYDERABAD and BERAR, H. E. H., Nizam of, 149

ICELAND, 247

- Althing dissolved, 247
- General Election, 247
- Political parties, 247

ILIFFE, Lord: gift, 293

ILSLEY, Mr. (Canada), 119

IMPERIAL Airways, 92, 120; committee of inquiry, 92

IMPERIAL Conference, 39-43, 119, 120, 121, 129, 140, 151

IMPERIAL Defence Committee, 67

IMPERIAL Institute, 150

IMPERIAL League of Opera, 344

IMPERIAL preference, 18, 44, 136, 138, 145

IMPERIAL TRUST, 296

IMPORT Duties Advisory Committee, 361

INCOME tax, 35-36

INDEPENDENT Labour Party, 23-24, 66

INDIA, 145

- Alcoholic prohibition, 147
- Bengal *detrus*, 148-149
- Bikanir, 149
- British Army mechanisation, 150
- British Parliament and, 53-54
- Budget, 150
- Burma, separation of, 145, 149
- Central Legislature, 150
- Congress Party, 146
- Federal Court constituted, 149
- Federation problem, 149
- Finance Bill, 150
- Frontier operations, 145, 150
 - extension of protected areas, 150
 - military roads, 150
- Gandhi, Mr., influence for moderation, 146-147
- General Election, 145-146
- Himalayas, German expedition, 151
- Hyderabad, 149
- Kapurthala, 149
- Legislative Assembly, 150
- Office acceptance, attitude of Parties, 146-147
- Political parties, 146
- Political prisoners released, 148-149
- Provincial Autonomy, 145

INDIA, *cont.*

- Railways Committee's report, 151
- Trade Agreement with U.K., 151
- Travancore, 149
- Wazinstan troubles, 150

INDIAN Science Congress, 359

INDUSTRY, location of, 21-22, 99; Royal Commission, 99

INFLUENZA (Science) 352

INSKIP, Sir Thomas, 7, 13, 28, 38, 41, 47, 67

INSURANCE, 370; (Law), 376, 377, 378

INTERNATIONAL Church Congress, 181

IPATYEV, Prof. (Russ.), 198

IPI, Faqir of, 150

IRAN (PERSIA), 254

- Communications, 254
- Frontier dispute settlement, 254
- German firms contracts in, 254
- Iraq, relations with, 254
- League of Nations, and, 215
- Railway progress, 254
- Treaties and agreements, 215, 255
- Trebizond-Tabriz road, 254
- Turkey, relations with, 254
- Women, emancipation of, 254

IRAQ, 254

- Army methods, dissatisfaction with, 255
- Assyrian refugees question, 255
- Cabinet crisis, 254-255
- Frontier dispute settled, 254, 255
- Iran, relations with, 254, 255
- Non-aggression pact, 255
- Palestine re-echoes, 255
- Political assassinations, 254
- Treaties and agreements, 215, 255
- Turkey, relations with, 255

IRELAND, John (Music), 341

IRELAND, NORTHERN, 108

- Agricultural Workers' Unemployment Insurance Act, 109
- Budget, 108-109
- Education levy, 109
- Government changes, 110
- Imperial Exchequer contribution, 108-109
- Income tax, 109
- Independent Unionist Party, 110
- I.R.A. disturbance, 108
- Political development, 110
- Revenue, 109
- Road Fund, 109
- Royal visit, 108
- Unemployment, 109
 - Insurance Act extensions, 109; Re-insurance Agreement, 109

IRISH FREE STATE. *See* Eire.

IRON and Steel Industry, 106, 370

ISHERWOOD, Christopher, " Sally Bowles," 314; (Drama), 334

ISMET INONTI, General (Turkey), 214, 215, 218

ITALIAN opera, 342

ITALY, 170

- Anti-Communist Pact, 170, 171-172
- Austria, relations with, 171, 185, 186

ITALY, *cont.*

- Autarky policy, 170, 175-176, 178-179 ;
cereals, 176; electricity, 176 ; electro-
siderurgy 175-176; fuel stuffs, 176
- Budget, 178
- Capital tax, 178-179
- Colonies Ministry, 177-178
- Duce's visit to Germany, 170-171
- Ethiopia, development, 170, 176, 177 ;
insecurity, 176-177 ; highways plan,
177 ; Viceroy appointed, 177-178
- Financial, 170, 178 ; gold reserve, 178 ;
loan question, 179
- "Finsider," the, 176
- France, relations with, 173
- Franco-British entente, and, 172
- Germany, relations with, 170, 171
- Great Britain, relations with, 1, 69, 70,
104, 171, 173, 218; anti-British
manifestations, 173; in propaganda,
86, 104, 173, 260
- Hungary, relations with, 171
- Islamism, and, 173, 177
- Japan-China conflict, and, 172
- League of Nations, and, 170, 173
- Libya, 177
- Living, price of, 178
- Military programme, 175, 176
- Rome-Berlin axis, 170-171
- Royal Family, 179
- Rumania, relations with, 171, 172
- Spain conflict, and:
Barletta, bombing of, 174
Belligerent rights question, 63, 87,
175
Non-intervention policy and, 56 *et seq.*
passim, 80-84, 87, 174-175
Nyon Conference, 70, 71, 80, 175
Participation, 170-171, 174
Volunteers question, 63, 174, 175
- Textiles exhibition, 176
- Treaties and agreements, 172, 246
- Turkey, relations with, 174
- Yugoslavia, relations with, 171, 172,
207, 211

JACOB, Gordon (Music), 341

JAMESON, Storm, "Delicate Monster," 315

JAMIL MARDAM BEY (Syria), 260

JANSON, M. (Belg.), 224

JAPAN, 266

- Air Defence law, 270
- Army Estimates, 266, 270
- British protests to, 72, 73, 102
- Budget, 266-267
- Cabinet changes, 266
- China, relations with, 263-265, 267;
outbreak of war, 264, 267-268;
the campaign, 72-73, 102, 264-265,
268-269; peace offers, 265-268 ; pup-
pet governments in N China, 269 ;
"incidents" involving British sub-
jects, 72, 102
- Defence Estimates, 266-267, 270;
policy co-ordination, 270
- Diet dissolved, 266

j JAPAN, *cont.*

- Financial difficulties, 267, 367; and
the war, 270
- Fisheries Convention, 195, 270
- Foreigners, assaults on, in the war, 72,
102, 269-270
- General Election, 266
- Great Britain : protests to Japan, 72,
73, 102
public feeling in, 73 ; boycott move-
ment, 73
- Naval Treaty attitude, 66
- Shanghai, 264, 268 ; "victory march,"
269; assaults on foreigners, 72, 102,
269-270
- Soviet Russia, relations with, 195, 270
- Taxation increase, 266
- JARVIS, Sir John, M.P.: gift, 297
- JAWAD, Muhammad Ah (Iraq), 254
- JAYAKAR, Mr. M. R. (India), 149
- JEANS, Sir James, "Science and Music,"
304
- JENKINS, Mr., 78
- JENNINGS, H., "Mass Observation, Day
Survey," 305
- JESSE, F. Tennyson, "Act of God," 315
- J. H. Productions, Ltd (Cinema), 337
- JOHNSON, Pamela H., "World's End,"
315
- JOHNSTON, Mr. T., 28, 38
- JONES, Mr. F. (N.Z.), 144
- JONES, Mr. Joseph, 19
- JORDAN, Mr. (N.Z.), 158
- JORGA, Prof. (Rum.), 209
- JOUHAUX, M. (Fr.), 164
- JUDICIAL separation (Law), 375
- JUDICIARY changes, 373
- JULIANA, Crown Princess (Holland), 225
- JUSTO, President (Arg.), 285, 287
- JUTA, Miss Marjorie, "The Pace of the
Ox," 313
- JUVENILE Courts (Law), 374
- KAFKA, F., "The Trial," 315; "The
Metamorphosis," 315
- KAGANOVITCH, M. (Russia), 188
- KAGANOVITCH, Lazar M. (Russia), 188
- KALFUS, Dr. (Czech.), 204
- KALLAY, Dr. (Hung.), 207
- KALLIO, Hr. (Finland), 253
- KALMANOVICH, M. M. (Russia), 188
- KAMINSKY, M. (Russia), 188
- KANYA, M. (Hung.), 208
- KAPURTHALA, Maharaja of, 149
- KARAKHAN, Leo M. (Russ.), 194, 215
- KARRER, Prof. Paul: Nobel Prize, 300
- KATAEV, V., "Lonely White Sail," 316
- KATZ, Prof. David, "Animals and Man,"
305
- KAUFMAN, George S. (Drama), 336
- KAYE-SMITH, Sheila, "Three Ways
Home," 312
- KELLOGG, Frank B., Obit., 456
- KELLY, J. A., "German Visitors to English
Theatres," 308
- KENILWORTK, Baron, 295

- KENNEDY, Margaret (Drama), 334
 KERILLIS, M. (Ft.), 166
 KEYNES, Geoffrey, "John Evelyn," 307
 KHAN, Mr. Abdul Ghaffar (India), 147
 KHAN, Sirdar Mohamed Hashim (Afghan.), 254
 KHAN, Sir M. Zafrullah (India), 151
 KHAN SAHEB, Dr. (India), 147
 KNIGHT, Dame Laura, B.A., 330, 331
 KIENBOECK, Dr. (Austria), 186
 KILGOUR, R. L., "The Decline of Chivalry," 311
 KILMOREY, Earl of, 108
 KING, Bolton, Obit., 420
 KING, Rt. Hon. L. Mackenzie (Canada), 115-124 *passim*, 127; U.S. visit, 117; broadcast address, 121; tour of London and Europe, 121.
 KING'S Speech, 84
 KIOSSEIVANOFF, M. (Bulg.), 220
 KIPLING, Rudyard, "Something of Myself," 312
 KIRBY-GREEN, Mrs. (Av.), 300
 KIRKLAND, Jack, "Tobacco Road," 304
 KIROV, M. (Russia), 190
 KISOH, Egon Erwin, "Australian Landfall," 313
 KITSON, Sir Albert E., Obit., 411
 KNATOHULL-HUGESSEN, Sir Hugh, 72, 269
 KNIGHT, Mr. Harold, R.A., 294
 KNIGHTS, L. C., "Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson," 307
 KNOX, Rt. Rev. E. A., D.D., Obit., 404
 KNOX, General Sir Harry, 93
 KNYAZEV, I. A. (Russia), 189
 Koc, Colonel Adam (Poland), 200, 201
 KODILY, Zoltan (Music), 344
 KOHT, Dr. (Norway), 249, 251, 252
 KONOYE, Prince (Japan), 266
 Koo, Dr. Wellington (China), 154, 265
 KORDA, Alexander (Cinema), 338
 KORK, General A. I. (Russia), 190
 KORNGOLD, M., "Robespierre," 313
 KOSHUTI, Dr. August (Croat.), 213
 KOWALEWSKI, Col. (Poland), 200
 KRAAOK, Eric (Music), 340
 KRAVAL, Mr. I. (Russia), 188
 KREISLER (Music), 342
 KRESTINSKY, M. (RUSS.), 193
 KROFTA, Dr. (Czech.), 170, 203
 KRUPPS, 216
 KRYLENKO, M. (Russia), 188
 KUBELIK, Rafael (Music), 340
 KUNG, Dr. H. H. (China), 265
 revitalisation, 55; "New Socialist millions," 55; declaration on International Policy and Defence, 75, 77, 79
I Ladybird: British vessel, 269
 LAFLEOHE, Lieut.-Col. L. R. (Canada), 120
 LAMAS, Dr. Saavedra (Arg.), 286
 LAMBERT'S, "Pomona" (Music), 343
 LAMBIE, Mr. J. (Av.), 295
 LANCASHIRE cotton industry reorganisation, 105
Lancet, The: editorship, 297
 LAND drainage, Exchequer grants, 48
 LANDOWSKA (Music), 342
 LANG, Mr. (N.S.W.), 139
 LANGDALE, A. B., "Phineas Fletcher," 307
 LANGDON, Dr. Stephen H., Obit., 422
 LANGE, M. (Norway), 159
 LAPOINTE, Mr. (Canada), 116, 119
 LARKA, General (Estonia), 199
 LASKI, Prof. Harold, 78
 LASZLO de Lombos, Philip Alexius (Art), 331; Obit., 451
 LATVIA, 199
 Civil Code, 199
 Currency, 199
 Foreign relations, 199
 Gymnasium opened at Riga, 199
 Suspension bridge, 199
 Trade agreements, 199
 Trade improvement, 199
 LAUBSCHER, B. J. F., "Sex Custom and Psychotherapy," 305
 LAUGHTON, Charles (Cinema), 338
 LAURIER, Sir Wilfrid, 118
 LAYER, James, "Taste and Fashion," 310
 LAVERY, Emmet (Drama), 336
 LAVOINE, M. Jean, Channel crossing, 297
 LAW Officers' salaries, 31
 LAW Reform Act, 1934, 376, 377
 LAW retrospect, 373
 LAW Revision Committee Report, 373
 LAWRENCE, A. W., "T. E. Lawrence," 309
 LAWSON, Wilfrid (Drama), 333
 LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 152
 Arbitration: Borchgrave case, 159; Estonia-Lithuania railway seizure, 159; Lighthouses case, 159; Meuse waters, 159; Morocco phosphates, 159
 Assembly, 160
 British policy, and views as to, 14-17, 41, 84, 103, 104
 Health Organisation, 160
 International Co-operation: Opium Committee, 160; Refugees work, 160; Women, traffic in, 160
 International Labour Organisation, 161; Conference, 161
 Mandates Commission, 157; Palestine, disturbances, etc., 157-159
 Membership, 161
 Permanent Court, 159-160
 Membership, 159-160
 See Arbitration *supra*
- LABOUR Party:
 Five-Year Plan, 23
 and rearmament, 67-68
 LABOUR Party Conference, 77-79; Japan-China, 77; Trade Union domination: executive question, 77-78; five-year programme, 78; Spain, 79
 LABOUR Party: dissensions, 23-24; United Front movement, 23-24, 64, 78; extremists suppressed, 54-55; |

- LEAGUE OF NATIONS, *cord*.
 Political activities: Alexandretta, 16,
 162, 155-156; Danzig, 156; Sino-
 Japanese dispute, 154-155; Spanish
 conflict, 152-154; health mission,
 153; piracy menace, 153
 LEAGUE of Nations Union, 234
 LEBANON, the, 261-262
 LB BRETON, Don Tomas (Arg.), 286
 LEDWARD, Mr. Gilbert: R.A., 294
 LEEDS Festival Chorus, 340, 344
 LEES-SMITH, Mr. 67
 LEGER Gallery (Art), 331
 LEGGATT, Messrs. (Art), 332
 LEHMANN, Beatrix (Diana), 337
 LEHMANN, John, ed., "New Writing," 306
 LEICESTER Galleries (Art), 332
 Leipzig incident, 56-57, 174
 LEMARE concerts, 341
 LENORMAND, H., "In Theatre Street," 304
 LESTER, M. Sean, 156
 LEVY, Sir Albert: gift, 293
 LEWIS, C. Day, ed., "The Mind in Chains,"
 306; "Starting Point," 314
 LEWIS, Hugh, Obit., 412
 LEWIS, John L. (U.S.A.), 280, 281
 LEWIS'S Ltd, Messrs. (distributive trades
 agreement), 105-106
 LEWIS, Wyndham, "Blasting and Bom-
 bardeering," 313; "The Revenge for
 Love," 315
 LEWIS, W. S., "Horace Walpole's Cor-
 respondence," 308
 LIBERAL Party: and the by-elections, 68
 LIBOHOVA, M. (Albania), 221
 LIDDELL, Major-Gen. C. G., 93
 "LIEVEN, Mme. de, Private Letters of,
 to Prince Metternich," 312
 LIFE, expectation of (Law), 376-377
 LIGHT (Science), 358
 LINDSAY, J., "John Bunyan," 308
 LINDSAY, Prof. Dr. Wallace M., Obit., 408
 LINLITHGOW, Lord, 147, 148, 149
 LIOTTA, General (It.), 176
 LTPPMAN, Walter, *The Good. Society,"
 305, 318
 LIPSCOMB, W. P. (Drama), 335
 LITERATURE retrospect, 302; poetry,
 303; drama, 303; cinema, 304;
 ballet, 304; music, 304; anthropology,
 305; political theory, 305; economics,
 305; psychology, 305; literature and
 language, 306; art, 310; history, 311;
 biography, 312; fiction, 313; transla-
 tions, 315; scientific, 345 *et seq.*
 LITHUANIA, 200
 Capital punishment by poison gas, 200
 Estonia, relations with, 159
 Germany, relations with, 200
 Great Britain, trade agreement, 200
 Hydro-electric works, 200
 Memel, 200; Diet protest, 200
 Poland, relations with, 200
 Political offences amnesty, 200
 Railway purchases, 200
 Trade, 200
 I LITTLE Entente, 207-208, 210, 212
 LITVINOV, M. (Russia), 188, 193
 LIVESTOCK Commission, 48
 LIVESTOCK Industry Bill, 6, 48
 LIVSCHITZ, J. A. (Russia), 189
 LLOYD, Helen, "Amelia Opie," 309
 LOCAL Authorities liability (Law), 377-
 378
 LOCARNO Treaty, Belgium and, 184, 222
 LOCKET, L., "The Best Plays of Racine,"
 309
 LOCKHART, Sir James H. Stewart, Obit.,
 409
 LOGAN, J. V., "The Poetry and Aesthetics
 of Erasmus Darwin," 308
 LONDON, Kurt, "Seven Soviet Arts," 304
 LONDON as music centre, 339-340
 LONDON: Lord Mayor, 298
 LONDON & North-Eastern Railway: gift,
 294
 LONDON Contemporary Music Centre, 341
 LONDON County Council elections, 24
 LONDON Naval Treaty Act, 66, 68
 LONDON Non-Intervention Committee,
 153. See Non-intervention.
 LONDON Passenger Transport Board bus
 strike, 44-46
 LONDON School of Economics, 295
 LONDON Symphony Orchestra, 341
 LONDON Theatre Concerts, 341
 LONDON, University of, 294
 LONGWOOD, Mrs., 297
 LOROA, Federico G., Poems (Lit.), 303
 Low, D. M., "Edward Gibbon," 308,
 322
 LUBECK, Free City of, 183
 LUDENDORFF, General E. F. W. (Ger.),
 death, 182; Obit., 455
 LUFT, Dr. (Ger.), Himalayan explorer, 151
 LUGARD, Lord, 16
 LUKOUCHIAO incident, 263, 267
 LITMLEY, Sir Roger (Bombay), 149
 LUPESCU, Mme. (Rum.), 209, 210
 LUSCOMBE, Sir John H., Obit., 415
 LUXEMBURG, 225
 Communist Bill referendum, 225
 General Election, 225
 Government, 225
 LYNDON, Barr6 (Drama), 336
 LYONS, Rt. Hon. J. A. (Aust.), 133-138
 LYRIC Theatre, 333, 336
 LYTTON, Lord, 73
 LYUBCHENKO, M. (Russia), 191
 LYUBIMOV, I. E. (Russia), 188
 MABANE, Mr. 99
 MACATTLAY, Rose, "I Would be Private,"
 315
 MCCLELLAND, I. L., "Romantic Movement
 in Spain," 309
 MCCOY, Horace, "No Pockets m a
 Shroud," 314
 MACDERMOT, Robert (Drama), 335
 MACDONALD, Mr. Angus (Nova Scotia),
 125, 126
 MACDONALD, Senator, A. N. (Aust.), 133

- MACDONALD, Hugh, "A Journal from Parnassus," 308
- MACDONALD, Et. Hon. J. R., retirement, 48; death, 100; Parliamentary tributes, 100; burial, 100; Obit., 449
- MACDONALD, Rt. Hon. Malcolm : Irish Free State discussions, 4, 113
Empire migration, 5, 6
Mentioned, 129
Rhodesias, the, 132
S. African Protectorates, 130
- MACENTEE, Mr. (Eire), 114
- MCEWEN, Mr. John (Aust.), 133
- MAGGOWAN, Sir H., 27; Barony, 293
- MACKENZIE, Compton, "The South Wind of Love," 315; "The East Wind of Love," 315
- MACKENZIE, Mr. Ian (Canada), 119, 124
- MCKILLOP, Prof. A. D., "Samuel Richardson," 308
- MACKINNON, Sir Frank (Law), 373
- MCLAHLAN, Senator A. J. (Aust.), 133
- MCLAGLAN, Victor (Cinema), 338
- MACLEAN, Mr. K., *John Locke," 308
- MACLEAN, Mr. M. F. : gift, 293
- MACLEAN, Miss V. L. : gift, 293
- MACLEISH, Archibald, "Face of the City," 303
- MACMIOHAEL, Sir Harold, 259
- MACNEICE, LOUIS, "Letters from Iceland," 303; "Out of the Picture," 303
- MCNEIL, Mr. Grant (Canada), 115
- MAC VICAR, Mr. H. M. : gift, 293
- MADAGASCAR : Polish emigration project, 201
- MADGE, Charles, "The Disappearing Castle," 303; "Mass Observation, etc.," 305
- MAGISTRATES, Metropolitan, 374, 376
- MAHER, Ah Pasha (Eg.), 273
- MAHMOUD, Mohamed Pasha (Eg.), 274
- MAISKY, M. (Russia), 63, 101
- MAISTRIAU, M. (Belg.), 223
- MALAN, Dr. (S. Africa), 128, 131
- MALLPIERO (MUSIC), 341
- MANOROFT, Baron, 293
- MANDATE System, 16, 18
- MANDER, Mr. G. : gift, 301
- MANIU, M. (Rum.), 209
- MANN, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Frederick (Vict., Aust.), 139
- MANN, Harrington, Obit., 410
- MANN, Heinnch, "King Wren (the Youth of Henry IV)," 315
- MANNERHEIM, Fd.-Marshal Baron (Finland), 253
- MARCHWOOD, Baron, 295
- MARCONI, Marchese G., Obit., 433
- MARRIAGE Bill, 52-53. See Matrimonial Causes (Bill) Act
- MARTINELLI, Giovanni (Music), 342
- MARY, H. M. Queen, 40
- MASARYK, President T. G., 205-206, 212; Obit., 441
- MASEFIELD, John, "Square Peg," 315, 328
- MASSEY, Mr. Vincent (Canada), 120
- MASSINE, Leonide (Music), 343
- MATCHEK, Dr. (Croat), 213
- MATHEY, J., "Portraits and Studies of Women, 18-19th Century," 310
- MATRIMONIAL Causes (Bill) Act, 52-53, 68, 374-375
- MATTHEWS, Mr. Albert E. (Canada), 126
- MAUGHAM, Somerset, "Theatre," 314, 326
- MAURA, Don Miguel (Sp.), 243
- MAURICE, Sir F., "Haldane, 1856-1915," 313
- MAUROIS, Andre, "A History of England," 312
- MAXTON, Mr. 23, 28, 54
- MAXWELL, Rt. Hon. Herbert E., Bt., Obit., 447
- MAXWELL, John (Cinema), 337
- MAYHEW, Mr. R. W. (Canada), 125
- MEDICAL research, gift to, 299
- MEDITERRANEAN, "piracy" 69-71, 153, 183; patrol, 71, 175. See Nyon Conference
- MEIGHEN, Senator (Canada), 118
- MELILLA, air base, 238
- MELLON, Mr. Andrew W. : gift, 293; Obit., 439
- MEMEL, 184
- MENZIES, Mr. R. G. (Aust.), 133, 138
- MERCURY Theatre, 334
- MEREDITH, Hugh Owen, "Four Dramas," 309
- MERIVALE, Philip (Drama), 336
- MERRILL, Mr. Richard (Av.), 295
- METAL market, 361, 368
- METAXAS, General (Gr.), 217, 218
- METEOROLOGICAL Station in the Alps, 299
- METRO-GOLDWYN MAYER (Cinema), 338, 339
- MEXICO, 289
Amnesty, 290
Anti-clerical policy mitigation, 290-291
Colorado River Co., 290
Federal Conciliation Board award, 290
Foreign interests, attitude to, 290
Labour disputes, 289-290
National Petroleum Corporation, 289
National Railways expropriation, 290
Oil resources control, 289, 290
Standard Oil Co. interests, 290
Tariff rate increase, 290
Trotsky, M. Leon, in, 291
United States, relations with, 290
- MEZHLAUK, V. I. (Russia), 188, 193
- MICROBIOLOGY and Disease (Science), 352
- MIDFAI, Senator Jamil (Iraq), 254
- MIGRATION schemes, 5-6
- MIHALAOHE, M. (Rum.), 209
- MIKOYAN, Mr. A. I. (Russia), 188
- MILK Act, 48
- MILLER, Mrs. G. B. (Derby win), 296
- MILNE, A. A. (Drama), 334
- MILTON (Lit.), 307
- MINAMOTO, H., "Illustrated History of Japanese Art," 310
- MINERS' Federation, 46, 47

- MINES, Safety in, 19
 MINISTERIAL salaries, 29-30, 31, 375
 MINISTERS of the Crown (Bill), Act, 29-30, 31, 375
 MITCHELL, Sir P. Chalmers, "My Fill of Days," 313
 MITOGENETIC rays (Science), 349
 MITRA, Sir Bhupendra Nath, Obit., 409
 MOAN, Mr. (Norway), 249
 MOBERLY, Miss Charlotte A. E., Obit., 418
 MOLA, General (Sp.), 240, 241
 MOLOTOV, Prime Minister (Russ.), 196
 MOLTENO, Percy A., Obit., 442
 MONETARY agreement, 50, 162, 167, 366
 MONETARY policy, 50
 MONTREUX Convention, 215, 273; text, 398-401
 MOORE, George, "Esther Waters," 302
 MOREY, Dom Adrian, "Bartholomew of Exeter," 311
 MORGAN, Diana (Drama), 335
 MORLAND, Dr. Egbert: appointment, 297
 MORLEY, Robert (Drama), 337
 MORNET, Daniel, "French Literature," 309
Morning Post amalgamation, 298; (Lit.), 312
 MOROCCO, 271
 FRENCH
 Capitulations, the, 273
 Famine relief measures, 272
 Meknes outbreak, 272
 Nationalist feeling in, 272
 Riots, 272
 SPANISH ZONE
 Franco enlistments in, 271-272
 German activity, 238, 271
 Spanish civil war repercussions, 272
 MORRISON, Mr. Herbert, 67, 73, 78, 85, 91
 MORRISON, Mr. W. S., 6, 47-48
 MORTON, J. B., "The Dauphin," 311, 323
 MOSCICKI, President (Poland), 201
 MOSEID, Mr. (Norway), 249
 MOTOR accidents cases (Law), 377
 MOTOR industry, 371
 MOTOR traffic casualties, 100-101
 MOTORING: Car parking, 22; Legal, 378; Speed record, 300
 MOTTA, Sgr. (Switz.), 230, 233, 234
 MOULT, Thomas, *ed.*, "The Best Poems of 1937," 303
 MOULTON, Prof. R. G. (Lit.), 307
 MOYNE Committee, 89
 MOZART (Music), 342, 343
 MOZLEY, J. F., "William Tyndale," 307
 MUDIE'S Library, 296
 MUHAMMAD Ali Jawad (Iraq), 254
 MUIR, Edwin, "Journeys and Places," 303
 MUIR, Kenneth, "The Voyage to Illyria," 307
 MUNDELEIN, Cardinal Abp. (U.S.A.), 182
 "MUNDY, Peter, The Travels of," 311
 MUNI, Paul (Cinema), 339
 MUNSTER, Lord, 100
 MUNTERS, M. (Latvia), 194, 199
 MURPHY, Mr. E. S., K.C. (N. Ireland), 110
 MURRAY, John (Drama), 336
 MUSIC retrospect, 339
 MUSSOLINI, Signor (It.), 69, 71, 80-82, 104, 170-177 *passim*, 183, 195, 207, 211, 232; Austria and, 171, 185, 186; Chamberlain, Mr., and, 69, 104, 173
 MYKLEBUST, Mr. (Norway), 249
 MYRES, J. L., "Roman Britain," 311
 NAHAS Pasha (Eg.), 273, 274
 NANKING, 73
 NASH, Mr. (N.Z.), 140, 141, 142
 NATION: gifts to the, 301
 NATIONAL Broadcasting (Ho. of America), 357
 NATIONAL Debt, 15, 52
 NATIONAL Defence, 67
 NATIONAL Defence Bonds, 12-15, 38, 363
 NATIONAL Defence Contribution, 36-38, 49-52, 362
 NATIONAL Fitness Campaign, 376
 NATIONAL Gallery, 310
 NATIONAL Health, 84
 NATIONAL Trust: gifts to, 294, 300
 NATIONAL Union of Manufacturers, 96
 NATIONAL Unity Campaign Committee, 54
 NAVAL Search Act, 3
 NAVAL Treaty: qualitative limitations, 26
 NAVY Estimates, 25, 26
 NAVY, subversive activities in, 5
 NEAGLE, Anna (Cinema), 339
 NEEDHAM, G. "Pamela's Daughters," 308
 NEGRIN, Dr. Juan (Sp.), 153, 154, 241
 NEHRU, Mr. Jawaharlal (India), 146
 NETHERLANDS, 225
 Cabinet, new, 227
 Commercial mission to American States, 229
 Constitution Bill, 228
 Crown Princess married, 225
 Defence problem, 228
 Economic, 228-229
 Ethiopia: recognition question, 229
 Financial, 228, 229, 367
 Foreign relations, 229
 General Election, 226
 League of Nations, 159
 Naval, 228
 Oslo States Conference, 229
 Political parties, 226, 227
 Prince Bernhard, 225
 Provincial States elections, 227
 Royal marriage, 225
 Tariff policy, 229
 Unemployment, 229
 NETHERLANDS INDIES, 270
 Budget, 270
 Currency, 270, 271
 Debt position, 270
 Defence expenditure, 270
 Economic, 270
 Financial, 270, 271
 Governmental decentralisation, 271

- NETHERLANDS INDIES, *cm**.
 Native population and co-operation, 271
 Social, 270
 Trade balance, 270
- NEVINSON, C. R. W., "Paint and Prejudice," 313
- NEWALL, Guy (Cinema), 339
- NEW companies, 360-361
News-Chronicle, 73
- NEWSPAPERS, intrusion by, 10
- NEW Theatre, 334
- NEWTON, Lord, 100-101
- NEW Year's Honours, 293
- NEW ZEALAND, 140
 Air Force, 145
 Air mail service, 145
 Australia, co-operation with, 144
 Bank (Reserve) Amendment Act, 142-143
 Budget, 140-141
 Canadian trade agreement, 145
 Communist Party, 143
 Coronation, 140
 Currency and credit control, 142-143
 Dairy produce industry, 141-142
 Defence problem, 144-145
 Development work, 141
 Economic, 141
 Financial reforms, 142
 Germany, trade relations with, 145
 Housing programme, 141
 Imperial Conference, 140
 Imperial preference, 145
 Labour Government, 140
 Labour Party Conference, 143
 Marketing experiments, 141, 142
 National Party, 144
 Naval, 144-145
 Parliament, 140, 144
 Physical Welfare Bill, 145
 Political parties, 143-144
 Primary Products Marketing Act, 142
 Prime Minister's speech on Imperial Conference, 140; and defence, 144
 Protection, 142
 Recreation Bill, 145
 Reserve Bank, 142-143
 Socialisation, 143, 144
 Territorial Force reorganisation, 144
 Trans-Tasman air* mail service, 145
 Wages position, 141
- NICOLL, Prof. Allardyce, "Development of the Theatre," 304, 317; "Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage," 307
- NICOLSON, Harold, "Small Talk," 306; "Helen's Tower," 312
- NIEMEYER, Sir Otto, 150, 151
- NIEMOELLER, Pastor (Ger.), 181, 182
- NIJINSKA (Music), 344
- NIJNSKY, V., "The Diary of Nijinsky," 304
- NELSEN, Mr. Magnus (Norway), 249
- NINE-POWER Conference, 73-74, 123, 155.
 See Brussels Conference
- NOBEL Prizes, 299, 300; Peace Prize, 251, 300
- NOBLE, Dennis (Music), 342, 343
- NOEL-BUXTON, Lord, 16
- NOGUES, General (Fr.), 272
- NOKRASHI Pasha (Eg.), 273
- NON-INTERVENTION policy (Committee), 14, 24-25, 55 *et seq.*, 80-84, 95, 101, 153, 174, 196, 239
- NORRIS, Very Rev. W. Foxley, D.D.,
 | Obit., 443
- NORWAY, 249
 Conservative censure motion, 249-250
 "Crisis measures" reduced, 249
 Defence question, 250
 Economic, 249
 Estimates, 249
 "Hannevig affair," 252
 King's Speech, 249
 Labour Government, 249
 League of Nations Covenant, and, 251
 Military Service question, 250
 Municipal elections, 252
 Nobel Committee statute amended, 251
 Oslo States: new agreement, 251-252
 Political Parties, 249
 Refugees and right of asylum, 251
 Spain: Civil war repercussions, 250;
 Non-intervention attitude, 250
 Storting, the, 249
 United States, relations with, 252
- NOSKY, I., "The Arts in Ptolemaic Egypt," 310
- NOTTINGHAM General Hospital: gift, 295
- NOTTINGHAMSHIRE and District Miners' Federated Union, 47
- NOYES, G. R., "Hymns Attributed to John Dryden," 308
- NUFFIELD, Lord: gifts, 293, 294, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300
- NUFFIELD College, 299
- NURI es Said, General (Iraq), 255
- NUTRITION (Science), 349, 352, 353
- NUTTALL, Dr. G. H. Falkmer, FR.S.,
 | Obit., 454
- NYASALAND, 132, 133
- NYGAARDSVOLD, Mr. (Norway), 249, 250
- NYON Conference, 70, 104, 153, 175, 195, 242
- OAKES, Mr. Harry: gift, 298
- OBERON, Merle (Cinema), 338, 339
- O'BRIEN, E. J., "The Best Short Stories of 1937," 315
- ODELL, G. C., "Annals of the New York Stage, 1870-1875," 304
- O'DUFFY, General (Eire), 114
- O'FAOLAIN, Sean, "A Purse of Coppers," 315
- O'FLAHERTY, Liam, "Famine," 315;
 | "Short Stories," 315
- OGILVIE, Mr. (Tasmania), 139
- OIL and Rubber industries, 370
- OLD Age Pensions, 375
- OLD Vic (Drama), 337
- OLIVIER, M. (Belg.), 224
- OLIVIERA, Dr. Armande de Salles (Brazil),
 | 288

- O'LOUGHLIN, Sean, "The Voyage to Illyria," 307
- OMAN, Sir Charles, "The Art of War," 311
- O'NEILL, Eugene (Drama), 337
- OPERA, retrospect, 342
- OPERA-COMIQUE, 342
- ORDZHONIKIDZE, G. K. (Russia), 188, 193
- ORLOV, Commander (Russia), 189
- ORMSBY-GORE, Rt. Hon. W. G. A., 65-66, 132, 157
- ORPHANS Pensions, 375
- ORTHOPEDIC surgery, etc.: gifts to, 298, 300
- ORTIZ, Dr. Roberto M. (Arg.), 285
- ORTS, M. (League of Nations), 158
- OSLO Convention States: Hague Conference, 229, 246, 248, 251-252
- OSSIETZKY, Herr (Ger.), 251
- O'SULLIVAN, Maureen (Cinema), 338
- OTTAWA Agreements, 43, 117, 124, 138, 151
- OTTO, Dr. Rudolf, *Obit.*, 410
- OULD, Mr. (Holland), 226, 227
- OXFORD University :
 Gifts to, 299
 New College : Legacy, 298
 Pembroke College, 297
 Queen's College, 298
 Radcliffe Infirmary, 299
 Rhodes Scholarships :
 German gratitude, 299
 University College, 294
 Worcester College, 297
- PAGE, Dr. Earle (Aust.), 133
- PAI Chung-fsi, General (China), 205
- PAIVA, Dr. (Paraguay), 291
- PALESTINE, 255
 Arab attitude, 255, 256 ; to the Report, 257
 Arab conference (Bloudan) resolutions, 259
 Arab Higher Committee, 256; dissolved, 259
 Economic, 257, 259-260
 High-Commissionership, 259
 Immigration, 257
 Italian anti-British propaganda, 260
 Jewish Agency, 257, 258
 Labour Immigration Schedule, 257
 Mandates Commission, 157-159, 257-258
 Martial law system, 259
 Mufti of Jerusalem, 256, 259
 Outrages, 258-259
 Partition question, 256, 258
 Ragheb Bey group, 256
 Royal Commission, 64-66, 255, 256; report, 256; recommendations, 256-257; attitude of Mandates Commission, 258
 Unemployment, 257, 259, 260
 World Zionist Executive, 256
 Zionist Congress, 258
 Zionist Organisation, 266, 258, 260
- PALSGRAVE, "The Comedy of Acolastus," 307
- PAN-AMERICAN Airways, 120
- Panay : American gunboat, 269, 284
- PARAGUAY, 291
 Bolivia, relations with, 287
 Coup d'etat in, 291
 Franco, Col. Rafael, resigns, 291
 Government, 291
 League of Nations, and, 291
 Presidency, 291
- PARAY, M. Paul (Music), 340
- PARÉDES, Col. Ramon (Paraguay), 291
- PARIS Opera, 342
- PARKER, Mrs. (N. Ireland), 110
- PARKER, W. R., "Milton's Debt in Samson Agonistes," 307
- PARKHTLL, Sir Arohdale (Aust.), 134, 136
- PARLIAMENT : Member's remuneration, 31-32
- PARLIAMENTARY Session: Easter recess, 31; Whitsuntide recess, 55; Summer vacation, 68; Autumn session, 83
- PARRISH, James (Drama), 336
- PARRY, Mr. (N.Z.), 145
- PARTRIDGE, Eric, "Dictionary of Slang," 306
- PASCAL, Roy, "Shakespeare in Germany," 307
- PASHUKANIS, E. B. (RUSS.), 197
- PATIJN, Dr. (Holland), 227, 229
- PATS, President (Estonia), 198, 199
- PATTERSON, Dr. Frank (Canada), 125
- PATTULLO, Mr. (Canada), 125
- PAUL, Elliot, "The Life and Death of a Spanish Town," 306
- PAVLÉVITCH, Dr. (Croat), 212
- PEARCE, Sir George (Aust.), 134
- PEARSON, Hesketh, "Tom Paine," 313
- PEEL, Lord (William R. W.), 65; *Obit.*, 442
- PELHAM, Sir H., 10
- PENA, Snr. Gonzalez (Sp.), 243
- PENARANDA, General Enrique (Bolivia), 287
- PENDER, Baron, 295
- PENINSULAR and Oriental Company : centenary, 297
- PENNY, Sir George : Barony, 295
- PEPYS play (Drama), 335
- PERCY, Lord Eustace, "John Knox," 313
- PERKINS, Mr. J. A. (Aust.), 133
- PERLI, Lisa (Music), 342
- PETHICK-LAWRENCE, Mr., 12-13, 15, 42, 51
- PEVSNER, Dr. N., "Industrial Art in England," 310
- PHILADELPHIAN Ballet, 344
- PHILLIPS, Sir Percival, *Obit.*, 405
- PHOENIX Theatre, 336
- PHYSICAL chemistry : gift to, 299
- PHYSICAL Sciences, retrospect, 353
- PHYSICAL Training and Recreation proposals, 9-10; (Bill) Act, 68, 84, 376
- PHYSIOLOGY, Science retrospect, 348-350
- PICK, Mr. (Transport Board), 45
- PIERLOT, M. (Belg.), 224
- PILSUDSKI, Marshal, 202
- "PIRACY," in the Mediterranean, 69-71, 163, 183. See Nyon Conference

- PIROW, Mr. (S. Africa), 128
 PLANT Physiology (Science), 351
 PLAYER, Mr. W. G.: gift, 295
 PLAYHOUSE Theatre (Drama), 335
 PLEKHANOV, G. V., "Art and Society," 310
 PLYMOUTH, Lord, 16, 57, 60, 62, 63, 81, 82, 253
 PODOSKY, M. (Russ.), 193
 POKROVSKY, M. N. (RuSS.), 197
 POLAND, 200
 Anti-Semitism, 200, 201
 Church, and the Government, 202
 Czechoslovakia, relations with, 202
 "Emdek" activities, 201
 France: relations with, 202; Commercial Treaty with, 202
 Germany, relations with, 184, 202
 Jews, excesses against, 201
 Left-Wing ferment, 201
 Lithuania, relations with, 202
 Minorities question, 184, 202
 National Unity Group, 200
 O.Z.N., 200, 201
 Peasant Party, 201
 Political, 200-201
 Rumania, relations with, 201-202, 210
 Universities disturbances, 201
 Upper Silesia minority, and, 202
 POLICE, the, and Fascism, 105
 POLICE Courts changes (Law), 374
 POLLITT, Mr., 54
 POLLOCK, Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick, Obit., 404
 POLLOCK, Mr. H. M. (N. Ireland), 110
 POPE, H. H. the : Encyclical on "Atheistic Communism," 197
 POPULATION problems, 353
 POPULATION (Statistics) Bill, 99-100
 PORTELA Valladares, Snr. (Sp.), 243
 PORTHEIM, P. Cohn, "Spirit of Paris," 305
 PORTUGAL, 244
 Bomb outrages, 244-245
 Budget, 245
 Coimbra, University of, 300
 Czechoslovakia, relations with, 205, 246
 Defences question, 245
 Economic, 246
 English Alliance, the, 245
 Foreign exchange position, 246, 367
 Naval programme, 245-246
 Prime Minister, assassination attempt on, 245
 Spanish Civil War repercussions, 244; war materials question, 245; Non-intervention policy, and, 60, 63
 Wheat, 246
 Wine, 246
 POSTYSHEV, M. (Russia), 191
 "Potato Jones," 34
 POTEKIN, VI. P. (Russia), 193
 POTTER, G. R., "Hymns Attributed to John Dryden," 308
 POUND, Ezra, "Fifth Decad of Cantos," 303
 I POWELL, Mr. George F. (Canada), 125
 POWELL, Michael (Cinema), 339
 POWELL, R. B., "18th Century London Life," 312
 POWYS, Stephen (Drama), 336
 Pozzo di Borgo, M. (Fr.), 166, 167
 PRAGUE Philharmonic Orchestra, 340
 PREEDY, G. R., "Mary Wollstonecroft Godwin," 308
 "PRESS Gang," 306
 PRESS, intrusion by the, 10
 PRESTON, Sir L., "Sea and River Painters of the Netherlands," 310
 PRIESTLEY, J. B., "Time and the Conways," 303-304; (Drama), 333
 PRIESTLEY, Dr. R. E.: appointment, 300
 PRIETO, Don Indalecio (Sp.), 241, 243
 PRIMAKOV, V. M. (Russia), 190
 PRIMÓ de Rivera, General (Sp.), 243
 PRIMÓ de Rivera, Jose Antonio (Sp.), 240
 PRIOR-WANDESFORDE, Col.: gift, 300
 PRITT, Mr. D. N., 78
 PROKOSCH, F., "The Seven Who Fled," 315
 PROPAGANDA, Anti-British, of Italy, 80, 104, 173, 260
 PROTEINS (Science), 349
 PUBLIC Order Act, 69
 PUBLIC utilities and profits tax, 51
 PUTNA, K. V. (Russia), 190
 PYATAKOV, G. L. (Russia), 189
 QAIYUM, Sir Abdul (India), 147
 QUADRUPLETS, birth of, 294, 297
 QUEEN'S Hall, 340, 341; Promenade Concerts, 341
 QUEEN'S Theatre, 334, 337
 QUEIPO de Llano, General (Sp.), 242
 QUINN, A. H., "History of the American Drama," 304
 QUOTAS, 17, 18, 86
 RACHMANINOV (Music), 341, 342
 RACIALISM, 353
 RADEK, Karl (Russia), 189
 RADITCH, M. Vladimir (Croat.), 213
 RAGHEB Bey Nashashibi (Palestine), 256
 RAILWAY and Canal Commission, 97, 98
 RAILWAY Rates Tribunal, 74
 RAILWAY Staff National Tribunal award, 74
 RAILWAYS : "Coronation Scot," the, 296
 RAINFALL, 301
 RALLI, Mrs. Augustus (Music), 342
 RAMBERT Dancers, 344
 RANKB, H., "Art in Ancient Egypt," 310
 RANSOME & Rapier, Messrs., 28, 38
 RAPSON, Prof. Edward, J., Obit., 443
 RASCHER, Sigurd (Music), 340
 RAS Desta (Abyssinia), 177
 RATTIGAN, Terence (Drama), 335
 RAVEL, Maurice J., Obit., 456
 RAWLINGS, Margaret (Drama), 336
 RAWLINSON, H. G., "India : A Cultural History," 311
 REA, Sir W. R., Bt.: Barony, 295

- READ, Herbert, " Art and Society," 310
 READING : Royal Berkshire Hospital : gift to, 296
 RECRUITING, 26, 27
 REGENCY (Bill) Act, 7-8, 375
 REINER, Fritz (Music), 343
 REMARQUE, Erich, " Three Comrades," 316
 REMBRANDT prize, 299
 RENT Restriction Acts decisions (Law), 376
 RENT Restriction Committee report, 374-375
 REPERTORY Players (Drama), 335
 REPETTO, Dr. Nicolas (Arg.), 285
 RESPIGHI (Music), 342
 RETAIL distributive trades amelioration, 105-106
 RETAIL prices, 106
 REYNAUD, M. Paul (Fr.), 162, 167
 RHODESIA, SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN, 132
 Amalgamation question, 132, 133
 Board of Trustees, 132
 Constitution Amendment Bill, 132
 Differential legislation question, 132
 Governorship, 132
 High Commissioner's office, 132
 Royal Commission appointed, 132-133
 RICE, Elmer, "Imperial City," 314; (Drama), 336
 RICHARDS, R. A., " Hudibras m the Burlesque Tradition," 307
 RICHARDSON, Ralph (Drama), 337
 RICHARDSON, Samuel (Lit.), 308
 RICHTER, G. M., " Giorgione," 310
 RICKMAN, John, *ed.* " Writings of Sigmund Freud," 305
 RINFRET, Mr. (Canada), 116
 RIST, M. (Fr.), 163, 164
 ROAD accidents problem, 100-101
 ROAD Traffic Act: taxis, 376; third party insurance, 376, 378
 ROBB, Mr. J. H., K.C. (N. Ireland), 110
 ROBERTS, Bechhofer, "Paul Verlaine," 309
 ROBERTS, D.K., *ed.*, " The Year's Poetry," 303
 ROBERTS, Prof. Stephen, " The House that Hitler Built," 306, 319
 ROBSON, Flora (Cinema), 339; (Drama), 334
 ROCKEFELLER, J. D., Obit., 423
 ROCKEFELLER Foundation, 219
 ROLIN-JAEQUEMYS, Baron, 160
 ROMAINS, Jules, " Men of Good Will," 316
 ROME-BERLIN axis, 170, 171, 172, 232
 ROMFORD : borough charter, 298
 ROMME, Dr. (Holland), 227
 ROOSEVELT, PRESIDENT (U.S.A.), 4, 79, 117, 156, 161, 174, 252, 275 *et seq.*
 Alaska highway project, 122
 Canada, visit to, 122
 Chicago speech on international lawlessness, 73, 79, 155, 283
 ROOSEVELT, PRESIDENT (U.S.A.), *cont.*
 Economic situation in U.S.A., and, 276 *et seq.*, 368; anti-monopoly fight, 276-278
 Supremo Court controversy, 278-280
 ROOSEVELT, Mrs., 122
 ROOSEVELT, James, 122
 ROOSEVELT, President Theodore, 277, 279
 ROOT, Elihu, Obit., 407
 ROSE, Walter, " The Village Carpenter,"
 ROSENBERG, Marcel (Russia), 239
 ROSENGOLO, M. A. P. (Russia), 188
 ROTH, Joseph, " Confessions of a Murderer," 315
 ROTH, Prof. Leon, " Descartes' Discourse on Method," 305
 ROTHSCCHILD Sale (Art), 332
 ROUSSEL (Music), 344
 ROUTH, H. V., " Towards the Twentieth Century," 309
 ROWELL, Mr. Newton W. (Canada), 121
 ROWSE, A. L., " Sir Richard Grenville of the Revenge," 311
 ROYAL Academy :
 Art School, 332
 Exhibition, 330
 ROYAL College of Music, 298
 ROYAL Holloway College : jubilee, 299
 ROYAL Philharmonic Society, 340-341
 ROYAL Veterinary College, 300
 ROYALTY Theatre, 333
 RUBBRA, Edmund (Music), 341
 RUEFF, M. (Fr.), 163
 RUKHIMOVITOH, M. L. (Russia), 188
 RUMANIA, 208
 Anti-Semitism, 210
 Balkan Entente, and, 211
 Budget, 211
 Czechoslovakia, relations with, 210
 Defence, 211
 Economic, 211
 Election, 209-210
 Financial, 211, 367
 Five-Year Plan, 211
 Foreign affairs, 210-211
 France, relations with, 211
 Goga Cabinet formed, 210
 Hungary, relations with, 211
 Iron Guard activities, 208-209
 King, the, and the Cabinet, 210
 League of Nations, 211
 Little Entente, and, 210
 National Peasant Party, 209, 210
 Poland, relations with, 201-202, 210
 Political, 208, 209-210
 Public works, 211
 " Rumania for the Rumanians," 209
 Tatarescu Cabinet, 208-210
 Transylvania, 209
 Turkey, relations with, 211
 Uniforms prohibition, 208, 209
 Universities disciplined, 209
 RUNCIMAN of Shoreston, Lord, Obit., 438
 RUNCIMAN, Rt. Hon. Walter, 4, 17, 18, 41, 44; retirement, 48; Viscounty, 296

- RUSSIAN ballet, 342
 RUSTU Aras, M. (Turkey), 156, 174, 194, 211, 214, 215
 RUTHERFORD, Lord, O.M., F.R.S., 353, 355; Obit., 446
 RUTTER, Francis V. Phipson, Obit., 417
 RYKOV, A. (Russia), 190
 RYRIE, Maj.-Gen. Hon. Sir G. de Laune, Obit., 444
 SABU, Indian actor (Cinema), 339
 SACKVILLE-WEST, MISS V., "Pepita," 313
 SADLEIR, Michael, * These Foolish Things," 315
 SADLERS Wells (Music), 343
 ST. ANDREWS University: St. Mary's College, 298
 ST. GEORGE'S Hospital: gift, 298
 ST. GERMAIN, Convention of, 16
 ST. JAMES'S Theatre, 334, 335, 336
 ST. MARTIN'S Theatre, 334
 SAIONJI, Prince (Japan), 266
 SALAZAR, Dr. Oliveira (Port.), 245
 SALE, Richard, "Is a Ship Burning f " 314
 SALE, W. M., Jr., " Samuel Richardson," 308
 SA LEI, Francesco (Music), 343
 SALISBURY, Lord, 53
 SALZBURG Mozarteum Orchestra, 340
 SAMUEL, Sir Arthur M.: Barony, 293
 SAMUEL, Sir Herbert, 40; Viscounty, 295
 SANDFORD, A., " New Oxford Poetry," 303
 SANDLER, Hr. (Sweden), 18, 156, 194, 248
 SANKEY, Lord, 5
 SAPIEHA, Mgr. (Poland), 202
 SAROYAN, William, " The Gav and Melancholy Flux," 314, 327; " Little Children," 314
 SARRAUT, M. Albert (Fr.), 164, 165, 272
 SASSOON, Sir Philip, 26-27, 331
 SASSOON, Siegfried (Lit.), 303
 SATO, Mr. Naotake (Japan), 267
 SAVAGE, Mr. (N.Z.), 140, 142, 144
 SAVORY, Gerald (Drama), 335
 SAVOY Theatre, 336-337
 SAYERS, Dorothy M. (Drama), 334
 SCANDINAVIA: gift to scientific research in, 297
 SOHACHT, Dr. (Ger.), 169, 179, 180, 186, 218
 SOHEVILL, Prof. F., " History of Florence," 311
 SCHILLER, Dr. F. C. S., F.B.A., Obit., 436
 SCHILLING, E., " Drawings of the Holbein Family," 310
 SCHIRMANN, R., "Secrets of Handwriting," 306
 SCHMIDT, Dr. Guido (Austria), 187
 SCHMIDT, Prof. Otto J. (Russia), 198
 SCHNABEL (Music), 342
 SCHOOL children: free meals for, 9
 SCHUOKING, Prof. L. L. (Lit.), 307
 SCHULTHESS, Herr (Switz.), 232
 SCHUMANN, Elisabeth (Music), 342
 SCHUSCHNIGG, Dr. (Austria), 171, 185, | SCIENCE retrospect, 345
 SECRET Service, 5
 SEGAR, M. G., " Poems of Ambrose Philips," 308
 SELBY, Sir Walford, 245
 SELDES, G., " Movies for the Million," 304
 SEMPLE, Lt.-Col. Sir D., Obit., 403
 SENDER, Ramon J., " The War on the Spanish Front," 312; " Mr. Witt and the Rebels," 316
 SETON-WATSON, R. W., " Britain in Europe, 1789-1914," 312
 SHAFESBURY Theatre, 334, 335
 SHAKESPEARE, Mr., 9
 SHAKESPEARE (Lit), 307
 SHAKESPEARE: annual prize instituted, 299; Memorial National Theatre, 297
 SHANGHAI, in Sino-Japanese conflict, 71-72, 102
 SHANNON, Charles Haslewood, R.A., Obit., 413
 SHAPOZHNIKOV, General B. M. (Russia), 189
 SHARE-pushmg, 74, 104-105
 SHEERNESS shipyard dismissal, 4-5
 SHEFFIELD: gift to, 295
 SHELDON, Cyril, " History of Poster Advertising," 306
 SHEPPARD, Canon H. R. L. (" Dick"), Obit., 447
 SHEPPERSON, A. B., " The Novel in Motley," 308
 SHERAEFF, Peter, " Taghoni's Grandson," 316
 SHERRY, Gordon (Drama), 336
 SHERWOOD, Robert (Drama), 336
 SHILLINGTON, Major D. G. (N. Ireland), 110
 SHINWELL, Mr. E., 9
 I SHIPBUILDING and Shipping, 361, 368
 SHIPPING Safety Bill, 8
 SHIRLEY, Hon. Andrew, *ed.*, " Memoirs of John Constable," 310
 SHOP Assistants, National Amalgamated Union, 105
 SHORTHAND writers, official (Law), 374
 SHUKRU Kaya (Turkey), 215
 SIDDELEY, Sir John: gift, 295; barony, 295
 SIKES, Mr. E. E., 299
 SILVER, 367
 SIMENON, Georges, " The Disintegration," 316
 SIMEON, Mgr. (Bulg.), 221
 SIMMONDS, Mr. O. E., M.P., 7
 SIMON, RT. HON. SIR JOHN:
 Chancellor of the Exchequer, as, 48, 49
 Economic position, on, 80
 Exchange Equalisation Fund, 50-51
 Factories Bill, 9
 Finance Bill, 52
 Halifax, Lord, visit to Germany, 94
 Ministers of the Crown Bill, 31
 Monetary Policy, 50
 Profits Tax, 61, 52
Spain, 33

- SIMONDS, Mr. Gavin (Law), 373
 SINCLAIR, SIR ARCHIBALD:
 Armaments expenditure, 13
 Foreign affairs debate, 103
 Ministers of the Crown Bill, 31
 National defence, 67
 Non-intervention Committee, 3, 83
 Spain, 3, 62, 83; foreign volunteers, 57
 Tribute to Sir Austen Chamberlain, 28
 SINCLAIR, Upton, "No Pasaran," 314
 SINKING Fund, 12, 35, 52
 SIRK, M. Arthur (Estonia), 253
 SITWELL, Edith, "I Live Under a Black Sun," 314
 SITWELL, Oswald, "Mrs. Kimber," 303
 SITWELL, Sacheverell, "La Vie Parisienne," 306; "Narrative Pictures," 310
 SKELTON, Dr. O. D. (Canada), 120
 SKETELIG, H. (Lit.), 311
 SKLADSKOWSKI, General (Poland), 202
 SLOAN (Alfred P.) Foundation, 301
 SLOTEMAKER de Brume, Dr. (Holland), 227
 "SLUMP talk," 86, 106-107
 SMART, Col. V. I. (Canada), 120
 SMIGLY-RYDZ, Marshal (Poland), 169, 200, 201
 SMIRNOV, G. (Russia), 188
 SMIRNOV, M. P. (Russia), 188
 SMITH, Dodie (Drama), 334
 SMITH, Mr. Forgan (S. Aust.), 139
 SMITH, Sir G. Elliot, Obit., 402
 SMITH, Mr. John, of Giffnock: gift, 293
 SMITH, Stevie, "Over the Frontier," 315
 SMUTS, General (S. Africa), 127, 128, 130, 161
 SNELL, Lord, 52, 65, 83
 SNOWDEN, Viscount, 100; Obit., 420
 SOCIALISM, 55
 SOCIALIST League, 23, 24, 54; unity campaign, 78
 SOKOLNIKOV, M. (Russia), 189
 SOLODILOV, M. (Russia), 188
 SOMERVELL, Sir Arthur, Obit., 418
 SOMERVELL, Sir D. B., 21
 SOULSBY, Sir W. J., Obit., 408
 SOUTHERN, Richard, "Stage Setting," 304
 SOUTHWARK, George Inn, 294
 SOUTHWOOD, Baron, 295
 SOVIET RUSSIA, 187
 Administrative boundaries, 193
 Army: Generals' treason trial, 189-190; the, and the Dictatorship, 190
 Bolshevik Party, plenary session, 190-191; expulsions, 191
 Budget, 190, 198
 Catholics, action against, 197
 Census, 193
 China: Non-Aggression Treaty, with, 195; Text, 397-398
 Church influence in, 197
 Coal-mining industry, 196
 Coat of Arms, 193
 Commercial agreements, 197
 Commissariats, changes in, 188-189
 SOVIET RUSSIA, *cont.*
 Constitutional, 192-193; Supreme Council, 192-193
 Cotton production, 197
 Defence forces changes, 189-190
 Defences expenditure, 190
 Dictatorship, 187-188
 Diplomatic service changes, 193-194
 Economic Council, 196
 Education, 198
 Elections, 193
 Foreign relations, 194-196
 Foreigners imprisoned, 192
 Germany, relations with, 194; commercial agreement, 194; Germans forced out, 194
 Gold production, 197, 362, 367
 Heresy hunt, 197
 Historical science leadership, 197
 Industrial, 196; production schedules lag, 196
 Italy, relations with, 194, 195
 Japan-China conflict, 195
 Japan, relations with, 195-196; Fisheries Agreement, 195, 270
 Moscow, "Palace of the Soviets," 198
 Moscow trials, 189, 195-196
 Moscow-Volga Canal, 196
 National republics unrest, 191
 Naval Agreement, 66, 195
 North Pole expedition, 198, 357; Soviet Sector theory, 198
 Nyon Agreement, 175, 195
 Outer Mongolia, 195
 Public Works programme, 196
 Pushkin Centenary, 198
 Republics, Governmental changes in, 191
 Spain, 195; Non-intervention policy, and, 60, 63, 87, 101
 "Trotskyism," suppression of, 188-192, 197
 Ukraine, 191
 United States, relations with, 197
 White Russia, 191
 SPAAK, M. (Belg.), 222, 224
 SPAIN, 237
 Air-raid terrorism, 240
 Barcelona strife, 241
 Basques, the, 55, 240, 242, 244
 Bilbao, 240, 242
 British Government, exchange of agents with Franco, 87-88, 243
 Budget, 243
 Burgos *Junta*, 241-242
 Campaign, the, 238-242, 243-244; rival claims, 239; settlement suggestions, 244
 Catalonia, 241, 243
 Commissioner of Public Order, 238
 Foreign combatants in, 239
 Franco's finance methods, 239; military merger, 240; forces: friction rumours, 243; position, *vis-a-vis* Germany and Italy, 242
 Government Cabinet reconstruction, 241, 543

- SPAIN, *cont.*
 Guadalajara, 239
 Guernica, 240
 Insurgent warship activities, 240-241
 International incidents, 241; *DetUschland, Leipzig, Barletta*, 66, 174, 183
 Madrid, 237, 243
 Malaga captured, 238
 Mediterranean piracy, 242
 Nyon Conference, 242
 Pnalangism, 240
 Popular Front Government, 238
 P.O.U.M., 241
 Salamanca headquarters, 242, 243
 Teruel, 243
 Valencia Cabinet, 238
- SPEARMAN, Prof. C, " Psychology Down the Ages," 306
- SPECIAL Areas, 7, 19-22, 61, 86; gift to Tyneside, 297; (Amendment) (Bill) Act, 22, 376
- SPECIAL Areas, 98-99; Commissioner's report, 98
- " SPENCER " Union, 46, 47
- SPINNING industry, reorganisation, 105
- SPRIGGS, Sir Samuel S., *Obit.*, 426
- SPRIGGS, Sir Squire, 297
- SQUIRE, Sir John, " The Honeysuckle and the Bee," 312; " And Master of None," 313,
- STAHLBERG, Dr. (Finland), 253
- STALIN, M. (Russia), 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 195, 197, 215, 239; anti-spy speech, 190, 192
- STALLARD, Col. (S. Africa), 128
- STANDARD Oil Company, 285
- STANDING ORDER, NO. 69: amendment debate, 21-22, 88
- STANDING, Sir Guy (Cinema), 339
- STANHOPE, Earl, 66
- STANISLAVSKY, C., " The Actor Prepares," 304
- STANLEY, Sir Herbert J., 132
- STANLEY, Rt. Hon. Oliver: Coal Bill, 98
 industry and rearmament work, 86
 Anglo-American trade discussion, 86
 tariff concessions, 96; Cotton industry reorganisation, 105; Cinema, Films Bill, 88, 338; Imperial Preference, 44
- STANLEY, Pamela (Drama), 333
- STARKIE, Walter, " Luigi Pirandello," 309
- STATUTORY Salaries Act, 376
- STATNING, Hr. (Den.), 246, 247
- STEEL industry, 361
- STEENBERGHE, Dr. (Holland), 227
- STEIN, B. (Russia), 194
- STEIN, Gertrude (Music), 343
- STERN, G. B., " Oleander River," 315
- STEVENS, Mr. (N.S.W.), 139
- STEVENS, Major (U.S.A.), 357
- STEVENSON, James A., *Obit.*, 444
- STEWART, Sir Halley, *Obit.*, 405
- STEWART, Prof. (U.S.A.), 356
- STEWART, Mr. Malcolm, 98
- STEWART, Mr. W. J. (N. Ireland), 110
- STOCK Exchange, 38, 51, 80, 363, 367
- STOCKHOLM meeting, 247, 248
- STOCKS, John Leofric, *Obit.*, 425
- STOOS, Prof. Carl (Switz.), 234
- STORRS, Sir Ronald, " Orientations," 312
- STOSTAD, Mr. (Norway), 249
- STOTT, Sir Philip, *Obit.*, 414
- STOYADINOVITCH, M. (Yugo.), 170, 172, 211, 212, 213
- STRAND Theatre, 334, 336
- STRAUSS, Mr. G. R., 54, 105
- STRAVINSKY (Music), 341
- STREET lighting (Science), 358
- STREETER, Dr. B. H., 298; *Obit.*, 440
- STRINDBERG, Freda, " Marriage with Genius," 310
- STRONG, L. A. G., " Commonsense about Drama," 304; " The Minstrel Boy," 309
- STUCKI, Herr (Switz.), 235
- STURT, G., " The Wheelwright's Shop," 306
- STUTTAFORD, Mr. R. (S. Africa), 128
- SULAIMAN, Sir Shah Muhammad (India), 149
- SULIMOV, Mr. D. (Russia), 188
- SUMMARY Procedure (Domestic Proceedings) (Bill) Act, 10, 68, 375
- SUN, eclipse of the, 356-357
- SUNG CHEH-YUAN, General (China), 263, 264
- SUNSHINE, 301
- SURIC, Yakov Z. (Russia), 193
- SURTAX, 35
- SUTHERLAND, Prof. J. R., " Defoe," 308
- SUTTON, Eric, " Diaries, of Gustav Stresemann," 313
- SVINHUFUD, Dr. (Finland), 253
- SWABEY, M. C., " The Democratic State," 305
- SWAZILAND, 129
- SWEDEN, 247
 Budget, 248
 Coalition Government, 247
 Foreign relations, 248
 Germany, relations with, 248
 League of Nations, and, 248
 Legislation, 248
 Naval, 248
 Oslo Convention, 248
 Prince Charles renounces royal rights, 248
 Public works scheme, 248
 Trade relations Pact, 248
 Unemployment Committee's report, 248
- SWIFT, Sir Rigby P. W., 373, 377; *Obit.*, 446
- SWINNERTON, Frank, " An Autobiography," 312; " Harvest Comedy," 315
- SWTNTON, Lord, 92, 93, 94
- SWITZERLAND, 230
 Army organisation, 236
 Budget, 237
 Communist Party, 235
 " Cultural self-defence," 230-231

SWITZERLAND, *cont.*

- Dialects and culture, 230
- Economic, 236-237
- Exports, 236
- Federal Criminal Code, 234
- Financial centre, as, 237, 367
- Financial reform project, 237
- Foreign policy control, 234
- Freemasonry Initiative, 231-232
- Freisinnige Party, 235
- Frontier defences, 236
- Germany, relations with, 230, 232
- Italy, relations with, 230-231, 232
- Languages in the Federation, 231
- League of Nations, and, 232-233
- National Bank: gold reserve, 237 ;
note circulation, 237
- Neutrality and the League, 233
- Political Parties, 235
- Protection of the State Bill, 234
- Railway finance, 237
- Road programme, 236
- Romansch-speaking Swiss, the, 231
- Social Democrats, 235
- Socialists and the Foreign Minister, 234
- Spanish war, and, 233-234
- Tourist traffic, 237
- Watch making industry, 236
- "Welsch" Cantons and Communism, 235

SYLVAINE, Vernon (Drama), 334

SYRIA, 260

- Alawite State, the, 260
- Alexandretta question, 169, 214, 215,
260, 261 ; martial law, 261
- Jebel Druze, 260
- League of Nations, 260, 261
- Lebanon, the, 260, 261-262; Beirut,
riots, 262
- Mandates Commission, and, 260
- Nationalist disturbances, 261-262
- Racial disturbances, 261
- Self-government in, 260
- Syrian Bank Concession, 260
- Tripoli district, 262
- Turkey, relations with, 261

SZALASSY, Major (Hung.), 206

SZELL, M. Joseph (Hung.), 206, 207

SZYMANOWSKI (Music), 341

TAILLEFERRE (Music), 341

TALBOT, Mr. Justice (Law), 373

TANNER, Hr. (Finland), 253

TARDTEU, M. André (Fr.), 166

TARIFF changes statement, 96

TARIFFS, 17-18, 44

TATARESCU, M. (Rum), 208-211

TATE, Allen, "Selected Poems," 303

TATE Gallery (Art), 331

TAUBER, Richard (Music), 342

TAWNEY, R. H., "Religion and the Rise
of Capitalism," 302

TAX evasion, 36

TAYLOR, A., "Literary History of Meister-
gesang," 309

TAYLOR, Mr. Myron (U.S.A.), 280

TAYLOR, Robert (Cinema), 338

TCHIFFELY, A. F., "Don Roberto," 313

TCHUBAR, V. I. (Russia), 188

TELEVISION (Science), 359

TEMPLEMOB, Lord, 52

TERRESTRIAL magnetism (Science), 358-
359

TERRITORIAL Army, 26, 93

TEXTILE Conference, 161

TEXTILE industries, 370

TEYTE, Maggie (Music), 343

THOMAS, Rt. Hon. J. H., 129

THOMPSON, Mr. C. V. (Aust.), 133

THOMSON, Dr. Elihu, Obit., 412

THOMSON, Prof. G. P. (Nobel Prize), 300

THOMSON, Lockett, gallery (Art), 332

THORBY, Mr. H. V. C. (Aust.), 133

THORNE, David, "Business and Desire,"
314THORP, Margaret, "Charles Kingsley,"
309

TIBBETT, Lawrence (Music), 342, 343

TILSLEY, Frank, "Devil Take the Hind-
most," 314, 325

TIN PLATE industry, 368

TOERVAND, General (Estonia), 199

TOLLER, Ernst, "No More Peace," 304

TOMITOH, General (Yugo.), 213

TOMLINSON, H. M., "All Hands," 315

TONKS, Prof. Henry, 332; Obit., 403

TONNELAT, E., "History of the German
Language," 309

TOOLE, Mr., 78

TOPPER, Herr Alfred (Ger.), 299

TORO, Colonel David (Bolivia), 287

TOROSSIAN, A., "Guide to Aesthetics,"
305

TOSOANINI (Music), 340, 341

TOVEY, Sir Donald (Music), 341

TOYNBEE, Arnold J., "Survey of Inter-
national Affairs, 1935," 312

TRACY, Don, "Last Year's Snow," 314

TRADE associations practice (Law), 370

TRADE barriers, 18, 43-44

I TRADE situation, 106

| TRADE Union Congress, 75-77, 106; General
Council's Annual Report, 74

TRAMP shipping subsidy, 8

TRANSJORDAN: AMIR ABDULLAH, 256-257

TRANSPORT Board: bus strike, 44-46

TRAVANCORE, Maharaja of, 149

TREE, Lady, O.B.E., Obit., 437

TREVELYAN, Prof. G. M. "Grey of Fallo-
don," 313TREVELYAN, R. C., *trans.*, "De Rerum
Natura," 309

TRIANON Treaty, 171

TRIPARTITE Monetary Agreement, 50, 162,
167, 366TROTSKY, M. et Mme. Leon, 251, 291 ;
(Lit.), 312

TUCKER, Mr. F. J., K.C. (Law), 373

TUDOR, Anthony (Music), 344

TUKHACHEVSKY, Marshal M. N. (Russia),
189, 190

TUNISIA, 272

- TURGEON, Mr. Justice (Canada), 120
 TURKEY, 214
 Agricultural Four-Year Plan, 216
 Alexandretta question, 169, 214, 215, 260, 261
 Anatolia insurrection, 216; public works programme, 216
 Balkan Entente Conference, 214
 Budget, 216
 Debt position, 216
 Dutch contract, 216
 Economic reconstruction, 215-216
 Foreign policy, 214-215
 France, relations with, 214
 Germany, financial agreement, 216
 Great Britain, relations with, 214-215
 Iron and steel plant, 215, 216
 Ismet Inonu, General, retires, 215
 League of Nations, and, 214, 215
 Mining resources, development, 216
 Prime Minister, change of, 215
 Public Works, 215, 216; Technical adviser, 215
 Rationalisation, 215-216
 Soviet Russia, relations with, 215
 Steamship and Ferries contract, 216
 Syria, relations with, 214
 Treaties and Agreements, 215, 216, 255
 TURNER, Eva (Music), 343
 "TURNER, J. M. W.: Facsimiles of Drawings," 310
 TWEEDSMUIR, Lady, 117, 122
 TWEEDSMUIR, Lord, 115, 117, 122, 123
 TWENTIETH Century Fox (Cinema), 338
 TWICKENHAM Film Production, Ltd., 337
 TWICKENHAM Film Studios, 337
 TWYFORD, Sir Harry: Lord Mayor of London, 298
 TYRRELL, Lord, 339
 UBOREVICH, T. P. (Russia), 190
 UOAKI, General (Japan), 266, 270
 UNDESET, Sigrid, "The Faithful Wife," 316
 UNEMPLOYMENT, 85, 106
 Special Areas, 98
 UNEMPLOYMENT Assistance Board, 25
 UNEMPLOYMENT, Reinsurance Agreement, 109
 UNITED STATES, 275
 Annalist's index, 275
 Anti-trust laws, 277
 Brazil, relations with, 284
 Brussels Nine-Power Conference, 283
 Commodity prices, 275, 362, 368
 Communist Party, 281
 Economic, 107, 275-276, 362, 367; President Roosevelt's attitude, 276-280; anti-monopoly fight, 276-278
 Far Eastern conflict, and, 282-283; 284; investments position, 282
 Farm Mortgages Moratorium Act, 279
 Federal Courts, the President and, 278-279
 Financial: Budget forecasts, 280
 Foreign affairs, and, 281-282
 UNITED STATES, *cont.*
 General Motors Corporation, 281
 Germany, relations with, 284
 Gold holding, 362
 Gold market, and, 366, 367, 368
 Great Britain: trade *rapprochement*, 4, 41, 86, 96, 124, 138
 Guffey Coal Act, 280
 Industrial Organisation Committee, 276, 280-281
 "Isolationists" in, 283
 Italy, relations with, 284
 Japan-China conflict, and, 282-283, 284; succession of "incidents," 284; the *Panay*, 284
 Labour, American Federation of, 281
 National Industrial Recovery Act, 277
 Naval programme, 283-284
 Neutrality Act, 281-282; Text, 388-397
 Neutrality policy, Chinese protest, 282
 New Deal, 279, 280; attacks on, 276
 New York Stock Exchange, 275
 Panay "incident," 284
 Railway Labour Act, 279
 Social Security Act, 280
 "Stay-in" strikes, 281
 Steel Corporation trade union agreements, 280
 Steel industry, 275
 Supreme Court pronouncements, 277, 279; and the President, 278-280; Senator Black's appointment, 280
 Totalitarian States, and, 284
 Wagner Labour Act, 279
 Women, Minimum Wage Act, Washington, 279
 UNIVERSITY Boat Race, 294
 UNWIN, Mr. Joseph (Canada), 125
 URUGUAY:
 Financial, 367
 Treaties and agreements, 119
 USTINOV, M. (Russia), 193
 UTTER, R. P., "Pamela's Daughters," 308
 VACHELL, H. A., "Distant Fields," 312
 VALDEMARAS, ex-President (Lith.), 200
 VALLOTON, M. (Switz.), 230
 VAN BOEYEN, Mr. (Holland), 227
 VAN BUTTREN, Dr. (Holland), 227
 VAN DER MEERSON, R., "Invasion 14," 316; "Hath Not the Potter?" 316
 VAN DEVENTER, Mr. Justice (U.S.A.), 280
 VAN DIEREN (Music), 341
 VAN DIJK, Mr. (Holland), 227
 VAN DRUTEN, John (Drama), 334
 VAN KARNEBEEK, Jhr. (Holland), 229
 VANSITTART, Sir Robert, 173
 VAN ZEELAND, M. (Belg.), 18, 103, 223, 224, 225
 VARGAS, President Dr. Getulio (Brazil), 286, 287, 288
 VARNAVA, Patriarch (Yugo), 213
 VATICAN and German Catholics, 182
 VEIZER, I. J. (Russia), 188
 VELA, Snr. Baigorri, 287

- VICTORIA Palace (Drama), 334
 " VICTORIA Regina " (Drama), 332-333
 VICTORIAN Life Centenary (Art), 332
 VIENNA Philharmonic Orchestra, 340
 VIENOT, M. Pierre (Fr.), 238
 VIROLOGY (Science), 352
 VISSERING, Dr. G., Obitt., 455
 VITAMINS (Science), 348-349
 VOLPI, Count (It.), 170
 VON BLOMBERG, Marshal (Ger.), 170, 208
 VON NEURATH, Baron (Ger.), 94, 169, 170, 183, 184, 185, 187, 208, 212, 218, 222; London visit cancelled, 56, 57
 VON RIBBENTROP, Herr, 63, 170
 VON ROSEN, Countess Elsa (Sweden), 248
 VON SZENT-GJORGE, Prof. A., Nobel Prize, 299
 VOROSHILOV, Marshal K. I. E. (Russia), 188, 189
 VYSHINSKY, M. (Russia), 192
- WAGES regulation: retail distributive trades, 105
 WAGNERIAN opera, 342, 343
 WALEY, Arthur, " Book of Songs," 302, 303
 WALKER, Sir Henry, 18
 WALLACE, Capt. Euan, 99, 104
 WALLINGTON: borough charter, 298
 WALPOLE, Sir Hugh, " John Cornelius," 315
 WALTER, Bruno, " Gustav Mahler " (Lit.), 304; (Music), 340
 WALTON (Music), 344
 WANSTEAD and WOODFORD: borough charter, 299
 WARDALE, Miss E. E., " Introduction to Middle English," 307
 WAR Ministry, 93
 WARNER, Rex, " Poems," 303
 WARRINGTON of Clyffe, Lord, Obitt., 447
 WASHINGTON, U.S.A.: gift to, 293
 WASHINGTON International Textile Conference, 161
 WATERHOUSE, E. K., " Baroque Painting in Rome," 310
 WAUCHOPE, Gen. Sir Arthur, 259
 WEATHER, 301
 WEBB, Geoffrey, " Wren," 310
 WEBER, Ludwig (Music), 342
 WEDDERBURN, Mr. H. J. S., 22
 WEDGWOOD, Sir Ralph, 151
 WEIGEL, Bruno (Czech.), 183, 203
 WEINGARTNER, Felix (Music), 341
 WEIZMANN, Dr. (Palestine), 258
 WELLDON, Bishop J. E. C., Obitt., 425
 WELLESLEY, Miss Muriel, "The Man Wellington," 313
 WELLS, H. G., " Brynhild," 314, 325
 WELTER, Dr. (Holland), 227
 WEMBLEY: borough charter, 298
 WENDON, Henry (Music), 343
 WENNER-GREN, Axel: gift, 297
 WERFEL, Franz, " Twilight of a World," 315
 WEST, Geoffrey, " Charles Darwin," 309 ; 54
- I WESTMINSTER, Statute of, 27, 42, 138
 WESTMINSTER Theatre, 337
 WHARTON, Edith, " Ghosts," 315; Obitt., 438
 WHITE, H. C., " The Metaphysical Poets," 307
 WHITE, Mr. John W. (U.S.A.), 286
 WHITE, Mr. T. W. (Aust.), 133, 138
 WHITE WALTHAM site, 6-7
 WIDDOP, Walter (Music), 343
 WIDOWS' Pensions, 375
 WIEHL, Herr (S.W. Africa), 131
 WIEN, Dr. Karl (Ger.), 151
 WILD ERST BIN Gallery (Art), 331
 WILKINS, Vaughan, " And so Victoria," 315
 WILKINSON, H. Spenser, Obitt., 406
 WILLIAMS, Emlyn (Drama), 334
 WILLIAMS, Vaughan (Music), 341, 343
 WILLS, Major W. A., Obitt., 415
 WILSON, Sir Henry Francis (Harry), Obitt., 419
 WILSON, J. R., " Amelia Opie," 309
 WILSON, Sir Leslie (S. Aust.), 139
 WILSON, Steuart (Musio), 344
 WINCHESTER, Bishop of, 17, 100
 I WINDLESHAM, Baron, 293
 WINTER Garden Theatre, 344
 WINTER, Keith (Drama), 334
 WINTERTON, Lord, 101
 WITOS, M. (Poland), 201
 WOLFE, Humbert, " Don J. Ewan," 303 ; (Drama), 335
 WOLFF, Albert (Music), 342
 WOLMER, Lord, 22
 WOOD, Rt. Hon. Sir Kingsley, 9, 19, 84, 99-100
 WOODSWORTH, Mr. J. S. (Canada), 115, 116
 WOOLF, Virginia, " The Years," 314, 323
 WORLEY, Sir Arthur, Bt., Obitt., 432
 WRIGHT, Prof. F. A., " Marcus Agnppa," 311
 WRIGHT, Mr. Hans (Canada), 125
 WRIGHT, Lord (Law), 373
 WROTTESEY, Mr. F. J., K.C. (Law), 373
 ! WYNDHAM'S Theatre, 335
- YAGODA, G. G. (Russia), 188
 YAGODA, H. G. (Russia), 189
 YAKIR, General I. E. (Russia), 190
 YAKOVLEVA, Barbara (Russia), 188
 YALE University: Scientific research: gift, 296
 YANG HU-CHENG (China), 262
 YAROSLAVSKY, E. (Russia), 197
 YBARNEGARAY, M. (Fr.), 166
 YEGOROV, Marshal (Russia), 189
 YELLIN, Mr. Avinoam (Palestine), 259
 YENUKIDZE, Avel (Russia), 191, 194
 YEZHOF, N. I. (Russia), 188, 191, 192
 YORK, Archbishop of, 52-53
 YOUNG, Francis Brett, " Portrait of a Village," 315
 YOUNG persons hours of employment,

- YUGOSLAVIA, 211
 Bulgaria, relations with, 213, 218, 221
 Constitutional, 211
 Croats, the, 172, 211, 213
 Czechoslovakia, relations with, 212
 Foreign affairs, 211-212
 Francophil demonstrations, 212
 Germany, relations with, 212
 Government, 211
 Italy, relations with, 207, 212
 Little Entente, and, 212
 Parliament, 211
 Political, 212, 213
 Prince Paul, 211, 213
 Roman Catholics* Bill, 213
 Tomitch suicide, 213
 Turkey, relations with, 213
- YUKI, Mr. (Japan), 266
 YUBAVLEV, I. (Russia), 191
 YURENEV, K. (Russia), 103
 YURKIN, T. A. (Russia), 188
- ZAETSEV, Boris, " Anna," 316
 ZEITLIN, Jacott, *ed.*, "The Essays of Michel de Montaigne," 309
 ZETLAND, Lord, 146, 149
 ZIOHY, Count (Hung.), 207
 ZIONIST Congress, 258
 ZOOLOGY, Science retrospect, 346-348
 ZOSTCHENKO, M., " Russia Laughs," 316
 ZWEIG, Arnold, " The Crowning of a King," 316
 ZWEIG, Stefan, " The Buried Candelabrum," 315

